CHAPTER SIX

FATHER - DAUGHTER
Compared to the kin categories considered so far, the category of Father-Daughter is marked by certain distinctive features. The Father-Daughter relationship can be divided into sharply defined stages, the pattern at every stage making a decisive departure from that of the other. The first stage may be stated as pre-puberty stage. This stage starts with the birth of the Daughter and continues up to her attainment of puberty. During this period the Father-Daughter relationship is marked by familiarity and lack of inhibition on both sides. At this stage the Father does not make a distinction between the male and the female child while dealing with them in the daily routine. The female child on her part does not also show any difference from the male child in her behaviour towards the Father. The second stage starts round about the year the Daughter attains puberty. It may start even earlier if the girl is healthy and looks grown-up. During this stage Father-Daughter relationship becomes restricted. The girl becomes sex-conscious and the Father is also aware of her attainment of womanhood. He can no longer fondle her or sleep in the same room with her. The Daughter also becomes careful about her apparel while appearing before the Father. Conversation between Father and Daughter also becomes restricted, and this restriction is both a mark of restraint and show of respect on the part of the Daughter towards the Father.

The third stage in Father-Daughter relationship is reached after the marriage of the Daughter. It was customary for all castes to send the Daughter to the house of her Husband at least one year after the marriage. In some cases she was kept for two to
five years. This was done when the girls were being married before or immediately after puberty. This custom has completely gone out of practice among the castes other than Brahman. Even among the Brahman, in some cases, the girls are sent to the Husband's house immediately after her marriage. However it is still a practice among the Brahman, who live in the village and whose Daughters are married under rural situations, to send them to their Husband's houses after a lapse of at least six months after the marriage. This is not done because of the traditional custom of getting the Daughter married before puberty. Even among the Brahman the girls are now married after puberty. The main reason is that the girl's Father is not in a position to bear the cost of dowery immediately after meeting the marriage expenses.

During the third stage, that is after the marriage of the Daughter, the Father-Daughter relationship undergoes a further transformation. After her marriage the Daughter is treated as a guest to be regarded with affection and care. She is treated as one whose relationship with the family is on the point of being terminated and a melancholy feeling prevades the Father-Daughter relationship during this period. The post-marriage relationship between the Father and the Daughter, after the departure of the latter to her Husband's place, is marked by show of intense affection at the initial stage, which gradually fades away with the passage of time. The initial stage continues till the Daughter bears a child. The child then becomes the centre of affection. As the children of the Daughter grow older, the Father-Daughter relationship gradually becomes devoid of strong personal feeling. A formality
develops between them and the formal kin obligations are carried out between both the parties. Marriage, initiation and mortuary functions on both sides are attended by representatives of both the families. The functions in the Father's family are inevitably attended by the Daughter, with her children, who stays with the Father for a period preceding and succeeding the function. In the functions in the Daughter's family, the Father's family may be represented by any body except the Daughter's Mother. The Father or the representative of his family is not expected to stay long with the Daughter's family on these occasions. They may go one day before the function and return one day after. The party, in whose family the function takes place, receives presents in cash and kind from the other party. This is done more in the spirit of discharging formal kin obligations than as the mark of personal feeling or affection on the part of the Father or the Daughter. The link with the Father's family is cut-off after the Father's death, in most cases. In some cases it continues in a morbid manner, if the Brothers of the Daughter are willing to maintain it.

The Daughter, before her marriage is expected to be wholly submissive to the Father among all castes. Any show of disregard on her part is considered to be a more serious lapse of the code of conduct, than analogous behaviour on the part of the Son.

The general pattern of behaviour described above varies on the basis of caste, economic condition education and of course ideosyncratic factors. The conformity of the Brahman with the general pattern is highest. Deviations are to be found among the
castes like the Khandayat, Keuta, Gudia and Badhei. The Dhoba also show a high degree of conformity, despite of their being a scheduled caste. The highest amount of deviation is to be found among the Pano. With this general note the specific castes may be taken up for consideration.

**B R A H M A N**

It has been indicated that the Father-Daughter relationship among the Brahman conforms to the standard described above, to the highest degree. The Daughter among the Brahman is brought up more carefully than the Son. The education and subsequent position of the Son in the world are not considered to be a such a binding concern for the Father, as the problem of getting the Daughter married. Inspite of all the responsibilities attendant upon the bringing up of the male child, the Son is regarded as an asset to the family. The Daughter on the other hand is not only regarded as a liability but also referred to as the "burden". The Father can only get rid of the burden after getting her married. The responsibilities of the Father do not fully end after the Daughter's marriage. Though he has no control over the Daughter, after she is sent to her Husband's house, he is held responsible for her conduct there. If the Daughter does not behave properly or does something demeaning then the Father is blamed for it. It is talked about that the Daughter of so and so has done this. All these make the Father strictly guard the conduct of his Daughter. Strict regulations are imposed on her behaviour after she attends puberty. She is made to be very careful about of her apparel and to put it
in order whenever she comes before any male. It is therefore a very
common sight to see a grown-up girl pulling her saree over her
breast and face whenever she meets a male. She does so even if the
male is younger to her. She is also expected to behave similarly
even inside the house and with her Father and Brothers.

The sex-consciousness which develops in a girl
after her attainment of puberty, is a regulating factor determining
Father-Daughter relationship among the Brahman. Both sides are aware
of this sex-consciousness. The result of this is that the Father-
Daughter relationship becomes very restricted after the Daughter's
attainment of puberty. The Father does not usually talk to his
grown-up Daughter. Whenever there is any occasion for talking, it is
only confined to simple questions and answers. Longer conversations
do not take place between them and no talking between the two takes
the shape of a "discussion". If the Father has to "discuss"
something, he employs the girl's Mother as a medium. Whenever the
Daughter has to say something to her Father or requires something
from him, (purchasing a saree or some personal requirement) she does
not directly address him but gets her needs communicated through her
mother. The lack of communication between Father and Daughter is
somewhat relaxed after the Daughter's marriage. A married Daughter
on visit from her Husband's house is more free with her Father than
the unmarried Daughter. She becomes more free after having one or
two children and a Daughter with grown-up children can behave on
equal terms with her Father.
In spite of the strict regulation of the conduct of the Daughter and her being regarded as a burden on the Father, she is regarded with more implicit affection than the Son. Her personal needs are better attended to and in any dispute between Brothers and Sisters, the Sister is usually backed by the Father. Right from her childhood the Daughter is regarded as one who is to desert the family soon. This is also impressed upon the Daughter herself. This ephemeral character of the Daughter's membership of the Father's family gives a blending to the Father-Daughter relationship among the Brahman, both restricting and intensifying aspects of interaction in the daily routine.

One important point is noteworthy here. The property relationship between the Father and the family of the Daughter's Husband is an important factor regulating the mutual behaviour of Father and Daughter. If the Father has Sons to inherit him then the Father-Daughter relation is almost terminated after the Daughter's marriage, being restricted to occasional and ceremonial visits from either side. The position is completely different when the Father has no Sons and the Daughter is to inherit him. In such cases the Daughter visits the Father's family more often and has more intimate relationship with him. If she is the only Daughter, arrangements are made to keep her and her Husband permanently in the Father's house. The Daughter's Husband is then termed as Ghar-join which means a Son-in-law who stays in the house of his Wife's Father. The Daughter and her Husband in these cases become members of her Father's family. This however happens rarely as a man considers it degrading to stay with his Wife's Father.
After this discussion on the general pattern of Father-Daughter relationship among the Brahman, the specific items of daily routine may now be taken into consideration.

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

The interaction between infant Daughter and the Father does not differ from that with the infant Son. It is usually the duty of the Mother to see to the cleaning of the infant Daughter. After the child is able to walk she can sit with the Father to wash her face and clean her teeth. The Father also helps her to do so. Gradually as the Daughter grows up she washes her face and cleans her teeth by herself. A grownup Daughter usually washes her face inside the house and cleans her teeth at the bathing place. Ordinarily she does not perform these activities before the Father. The expected behaviour in this respect is that she should avoid the Father while washing the face and cleaning the teeth. The actual behaviour, however, depends on the individual relationship between the Father and the Daughter. In certain cases it has been observed that the Father is especially strict whereas in other cases he has been found to be liberal. This difference of behaviour has no relationship with economic status or education of either the Father or the Daughter.

The grownup Daughter serves the needs of the Father in his performance of this item of daily routine. She places a pot of water with a twig and a small ball of Guddakhu, if the Father is in the habit of using it. This she does, not simply as a show of affection to the Father but as a part of her training as a future housewife. In considering the qualities of a girl as a bride,
the services she renders to her Father are regarded as a positive virtue.

During the old age and infirmity of the Father it is customary for the Daughter to come for a few days from her Husband's house to help him. She helps him during her stay in his house to wash his face and clean his teeth. If the Father is very infirm then she would help him in cleaning as she would help a child. The married Daughter is more free in doing this than the grownup Sons, who feel somewhat shy to do it.

The help rendered by the married Daughter to her Father is done only occasionally - usually when the Father is seriously ill or on the point of death. The married Daughter can not do it at her free will. She has to take the permission of her Husband's family to visit her Father. Much therefore depends on the relationship between her family of orientation and family of procereation. One of the motives of the Father to maintain good relationship with the family of his Daughter's Husband is to enable his Daughter to visit him often, specially during his illness.

The materials required for washing the face and cleaning the teeth are supplied by the Father whether the Daughter is married or not.

Defecation:

The interaction between Father and the infant Daughter in the act of defecation is not different from that with the infant Son. As in the case of the infant Son, so also in the case of the infant Daughter the primary duty of making the child defecate and cleaning it afterwards is that of its Mother. The Father may do this
work if the child is his favourite but even then he does so occasionally. Defecation poses a more acute problem of adjustment with the social surroundings to the grownup girl than to the boy. The girls therefore learn to make proper adjustments from an early age. The Daughter is considered grown-up at an earlier age than the Son. A Daughter who has attained the age of nine should make the adjustments for defecation just like a grown-up woman. She should go for defecation to a secluded place and at such a time as to be in the company of her female friends. After defecation she should properly wash herself before entering the house. Any deviation from this pattern of behaviour is regarded as a more serious lapse of conduct on the part of the Daughter, than on the part of the Son.

Defecation is regarded as a shameful act to be mentioned before the Father or any other male relatives. It is the duty of the Father to see that the Daughter observes the proper mode of behaviour concerning defecation. If he hears any complaint from any body about the unbecoming behaviour of the Daughter then he would promptly communicate it to his wife for taking proper action. Usually the Daughter is told "So and so was telling this thing against you. It is a shame that such things should be told against you". This is enough reprimanding to a Brahman girl who would burst into tears on hearing this.

The learning of proper behaviour concerning defecation is considered especially necessary for the Daughter to help to conduct herself properly in her Husband's house. Defecation is one of the most delicate problems for a newly-wed woman in her Husband's house. She has to wait till a female companion asks to
accompany for defecation. She has to choose a time when no one need want her. All these require constant practice right from the child-hood. It is therefore one of the duties of the Father to inculcate this habit in her. During the old age and infirmity of the Father the grownup Daughter may help her Father to defecate and she may also clean him after that. This she can do without hesitation and her services are preferred to that of the Sons. A married Daughter comes from the house of her Husband to attend to the ill and infirm Father. She however only does it when there is a really need for it.

This also depends on the relationship between her family of orientation and family of procreation. It is not expected of the Father to help the adult Daughter in the act of defecation rather it is considered as very unusual and shameful.

Bathing:

The interaction between infant Daughter and Father concerning bathing is the same as that between Father and infant Son. As is the case with the infant Son so also in the case of infant Daughter the primary duty of getting the child bathed is that of the Mother of the child. When the Daughter is able to walk she sometimes accompanies the Father to the bathing place.

Bathing is also a delicate problem for a grown-up woman, though it is not so delicate as defecation. The women take their bath in the tank or in the canal where there is no seclusion. Usually they take their bath at out-of-the-way places where the males avoid going. It has already been mentioned how timings are adjusted by both the sexes to allow the women to take their bath undisturbed. The girl is to learn these adjustments from an early age.
Nothing has a ritual significance for the Brahman. The ritual significance is more important in case of men than women. The Brahman woman however regards bathing as a ritual much more than the woman of other castes. The parents of the Daughter give due importance to the ritual necessity of bathing but in case of girls cleanliness is also emphasised upon. This attitude is in contrast of that taken towards the Son. In the case of the Son the ritual aspect is only emphasised. If the Son spends more time in making himself presentable to others, he is criticised as being unbearably fastidious about his appearance. The Daughter on the other hand is taken to book by the Father, for remaining untidy and unclean. It is the primary duty of the Mother to keep her in presentable condition. If the Father sees the Daughter, unshaved and unclean, he would reprimand his wife for neglecting the Daughter rather than dealing directly with the woman.

The bathing requirements of the Daughter such as towel, shampoo, oil, soap etc., are purchased and procured by the Father. This he continues to do even after the Daughter is married and sent to her Husband's house. A married Daughter may send a message from her Husband's house stating her requirements and this is attended to by the Father. This may continue for about one year after the marriage i.e., till the Daughter becomes familiar with the family of her Husband.

The Father indirectly encourages the grown-up Daughter to use such articles during bath which according to village standards may be called luxury. Thus a Father may purchase a piece of soap occasionally for the Daughter even if no other member of the
family would be using it. This is done partly to satisfy the youthful needs of the Daughter and partly to groom her up for marriage. This is of course limited by the financial conditions of the family.

Providing the Daughter with the oil and turmeric required for taking bath is considered the minimum duty of the Father. If the Father is not able to provide his Daughter with these things then the usual saying is "so and so is not able to provide his Daughter even with food and oil and turmeric"

Eating:

It is the primary duty of the Father to provide food to his Daughter. She is considered his dependent as long as she is not married. If she is widowed and deserted after the marriage then the duty of feeding her reverts upon the Father but it happens rarely. Incidentally it may be stated that among Brahmans of the village, only one instance was recorded during the course of field work when a deserted Daughter had come to live with her Father. No widowed Daughter was found living with her Father.

The interaction between Father and infant Daughter in the matter of eating is similar to that between Father and infant Son, which has already been described. The infant Daughter is fed by the Mother. The Father may also occasionally feed her if the Wife is ill or absent at the time of feeding the baby. As the Daughter grows up she eats with the Father till she is considered big enough to eat alone. This is however done when the Daughter is a favourite child. Usually a Daughter does not eat with her Father after attaining the age of seven or eight, whereas the Son does so
upto the age of nine.

A grown-up Daughter is expected to serve food to her Father and to attend to his needs while he is eating. This the Daughter does as a part of household duty. This is also meant as a training for shouldering responsibilities in her future Husband's household. If she is not able to serve food properly to the Father then she is criticised by the family members and doubt is expressed about her prospects in managing the duties in her Husband's household.

The Daughter is not expected to take her food earlier than her Father. This expected behaviour is mostly liberalised by the parents. The Daughter is allowed to take her meals, and coaxed to do so if unwilling, if the Father is likely to be unduly late for his meals. The Daughter should not grumble if any choice item is not left for her after the Father had partaken of it. She is also expected to eat the food left in her Father's plate, but this is not insisted upon by the latter.

Sleeping:

The interaction between Father and infant Daughter is the same as that between Father and infant Son. The infant Daughter usually sleeps with the Mother, who sleeps in the same room as the Father but some times uses a separate bed for sleeping with the child.

The Daughter may casually sleep with the Father upto the age of seven or eight if she is a favourite child of his. As she grows up she starts sleeping with her Mother or Sisters in a separate room. A girl does not sleep in the same room with her Father after attaining puberty. The Father even should not enter
the room where the Daughter is sleeping without calling or announcing his entrance by making some sort of sound. Usually the girls wear sarees only and have no underwear below it while they are sleeping. There is, therefore, every likelihood of the coverable parts of their body being exposed while sleeping. This is the reason why Father takes such caution while entering the room.

Though the Father encourages the Daughter to use luxuries like soap and scented oil, he does not appreciate her using luxurious beds and pillows. The Daughter is expected to use very simple sleeping materials. Usually a mat and a hard pillow are considered enough for her. Use of soft pillows and quilts are supposed to make her lazy and reduce her working capacity. A Father who allows the Daughter to use comfortable bed is considered as spoiling her. In spite of this the Father is expected to give luxurious sleeping materials to the Daughter as her dowery. The quality of the sleeping materials such as cots, mattresses, bed sheets etc., are regarded as an indicator of the standard of dowery.

Cleaning:

The Daughter is expected to pay an active roll in the daily cleaning. She cleans the utensils, sweeps the house and plaster-washes the kitchen. In all these she shares the burdens of her Mother. There is however no effective interaction with the Father in the daily cleaning activities.

In the periodic cleaning activities the Daughter shares the labours of her Mother. Here also there is no effective interaction between Father and Daughter.
Toilets:

The toilet of an infant Daughter does not differ from that of the infant Son. The Daughter's toilet becomes elaborate as she grows up.

It has already been mentioned that the Daughter is encouraged to use such toilet materials, which according to the village standard may be regarded as a luxury. The toilet is elaborate according to the standard of living of the family. Even poor families allow their Daughters to use soap and face powder, at least one or two years before their marriage. It is the duty of the Father to provide the toilet materials to the Daughter. The toilet materials are either purchased by the Father, inside or outside the village, or money is given to the Daughter or her Mother to make purchases according to their requirement and convenience. Beyond the provision of money and materials the Father has no duty regarding the toilet of his Daughter. The effective interaction of the Daughter in this respect is with her Mother.

Cooking:

Cooking provides a scope for effective interaction between Father and Daughter among the Brahman. This interaction is most effective between the Daughter and her Mother and this would be dealt with in subsequent chapters.

The Daughter is regarded as Mother's substitute in the matter of cooking. There are a few instances where the entire burden of cooking falls upon the Daughter and she continue to discharge this duty till she goes to her Husband's house. The Daughter participates in cooking not simply to discharge her
responsibility to the Father's household. She does it as a preparation for undertaking the duties of the household of her Husband. It is the duty of the Father to see that the Daughter helps her Mother properly in the discharge of her duties in cooking. The grown up Daughter is very often called upon to undertake the entire responsibility of the cooking of the household. Among the Brahman, the Mother has to stop cooking at least once a month during the period of her menstruation. If the Daughter is not experienced in cooking and undertakes it for the first time then the Father helps her. He would do most of the outdoor work connected with cooking. He would fetch water, chop the wood and wash the rice and the vegetables. The Daughter would do the actual "cooking" part of it and even there the Father may come to her help. This is only done if the Father has enough leisure and there are no other female member to help the Daughter. This is not done among these who are in the higher brackets of income, as it is considered below the dignity of the males of these households to participate in cooking. The educated Brahmans also avoid cooking for the same reason but they usually stay outside the village and cannot be considered within the fold of village society.

Daily round of occupational activities:

A grown up Daughter, as a village girl, has some knowledge about the agricultural operations which is the major occupation among the Brahman. She knows the crops grown in different seasons and the extent of her Father's occupational activities, concerning agriculture. She also knows to which field her Father goes to work on a particular day.
It has been mentioned earlier that the Brahman women are prohibited from working in the fields. The Daughter among the Brahman therefore cannot work with her Father in the fields. She can however help the Father indirectly. She serves food to him when he starts to or returns from the field. She gives him oil and soap to take bath. She brings out the agricultural implements when he goes out. While the grains are being unloaded in the house she can lend a helping hand. She renders fullfledged help to the Mother in husking, winnowing and parboiling the paddy and other crops. Though raising the crop and bringing it home are the primary responsibility of the males of the house - its seasoning, for being prepared as food, is the duty of the women. Men are not of course prohibited from participating in these activities. These activities therefore provide a scope for interaction between the Father and Daughter. They share the labours of winnowing, boiling etc. The husking is entirely done by the women as Brahman males are prohibited from working on the husking lever. On the whole it can be said that the Father-Daughter interaction concerning the daily round of occupational activities is entirely confined to work done indoors.

Performance of religious rites:

The grown up Daughter has only to play a passive role in the daily round of religious rites performed by the Father. She fetches water for bathing the household deities. She cleans and sweeps the place of worship. She brings flowers and serves the food for being offered to the deity. She however cannot bathe the deity herself as women are prohibited from touching the "Salagram" who constitute the main deity of worship in every Brahman household.
The unmarried girls are also not permitted to pluck "Tulasi" leaves, which is essentially required for the performance of religious rites.

Women play a main role in the performance of the Osa described earlier. The Daughter is very active in the performance of various Osas and especially those which are specifically meant for unmarried girls. On these occasions the articles required to be purchased for performance of puja are procured by the Father. He also purchases a saree for the Daughter if he can afford it. A Daughter is considered to be dead to the gotra of her Father's family after her marriage when she adopts the gotra of her Husband's family. The Gotra of the Husband's family is always different from the Gotra of the Wife's family as marriage is prohibited in the same Gotra. The married Daughter has therefore a very useful role to play in mortuary rites and during the pollution period observed on the occasion of birth or death in the family. The married Daughter is not affected by this pollution as she belongs to a different Gotra. During this period the married Daughter can cook food to entertain guests and the priest (Purohit).

Recreational activities:

The liberality of a Father towards the Daughter is measured by the scope he affords to his Daughter to participate in the recreational activities - specially in the outdoor games played on special occasions like Rajaparba, Kumarpurnima etc. Daily gossiping is done by the girls when they go out for defecation or to take their bath. The Father's attitude towards the Daughter's occasional playing or daily gossiping differs widely. Some violently
object to it and others are very tolerant of it, though in no case a Father directly encourages the Daughter to participate in the recreational activities, specially in the daily indulgement in gossiping. If a Daughter returns late from the bathing place in the morning or from the place of defecation in the evening then she is severely reprimanded by some while others mildly criticise her. This behaviour depends entirely on the personality of the Father and has nothing to do with his economic conditions or educational standard. The majority among the Brahman were found to be deprecative of the participation in recreational activities by their Daughters. Only in four cases it was observed that the attitude of the Father was responsible for encouraging the Daughters in their daily round of gossiping.

Rearing children:

There is a difference between the rearing of a Son and a Daughter. The Son is regarded as the true heir of the Father endowed with the responsibility of perpetuating the line. He is therefore given proper education and the best of food materials are always kept in reserve for him. Apparently the Daughter appears to be neglected. Actually however much care is bestowed on the rearing of the Daughter. A Daughter has to be guided at every step from the childhood till her marriage and departure to her Husband's house. Even while a Daughter is married and has been sent to her Husband's house, all her activities are interpreted as the result of good or bad breeding in her Father's family.
The Father plays a somewhat passive role in the rearing of the Daughter. The major and the active role in this respect is played by the Mother. The Mother's role is that of a trainer and bestower of affection whereas the Father plays the role of a disciplinarian. In actual practice there is considerable overlapping of the roles between Father and Mother or a Brahman girl.

A grown up Daughter is especially useful in the bringing up of other children younger to her. In rearing the children, the Daughter is expected to assist her Mother. If she is a grown up girl, she takes care of the children younger to her while her Mother goes to take bath or for defecation or is busy in household work. It is one of the recognised duties of the Daughter. This duty is considered as not only helpful for the household in lessening the burdens of the Mother, but as a training for playing the role of house-wife in the Husband's household.

Daily income and expenditure:

It has been mentioned earlier that the daily income and expenditure are controlled by the male head of the household. Sometimes the house-wife has a say in the matter. Nowhere however the Daughter of the house has any significant role in the daily income and expenditure of the Brahman household. It is not expected to her neither she does it in practice. Her daily needs are met from the family budget and her personal expenses for toilet etc., are also met by the Father. Whenever she requires any thing, she would first make the request to the Mother who would convey it to the Father. The Father acceds to the request of the Daughter if his financial conditions allow it. Generally the reasonable demands of
the grown up Daughter are acceded to lest they would think in their Husband's houses that they were not properly cared for by the Father.

The grown up Daughter is allowed to have a personal fund of her own. This fund is created out of contributions and presents by the Father and other relatives. It is customary for a visiting relative to pay some money to the unmarried Daughter of the house on his or her departure. This fund is considered as the personal reserve of the Daughter and is kept at her disposal. No expenditure is incurred from this fund. The Father and other members of the family may borrow from it but they return the amount in due course. On the Daughter's departure to her Husband's house this fund is augmented by the Father and handed over personally to her. This amount is not a part of the dowery. The dowery is the property of the Husband or his Father but the personal fund of the Daughter which she brings from her Father's house is entirely her personal money and nobody, not even the Husband, can claim it as a matter of right. Though this fund is kept entirely at her disposal as her exclusive property, she does not have the exclusive right of spending out of this sum. If she incurs expenditure from this fund without consulting the Father, she is severely criticised for this. This is treated as an act of insult to the Father.

**K H A N D A Y A T**

The Father-Daughter relationship among the Khandayat is influenced by two factors. The first factor is the caste tradition and occupational demands of the family. The second factor is the influence of the Brahman and the conscious or unconscious efforts made to emulate them. The effort at emulating the Brahman
differs in degree from family to family. The landowning and share cropping families are most conspicuous in their emulation of the Brahman. This effort is intensified in case of the families from which certain members are working in the industrial establishments, thus augmenting their income. Among these families the effort at emulation of the standard of the Brahman, take the shape of anti-Brahman tendency i.e., they adopt certain traits which they think should belong to the Brahman, yet they criticise the Brahman as falling short of the Brahman ideal. The labour class group of the Khandayat are more humble in playing their inferior caste role and donot try to emulate the Brahman.

All these give a high range to the mode of Father-Daughter relationship among the Khandayat. This is consequent upon the ideals to which the families are to conform. While the first group upholds that the Daughter should not work in the fields and should be married early, the second group holds the contrary opinion that she should work in the fields and earn her living so as not to be a burden on her Husband. This group also insists that the Daughter should not be married at an early age. While the first group insists on giving dowery to the Daughter the second group demands dower for them. This difference in attitude towards the Daughter affects the Father-Daughter relationship among the Khandayat in different manners. These have been taken into account while discussing the specific aspects of daily routine.

With this general note on the caste the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for consideration.
Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The pattern of interaction between the Khandayat Father and Daughter is similar on many points to that between Brahman Father and Daughter. The infant Daughter is cleaned by the Mother. As she grows up she may sit with the Father and clean her teeth with him. A grown up Daughter serves water, twig and a ball of "Gudakhu" to the Father for cleaning his teeth. The materials for cleaning teeth i.e., twig, Gudakhu etc., are procured or purchased by the Father. During the old age and infirmity of the Father the Daughter helps him to wash and clean his teeth. If she is married at that time, and inevitably she is, she comes from her Husband's house when her Father is seriously ill and requires her help in the performance of daily routine. This of course largely depends on the relationship between the family of her Father and the Family of her Husband. One of the reasons why the Father wants to maintain good relationship with the family of the Daughter's Husband is to receive nursing from the Daughter during his inability.

Among the second group of the Khandayat neither the Father nor the Daughter is particular about this item of daily routine. The Father finishes the cleaning while going to or returning from work. The Daughter is attended to, at the infant stage, by the Mother. After she is able to walk and eat by herself she takes care of her cleaning as best as she can. She only begins to take proper care of cleaning and washing after she is fully grown up. The materials required for cleaning teeth are procured or purchased by either party. The twig is broken from a tree when required by either the Father or the Daughter. The Daughter purchases her own Gudakhu.
when she is able to earn.

As a working class woman the Daughter is not expected to give up work and come to the Father to help him during his old age and infirmity. This difficulty, however, can be overcome by the Daughter as she can find some work in the village of her Father during her stay. The main reason why the Daughter does not turn up during the old age of the Father is that during this period he is financially helpless. During her visit the Daughter has to maintain both herself and her Father which she is not always able to do.

Defecation:

Defecation does not pose such a difficult problem to the Khandayat women as it does to the Brahman women, as the houses of the former are situated nearer to the fields. Like the Brahman the first group of Khandayats require their women to perform this act at secluded spots and to wash thoroughly after defecation. As the Daughter grows up she is taught to acquire this habit. It is the duty of the Father to see that the Daughter maintains proper behaviour concerning this item of daily routine.

During the old age and infirmity of the Father the Daughter helps him to defecate. This she would do even if she is married and staying at her Husband's place. She is however only able to come to the help of her Father if the relationship between the families of her Father and her Husband is cordial. It is also noteworthy that the Sons hesitate to clean their Father after defecation and remove the excreta, whereas the Daughter is not expected to show any hesitation.
Among the second group of Khandayats defecation is performed casually while going to or returning from work. The Khandayat of this group are not so fastidious about finding secluded spots neither they are particular about washing after defecation. The infant Daughter is attended to by the Mother if she defecates. A grown up Daughter learns from her elderly girl friends how to find a proper spot for defecation. (It should be noted that though the women of this group are not particular about seclusion like the Brahman and Khandayats of the first group, they nevertheless do not defecate at public places being exposed to the gaze of others)

The married Daughter comes to the help of his old and infirm Father when the latter has become old and infirm as not to able to perform the act of defecation and wash by himself. Being a working class woman the Daughter in this group has to overcome certain difficulties, to do this. The difficulties have already been described.

Bathing:

It has been mentioned earlier that bathing has a slightly ritual significance among the Khandayat of the landowning class. It is however a very casual affair among the labouring group. The Father in both the groups has nothing to do with the bathing of the infant Daughter. Among both the groups it is the duty of the Mother to bath the Daughter. It may be recalled that infants are rarely bathed in the village and bathing is even rarer among the Khandayat than among the Brahman. The infant Daughter is smeared 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 quantities for the purpose. As the child begins to walk she accompanies the Father to the bathing place, whenever the Father has the leisure to take her. This is only done occasionally as bathing is done among all classes of Khandayat in great haste—between gaps from work. If a minor Daughter does not bathe properly then she is reprimanded by the Father. The Daughters among the landowing class are reprimanded more strictly for their unwashed appearance. During the last ten years the landowing group have taken a renewed interest in the cleanly habits of their Daughters—in keeping with their effort to raise their caste status. Inspite of this there is no active interaction between the Father and the adult Daughter as far as bathing in daily routine is concerned. The Father interacts with the Daughter only in an indirect manner. They encourage their Daughters to use such articles for taking bath as would be considered a luxury in the village standard and they are constantly reminded to look like Brahman girls.

**Eating:**

The minor Daughter is fed by the Mother at the infant stage. As soon as she begins to walk she sometimes takes food with her Father. Allowing the Daughter to eat from his own plate is a show of affection on the part of the Father.

The Daughter serves food to the Father soon after she is ten or eleven years old. She serves food, prepares tea and breakfast for him and sometimes also prepares cakes. She is expected to help her Mother in preparing and serving food to the Father. This is considered both a help to the Mother as well as training for her future role as a Wife in her Husband's household.
The Daughter is expected to eat after the Father had taken his meals. But this rule is somewhat relaxed in most cases and the Daughter is made to take her meals if the Father is expected to be late.

Sleeping:

The infant Daughter sleeps with the Mother. Both Mother and the infant Daughter sleep in the same room as the Father. As the child grows up she sometimes sleeps with her grandparents. The Father as a rule does not sleep in the same room as the grown up Daughter. If there is no accommodation in the house then the Father sleeps outside or on the outer veranda of the house. A married Daughter on a short visit to the house of the Father sleeps with her Mother thus evicting the Father for the time being from his room. The sleeping materials are procured by the Father and given in abundance to the Daughter on her marriage.

Cleaning:

In the daily cleaning of the house and the utensils the grown up Daughter fully co-operates with the Mother and does the major part of the work. In this sphere there is effective interaction between Mother and Daughter but no scope for such interaction between Father and Daughter. The Father occasionally reprimands the Daughter if she does not do the work properly. The cleaning of the Bhagabatghar is especially allotted to the Daughter as a function of religious significance, expected to bring success to her married life.
With renewed caste emphasis upon the cleanliness, the Daughter's role in cleaning has assumed added importance among the landowing class of Khandayats. The Father in the landowing class now expects the Daughter to conform to a more elaborate standard of cleaning than before.

Among the landowning group Father and Daughter share the labours of cleaning along with other members of the household. Among this group the Father is not so strict about the cleaning functions of the Daughter.

Toilet:

It has been noticed before how the Father among the Khandayat discourages the toilet habits of the Son. He adopts a contrary attitude towards the Daughter, especially the grown up Daughter. The toilet of the minor Daughter is very simple and is not emphasized upon by the parents but the grownup Daughter among the landowing class is expected to do her toilet elaborately. This is partly done to make her more attractive in the marriage market and partly as a status raising effort. In this sphere there is no direct interaction between the Father and the Daughter. The Father either purchases or procures enough toilet materials for the Daughter such as soap, scented oil, face powder etc. He may also pay cash to the Daughter or her Mother for making purchases. If the Brothers of the girl are working in some industrial establishment then the materials which are considered to be the latest in cosmetics are procured through them. The Father very rarely reprimands the Daughter for not taking proper care of her toilet. Beyond supplying the toilet materials and occasionally reprimand the Daughter (and sometimes
Cooking

Cooking is one of the primary duties of the Daughter in the Khandayat households of both the groups. The Daughter gradually learns to help her Mother in cooking right from the age of ten and by the time she is about twelve years of age she must be able to undertake the responsibility of the household all by herself. She is also frequently called upon to do so during the monthly courses of menstruation of her Mother.

The Daughter's ability to cook is definitely a help to the Father's household. It is also taken as a preparation for the future housewifeship of the Daughter. Cooking is considered as the most important attribute of a girl to be considered as a bride. The bride is mostly chosen by the parents whose most effective test of their future Daughter-in-law is the quality of her cooking. It is therefore the duty of the Father to see that the Daughter becomes accomplished in cooking. The Daughter is not only expected to cook and serve food occasionally to the Father, she is also required to prepare the special dishes and various cakes. In all these she comes into effective interaction with her Mother. The Father's interaction with the Daughter concerning cooking is both passive and indirect. Whatever the Father requires of the Daughter he usually communicates through the Mother. The Daughters among labour class Khandayats are not expected to learn cooking so elaborately as among the landowning class but they nevertheless have to learn some cooking. They learn it mainly by observing the Mother and occasionally helping her. Here also the effective interaction is between the Mother and the Daughter.
whereas the Father plays a passive role.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

The minor Daughter has nothing to do with the occupational activities of the Father in either group of Khandayats. The grown up daughter among landowning Khandayat enters into passive interaction with the Father in the daily round of occupational activities. She does not participate directly in the occupational activities and is prohibited from going to the fields for participating in agricultural operations. This is done in emulation of the Brahman among whom the women are prohibited from working. In case of the Khandayats the prohibition is applied more strictly in case of the Daughter than in case of the Wife. It is the duty of the Father among the landowning class to prohibit his Daughter from working in the fields. If it is ever talked about in the village that a Father had allowed the Daughter to work in the fields then it is considered as an ugly rumour and it is the duty of the Father to make efforts to put a stop to it. If an unmarried Daughter had been working in the fields then it becomes very difficult on the part of the Father to get her married in a respectable family. If the unmarried Daughter works in the household of another person doing such work as fetching water, cleaning utensils, and sweeping floors etc., it is considered more outrageous than working in the fields. A girl who had been doing it is considered as lacking in maidenly virtues and is regarded as if she has committed adultery. Doing household work therefore is completely prohibited among both the landowing and the labour class Khandayats.
Among the landowing class the Daughter comes into interaction with the Father indirectly. She may prepare and serve the food to him to suit the routine of occupational activities. She may keep the agricultural instruments ready to handover to him when he starts on work. Though she is prohibited from doing outdoor work, she is not prohibited from doing indoor work and here her interaction with the Father is more effective. She helps him in measuring the grains after they are brought home. She also participates fully in winnowing and parboiling of the paddy and in its husking and breaking. Except parboiling which is done in co-operation with other members of the family, the Daughter is expected to all other works in the company of her Mother or other female relatives. The Father generally does not participate as these are not considered to be manlike work.

Among the labour class, the grown up Daughter is a co-worker of the Father to some extent. She begins to earn after she has attained the age of eleven or twelve. She is not prohibited from doing any outdoor work connected with agriculture except ploughing. During the ploughing season, therefore, she has practically little work to do but she is as busy as her Father during the seasons of weeding and harvesting. Though the Daughter has an independent income of her own, she is not free to work wherever she likes. If she is to be made employed by any body then the contract is to be made through the Father. It is the Father's duty to see that the Daughter works only with those whose dealings are clean and above board. She is not allowed to work for those who have a dubious moral character. Working in the fields is done only during day time and the girl works in the company of others. The chances of her
being manhandled by a lustful employer are therefore practically nil. Even then a Father dare not allow his Daughter to work for him, lest she would earn a bad reputation.

It has already been mentioned that working in the land, especially as an owner-cultivator has prestige value for the Khandayat apart from its occupational significance. A Khandayat girl, whether she works in the fields or not, is expected to know the details of agricultural operations. She knows the fields owned by the family and the fields of other where her Father works. She knows timings of ploughing, weeding and harvesting. She is conversant with the agricultural implements and must also know their functions, whether she is able to handle them personally or not. In this knowledge she is superior to the Brahman girl. Though she is prevented from participating directly in the agricultural operations, her lack of knowledge about agricultural activities and agricultural implements are considered as quite un-Khandayat like, and severally criticised in her Husband's family. It is therefore one of the duties of the Father to make the Daughter acquainted with the details of agricultural operations. This is done by acquaintance with the agricultural operations in the daily routine rather than by verbal teaching.

The married Daughter is expected to help her Father on a number of occasions, some of which have been described in the preceding sections. But on no account she is expected to come from her Husband's house to help the Father in the occupational activities. Of course when she is in the village, on a visit from her Husband's house, she may lend a helping hand or even go for wage
earning as a helpful gesture to her Father's family and to avoid being regarded as a burden during her stay with the Father.

It is also the duty of the Father to impose upon the Daughter's Husband's family not to engage her in such work as is considered dishonourable in his house. If a Father has prohibited his Daughter from working in the fields before her marriage then he can rightfully claim that she should not do any such work in the family of her Husband.

Performance of religious rites:

That the performance of religious rites do not form a part of the daily routine of the Khandayat has been described in the preceding sections. The performance of the "Osa" ceremonies by the Daughter is certainly significant and can almost be considered to be a part of the daily routine. This however does not result in any effective interaction between Father and Daughter. There is some indirect interaction as the Father has to arrange the procurement of the articles required for the "Osa". In case of the labourclass group some of the articles are procured by the Daughter with the help of her Mother. The Father's role therefore is further reduced in these cases.

When a married Daughter is on a visit to the Father's house it is his duty to arrange for the performance of such "Osa" as would fall during her stay. The "Osas", like Savitri Amabasya which are meant to bring long life to the Husband and the children, are especially patronised and the Daughter is helped to perform them in a more lavish manner than is ordinarily done in the family.
Rearing children:

The infant Daughter is reared in the same manner as the infant Son. As she grows up the pattern of rearing becomes divergent. The main emphasis in the rearing of the Daughter is to groom her for the tasks of the house-wife in her Husband's family. This is more emphasized upon among the landowning group than among the labourer group. In the rearing of the grown up Daughter the Mother plays the most effective role whereas the Father acts as an occasional disciplinarian. The chastity of the Daughter is held in great esteem among the Khadiyats of both the groups though widow marriage and marriage of divorced women are not prohibited among them. The Mother has the primary responsibility for rearing the Daughter but the Father as the disciplinarian is considered to be the guardian of her conduct and in case of any sexual lapse on her part he is held more responsible than the Mother.

It is one of the duties of the Daughter to take care of the children younger to her. This is one of the essential duties performed by the unmarried Daughter which enables the parents to engage themselves in the daily round of occupational and other routine work without being too much bothered by the small children. This is not a pleasant task to be performed by the Daughter, especially at an age when she would like to play in her leisure time. It is the duty of both the Father and Mother to make the Daughter do this work and she is forced in the same manner as the Son who is reluctant to go to the school at the initial stage. A Daughter may be rebuked or in extreme cases thrashed by the Father.
for neglecting this duty. Much however depends on the personal relationship between the Father and the Daughter. If the Daughter is the only female child in the household, she is treated with more tenderness and exempted, to a large extent, from taking care of the younger children. If she is one among many female children she is taken to task more strictly. One of the reasons why the Father is especially strict in this respect is that every work the Daughter practises in the Father's family is treated as a training for her future house-wifeship. The period before the marriage of the Daughter is regarded as a very brief period during which she is to receive all her training. Any misuse of this period, in play or gossiping, is therefore treated as loss of valuable time. During her period of apprenticeship the Daughter is also taught the caste rules of showing respect to the Brahman with due detachment and also to behave properly with the castes lower than the Khandayat.

Daily income and expenditure:

The minor Daughter has nothing to do with the daily income and expenditure of the family among both the groups of the Khandayat. The grown up Daughter has practically nothing to do with this mong the landowing Khandayat. Among this group her position can be compared with the Daughter in Brahman families. Like the Brahman Daughter she is not allowed to undertake any occupational activity which would bring her any income. She is also not given any responsibility in the expenditure of the family. She is, however, allowed to have a small personal fund for her own. This fund is made by donations from relatives and also from the parents. The Father gives a donation for the personal fund of the
Daughter during the harvesting period. Donations are also given to her on the occasion of festivals like "Dolyatra" and Raja purba. The Father can borrow from the Daughter's personal fund in an emergency but it has to be punctually repaid. It has been observed that in five cases the Fathers paid some interest on the amount borrowed from the Daughter. This fund is enhanced according to the ability of the Father at the time of the Daughter's marriage. This is treated as the exclusive property of the Daughter and unlike other items of dowery the family of the Daughter's Husband cannot lay claim to it. The Daughter among the labourer class plays a more active role in the daily income and expenditure of the household. She earns by her own labour and thus contributes towards the family income. The utilisation of her income is always a source of dispute between the Father and Daughter in every family of this group. Generally it is considered as a very shameful act on the part of the Father to use any part of the income of his Daughter. The ideal principle here is to allow the Daughter to have her entire income to herself and that the Father should manage the expenses of the household within his own income to the best of his ability. In actual practice no Father finds it possible to do so among the labourer class Khandayats. In cases where there is cordial relationship between Father and Daughter, she voluntarily gives a part of her income or the whole of it to the Father to meet the household expenses. In majority of cases this is not done without a lot of argument between the two parties - the Father sometimes applying physical force to make the Daughter part with her earnings. The Father-Daughter interaction in these cases is governed by two factors - firstly the
size of the needs of the family and the Father's ability to meet them and secondly the personal relationship between Father and Daughter largely depending on the personality of the former.

**P A N O**

(After considering the Father-Daughter relationship among the Brahman and the Khandayat, the equivalent relationship among the Pano may now be described.) Like the other castes here also the factors such as economic conditions, occupation, education and social status of the caste, described earlier have been taken into consideration for providing a background for the kin behaviour in the daily routine.

It has been observed in the case of the Brahman and the Khandayat that the Daughter is treated as a temporary member of the household who is to be trained in and equipped for her permanent home with her Husband. The duration of her stay with the Father's family is treated as a period of apprenticeship. This position of the Daughter among the Brahman and the Khandayat and the resultant interaction between them admits of a range, depending upon the economic condition of the family and the personality factors of the interacting parties. While the range of the behaviour is higher among the Brahman, because of the intra-caste differences in economic and educational conditions, the range is comparatively smaller in case of the Khandayat who can be divided into two relevant groups for the study of Father-Daughter relationship. As against this the Father-Daughter relationship among the Pano provides altogether a different pattern.
The problem of training up the Daughter for the role of housewife in her Husband's house hold provides the scope for a different type of interaction between the Father and the Daughter among the Pano, than the Brahman and Khandayat. Among the Brahman and the landowing Khandayats the Daughter is regarded as a burden on the Father till she is disposed of in marriage. Her conduct is to be strictly guarded before marriage and enough dower is to be arranged for the marriage. The marriage functions and feast also demand a lot of expenses. Among the Pano on the other hand the Daughter is regarded as an asset as far as her marriage is concerned. An average girl fetches a handsome dower and a good looking girl may even fetch a higher sum. On an average the girls Father receives about a hundred rupees besides the clothes and ornaments for the Daughter. The Husband's family has to arrange this before the marriage. The Father of the girl has also little to do with the marriage expenses as the marriage is held at the bridegroom's house. Besides this, during her stay in the Father's house the Daughter can earn on par with the Son - thus adding to the income of the family. The unmarried Pano girl is also not prohibited from working in the fields and in this respect she is less discriminating than the Khandayat girl and the Pano Father is more liberal than the Khandayat Father in letting his Daughter work according to her choice. The unmarried Pano girl's moral conduct is also not so delicate as the girls of other castes and it is not tarnished by the spread of any rumour. The prospective bridegroom's party does not insist on the unquestioned virginity of the would be bride and even girls with a reputation for regular flirting donot face any difficulty in the marriage market. The only thing insisted upon is that the girl
should be faithful to the Husband after the marriage. All these reduce the responsibilities of the Father as a disciplinarian and the guardian of the conduct of the Daughter. His role as the provider of bread is also not very conspicuous as the Daughter earns her own living from a comparatively earlier age.

With this general background the specific items of daily routine may now be taken into consideration.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

It may be recalled that washing the face and cleaning the teeth among the Pano is done very casually except among those few persons who work outside as industrial labourers. The Pano girl does not wash her face or clean her teeth till late in the morning. She does this only when she is old enough to clean and wash by herself. During the stage of infancy she is occasionally helped by the Mother but never by the Father. The washing of face and cleaning of the teeth therefore do not result in any direct interaction between Father and minor Daughter. The adult Daughter may help her Father in washing the face and cleaning the teeth during his old age or illness if she happens to be with him but it is not customary for the Pano Daughter to come from her Husband's house to help her Father during the period of his inability. According to the social custom of the caste it is not strictly expected of her nor she can afford to do it as a working class woman.

The difference in economic conditions has no influence over the Father-Daughter relationship as far as washing the face and cleaning the teeth are concerned. There is slight difference between the young males who stay and work in the village and those
who stay and work in industrial establishments in urban areas. These persons insist on the cleanliness of their infant Daughters but it is done casually as they visit the village for short periods after long intervals.

Defecation:

The fields where the Pano go for defecation are situated very near their houses. They therefore can easily relieve themselves whenever they feel doing so. The infant Daughter before she is old enough to go to the fields defecates in the space around the house or in the village lane. Though it is the primary duty of the Mother to remove the excreta of the Daughter, the Father also does it occasionally, especially when it lies on the village lane causing inconvenience to the passers by.

The clothings worn by a Pano woman at the time of defecation are not considered by them as polluted. The Pano woman is not also so particular as the women of other castes to wash her hands, feet and the face after defecation. The Father has therefore no responsibility to inculcate the habit of ritual cleanliness concerning defecation. He is also indifferent to the hygienic cleanliness of the Daughter. Whatever cleanly habits the Daughter acquires she does it by seeing others, especially her elder companions.

It is noteworthy here that in case of other castes the males and females observe different timings while going to the fields for defecation. This is because of the difference in the daily routine of men and women. This also enables the members of one sex to avoid the members of the opposite sex at the time of
defecation. The pattern is different in case of the Pano. Among the Pano almost all the adult males and females have the same daily routine the most important of it being, the work in the fields. An adult Pano girl therefore goes for defecation very early in the morning or late in the evening after it has become dark, just like the males. She is also accustomed defecate even while adult males are passing by the fields. On both sides it is understood that neither is observing the other. The girl considers herself more secluded if she draws the veil over her face. This pattern of behaviour, interesting though it is, results in little or no interaction between Father and Daughter. The Father very occasionally reprimands the Daughter, if she defecates very near the road or the dwellings.

Bathing:

Bathing among the Pano is done as casually as cleaning the teeth and washing the face. The Daughter like the Son is rarely bathed. Smearing and massaging with turmeric paste and oil twice or thrice a month is considered to be a substitute for bath. It is the duty of the Mother to do it. As the Daughter is able to walk to take care of herself she goes to the by tank to take her bath. A girl before puberty just takes a dip in the water and dries her body coming out of the tank. She may occasionally accompany the Father to the bathing place on festive occasions when he has some leisure. The Father may also reprimand the girl occasionally when she indulges too much in water so as to fall ill.
Bathing like defecation also does not result in any effective interaction between Father and adult Daughter. The Daughter herself procures and purchases bathing requirements like turmeric, napkins, oil and occasionally soaps, out of her own earnings. The Father is indifferent to the appearance of the Daughter. He does not enquire whether she takes her bath regularly or not. It is also difficult to distinguish between a woman who has taken her bath and one who has not, as among the Pano, the women wear the same unwashed clothes after taking their bath.

The adult Daughter may help her Father to take his bath during his illness or infirmity. The Daughter's service in this respect are preferred to that of the Son but occasions on which such help can be rendered are however rare. The Daughter is usually married before the old age of the Father and she can ill afford to come from her Husband's house to attend to her Father.

Eating:

Though the Daughter does not come into effective interaction with the Father in the aspects of daily routine described above, an exception is to be found with respect to eating. The infant Daughter is fed by the Mother but after her infancy she usually eats from the same plate as the Father. She may continue to do it till she is about ten years old, if she is the favourable child of the Father. The grown up Daughter takes her food by herself. Neither the Father nor the Daughter waits for the other if any of them is late for his meals. The Daughter serves food to the Father as frequently as her Mother.
A part of the cost of feeding of the Daughter is borne by the Father. This is done even if she is able to earn. The purpose of doing this is to allow her to have a little saving of her own. If she is thrown out of employment then the entire cost of her feeding is borne by the Father. The Pano Father may become separate from his adult son if both do not pull on well with each other but on no account he can separate himself from his unmarried Daughter. If a married Daughter is divorced by her Husband or is forced to leave him because of bad treatment then the Father is duty bound to maintain her. The dower taken at the time of the Daughter's marriage enjoins a responsibility on him to maintain her. This means meeting the cost of her feeding at the minimum. In actual practice the Daughter earns her living, though she stays with the Father. In one case it was observed that the Daughter not only earned her living, she also maintained her old and infirm Father who was not capable of doing any work.

Sleeping:

The infant Daughter sleeps with the parents in the same bed. The grown up Daughter, even after attaining puberty sleeps in the same room with the Father, though in a separate bed. This is done due to lack of space. The Mother sleeps close to her thus working as a screen between Father and Daughter. Only in case of two share-cropping families, there is enough space for the Father to sleep in a separate room or on the outer varanda to allow his grown up Daughter to sleep in a separate room alone with the Mother. Providing sleeping accommodation for a married Daughter, on a visit from her Husband's house, presents a real problem for the Father and
the problem of accommodation of the divorced Daughter is also equally acute. The Father cannot be so free with the divorced Daughter as with the unmarried Daughter. She is therefore to be accommodated in the house of a neighbour who has a more spacious house but such accommodation is not usually available. The Father therefore tries to find accommodation somewhere else as best as he can - on the outer varanda, or the cowshed or in fair weathers even under a tree.

Cleaning:

The role of cleaning in the Pano household has been described earlier. During the infant stage the Pano girl does not wear any clothing and the rugs on which she sleeps are also few. These are washed by the Mother. The clothes are cleaned only when the Daughter defecates on them. If she urinates, the clothes are dried in the sun. The female child wears clothes earlier than the male child but she usually does not wear anything before attaining the age of seven. It is also usual for her to go about wearing scanty underclothing consisting only of a piece of cotton about two feet long and six inches wide. These are only washed in water and the Daughter learns to wash them as early as she is able to wear them. The clothes of the grown up Daughter are washed by herself. She also does not wash the clothes of her Father unless he is ill or infirm.

The Pano houses are cleaned more often than is done among the other castes. It is one of the primary duties of the Daughter to help the Mother and other female members of the family in cleaning the house. The daily cleaning of the house is also done by the Daughter, in cooperation with her Mother. The Father does
not come into any effective interaction with his Daughter as far as cleaning is concerned but as a disciplinarian he occasionally reprimands the Daughter for neglecting her duties.

**Toilet:**

Toilet among the Pano women is the briefest and the simplest among all the castes. The toilet requirements of the minor Daughter does not differ from the infant Son. A minor Daughter requires oil and turmeric as the main items of her toilet which are supplied by the Father or sometimes by the Mother. For the Daughter these toilet articles are required in a larger quantity. The minor Pano girl also combs her hair more frequently than the Pano boy. The Father who generally does not approve of his Son's combing the hair at any other time except after bath, allow the Daughter to do so at least twice a day. The girl however combs her hair elaborately only late in the afternoon after completing the days work.

A grown up Daughter may purchase such luxury items like toilet soaps, coconut oil, scented oil, face-cream or powder, vermilion and alata. These purchases the Daughter makes out of her own earnings. All the items of toilet mentioned above are not purchased at a time by the Daughter. Usually one item is purchased in a month and most of the purchases are made while the girl is on a visit to a fair or festival. The Father usually does not object to these expenses if they are not extravagant and if the Daughter contributes her due share for meeting the expenses of the household.

The effective interaction of the Daughter, regarding her toilet, is with her Mother. The interaction with the
Father in this respect is only indirect and casual.

Cooking:

The Pano Daughter is expected to learn cooking early. By the time a girl is ten years of age she is able to cook rice. After attaining that age she helps her Mother regularly and at any time may be required to undertake cooking independently when the Mother is ill or absent. Learning the art of cooking is not difficult on the part of the Daughter as the food eaten by the Pano is very simple and does not require any elaborate preparation. The Father is almost as good a cook as his Daughter and helps her in cooking if he has the leisure to do so and if the Daughter is not able to undertake the cooking by herself. The most effective and direct interaction of the Daughter in respect of cooking is of course with her Mother.

A divorced Daughter does more household work than the unmarried Daughter. This she does besides her occupational work. Inspite of the dower taken at the time of the Daughter's marriage, the divorced Daughter is treated as an extra burden on the household. If she does not cook regularly then she is severely reprimanded by the Father. The ensuing quarrels and disputes in many cases creates such an unpleasant situation that the Daughter is forced to return to her Husband's house if the slightest gesture is made from that side. This presents no formal difficulties as the divorces are not settled in courts of law and the Husband does not find it easy to marry for the second time.
The Daughter is expected to cook for her Father during his old age and infirmity but rarely she is able to do so as it is not possible on her part to come from her Husband's house discarding her duties as a house-wife and a working-class woman.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

The interaction between the Pano Father and the Daughter concerning the daily round of occupational activities is more effective than other castes. The infant Daughter has no interaction with the Father in the daily round of occupational activities. In this respect there is no difference between the infant Son and the infant Daughter. The grown up Daughter is almost an equal partner with the Father in the occupational activities. As soon as she attains the age of ten she begins to help the Father in his daily work and by the age of fourteen she is able to work independently. There is however a difference between the adult Son and the adult Daughter in this respect. At the initial stage all the contracts for the labour of the Son are made through the Father but the Son soon acquires the right to act on his own. In case of the Daughter the contracts are always made through the Father till her marriage. The Father must not only enter into contract on behalf of the Daughter, he also receives payment for her. This does not mean that the Father has absolute control over the income of the Daughter. In every case the major part of the income is handed over to her as soon as it is received. The amount which is handed over and the amount which is retained by the Father depends on the economic condition of the family and the personal relationship between Father
and Daughter. If the Father is not able to earn sufficiently so as to meet the expenses of the family then he retains a larger portion of the income of the Daughter. In two cases it was observed that the Fathers did not retain any part of the Daughters' earnings as they considered it undignified to do so.

In entering into contract on behalf of his daughter the Father does not act against her wishes. She is adequately consulted in the matter and if she has any serious objection to work with any employer then she is not forced to do so. The Daughter can terminate the contract by herself if she is ill-treated or ill-paid. She may also refuse initially to work for any person after the Father has made preliminary arrangements for entering into contract with him. Though she does not enter into contract on her own, her preference, nevertheless, plays the deciding role. The Father's role here is not that of one who has full authority over the labours or the remuneration of his Daughter. His role is that of a guardian who comes to rescue of the Daughter in case of difficulties. If the Daughter is not paid regularly or ill-treated by her employer than it is the Father who takes the main burden of settlement. He would go to the employer time and again to realise the arrear dues of his Daughter. He would also take proper action against the person who has insulted her or misbehaved with her.

As far as practicable Father and Daughter strive to work together. There are certain types of work which are prohibited for women. Ploughing is the most important among them. Carrying loads in a balance on the shoulders is also another important item of work prohibited for woman. Digging the earth is also not done
by the women. Crop-cutting, weeding and carrying loads on the head
are the most important outdoor work which provide scope for
interaction between Father and Daughter. Both work as separate
working hands but they tend to work under the same employee. In case
where that is not possible both Father and Daughter work under
different employers but each party avoids working under a person
who is completely disagreeable to the other. For example if the
Father has been ill-treated or his dues have not been paid by a
person the Daughter should not work with him. The Father also does
likewise. This is in contrast to the behaviour of the Sons who
are not so particular in avoiding the persons disagreeable to the
Father.

During the season which is lean working period
for the Daughter but heavy working period for the Father, the
interaction between them is indirect. She helps the Father by serving
him food in time and attending to his personal needs. During her
heavy working period also she serves food to the Father and
participates in cooking but she is not able to attend to his other
personal needs.

The Father-Daughter interaction among the
landowning-cum-share-cropping group is not effective, like the labour
class group, as they prohibit their Daughters' working in the fields.
The Daughter among this group only come into indirect interaction with
the Father. She serves food to him and attends to his personal
needs to enable him to undertake routine daily occupational
activities.
Performance of religious rites:

Performance of religious rites has been shown to be very insignificant among the Pano. The Panos perform certain occasional festivals which do not form a part of their daily routine. The performance of various "Osa" by the Daughter can be treated as a part of the daily routine because of their innumerable occurrence. Among the landowning group the Oases are performed in imitation of the Khandayats and the Brahmans. The Father purchases and procures the articles required for the Oases. The Daughter prepares the food and the special dishes required on the occasion. The rituals of the Osa are also performed by the Daughter.

Among the labourer group the Father and Daughter visit the houses of the Brahman and well to do families of other castes to ask for the cakes prepared on the occasion of each Osa. Father and Daughter visit different families separately. Part of the cakes so collected are taken on the spot and the rest is brought home to be partaken of by the rest of the family. If the Father is too infirm to move then it is the duty of the Daughter to collect sufficient cakes for him.

Recreational activities:

The recreational activities among the Pano have been described earlier. The outdoor games are played on special occasions, and indoor games are played more often, when there is leisure to do so. Usually a Pano girl has little change of playing indoor games. The main recreation for her is gossiping. The Father does not come into any direct interaction with the Daughter in any of the recreational activities. He rebukes the Daughter if she
neglects the household duties to participate in the recreational activities. Father and Daughter avoid each other at the time of gossiping and one does not gossip freely in the presence of the other.

Rearing children:

The rearing of the Daughter at the infant stage is the exclusive duty of the Mother in both the landowning-cum-share-cropping group and the labourer group of the Pano. The pattern of rearing the Son at the infant stage has been described earlier. The pattern of rearing the infant Daughter is not different from that of the infant Son. The rearing of the grown up Daughter shows a variation between the two groups of Pano. In the labour class group the Daughter is groomed up as a working woman to earn wages as soon as she is able to do so. Generally the Pano girl is considered fit to work for wages at the age of twelve or thirteen and by the time of sixteen she is an experienced working woman. She does her occupational labour in addition to doing the household work. Though the Pano Daughter is comparatively free from the authority of the Father in the performance of the daily routine, she nevertheless exercises enough authority over her to make her work. He plays the dual role of protecting the interests of the Daughter as a working woman as well as a guarantying the interests of her employer. If she neglects her work then complaint is lodged with the Father who takes due action against the Daughter and tries to make good any loss incurred by the employer on her account. If she is not paid properly he puts forth the demand on her behalf and realises the dues. He can also terminate the contract between the Daughter and her employer.
The role of the Pano Father as the guardian of the conduct of the Daughter is less conspicuous. Words which are considered too vulgar among other castes are freely employed towards his Daughter by the Pano Father. The Pano girl is also used to be joked by the grown up men and women of other castes - especially the Brahman. The mode of joking, most of which have an indirect hint to sex, are considered improper to be addressed to a grown up girl of another caste but addressed to a Pano girl they appear to be very natural and it is generally tolerated by the Father. The working class Pano Father is not also worried about the marriage of his Daughter. After the girl has attained the age of sixteen or seventeen marriage proposals come pouring in and the Father is able to insist on his own terms and conditions. The working class Father only reprimands his Daughter occasionally for her lapse of conduct. In this respect a marked difference of behaviour of the Pano from the Fathers among other castes, is to be observed. Among the castes like Brahman and Khandayat the Father adopts, a mild but firm tone of criticism towards his Daughter in guiding her in daily routine activities. This criticism is very frequent. Among the working class Pano on the other hand there is no criticism as such and lapse of conduct is only noticed by the Father if it is serious and then the Daughter is either rebuked severely in vulgar language or even beaten. The lapse of conduct on the part of the Daughter is only taken notice of when a complaint is lodged with the Father. He takes the initiative in finding out the misdeeds of the Daughter.
The rearing of the Daughter among the landowing-cum-share-cropping Pano presents a completely different picture. Its pattern very much approximates that of the landowing Khandayat. She is not allowed to work in the fields and go out as frequently as the girls of the other group. Her conduct is more strictly and no body is allowed to make unbecoming jokes to her. Her marriage is a burden on her Father as he has to find out a suitable groom for her from a class higher than him. Enough dowery is also arranged for her. In his new role as a landowner-cum-share-cropper and in his effort to emulate the Brahman and the Khandayat, the Pano Father of this group is very anxious about the "decent" marriage of his daughter. In spite of his efforts to emulate other castes he does not send his Daughter to the school. Sending of girls to the school is considered as a deviation from the norm of high-caste behaviour and the Pano Father of this group does not consider it fit to fall in line with this deviation from the norm.

It is the duty of the Pano Daughter in both groups to help the parents in bringing up the Brothers and Sisters younger to her. It is her main duty before she is grown up enough to undertake occupational work.

Daily income and expenditure:

Daily income and expenditure provide a scope for very effective interaction between the Father and Daughter. This interaction is more effective among the Pano of the labour class group than among the landowning-cum-share-cropping group.
Both Father and Daughter contributes towards the expenses of the household. The major burden of the expenditure is borne by the Father and meeting the expenditure of the household is also his primary responsibility. If there is financial shortage then it is the Father who worries about it. The Daughter may be called upon to give up a larger share of her income and she may even be perturbed by the problems of the household but she does not shoulder the main burden.

The wages earned by the Daughter may be collected by either the Father or by the Daughter herself. When he collects the Daughter's wages he keeps a part of it for the household expenses and hands over the rest to her. The amount which is to be retained by the Father and which is to be given back to the Daughter differs greatly among the households. It differs according to the needs of the household and the personality of the Father. In two cases, it was observed that it wounded the manly dignity of the Father to take any part of the income of his Daughter. They handed back the entire amount earned by their Daughters. In another case it was observed that the Father kept the entire income to himself which led to serious dispute between them. The portion which is handed over to the Daughter does not entirely belong to her for incurring personal expenses. She makes purchases for the whole household and only uses a small portion of it for her personal expenses, such as purchase of toilet materials or sarees. A part of her wages is also kept by the Father as reserve to be handed over to her at the time of her marriage.
Daily necessaries of the household are purchased either by the Father or the Daughter. The major purchases are made by the Father. Most of the purchases among the Pano of this group are however minor purchases for which the village shop is preferred to outside ones.

The Daughter is adequately consulted before taking any major decision about income or expenditure of the household. One of the major sources of income of the Pano is selling animals reared by them. Male calves are generally reared by them to be sold as bullocks. As Father and Daughter share the labour of bringing up the calf, it can not be sold without consulting the Daughter. The income derived from it are utilised for some capital expenditure like building a house. A part of it is also kept in reserve and given to the Daughter at the time of her marriage.

Among the landowning-cum-share-cropping group Father and Daughter do not come into effective interaction in the activities of daily income and expenditure. Both income and expenditure are controlled by the Father. The Daughter is sometimes required to make purchases from the village shop by taking money from the Father. All the expenses of the Daughter including personal expenses, are borne by the Father among this group.

**KEUTA**

After considering Father-Daughter relationship in daily routine among the Pano, similar relationship among the Keuta may now be taken up for discussion. In doing this, the economic and other data about the caste, described in the background chapter have been taken into consideration.
The position of the Daughter among the Keuta can in some way, be compared to that among the Khandyat, yet there is marked difference between the two. Among the Keuta there is no effort to emulate the Brahman and the difference between the landowning-cum-commercial group and the labourer group are more pronounced than the analogous difference among the Khandayat. The withdrawing nature of the Keuta gives an angularity to the Father-Daughter relationship among them.

With the above general note we may now proceed to discuss the Father-Daughter interaction in daily routine among the Keuta.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

This aspect of daily routine is strongly influenced by the economic conditions of the household. The persons belonging to the landowning-cum-trading group wash their face and clean their teeth sitting on the front veranda of their houses. It is the duty of the grownup Daughter to place a pot of water, a twig and a ball of "Gudakhu" for the Father in the morning. She does not wash her face and clean her teeth sitting on the front veranda, especially when the Father is engaged in the same act, as it is considered indecent to do so. The twig is procured either by the Father or the Daughter. The Daughter among this group is not allowed to work in the fields or to go to the forest to fetch firewood but she does not find it difficult to procure the twigs as they are grown in the garden adjoining the house. Among the labourer group the Father and the grown up Daughter have no pattern of interaction regarding this item of daily routine. This is done either while
going to the fields or returning from work. While preparing parched rice the Keutas wash their face and clean their teeth very early in the morning but in this the Daughter and Father do not come into any interaction. However in this group the infant Daughter is helped by the Father more often than is done among the other castes. The work cycle of the Keuta household enjoins upon the Keuta male to undertake very often such duties which are performed by the Wife among other castes. This has been described in the earlier chapter.

The Daughter among the landowning-cum-trading group is expected to help her Father in cleaning his teeth and washing his face, during his old age and infirmity. If she is married at that time then she comes on a visit to her Father's house and the period she can afford to stay with him is much longer than can be afforded among other castes. Her Husband's family also does not object to it, as they expect similar behaviour from their own Daughters. Another reason why they do not object is that the old man before his death personally bequeaths a part of his property especially hoarded money and gold to his progeny. A child who is not near his Father during his death does not receive a share. This facilitates the Daughter's frequent visit to her Father's house and to stay for considerably long periods during each visit. As against this the Daughter among the working class Keuta cannot afford to visit her Father during his illness or infirmity. The heavy nature of the duty of this group of Keuta women, both inside and outside the house, has been described before. This allows little time to her to visit her Father. Excepting one or two visits during the first years of marriage the Daughter in this group does not usually visit her Father.
Defecation:

The self-sufficiency of the Keuta in use of the fields for defecation has been described earlier. The landowning-cum-trading group especially have specified spots for defecation in their kitchen garden. The labouring group goes to the fields adjoining their houses.

It is the duty of the Mother to teach the Daughter proper behaviour concerning defecation. The Father may sometimes take the minor Daughter to the fields for defecation and wash her afterwards but it is the primary duty of the Mother to do so. The Father only comes into indirect interaction with the Daughter concerning defecation. He may select the spot in the garden or the field where the women of the family including the Daughter would defecate. In his effort to make the spot more secluded he plants trees around the spot. Except such indirect interaction with the Daughter the Father has no scope for direct interaction with his grown-up Daughter. During old age or infirmity the Daughter among the landowning-cum-trading group are very often by the side of her Father to help him in the act of defecation. The services of the Daughter here are preferred to that of the Son. The old man is taken either to the nearby garden or is made to defecate in the courtyard and the required cleaning is done by the Daughter. In the other group of Keuta the Father expects such services only from the unmarried Daughter but never from the married Daughter.
Bathing:

The effort at self sufficiency among the land-trading group of Keuta also finds expression in their use of water-sources for taking bath. The Keuta Father of this group wants that his Daughter should not take bath at public places "exposed" to the gaze of others. Every landowing family has a small tank of its own in the garden. This may be owned jointly by more than one family. Usually Brothers and their families continue to use the same tank after separation.

The infant Daughter is bathed by her Mother. Like other castes, the massaging of the infant with oil and turmeric paste is considered to be a sufficient substitute for bath among the Keuta. The minor Daughter is some-times bathed by the Father if he has the requisite leisure. He has no interaction with the grown up Daughter except in the indirect manner described above. Among the labourer group there is also no interaction between the grown up Daughter and the Father. Both take their bath according to their convenience. The infant Daughter among this group of Keuta is bathed more frequently by the Father than among the other group. This is because of the work cycle of the Husband and Wife among this group of Keuta male undertake such work in the household, includng the bathing of the Daughter, which is generally done by the Wife among other castes.

Old and infirm people are seldom bathed. It is the recognised duty of the Daughter to help her old and infirm Father to take his bath whenever he prefers to do so. If she is married she may come from her Husband's house to help the Father in bathing,
like other items of daily routine.

Eating:

It is considered one of the primary duties of the Father to provide his Daughter with food among both the groups of Keuta. Among the landowing-trading group of Keuta the pattern of interaction is almost the same as among the landowing Khandayat. The only difference between Khandayat and the Keuta is that among the latter the eating arrangements are more elaborate. The Daughter has to serve food to the Father regularly. The Grown up Daughter usually eats after her Father has taken meals but she is not made to wait if he is unusually late. The infant Daughter is fed by the Mother. It is one of the principles in Keuta households that the Daughter should be fed more sumptuously than the Son. It is held that the Daughter should eat to her heart's content in her Father's house as she would not be able to do so in her Husband's household.

Among the labourer group the infant Daughter is fed more frequently by the Father. The interaction between the grown up Daughter and the Father is less among this group. Father and Daughter eat according to their own convenience helping themselves to whatever food is available in the house. The work pattern of the household responsible for this type of behaviour has been described earlier.

The old and infirm Father is helped by the Daughter to take his food among the landowing Keuta. It is noteworthy here that if he is not fed properly by his Sons then the Daughter invites him to her house to attend on him properly. This is a rare occurrence among others and among the labour class Keuta not a single
case has been reported when the Father has been taken to the Daughter's house during his old age and infirmity.

Sleeping:

It has been mentioned earlier that the availability of sleeping space largely influences the sleeping habits of the people. Enough sleeping space is available among the landowing group of Keuta. It has therefore possible for them to provide a separate room for the Daughter. The grown up Daughter never sleeps in the same room as the Father but the minor Daughter may sometimes do so. Lack of space among the other group requires considerable adjustments in sleeping arrangements. The Father often sleeps in the corridors or in the shed where the husking lever is installed. The separation of the Son immediately after his marriage somewhat lesson the pressure on the sleeping space in the house.

Cleaning:

The daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by the women among the landowing group of Keuta. The utensils are also cleaned by them. The Father and Daughter dont enter into effective interaction with regard to cleaning among this group. Among the labourer group the cleaning of the house is a joint work of men and women. Father and Daughter co-operates with each other in the cleaning operations. The Father usually undertakes the heavier duties in the periodical cleaning. The daily cleaning is done by the Daughter with the help of her Mother. Father and Daughter very often wash their own utensils after eating. The cooking pots are either washed by the Daughter or her Mother.
Occasionally the Father may wash the cooking pots if he takes his meal last and if the Daughter and her Mother are out on occupational work.

Toilet:

Among the landowing group the toilet of the Daughter features as an important item in the daily routine. It has been mentioned earlier that the toilet of the women among the landowing group of Keuta is as elaborate as the Brahmans of the well to do families. The only difference is that the Keuta woman is more conservative in using the items of toilet. Unlike the Brahman woman she does not use such modern items as soap or facepowder but her use of oil, turmeric paste, kajal and alata is more plentiful than the Brahman both in quality and quantity. It is the duty of the Father to provide his Daughter with a sufficient quantity of these toilet materials. It is also his duty to make the Daughter use these toilet materials properly. This is the Father does through his Wife. Beyond this he has no direct interaction with his grown up Daughter. The Daughter on the other hand has very little to do with the Father's toilet. She may fetches the massaging oil for her Father at the time of bath but does not actually massage him.

Among the labourer class group the toilet is also elaborate according to the standards of the working class people of other castes. The degree of interaction between the Father and the Daughter is however much less than the other group. The Daughter in this group very often purchases her toilet materials with the help of her Mother.
Cooking:

It has been already mentioned that the cooking among the Keuta, especially among the landowning group is elaborate according to the standards prevailing in the village. In this respect the landowning Keuta stands only next to the Brahman. Cooking provides the highest degree of interaction between Daughter and Mother but the degree of interaction of the Father with his Daughter in this respect is very low. It is also, only, indirect. A Keuta Father of the landowning group is proud of his Daughter's cooking accomplishment. She participates fully in the cooking activities of the household. On ordinary days she prepares the food for her Father with the help of her Mother and on special occasions she prepares the special dishes. Especially on the occasion of the Osas she has to compete with the Daughters of other families in preparing the various cakes.

The cooking of the labour class Keuta is much less elaborate even though their earning is comparatively higher to the labour class groups from other castes. The Father-Daughter interaction here is however more effective than among the other group. Both Father and Daughter co-operate with each other (and of course with other members of the family) in doing the cooking. The Father may even undertake the entire work of cooking when the Daughter and her Mother are out on occupational work. While among former group the materials required for cooking are procured or purchased by the Father among the latter group these are mostly purchased by the Daughter with the help of the Mother.
Daily round of Occupational activities:

The daily round of occupational activities provides little scope for interaction between Father and Daughter among the landowning-trading group of Keuta. Among this group the Daughter is not allowed to undertake any occupational activities. She is only trained up for her future role as housewife in her Husband's household. She comes into very slight and indirect interaction with the Father concerning the occupational activities. She prepares the food and serves it to the Father in time to enable him to undertake his daily round of occupational activities. She may attend further to the personal needs of the Father. In all this, however, her interaction with the Father is both slight and indirect.

A completely different pattern of relationship emerges when the activities of the labouring, share-cropping and parched rice preparing group of Keuta are taken into consideration. Among this group the Daughter is not only useful as the Son, in some respects she is even more helpful to Father. In describing the Husband-Wife relationship among the Keuta, the essential role of the women play in the preparation of parched rice has been stated earlier. Preparation of parched rice is lucrative business among this group and because of that the role of the Wife among them has been shown to be very important. The role of the Daughter is also important for exactly for the reason. She can help her Father in the preparation of parched rice in the same manner like her Mother. She seasons the paddy and takes full part in husking to convert it to parched rice. If the Father has taken sufficient land for share
cropping and if he is over-worked in doing agricultural labour then the Daughter in co-operation with the Mother may undertake the entire responsibility of preparing parched rice and also selling it to the customers. As a matter of fact she takes most of the orders and brings the advance paddy from the clients to supply parched rice. After preparation of the parched rice she also visits the clients' houses to deliver the same. The major role in the preparation of parched rice is therefore played by the Daughter in most cases and the role of the Father in these cases is only a secondary one as far as the labour is concerned. The Father's role becomes important only when claims are to be asserted against disputing customers. The Daughter then recedes to the background and Father plays the dominant role.

Father and Daughter also co-operate in the agricultural operations. The pattern of interaction here is also different from the labourer group of Khandayat as this group of Keuta have also adopted the profession of share-cropping. The Daughter therefore takes as much interest in the cultivation of the land as her Father and both share the labours of sowing, weeding and crop-cutting. The ploughing is entirely done by the Father as women are prohibited from doing it.

Performance of religious rites:

It has been mentioned earlier that the religious rites performed among the Keuta can be divided into two aspects. First the rites performed by Keuta themselves and second those performed by the Brahman for them. The rites performed by the Keutas themselves, constitute the various Osas performed by the
women of the household and mainly managed by them. Among the landowing-trading group the numerous Osas are performed regularly and the Daughter is encouraged by the Father to perform them regularly. It is considered as a part of the training for her future role as housewife in her Husband's family.

It is the duty of the Father to supply all the articles required for a particular "Osa" to his Daughter. The Osa among the landowing-trading Keuta are held almost as elaborately as among the Brahman. The performance of the numerous Osa can therefore be treated as a part of the daily routine among the woman. Besides providing the Daughter with the necessary articles the Father has no further effective interaction with her among the landowing-trading group. The most effective interaction of the Daughter in this respect is with her Mother. The Daughter among this group is also expected to sweep the floor of the house where the Bhagabhatgadi is kept but it is not her exclusive duty.

Though there is a high degree of interaction between Father and Daughter regarding other household activities, among the labourer group, there is little interaction between them in the performance of "Osa". Among this group the Osas are also not held as elaborately as among the landowing group. The effective interaction of the Daughter in this sphere is with her Mother.

The performance of the horse worship among the Keuta, which is their chief festival, is essentially a function for the males. The wooden horse, before it is taken out for worship, is worshipped by the women of the house. It is the duty of the Daughter to worship it, along with other women, but there is no specific
pattern of interaction between the Father and the Daughter in this respect.

Recreational activities:

The recreational activities among the young girls among both the groups of Keuta mainly constitute gossiping, frequent playing of the game of cards, and the occasional playing of the outdoor games of "Puchi" or swing on special occasions. In all these the Father and Daughter do not come into any effective interaction among both the groups of Keuta. The Father and Daughter avoid each other while gossiping. They also do not play any games together.

Rearing of children:

Among the landowing group there is no difference in bringing up the infant Son and infant Daughter. The grown up Daughter on the contrary is brought up in a quite different manner. The pattern here is almost comparable to the pattern prevalent among the Brahman and is similar to that of the landowing Khandayat. The withdrawing nature of this group of Keuta makes them restrict the scope of the Daughter's mixing with girls from other castes. The Keuta girl therefore develops intra-family relationship more strongly than the girls from other castes. It is one of the recognised duties of the Father among the landowing group of the Keuta to impose the restrictions on his Daughter in this respect.

The pattern of interaction between Father and Daughter among the labourer group of Keuta widely varies from the other group. Among this group of Keuta the Daughter is not only allowed to mix with the girls of other castes, she is also expected.
to come into close contact with the males from other castes (excepting the Pano and Dhoba who are considered as untouchables by the Keutas) in course of her receiving orders and supplying parched rice.

Attending to the younger Brothers and Sisters is one of the recognised duties of the Daughter among both the groups of Keuta but it is a very regular item in the daily routine of the Daughter in the labourer group because of the daily cycle of work of the parents in the group. The Daughter among this group is expected to take care of her younger Brothers and Sisters throughout the day and also in the night. She is also expected to feed them, to bathe and clean them after defecation. As a matter of fact she is expected to do every thing which ordinarily a Mother should do. Among no other caste the Daughter is expected to play such a significant role in the rearing of the younger children of the household. The Daughter does this from an early age till she is about eleven or twelve years old. After attaining the age of twelve her services are utilised for occupational activities especially in the preparation of parched rice. It is the duty of the Father in this group to make the Daughter attend to her duties in respect of rearing children.

The Father among the landowing group has absolute authority over his Daughter which he exercises in the daily routine. This authority is seen in function when the Father imposes upon the Daughter not to mix with boys or girls from other castes. It is also the duty of the Father to regulate the conduct of the Daughter in her routine activities, though here she has more effective interaction with her Mother. The duties of the Father and the
Mother differ in the respect. The Mother's role is that of a trainer while the Father's role is that of disciplinarian. The Mother teaches the Daughter positive behaviour from while the Father takes her to task for deviation from that behaviour. The attitude of the Father among the landowning group of Keuta is both mild and firm. A Father in this group does not use slang language towards his Daughter. A small child may be beaten occasionally by the Father but a grown up girl is treated with dignity. It is considered as very revolting if a grown up girl is beaten by her Father.

The Daughter enjoys comparatively more freedom, among the labourer group of Keuta, inspite of her heavy work schedule. The amount of work expected of her is exacting but she has the freedom of choosing her own methods and her conduct in the daily routine is comparatively free from paternal interference.

The Father in both the groups has the exclusive right of giving the Daughter away in marriage. In the labourer group the relationship completely breaks with the marriage of the Daughter. A divorced Daughter of course returns to her Father and stay with him still she is married again. Among the landowing group the relationship in daily routine is terminated after the Daughter's marriage but a strong bond of relationship is maintained by both the parties.

**Daily Income and expenditure:**

Among the landowing-cum-trading group the Daughter has no say in the daily income and expenditure of the household. It is the exclusive domain of her Father and to some
extent of her Brothers. The Daughter among this group, however, is allowed to have a fund of her own which is considered as her personal money. This fund is raised by donations from the Father from time to time. Donations on special occasions are also given by other relatives especially the maternal uncle of the Daughter. These donations are given on different Osas and festivals like Dol Yatra or Dashara. The Daughter also receives a cash present during the horse worship. This fund is sometimes utilised by the Father for purpose of trade or lent out on interest. The accounts for this are then separately maintained and all the profit and the interest go to the credit of the Daughter. This amount is handed over to her at the time of marriage and she continues to enjoy it as her personal money in her Husband's house.

The pattern of interaction between the Father and the grownup Daughter among the labour class Kuetia widely varies from the landowning group. The Daughter as an earning member of the family has an effective voice in the regulation of the daily income and expenditure of the household among the former. Most of the services of the Daughter are contributed towards the co-operative occupational work of the household. In the preparation of parched rice she contributes enough labour but the specific amount of work done by her or any other member is not recognisable. She cannot claim any part of the income as exclusively her own as can be claimed in case of wage-earning. She, therefore, can incur household expenditure from the income within reasonable limits. She can also spend small sums of money for such expenses which are considered as personal. Any expenditure which is considered as unreasonable leads
to arguments between Father and Daughter, which sometimes develops into quarrels. The Daughter like those of the other group, is allowed to keep a reserve fund of her own which is considered as her exclusively property. She takes this amount with her when she is married and in the house of her Husband she enjoys full authority over this fund.

Besides participating in the preparation of parched rice the Daughter in this group also earns wages as a day labour. She has a greater claim on her earnings from daily wages than from the co-operative activity of preparation of parched rice. She cannot claim the entire amount earned by her wages and has to contribute the major portion for the household expenses but she can spend a larger sum from this for her personal expenses. The Father also has his income as an wage earner. In case where he has some land or cultivates land on share cropping basis - the income derived out of it is under his exclusive charge. Here also the major portion of income is spent to meet the household expenses. On the whole the Daughter has a partial responsibility for meeting the expenses of the household whereas the responsibility of the Father is more fundamental. Though an earning member of the family the Daughter is not expected to bother about the financial problems of the household. She is not also expected to worry about the contingent expenditure which the family may have to meet from time to time. She is only expected to contribute a part of her income. The exact amount of this share varies on the basis of the personal relationship between Father and Daughter. The contribution of the Daughter is usually not paid in cash. Instead of surrendering cash she purchases the household requirements. On the whole among this group of Keuta
the Daughter plays an important and yet a secondary role in the Father-Daughter relationship as it touches routine expenditure and income.

**D H O B A**

Among the Dhoba the Daughter labours hard and contributes towards the co-operative venture of the household. The work is done in common and the specific contribution of either the Daughter or the Father is not discriminable. The earnings of either are not also earmarked as the annual payments are made to the family as a whole and not to the individual members of the family. The annual payment is received by the Father on behalf of the entire family. This pattern of relationships has certain obvious similarities with that of the labour class Keuta. A difference in the pattern of Father-Daughter relationship, however, is to be observed in case of the Dhoba. The Dhoba Father has a larger control over the income of the family, wherein the income of the Daughter is included. In general the Dhoba Father also exercises a greater authority over his Daughter than is done among the Keuta or any other caste in the village. With this general note, the Father Daughter relationship among the Dhoba as it touches the specific items of daily routine may be taken into consideration.

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 works i.e., washing clothes. On rare occasions the Dhoba Father may wash his face and clean his teeth sitting on the outer corridor of the house.
and drawing water from a metal pot. On these occasions it is the duty of the Daughter to serve water and the twig to the Father but it is not her exclusive duty. The Daughter shares this responsibility with her Mother. As far as the infant Daughter is concerned the washing of her face and cleaning of her teeth is done by the Mother and the Father has nothing to do with this.

Unlike the other castes the Daughter is not expected to come from her Husband's house to help her Father, in the performance of daily routine, during his old age and infirmity. The occupational duties of the Dhoba woman allows very little time to her to any contact with her Father. Her relationship with the Father therefore completely after her marriage.

Defecation:

The residence of the Dhoba being situated at the outskirts of the village, defecation does not present any problem to them. The fields are adjacent to the house and the water sources are also very near. The daily round of occupational activities do not prevent the Dhoba from defecation at any time of the day. There is no effective interaction between Father and Daughter concerning this item of daily routine.

Bathing:

Bathing also presents no problems for the Dhoba as his house is situated very near to the water sources and major part of the day is spent by the side of water. The Dhoba Father may admonish his minor Daughter, sometimes for indulging too much in the water so as to catch cold. The bathing requirements are purchased in common and it is one of the duties of the Father
to procure them, but it is not his exclusive duty as these can be purchased by any body in the household. Bathing provides no scope for effective interaction between Father and Daughter.

Eating:

The image of the Father as the provider of bread for the Daughter is somewhat impaired in case of the Dhoba as among this caste the women earn as much and work as hard as the males. The Father is the provider of bread for the minor Daughter but here the role of the mother is as much conspicuous. In spite of the hard and useful occupational work done by the Daughter, the Father-Daughter relationship among the Dhoba shows clearly the dominant role of the Father. The Daughter cooperates with the Mother in cooking and serving the food. The Dhoba Father always expects to be served with food either by the Daughter or by her Mother. As a principle he does not help himself to food. The Daughter always takes food latter than the Father except when he is away and is expected to be very late. Such contingencies among the Dhoba are very rare because of their work schedule.

It has been described earlier that the food taken among the Dhoba is as simple as it is substantial. If there is shortage of any item then the Daughter would rather forgo it to serve it in sufficient quantity to the Father. The Daughter is also expected to eat whatever is left in the plate of the Father. The minor Daughter sometimes eats with the Father. The grown up Daughter does not eat with or by the side of the Father. Even married Daughters in course of their rare visits to their Father's house maintain such distance from him.
Sleeping:

The infant Daughter sometimes sleeps with the Father. The grown up Daughter is sometimes required to spread the bed of her Father but it is neither her exclusive duty nor there is any patterned relationship concerning this activity. It has been seen among other castes that due to lack of sleeping space, the Father makes adjustments to allow the adult Daughter to sleep with her Mother. It is otherwise with the Dhoba. Here the Daughter makes adjustments to allow the Father to sleep with the Mother. The adult Daughter may sleep in the varanda or in a shed. She is however not permitted to sleep on the outer corridors of the house.

Cleaning:

As mentioned before, cleaning activities among the Dhoba can be divided into two categories - namely the cleaning of clothes; and the cleaning which is done as routine household work. The first activity would be considered under the head of "Daily round of occupational activities". Here only the routine household cleaning has been taken into consideration.

The daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by the Women. The cleaning of the utensils is also done by the women of the house. When the women of the house are unable to do this the services of other relatives from the village are called for. The male adults of the household do not lend a helping hand in these activities due to the nature of their professional calling and the status of women in Dhoba society. As such there is no scope for father-Daughter relationship in the household cleaning activities.
The clothing of the household are washed along with the washing of the other people's clothes. Though the Dhoba Father does not hesitate to wash the clothing of the women from the client's household, he nevertheless, does not wash the clothes of his own Daughter. He also does not touch the clothes of the Daughter worn by her during the period of menstruation. It is the duty of the Daughter to cooperate with her Mother in the cleaning activities of the household. The Father's duty in this respect is confined to exercising his authority over the Daughter to help her Mother properly.

Toilet:

The toilet of the minor Daughter is not different from that of the minor Son among the Dhoba. The grown up Daughter uses such toilet items as are commonly used by the girls among the Khandayat and the Keuta. Generally turmeric paste, oil alta, kajal and vermilion are used by the girls. The Dhoba Father because of his adherence to the traditional caste occupation, is conservative in this respect and does not allow his Daughters to use modern items of toilet such as toilet soap and facecrame or powder. The items of toilet like oil and turmeric are purchased by any member of the family including the Father. Other items like vermilion and alta are purchased by the Women themselves. Unlike the landowing Keuta and Khandayat the Father is indifferent towards the toilet of his Daughter. There is no scope for effective interaction between the Father and Daughter as far as daily toilet of the Daughter is concerned. The toilet of the Father also does not provide a scope for interaction between Father and Daughter.
Cooking:

Cooking among Dhoba is exclusively the duty of the women. The Dhoba partially depends on his Wife and partially on his Daughter for cooking and in case of their inability; the help of other females relatives from the village is sought. It is one of the primary duties of the Daughter to cook the food of her Father. This duty she discharges with the help of her Mother. She is expected to cook and serve food to the Father to suit his occupational work. In the afternoon cooking is completed by 12.0'clock and in the evening between 6 and 7 O'clock. Food among Dhoba is generally taken hot. Beyond preparing and serving the food in time the Daughter has no further relationship with the Father as far as cooking is concerned. The materials required for cooking are purchased or procured by all the members of the family including the Father and the Daughter. It is however the duty of the male members to procure wood from the forest for fuel. Procuring fuel is therefore one of the primary duties of the Father.

Daily round of occupational activities:

As has been mentioned earlier the Dhoba are the only caste in the village who pursue the traditional caste occupation i.e., washing clothes as their chief profession. Washing of clothes is the major occupation of the Dhoba both from the point of view of the time spent on and the income derived from it. The Daughter among the Dhoba works almost equally with the Father. The Father-Daughter reaction concerning the daily round of occupational activities, therefore, has a special significance for the Dhoba. The Daughter-Father interaction among the Dhoba concerning the daily round of
occupational activities differs from that among the Khandayat and the Pano, and is comparable to the labourer group of Keuta in some way. Among the working class group of Pano and Khandayat the Daughter has an independent income. She is employed as an individual and paid as an individual. Among the Dhoba the Daughter participates in the co-operative activities of the Family. Her contribution in labour is equal to the male members of the family but she has no independent status as a labourer. She is neither employed nor paid as an individual. The entire family is paid annually for their labour by the clients. An uniform rate is fixed for all the clients for their labour. The Father collects the dues and the income so derived is spent on the whole family and the expenses which are considered entirely personal are also met out of it. Even then the absolutely dominant role of the Father over the Daughter in this respect cannot be undermined.

The Dhoba Daughter, like the Dhoba Wife, attends to the occupational work in addition to her household duties. Thus she has to play a dual role of a fullfledged worker as well as fullfledged housewife. In neither capacity she has to do less work because of the other work she has to do. She cannot do less work in the occupational sphere because of her household duties and she cannot also curtail the household work because of the hard labour she has to do in connection with occupational work. This makes the Dhoba Daughter one of the most hard-working women among all the castes. The Dhoba Daughter is especially helpful to her Father in fetching the clothes of the women and the clothing worn at the time of menstruation are exclusively fetched by her. The Father cannot fetch these
clothes firstly because it is taboo for him to do so and secondly because women feel shy to give their menstruation clothes to a male. After being brought from the clients' house these clothes can be washed either by the Daughter or the Father.

The Dhoba Daughter learns to wash clothes early. Before she is nine she would start washing and is quite accomplished in this work by the time she is about twelve. Except fetching menstrual clothing from the house of the clients she shares the labours of washing clothes equally with the Father. She boils, the clothes with caustic soda and soap, beats, washes and dries them in the sun and brings them home after they are dried. Only the wood, used as fuel for boiling clothes in hot water, is procured by the Father from the forest.

The capacity to wash and to work hard over it, is considered as the best accomplishment of the Daughter. The qualities of a Daughter as a prospective bride are considered more on the basis of her occupational ability than on personal appearance. The Father therefore considers the Daughter's work not only as a domestic help but also rigorous method of training for her future role as housewife in her Husband's household.

Performance of religious rites:

It has been observed earlier that the fewest rituals are held among the Dhoba compared to other castes. On the occasion of every Osa the Dhoba women collect cakes from the house of their clients and take a holiday from cooking. It is one of the minor duties of the Dhoba Daughter to collect enough cakes for her
Father on the occasion of an Osa. The Dhoba Daughter herself is not clever in preparing these cakes as she always depends on the clients to procure them. There are no religious rites performed among the Dhoba which can be considered as a part of their daily routine. There is therefore no scope for interaction between Father and Daughter in this item of daily routine.

Recreational activities:

The field of recreational activities among the Dhoba is severely restricted. The Dhoba population is small and do not provide a to all groups for recreational activities within the caste. The Dhoba girl cannot play games with the girls of any other caste as she is treated as an untouchable by the castes like Brahman Khandayat, Gudia, Budai and Keuta. The remaining caste of Pano on their turn are treated as untouchables by the Dhoba. This does not allow the Dhoba male or female to indulge in indoor or outdoor games very often. Gossiping is therefore the only recreation for them. This does not provide any scope for effective interaction between the Father and Daughter among them. At the time of gossiping Father and Daughter avoid each other.

Rearing children:

In the Dhoba household almost the entire burden of rearing children falls upon the Mother. The Father's role is that of a unsystematic disciplinarian. He has therefore almost nothing to do with the bringing of the infant Daughter. It is one of the recognised duties of the Daughter to look after her younger Brothers and sisters while the parents are working, and it is the duty of the Father to make her perform this task regularly. It may be recalled th
that this is the duty of the Daughter among almost all the castes - but only a casual duty. Among the Dhoba this is a strict duty which has to be performed by the Daughter to allow the parents to work. It is therefore quite a job for the Father to make the Daughter perform this duty regularly.

The interaction between Father and Daughter in rearing the Daughter is mainly shaped by the demands of the professional activities of the caste. From an early age the Dhoba Daughter is 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 Daughter as well as her task-master. In teaching the professional trade to the Daughter, the Father plays a more significant role than the Mother and this is the only instance among the castes of the village where the Father plays a more significant role than the Mother for training her up in the caste profession.

The Dhoba girl has no scope to indulge in the recreational activities because the residential isolation as well as caste isolation of the Dhoba. This makes the task of the Father to break-in his Daughter into the professional trade comparatively easier.

Daily income and expenditure:

The Daughter's contribution towards daily income among the Dhoba is very substantial and is hardly less than the contribution of the Father. She washes the clothes, dries them and takes them to the house of the clients. She also collects the clothes from the clients' houses for cleaning. Very often she also collects the annual and the special dues from the clients. In spite
of this she has no control over the income of the household. The
dues she collects are promptly handedover to the Father. Except
allowing the Daughter to have a small reserve of her own, the Father
does not shed any part of the income. The Daughter has no means to
purchase her personal requirements such as clothes. Likewise she has
no control over the daily expenditure of the household though she is
expected to make purchases from the village market. The Father
determines the size of daily expenditure and also chooses the specific
items to be included in the daily expenditure.

G U D I A

In considering Father-Daughter relationship
among the Gudia, it may be called that while considering Husband-Wife
and Father-Son relationship the behaviour of the Gudia was found to be
almost identical with that of the Khandayat. In considering the
Father-Daughter relationship it has also been established that the
pattern of interaction is again identical with that of the Khandayat.
It is not a chance of similarity. Rather the behaviour here as in
other cases are patterned after that of the Khandayat as a partly
conscious and partly unintentional process. The Khandayat because
of their numerical superiority, and their high caste status among
the non-Brahman commons respect from all castes of analogous status.
This has been further accentuated by the economic prosperity of
certain leading families among them who have aspired for leadership.
The behaviour pattern in the various aspects of daily routine are
stated below indicating the similarity and difference from that of
the Khandayat.
Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Defecation:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Bathing:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Eating:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Sleeping:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Cleaning:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Toilet:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Cooking:

No difference from the Khandayat.

Daily round of occupational activities:

It has been mentioned earlier that the traditional caste occupation of the Gudia is preparation of sweetmeats and that this is not only a minor profession for them, it is also a casual profession. The major occupation of the Gudia is agriculture. The Father-Daughter interaction as far as agricultural activities are concerned, is not different from that of the Khandayat. The preparation of sweetmeats synchronises with the observance of festivals.
Father and Daughter therefore co-operates with each other in preparing sweetmeats. The work is done in a festive mood. On the night preceding the festival day Father and Daughter keep awake, working throughout the night to complete the preparation of sweetmeats. The interaction is certainly not confined to Father and Daughter alone as other members of the family also participate in this work. No specific aspect of the preparation of sweetmeats is regarded as the specific responsibility of either Father or Daughter. The selling of the sweetmeats is the responsibility of the Father and other adult males of the house. The elderly women members of the house, especially the Daughter's Mother also disposes of the sweetmeats in sale. The Daughter has however practically little to do in the selling of the sweetmeats. The preparation of fried rice is a more regular aspect of daily routine and the role of the Daughter here is also more significant. Her main interaction in this respect is however with her Mother.

Performance of religious rites:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.

Recreational activities:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.

Rearing of children:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.

Daily income and expenditure:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.
BADHEI

The position of the Badhei is comparable to that of the Gudia in the sense that both of them are similar to the Khandayat, as far as routine behaviour is concerned. The various aspects of daily routine are stated below indicating the similarities and differences of behaviour, from Khandayat.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Defecation:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Bathing:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Eating:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Sleeping:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Cleaning:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.
Toilet:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Cooking:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The major occupation of the Badhei is carpentry which is their traditional caste occupation. This they pursue along with agriculture. The Daughter has no direct relationship with the Father in either agriculture or carpentry. It has been observed there is some scope for interaction for the Father and Daughter among the labour class Khandayat as far as agricultural activities are concerned. The status of Badhei is comparable to the upper class Khandayat i.e., the landowning and share-cropping group among them. There is therefore no direct interaction of the Father with the Daughter in the agricultural activities. Carpentry is essentially an activity for the males. Here also there is no scope for direct interaction between Father and Daughter.

Performance of religious rites:

The worship of the carpentry tool is a speciality of the Badhei which naturally is not found among Khandayat or other castes. As this is done only twice a year - during the Holi and Dasahara festivals it has neither significance for daily routine nor it can be considered independently from the connected festivals. In other aspects of performance of religious rites, there is no
difference between Badhei and Khandayat.

Rearing children:

No difference of behaviour from Khandayat.

Recreational activities:

No difference of behaviour from Khandayat.

Daily income and expenditure:

No difference from Khandayat.