CHAPTER SEVEN

MOTHER—SON.
In this chapter the relationship between Mother and Son in the various situations of daily routine have been taken into consideration. Mother-Son relationship differs from the Father-Son relationship and other relationships described so far. These differences should be borne in mind for a proper appreciation of the Mother-Son relationship among the different castes in the village.

Mother-Son relationship is crucially affected by the status of women prevailing in a particular caste. The position of the Mother in the family is determined by the status accorded to women in the relative castes. Her position is also determined by the personality factors - such as the personality of the Mother herself and her personal relationship with her Son is mainly determined by her relationship with her Husband. This is true of all the castes though in a varied degree.

One thing is noteworthy here. It has been observed earlier that the males of different castes and of the different classes within a particular caste, differ among themselves more sharply in comparison with the females. This works for a comparative uniformity in Mother-Son relationship among different castes and classes, as contrasted with the Father-Son relationship. Taken by itself there are of course observable differences, both inter-caste and intra-caste, in the pattern of Mother-Son relationship. It is also noteworthy that like the Father-Son relationship, Mother-Son relationship undergoes sharp changes with the advance of age. The marriage of the Son results in a sharp change in the relationship between Mother and Son and in this respect the break is sharper than in the case of Father and Son.
With the above generalised description to serve as the background the Mother-Son relationship as exhibited in the daily routine among different castes may now be taken into consideration.

**BRAHMAN**

The Mother-Son relationship among the Brahman differs from other castes in the village, though compared to the Father-Son relationship these differences would appear to be somewhat narrower. Part of the differences is due to the castestatus of the Brahman. The Brahmans of the village share the attributes of high status in a general manner with the Brahmans anywhere in the country. Apart from this, the historical development of the village and the specific educational and economic conditions prevailing therein do also affect the Mother-Son relationship in the village among the Brahman. While the caste-status is responsible for inter-caste differences, the educational and economic factors are responsible for the intra-caste differences.

It has already been observed that the Brahman Father has a greater responsibility for the socialisation of his Son than the Fathers in other castes. This is not just on abstract caste principle. The evidence of for this can be obtained by observation of the daily behaviour of Father and Son among the Brahman. It is perceptible in a very pronounced manner. The difference is brought into focus by comparing the Brahman with the ritually lowest castes - such as Pano, though it is not so pronounced in case of the comparatively higher castes like the Khandayat. From the social point
of view the Brahman male child grows up much slower than the male children of other castes. Among the Panes a male child above the age of 12 to 13 is termed as an adult and behaves like one. The corresponding age for the Khandayat is a little higher; roughly 13 years. As against this the Brahman Son slowly attains adulthood only after the age of 20, and still later if he pursues higher education. As a matter of fact he never attains full adulthood during the lifetime of his Father. This situation deeply affects Father-Son relationship. It has also its deep impact on the Mother-Son relationship among the Brahman, as the Mother has to share the responsibility of the Father in bringing up the Son during his long period of minority. There is no doubt that this responsibility is shared to an unequal degree by the Mother, especially as the Son becomes older. Nevertheless it has a sufficiently deep impact on the Mother-Son relationship among the Brahman so as to make it markedly different from the other castes.

Another important factor to be considered concerning Mother-Son relationship among the Brahman is the fact that the Brahmins are the only caste where the women do not undertake any professional work regarding their economic and educational status. Among other castes the woman is generally engaged in occupational activities which very often interferes with her activities as a Mother. It is true that recent development have resulted in a small number of non-Brahman families preventing their women to go to the fields but this has affected only a few and that too not completely. This is also a factor which makes the Mother-Son relationship among the Brahman markedly different from other castes.
With this general description to serve as the background we may now proceed to discuss the Mother-Son relationship among the Brahman as exhibited in the daily routine.

Washing the Face and Cleaning the Teeth:

During the infancy of the Son it is the duty of the Mother to wash his face and clean his teeth. The face of the infant Son is more often cleaned with a piece of wet napkin or a soft piece of cotton. The mouth of the infant is also likewise wiped even after teething. Till the Son is about two years of age the work of washing his face and cleaning his teeth is done entirely by the Mother. The Father only renders occasional help when he has the leisure to do so. The duty of the Mother is not shared by the Father until the Son is more than two years of age. However attending to the personal needs of the Son always remains the major duty of the Mother; the Father only helping occasionally and acting as the disciplinarian. When the boy wears the sacred thread he is supposed to do his personal work, like the cleaning of the teeth and washing the face. The wearing of the sacred thread thus marks a break in the Mother-Son relationship and the role of the Father as the disciplinarian assumes more importance. Making the Son wash his face and clean his teeth and helping him to do so gradually recedes to the background. The Son is asked to do the washing and cleaning by himself and is reprimanded if he does not do so. The reprimanding is done occasionally by the Mother— but generally it is the duty of the Father to do so. This pattern gradually fades away with the attaining of adulthood by the Son.
The behaviour pertaining to the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth differs on the basis of the educational and economic status of the family. The Mother in a well-to-do family takes more care of the cleaning and washing her Son than the poorer sections of the Brahman. Still more care is bestowed by the mother on the cleaning of her Son in an educated family i.e., in cases where her Husband is an educated person. It has already been seen that instances of the Mother being educated are almost nil even among the Brahman - though the percentage of female literacy is higher among them than other castes. The educational status of the Mother is therefore a reflection of the educational status of the Father. Education, which inevitably goes with urbanism, is a more potent factor affecting the Mother's behaviour concerning the cleaning of the teeth and washing the face of the Son. Village-oriented economic prosperity does not make this behaviour markedly different from other members of the caste.

After the Mother becomes old, it is expected of the Son to help her to wash her face and clean her teeth. Such help is also rendered during acute illness. Mostly the Son gets it done by his Wife and it is one of his recognised duties to make his Wife attend to the needs of his Mother. It is often a point of dispute between the Son and his Wife on the one hand and the Son and his Mother on the other. This also sometimes leads to the Sons' breaking away from his family of orientation.

The behaviour pattern also depends on the number of Sons a Mother has. If she has only one Son then she can bestow more care on him. Conversely she can also depend upon his services
during her old age and illness. If there are more than one Son the care bestowed on each becomes somewhat less but it depends on the personality of the Mother. It has been observed in three cases that the only Son was comparatively neglected by the Mother compared to three other cases when the Mother has more than two Sons but their cleaning needs were attended to more carefully.

It has already been mentioned that cleaning the teeth and washing the face has both ritual and hygienic significance among the Brahman. In the behaviour of the Mother towards the Son both the aspects are so much mixed up that it is hard to separate one from the other. This may be contrasted against the behaviour of the Father with whom a distinction is sometimes made between the ritual and the hygienic aspects though it is not always done consciously.

Defecation:

It has been mentioned previously that the Father occasionally helps the infant Son to perform the act of defecation and also washes him after it. This is however properly regarded as the duty of the Mother. It is very often seen that a Father, especially if he belongs to the higher income and education group, hesitates to make his Son defecate and wash him after that. Men from the lower income group are less hesitant about it.

The Mother makes the infant Son defecate as a part of her regular daily routine. The children mostly defecate on the clothing on which they sleep and it is the duty of the Mother to wash them. Rarely she tries to inculcate the habit of timely defecation in her Son at the infant stage. This habit is not enforced even up to the age of five or six. When the Son is able to sit, the
Mother makes him sit on her ankles for smooth excrement. This the Mother does at regular intervals so as to avoid the boy's defecating indiscriminately in different parts of the house. The refuge is collected by the Mother with a bunch of straw after the Son has finished defecation. This is done even when the Father has helped the boy to defecate.

As mentioned earlier, a certain amount of ritual behaviour is associated with defecation. It also involves social etiquette. One has to wear a napkin at the time of defecation and has to wash the feet, hands and the face before entering properly washing himself before entering the house. She is not particular about such other activities as tying the sacred thread to one ear, which must be done by every Brahman who wears a sacred thread. She is also not very particular about the social etiquette involved in the act of defecation. These are more the duties of the Father than the Mother.

It is one of the recognised duties of the Son to help his Mother during illness and infirmity to perform the act of defecation. It is a difficult routine act to be performed by an old or infirm woman in the village as there are no latrines, and the Brahmans especially have to go a long way to the fields. A person even if he or she is ill very often prefers to go to the fields if it can be afforded. The women especially hesitate to defecate in the house or near about even if they are too ill or infirm to move. The Son usually helps the Mother through his Wife. It is his duty to make his Wife attend to his Mother. In cases of acute illness the Wife almost always complies but very often this leads to discord between the Son and his Wife, between the Son's Wife and the Son's
Mother and even between Mother and Son. This pattern of behaviour largely depends on the personality of the persons concerned and shows a wide range of difference. In spite of all this the capacity to make one's Wife serve the defecation needs of his Mother is treated as criterion for assessing the manliness of a person.

The adult Son during illness is helped by the Mother to perform the act of defecation if not married. A married Son has to depend on his Wife for this.

**Bathing:**

It has been mentioned earlier that very small infants are not usually bathed. They are smeared with oil and turmeric paste every alternate day and this is treated as a substitute for bath. The act of smearing the child with oil and turmeric is treated as a womanly act which is never performed by the Father or the child. It is done exclusively by the Mother. The Son begins to take bath after completing his first year. When he is able to walk properly he accompanies his Mother to the bathing place and takes bath with her. A boy before attaining the age of nine had gradually learnt to take his bath by himself and avoids bathing with the Mother.

As the Mother is in sole charge of the child, bathing poses a problem for her. She usually takes her bath when the Husband is away from house. She has therefore to find out someone to take charge of the infant during her absence from the house for taking bath. If the Husband's Mother is alive then she is considered the fittest person to take the charge of the Son. If the Mother very often fails to find out a person to take charge of the
Son then her Husband has to modify his routine work so as to be available in the house when the Wife goes to take her bath.

The Son helps and makes his Wife help the Mother to take her bath during her illness, or infirmity. Mostly, especially during illness, the women are not bathed. The occasions to help the Mother to take her bath are therefore few. This is also leads to the types of mal-adjustments between the persons concerned as described earlier in this section.

The bathing requirements are purchased or procured by the adult Son for himself, and for his Mother when the Father is unable to do so. When the Son is a minor these are procured by the Father but the Mother can never meet the cost as she is not an earning member of the family. In this case the status of the Brahman Mother differs from that of Mothers from other castes. The Brahman Mother gets more articles procured and purchased through her Son and if he is an adult, but she cannot purchase anything independently like her counterparts from other castes.

**Eating:**

Mother-Son interaction concerning eating occupies a peculiar position in the daily routine of Brahman household. It is the duty of the Father to meet the food expenses of his Son and to procure and purchase the food materials required, but the responsibility of actually feeding the infant Son is that of the Mother. In most cases the Son is breast-fed by the Mother which reduces the responsibility of procuring milk by the Father. This however increases the responsibility of the Father in another direction. When the infant Son is breast-fed the Mother is to
remain on proper diet. Certain vegetables and other food articles which are usually taken by the villagers are prohibited for her and certain other items are prescribed which are somewhat difficult to procure. The Father has to procure or purchase these articles. This is considered as partly a duty towards Wife and partly towards the Son.

When the infant Son is breast-fed no regular timings are observed for feeding him. The Mother feeds the baby whenever she has the leisure to do so. If the child cries then it is considered that he is feeling hungry and to pacify him he is breast-fed. Breast feeding is considered both as an usual and necessary duty, yet it is considered somewhat shameful to be done in front of males and elders. The children who are given cow's milk are however fed at regular intervals, ordinarily about five times a day.

Feeding the Son with milk depends on the financial condition of the family. The better the financial position the longer is the period of milk feeding. In some of the cases the Son is given rice gruel after the fourth month but usually the male child is not given anything but milk for the first six months. In the well-to-do families the Son is fed with milk for at least one year and it has been observed in two cases when the Son was fed with milk for five years.

The Mother's responsibility for feeding the Son does not cease after he has been weaned away from milk feeding and starts taking rice. For the Son it is both a necessity and a mark of affection to feed the Son. After wearing the sacred thread at the age of nine the Son is expected to eat by himself. He eats from the
same plate as the Mother during early childhood.

Serving the Son with food is almost a lifelong responsibility of the Mother. She has to prepare the food for the Son and especially prepare the dishes liked by him. This responsibility is somewhat lessened after the marriage of the Son. After the Son's marriage the Mother's behaviour largely depends on how she adjust with the new situation. If she is able to pull on well with the Son's Wife then both of them co-operate in the cooking and serving food, otherwise she gradually ceases to take any active part in the feeding of the Son - leaving it to the Son's Wife. She however, continues to take interest in her Son's eating and when the Son's Wife is ill or absent then the Mother cooks for and serves her Son.

Providing the old and infirm Mother with food entails a number of complicated relationships leading to considerable adjustments and consequent maladjustments between different members of the family. This has become more complicated in the changing pattern of family organisation described earlier. The Father being the head of the family all the members remain united during his life time. This was previously the pattern among all the castes of the village but it is now only confined to the Brahmans and even among them a large number of deviations are to be noted. The position of the widowed Mother was always ambiguous in the family. Sons separated themselves from the family of or'inetation during her life-time either immediately or some time after the death of the Father. In the broken family the Mother had either to remain with her favourite Son, or as happened in majority of cases she had to
stay with her Sons by rotation. If division occurred during the life-time of the Father then the old couple either stayed together as a distinct family or both or one of them stayed with different Sons by rotation or permanently.

Unlike the items of routine described previously, eating requires daily attention, labour and expenses. In the Mother-Son relationship it also involves adjustments with the Son's Wife as well as between the Mother and the Son. The Son's Wife in most cases is reluctant to do the cooking for her Husband's Mother, even if it does not involve any extra labour. This is because of the inherent antagonism between the Daughter-in-law and the Mother-in-law which is almost a universal phenomenon. The personality of the Son is the most deciding factor here. If he is assertive he can make his Wife cook and serve food to his Mother. The behaviour is also sharply differentiated on the basis of the educational status of the Son. Among the upper educated group, who mostly stay outside the village, there is a sort of nostalgic attachment to the Mother. The Mother as a member of the family outside the village is considered more as a companion than as a burden. This feeling is shared both by the Son and his Wife. The intensity of this feeling is not correlated with the educational status of the Son. The feeling largely depends on the attitude of the Son formed during his education and the social surroundings in which he has to live. Generally this feeling is most intense among those who can be treated as a middle group from the financial and economic point of view. Comparatively, lack of education and financial stringency on the part of lower income group and problems
of adjustment with a newly acquired aristocratic status on the part of the upper income group are responsible for the lack of regard for the Mother among these groups.

Sleeping:

During his early infancy the Son sleeps with the Mother. When he is slightly grown up, but is still at the stage of infancy, he sleeps with the Father occasionally, especially after the Father has taken his lunch. During this period the Mother is busy taking her food or cleaning the kitchen and the utensils. Therefore she is not able to sleep with the Son during this time.

The Son continues to sleep with the Mother till he becomes an adult. It has also been found that he does not cease to sleep with the Mother even after attaining adulthood, but such instances are rare - only two could be located in the village. The sleeping of the adult Son with the Mother is not so much for any necessity as it is for an expression of affection. For the adolescent Son it is a necessity, especially during night, because of the fear of the village children to sleep alone in the night. After his marriage the Son does not sleep with his Mother even when his Wife is absent from the household. A Son however may sleep in the same room as the old Mother when she is ill or her condition is such that it requires night long vigil.

When the Mother is young it requires considerable adjustment on her part to arrange to give company both to the Son and to the Husband. She cannot be intimate with the Husband in the presence of the Son. Sometimes the adjustment is made by making the child sleep with the grand parents but this is only an occasional
It has been mentioned earlier that among the upperclass educated Brahman the Son does not usually go to sleep in the presence of the Father as it is considered bad manners to do so. The Son is however free to go to sleep in the presence of the Mother without giving offence to her.

Cleaning:

Cleaning as mentioned before has both a hygienic and ritual significance for the Brahman. The duty of the males and the females being completely different in case of the periodic cleaning of the house there is little scope for the Mother-Son interaction there. The cleaning of the clothes of the infant Son is the sole duty of the Mother. This is a duty which can be shared only by the grand Mother of the Son; otherwise the Mother has to do the work all by herself. This is also a sphere where the Father is prohibited to lend a helping hand. It has been mentioned earlier that the male children donot wear any thing till they are about two years old. Occasionally they are be made to wear an underwear or a shirt for ceremonial purposes. (This however is not true of the families who mostly live in the urban areas). The clothings of the Son therefore mainly consist the piece of cloth on which he sleeps and urinates and defecates. It is considered extremenly unmanly on the part of the Father to wash these clothes. As the Son grows up he washes his own clothes. Washing the clothes have already been described to be an individual affair and both the Son and the Mother wash their own clothes unless either of them is physically unable to do so. The Son washes the clothes of the Mother also during her
illness or infirmity and the mother also washes the clothes of her adult son during his illness. If the mother is dependent on the son then the materials used for cleaning, such as soap, and caustic etc., are procured by the son for her.

Toilet:

The mother combs the hair of the minor son. She also paints the eyes of the son with Kajal till he is about five years of age. There is no interaction between adult son and the mother as far as toilet is concerned.

Cooking:

Cooking is the concern of the women of the household. There is therefore very little scope for direct interaction between mother and son as far as cooking is concerned. It is one of the major functions of the mother to cook for her son till he is married. After marriage the function of cooking gradually devolves upon the son's wife.

It is the duty of the son to make his wife to cook for his mother. The ability to make the wife cook for the mother is considered as a sign of manliness. The types of maladjustments which stem from this and the resultant interactions have been described under the heading "Eating" and need not be repeated here.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The daily round of occupational activities provides a scope for effective interaction between the males in a Brahman household but such interaction is very slight and indirect where the females are concerned. The mother helps the sons
indirectly to pursue the daily round of occupational activities. For example, she cooks food for him in time to suit the occupational cycle. Though she herself does not take part in the occupational activities she nevertheless has a thorough knowledge of it and can render proper advice to the Son when required. If the Son is faced with a problem, she would advise, relating what his Father or grand Father did on such occasions and would ask him to do accordingly. Though the Brahman women are not permitted to take up any occupational activities, they have thorough knowledge about the different occupations pursued by the males, especially about agriculture. The Son therefore finds in his Mother a mature advisor if the Father is dead.

Performance of religious rites:

In the performance of religious rites the Wife is a much more intimate companion of the Brahman male than his Mother. The Wife is called "Sahadharmini" i.e., partner in the religious activities whereas the Mother has no such status. Inspite of this lack of a formal status, the Mother plays an important role, helping the Son in the performance of religious rites. She does not take part in the actual worship of the household deity as these deities are "Salagram images" and the women are prohibited from worshipping them. She would prepare the food items to be offered to the deity and cleans the room where the deity is installed. The Mother, by virtue of her experience, can sometimes reminds the Son about the correct date of a puja or Osa.

It has been described earlier how the performance of various "Osa" forms a part of the daily routine in
the Brahman household. In the performance of an Osa the Mother takes the leadingship whereas the Son plays a subsidiary part. She can remember the exact date, she prepares the special cakes required for each Osa and arranges for the worship. In many of the Osas she herself offers the worship. In the performance of the Osa the Son's Wife voluntarily accepts the superiority of her Husband's Mother, though she may be unwilling to do so in other aspects of daily routine.

Recreational activities:

It has been mentioned earlier that the Father among the Brahman discourages his Son to participate in the recreational activities. The Mother is more indulgent in this respect and relieves the deterrent attitude of the Father to some extent. The necessity of playing during boyhood and early youth on the part of the Son is recognised by the Mother. If he wants to permission to play he usually asks his Mother. When the permission of the Mother is taken it usually works as a defence against the disapproval of the Father. This also leads to differences between the Father and Mother. While sharing the Father's opinion about the importance of study and work as against play, the Mother argues for casual relaxation. To what extent her opinion can prevail depends on the personal relationship between her and her Husband. The role of the Mother is confined to this indirect interaction between the Son. There is no direct interaction between Mother and Son as far as this item of daily routine is concerned.
Hearing the children:

The rearing of children, considered with reference to Mother-Son interaction may cover the entire range of routine activities, reflecting their relationship. This can however be narrowed down to cover only that aspect of Mother-Son relationship, which covers the personal care and socialisation of the Son.

The role of the Father in the rearing of the Son has been described earlier. As against the Father’s role of a disciplinarian, the Mother plays a role marked by affection and indulgence. It does not mean that she does not assume any disciplinarian role. She very often rebukes and beats him but her relationship with the Son is marked by familiarity as contrasted against the reserved relationship with the Father. This is more marked in case of the educated section of the Brahman among whom the Father is more reserved in his dealings with the Son. The periodic disciplinarian actions of the Mother are mitigated by the daily dealings of affection which makes the Son more intimate with her than with the Father.

During the Son’s infancy, the Mother serves all his personal needs. She bathes, feeds, cuddles and makes him to go to sleep. She also carries him most of the time even while she is engaged in household work. Carrying the child is regarded as a measure for preventing them from crying. It also means taking “care” of the baby. If it is the first Son or the first child, it is carried more often. Another duty of the Mother, which other members of the family would loath to do is to clean the excreta and wash the clothes
As the Son grows up the duty of the Mother towards him decreases. Education for the Brahman boys is compulsory but the Mother is not directly connected with it though she plays an important secondary role. She has to cook the food in time and serve it to the Son before and after he goes to school. This is expected by both minor and adult Sons. In three cases it was observed that the Sons did not ask money from their Father directly but through their Mothers. As a contrast to this comparative lack of intimacy with the Father, the Son usually writes letters only to him and not to the Mother. This is so because in most cases Mothers are illiterate but it was observed that in two cases letters were written only to the Father even though the Mothers could read and write. The reason given by the Sons is that they felt "shy" to write to Mothers, though they had not had the same feeling while talking with them, and telling them of their needs.

The Mother-Son relationship undergoes a sharp change after the Son's marriage. The change is more pronounced in case of Mother-Son relationship than in case of Father-Son relationship. The Son's Wife comes to a more closer contact and consequently is subjected to more closer scrutiny by the Mother than the Father with whom avoidance to various degrees is observed. The generation differences, resulting in difference in outlook in case of Father and Son has been described earlier. Such differences have little or no influence on Mother-Son relationship but they are operative in a different sphere. As far as the difference in outlook is confined to the behaviour of the Son there is a little or no scope
for conflict between Mother and Son but his outlook is not always confined to his own behaviour it also touches the behaviour of his Wife and this offers scope for wide difference and conflict between Mother and Son. The Mother-Son relationship, which under the impact of normal village conditions provided scope for conflict centring round the Son's Wife has been further aggravated under the impact of education. The relationship between the Mother and the Son's uneducated Wife was marked by a generation difference, which led to conflict but was resolvable within the structure of the family. The family structure however does not provide the instrument for resolving the differences between the Mother and the Son's educated Wife. Inevitably in these cases the Son himself is an educated person and a salaried employee. This fact further aggravates the relationship between the Mother and the Son's Wife. The position of the Son here is somewhat delicate. He has to satisfy both his Mother and his Wife. He attempts to tackle the situation by taking his Wife to his place of work, thus separating her from his Mother. This, as has been mentioned earlier, is severely criticised by the Mother and is regarded in the village as a show of partiality to the Wife as against the Mother. This situation is gradually brought to a normalcy after the Son and his Wife constantly stay outside for sometime. By this they cease to be fullfledged members of the family and a sort of guest relationship prevails between the Son and the Mother when they come together. The patterning of the Mother-Son relationship with relation to the Son's Wife is one of the most important factors in intrafamily relationship. A wide range of behaviour is observable in this respect depending on the personality of the interacting members. Education is not always a pacifying
factor and it has been observed that in three cases the antagonism between Mother and Son, touching the behaviour of Son's Wife, came to such a pass that it was considered as indecent both in the village and outside.

**Daily round of income and expenditure:**

The infant and the minor Son is fully dependent on his parents as far as daily round of income and expenditure is concerned and this dependence is larger among the Brahman than among the other castes. The reasons and consequences of this have already been described in earlier chapters. This dependence on the parents has a direct bearing on Father-Son relationship. It has, however, already been described that though the Father, as the earning member of the family has to bear all the expenses of his Son, the Son nevertheless makes most of his demands through his Mother. She works as a buffer between the Father and the Son. In some cases she advances some money out of her own reserve, when the Father is not able to meet an urgent expense concerning the Son. But this happens only in exceptional cases.

The relationship between the adult Son and the Mother may be divided into two sharply marked phases, firstly when the Father is alive and then after his death. When the Father is alive the relationship of the Son with his Mother is conditioned by the relationship with the Father. As a matter of fact there is practically no scope for direct relationship between the adult Son and the Mother as far as daily income and expenditure are concerned, during the lifetime of the Father. Occasionally the Son may hand over some money to the Mother for her personal expenses which she
does not share with the Father. Directly relationship only begins with the death of the Father. A widowed Mother is entirely dependent on her Sons. The nature of this dependency varies according to the personality of the Sons, and their Wives. It is noteworthy that the relationship between the Son's Wife and the Mother somewhat improves after the death of the Father, as a widowed the Mother is less assertive and consequently more acceptable to her.

If there are more than one Son, the Mother stays with each of them by turn. In four cases it has been observed that she stayed with the favourite Son or the Sons who is financially better off than others. In case of the educated and salaried employees all the daily expenses of the Mother are scrupulously met but she has no controlling voice over the income and expenditure of the family. In the rural household on the other hand, financial difficulties donot allow the Son to meet all the daily expenses of the Mother as diligently as his urban Brother would do but he allows the Mother to have a voice in the control of daily income and expenditure. It has been observed in most cases that the Mothers prefer the latter position. They also prefer to remain with the Sons who are financially not better off as she has often a greater affection towards them.

The major expenditure of the Mother which the Son is expected to meet is the expenditure on the Osas. As widow observes infinitely more Osas and rituals than any married woman and with the widow it is more of a binding duty than festivity. The Mother also gives small presents in cash and kind to her friends and favourites. The Son also meets these expenses as a duty but he always tries to keep it within limits. It was observed in two cases
that the old widowed women were so liberal in giving away these
gifts that it amounted to an extravagance in the family budget and
were checked by their Sons.

KHANDAYAT

While discussing the Father-Son relationship
among the Khandayat it has been seen that the role of the Brahman
Father as the caretaker, disciplinarian and teacher of his Son has
been emulated by the landowing section of the caste and that the
landowning Khandayat Father is the nearest approach to the Brahman
Father. It was also observed that there was a difference in the
pattern of Father-Son interaction between the landowning group on
the one hand and the labour class group on the other. Compared to
this the pattern of Mother-Son relationship is markedly different.
There is no effort on the part of any group to emulate the Brahman
Mother. The fact that among the labour class group the Mother herself
is a working woman, is a factor which does not make the behaviour
pattern of the Brahman Mother comparable with that of the Khandayat.
Looked from another angle the position of the Khandayat Mother shows
but slight difference from that of the Brahman Mother, as far as
the basic relationships are concerned. The pattern of Mother-Son
relationship among the landowning Khandayat, is much more similar
to that of the Brahman than Father-Son relationship among both the
castes.

With this general note, we may now proceed to
describe the specific items of daily routine as they touch the
Mother-Son relationship among the Khandayat.
Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Unlike the Brahman, the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth have no ritual significance among the Khandayat, though sections of them have begun to ascribe ritual value to these acts in order to emulate the Brahman. This has been mentioned in the earlier chapter. It is the duty of the Mother among both the landowning and labouring group of the Khandayat to wash the face of the infant and the minor Son. The Mother takes care of the Son's washing till he is about five years old among the landowning Khandayat. The face of the small infants are not washed but wiped with a wet napkin. The Mothers among the labour class Khandayats cannot afford to take care of their Sons, after the stage of infancy. Usually the labour class woman does not bother about the washing of her Son's face after he is about two years old. The Son among this group therefore learns to wash his face at quite an early age. The cleaning of the teeth of the infant is not emphasized upon among any group of Khandayat. At most, the mouth of the infant is wiped with a small piece of wet cotton or even with bare fingers. Among the landowning group the Son is taught to clean his teeth properly i.e., sitting on the verandah and cleaning the teeth with a twig drawing water from a metal pot. It is however not the exclusive duty of the Mother among the group to teach the Son the proper process of cleaning his teeth. She shares this duty with the Father. No emphasis is given on the proper cleaning of teeth among the labour class group of Khandayat.

There is no scope for effective interaction between Mother and the adult Son as far as washing the face and
cleaning the teeth are concerned - unless in the case of illness or inability on the part of either. In case of the Son's illness the Mother comes to his help whether he is married or not. If there has been antagonism between the Mother and the Son centering round the Son's Wife, it is forgotten for the time being. The Son likewise comes to the help of his Mother.

Defecation:

During the infancy of the Son the Mother makes him defecate and does the required cleaning afterwards. She also washes the clothes on which the Son defecates. This is treated as the exclusive duty of the Mother even when she is a working woman and earning member of the family and the Father is never expected to do this unless she is seriously ill and there is no other female member in the house to take up the job. As the child grows up he is taught to go to the fields, wash properly and observe seclusion at the time of defecation. During the old age and infirmity of the Mother, it is the duty of the Son to help his Mother and among the landowning group it is his additional duty to make his Wife do the same. The Mother also helps the Son either to go to the garden adjoining the house or to the courtyard in case of serious illness. It is however the primary duty of the Son's Wife to do it on behalf of her Husband. The Mother only renders help to the unmarried Son or the Son whose Wife is unable or unwilling to do the work.

Bathing:

Bathing has a slightly ritual significance for the Khandayat of the landowning class. It is however a very casual affair among the labourer group. In both the groups it is the primary duty
of the Mother to bathe the infant Son. As mentioned before the infants are rarely bathed. It is smeared with turmeric paste and oilt at least twice a week and more oftener in summer. This is considered as a substitute for bath. As the Son grows up he is gradually bathed oftener than smeared in turmeric paste. By the time he is about seven or eight years of age he is able to go to the pond to take his bath. Among the labourer group it is done earlier. When the Father has the leisure he takes the Son to the bathing place.

During old age and infirmity the Son helps his Mother occasionally to take her bath. This is done only when she is bedridden for a considerable period. The Son usually gets it done through his Wife.

Eating:

Eating provides a channel for effective interaction between Mother and Son. The infant Son is fed exclusively by the Mother. The adult Son is also served with food by her. If he is married, he is served by his Wife but the Mother also serves food very often. Though it is the duty of the Father to meet the food expenses of his Wife and minor Son, the responsibility of actually feeding the Son is that of the Mother. In most cases and especially among the labourer group the Son is fed by the Mother's milk which reduces the responsibility of the Father to procure food for the infant Son. Among the landowning group the Son is often fed with cow's milk. Breast feeding of the Son requires the presence of the Mother in the house for most part of the day. This disturbs the routine of the working class Khandayat woman who has to suspend her work during the infancy of the Son.
Weaning away the Son from breast feeding and milk feeding is one of the duties of Mother. Among the labour class group this is done earlier to free the Mother to go to work and to avoid expenditure on milk. In the landowning group this is done somewhat later. Among them Son begins to take non-milk food such as ricegruel when he is about four months old, and in some families it even starts as early as the second month. Among the landowning group it starts at the tenth month i.e., when the child starts walking.

Providing the old and widowed Mother with food is one of the primary duties of the Son. He is able and willing to discharge his responsibility among the landowning group but it is not always possible to do so among the labourer group. An old widow in this group is able to do some remunerative work. If she is not able to go to the fields, she can do some work at home or serve the Brahman households. When she becomes too infirm to do any work she is occasionally provided with food by the Son and partly depends on the charity of others.

Sleeping:

The infant Son sleeps with the Mother. Due to shortage of housing space among both the groups of Khandayat, sleeping requires considerable adjustments between different members of the family as the Son grows up. The infant Son presents no problems but when he is grown up to have a little understanding he presents problems for the Mother to make adjustments with her Husband. She cannot be intimate with her Husband as long as the Son is awake. The child is therefore taken care of by other members of the family during early hours of the evening so as to allow a free
time to the Mother. Mostly, however, the Mother brings the child to sleep early in the evening so as to have time for the Husband late in the night. One of the advantages for both groups is that the room is made dark when they go to sleep and therefore there is no fear of the Won waking up to find the parents having sexual intercourse.

A different kind of adjustment is required to meet the requirements of the adult Son. Among the landowning group it is sometimes possible to allot a separate room to the newly married Son but the labourer group can ill afford it. Usually among the poorest section all the members of the family sleep together and if there is some space then all the females sleep in one room while all the males sleep in a separate room or lacking that in the corridors. In order to allow her newly married Son to be alone with his Wife, the Mother helps her to finish such work as eating the supper and cleaning the utensils early in the evening. After the work is done she scrupulously avoids coming into the house till late in the evening. This should be done so carefully as not to give impression to any body that they are avoiding the house with a purpose.

It is one of the duties of the Son to arrange company for his old and widowed Mother in the night. Usually this is done by making one elderly child of the Son to sleep with her.
Cleaning:

The Mother cleans the clothing of the infant and the minor Son. A Son who is about twelve years of age is expected to clean his own clothing. He rarely cleans the clothing of his Mother sometimes he makes his Wife may do so. During the illness and infirmity of the Mother some arrangements is done by the Son to get the clothes cleaned by his Wife or elderly children, especially Daughters. This however is a small demand as the apparel of the widowed Khandayat women are scanty and the need for cleaning them is only occasional.

The daily cleaning of the house is done by the female members of the household and does not provide a scope for interaction between Mother and Son. In the periodic cleaning of the house all the members of the family work together and consequently Mother and Son help each other in the cleaning activities but this interaction is not confined between them.

Toilet:

There is no effective interaction between Mother and Son as far as toilet is concerned. Among the landowning families the Mother may sometimes comb the hair of the minor Son and paints his eyes with Kajal when he is a very small boy. There is no interaction between Mother and the adult Son as far as this item of daily routine is concerned.
Daily round of occupational activities:

As far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned the pattern of interaction between Mother and Son among the Khandayat sharply differs from that of the Brahman. There are also significant intracaste differences concerning this item of daily routine. The behaviour pattern among the landowning group differs from that of the labour class group. Among the landowning group the women are not allowed to work in the fields. This is however a recent innovation the details of which have been described earlier. Many of the elderly women among the Khandayats belonging to the landowning group worked in the fields during their youth and most of them are from families where both their Father and the Mothers were actually working in the fields. The Mothers therefore take a lively interest in the work of their Sons and some of them even have direct knowledge of such work. In the absence of the Father and the Mother can advise the Son when some difficulty arises. For example when the crops are struck by a particular pest she can relate to the Son what his or her own Father did under such circumstances. Unlike the Brahman woman, who often does not know the actual location of the fields owned by the family, the Khandayat Mother has an intimate knowledge of the fields and often visits them. During the busy periods of agricultural activities the Mother can also help the Son indirectly. She cooks the food for him in time. During the harvesting period she keeps breakfast ready at early morning. She has often to carry food to the fields to suit the work routine of the Son. She also performs certain ancillary activities like measuring paddy, cleaning the place of harvesting etc.
Among the labour class group the interaction is to be considered at two levels. First, when the Son is an infant or a minor and secondly when he is an adult. When the Son is an infant the Mother is confined to the home to take care of him. Thus she is deprived from doing any work which causes financial difficulty for the family. She again goes to work when the child is somewhat grownup. This is the reason why the period of directing rearing of the Son by the Mother is cut short and is of comparatively shorter duration than the other group. When the Son is grownup and himself becomes a worker in the field he has to depend on his Mother for cooking if he is unmarried. Both Mother and Son strive to work at the same place as far as practicable. The daily round of occupational activities gives a self sufficient status to her. Compared to the Mother among Brahman and landowning group of Khandayats, the labour class Khandayat Mother is less dependent on the Son and on her Husband. Thus she can maintain herself even if widowed and separated from the Son after his marriage. The engagement in occupational activities also affects other aspects of daily routine. For example cooking, rearing the children, cleaning etc. are done as briefly as possible and the items which among the Brahmans or the landowning group of Khandayats are considered as the special charge of the Mother are done in co-operation with other members of the family including the Son.

Performance of religious rites:

The Khandayat Mother among the landowning group like her Brahman counterpart is especially helpful to her Son in the observance of the different "Osas". Previously a very small number
of Osas were used to be observed by the Khandayat. Over the past ten years the Khandayats have gradually adopted almost all the Osas observed by the Brahmins, though the Brahmins in many cases have ceased to observe a number of them. In the performance of an Osa the Mother takes the initiative and the Son plays a secondary role by arranging for the performance and procurement of the articles required for the purpose. Besides the performance of the Osas there is no religious performance having relevance for daily routine among the landowning group of Khandayats.

Among the labourer group an Osa is rarely "observed". Except for a few Osas like the Rajaparba the special cakes and other items of food are not prepared and even on these occasions only few labour class families can afford to prepare them. Working in the fields being prohibited on almost every Osa, work is not done on this day. The women visit the houses of their employers to ask for the cakes. It is one of the chief concerns of the Mother among the labour class Khandayat to collect enough cakes for herself and her Son. This practice is considered as dishonourable by the landowning Khandayat and leads to abuses and counter abuses between the two groups.

Recreational activities:

Among the landowning group of Khandayats the Mother works as a counteracting agent against the disapproving attitude of the Father concerning the Son's participation in the recreational activities. Among the labour group the boyhood of the Son, during which he should play freely, is of very short duration and the Mother disapproves his playing as much as the Father does.
Among the landowning group a small boy may not be of any use as far as helping in household work is concerned but for the labour class Mother he is very useful in tending children younger to him, thus helping the Mother to work in the house and in the fields.

For the adult Son of both groups gossip is the main item of recreation besides the occasional games of cards and the rare playing of outdoor games. In none of these there is any scope for interaction between the Mother and the Son.

Rearing children:

Among the landowning group the pattern of interaction between the Mother and the Son concerning the routine activities of rearing of children is almost similar to that of the Brahman. The only difference is that unlike the Brahman boy the Khandayat boy has a much shorter term of apprenticeship and his education is also of much shorter duration. Unlike the Brahman families the Mother-Son relationship among the landowning Khandayat is not marked by a sharp break after the Son's marriage because of the recent tendency among this group towards maintenance of joint families. There is however a sharp difference between the Brahman and the labour class Khandayat as far as Mother-Son interaction concerning the rearing of the Son is concerned. The period of actual rearing of the Son during his minority is of very short duration compared to the Brahman and the landowning Khandayat. The Son is more left himself among this group, during his childhood. The fact that the Mother among this group is a working woman and the Son begins to earn at an early age is of significance. His infancy is marked by the financial difficulties as the Mother is not able to do any work during
this period and the family income is almost cut to a half. He also breaks away from the family of his orientation quite early—in some cases even before marriage. Marriage of the Son marks a sharper break in the Mother-Son relationship among this group than among the Brahman and the landowning group of Khandayat.

**Daily round of income and expenditure:**

The dependence of the minor Son on his parents for the daily income and expenditure of the household is of shorter duration among the Khandayat than among the Brahman and among the labour class Khandayat it is of still shorter duration. This dependence has relevance only for Father-Son relationship among the landowning Khandayat. Among the labour class Khandayat this has also much significance for the Mother-Son relationship. Among this group both the Mother and the adult Son are expected to contribute for the expenses of the family. The Son contributes his share as long as he remains with his family of orientation. Almost inevitably he breaks away from this family after his marriage and ceases to make any such contribution. The Mother is also not dependent on his Son during her widowhood or old age. She continue to work and earn her living almost till her death. In only three cases it was observed that the Mothers lived long enough to be too old and infirm towards the last part of their lives but this period in no case exceeded two years. During this period they depended on their Sons. The Sons themselves were managing their own expenses with much difficulty. The amount they could spare was therefore, very small and that was too given very reluctantly. In these cases a bitter feeling prevailed on both sides and the death of the Mother came as a relief to their Sons.
The Mother-Son relationship among the Pano is largely comparable to that among the labour class Khandayat. The difference which is marked here is owing to the status of the Pano as a caste of untouchables bearing a stigma. It has been mentioned earlier that two families among the Pano have begun to create a new tradition because of their rise in economic status. Their position is only slightly comparable to that of the landowning Khandayat but the resemblance is so small that the comparison can only be a distant one. With these general remarks, the specific items of daily routine among the Pano may now be taken into consideration.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

It has been mentioned earlier that the washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth are not regarded as distinctive items in the daily routine of the Pano. These are done casually while going to or returning from work. The women perform them more casually than the males. Naturally therefore the Pano Mother has no interaction with the Son except occasional washing of the face of her Son when he is an infant. There is no reciprocation on the part of the Son.

Defecation:

Defecation presents a comparatively lesser problem to the Pano than to the Khandayat and the Brahman. This is so because the field where they defecate are very near to their houses. It also raises no problems of pollution as happens in the case of the Brahman and Khandayat. The Mother helps the infant Son to defecate.
and cleans him after that. As soon as he is able to walk he defecates by himself either inside or outside the house and the Mother cleans it when she finds time. This often gives an unclean look to the ward where Panos reside. There is no scope for effective interaction between adult Son and the Mother except occasional help rendered to the Mother to go to the adjoining fields during her old age and infirmity.

**Bathing:**

Bathing has no ritual significance among the Pano. In most cases it is not regarded as an independent item of daily routine but performed casually while returning from work. The infant Son among the Pano is rarely bathed. The smearing with turmeric paste and oil is also not done very often. At most it is done once a week; except during the hot months when it is done twice or thrice a week. The child is able to take bath by himself earlier than other castes. By the time a Son is about four years old he can take bath in the pond by himself. He starts going to the pond when he is about three years of age and the Mother dips him in the water and dries him with a piece of napkin. No reciprocal behaviour is observed on the part of the Son during the old age of the Mother as bathing is an item which is discarded among the Pano in case of illness and infirmity.

**Eating:**

Eating provides a channel for effective interaction between Mother and Son among the Pano. It is the primary responsibility of the Mother to feed the Son during his infancy. She gives up work during the infancy of the Son to tend him.
Though ordinarily an earning member of the family she becomes entirely dependent on her Husband during this period. Naturally she depends on her Husband to procure and purchase the articles for feeding the Son. In most cases the infant Son is fed by Mother's milk. Cow's milk is never purchased. A calf is procured long before the child is born. This calf is not purchased but is obtained as remuneration for tending the cow of a client during the period when she does not give milk. Usually this calf is sold when grown up but a female calf is retained when a child is expected. The tending of the calf till she is grown into a cow represents the labour of both the Mother and the Father.

The Pano Son is weaned away from milk and liquid food earlier than other castes. This is done partly because of the economic conditions of the parents but mainly to free the Mother to work in the fields to earn wages. The Mother cooks and serves food to the Son but among the Pano cooking is a very simple affair and if the Mother is late in returning from work then the Son may start the cooking. Serving the food also has little significance for the Pano as the kitchen is never considered to be polluted. The Son very often serves himself. The scanty activities connected with cooking makes it easier for his part to break away from the family of orientation even before his marriage.

The activities concerning the feeding of the Mother during her old age, display a wide range of behaviour among the Pano. If the Son goes outside to work in some industrial establishment then his Wife and Mother stay together and he sends money to meet the food expenses of both. If on the other hand he is a labourer in the
village, then he is very reluctant to meet the food requirements of the Mother. The matter is further complicated by the fact that when there are more than one Son, some of them go to industrial establishments while others remain in the village. A joint family is maintained in this case for reasons which have been described in the background chapter. In such cases the Mothers' food expenses are borne all the Sons jointly.

Sleeping:

The infant Son sleeps with the Mother and this requires adjustments as is done in the case of Khandayat - specially the labour class Khandayat. The arrangements for the sleeping of the adult married Son also requires similar adjustments. These arrangements are only required in case of families where the married Son has not broken away from his family of orientation i.e., in case of families where one or more Sons are working outside the village in industrial establishments. When all of them are labourers in the village they are inevitably separated from the families of orientation. In some cases separation only means cooking separately under the same roof - which requires adjustments for sleeping. In most cases a separate house is constructed and this solves the problems of adjustment regarding sleeping.

Cleaning:

The Pano Son wears almost nothing till he attains the age of five. Only the piece of cloth on which he sleeps and defecates requires washing regularly. These are washed by the Mother in plain water without using any soap. There is no evidence of any reciprocation on the part of the Son during the old age of the Mother.
The daily cleaning of the household is done by the female members of the household. There is therefore no scope for interaction between Mother and Son. The Son's co-operation in the periodic cleaning is of significance. As mentioned before, the periodical cleaning of the house is done more often among the Pano than among other castes of the village. Even if the Son is separated from his family of orientation he ordinarily lends a helping hand to his Mother in the periodical cleaning of the house. This is also reciprocated by the Mother if she is not too old and infirm.

**Toilet:**

There is no scope for effective interaction between Mother and Son as far as toilet among the Pano is concerned. The Mother occasionally combs the hair of the infant Son but this is done only among five families. The eyelids of the infant Son are also painted with Kajal by all. There is no interaction between adult Son and Mother as far as this item of daily routine is concerned.

**Cooking:**

It is the duty of the Mother to cook the food of his Son and to serve it to him. But cooking being very simple among the Pano and the absence of the restrictions on entering the kitchen and the lack concept of the pollution of the kitchen, the Pano Son often cooks the food if his Mother is late in returning from work. He also helps himself to food without waiting for the Mother to serve him. Thus the unmarried Son among the Pano is less dependent on his Mother for cooking his food. This is one of the reasons why he can so easily separate himself from his family of orientation even before his marriage. Only two cases it was seen that the Son cooked
for his old and infirm Mother. Usually he makes his wife cook for her. The chief reason why he does not do so is his lack of means to support his Mother.

Daily round of occupational activities:

The pattern of interaction between Mother and Son among the Pano as far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned is governed by the fact that the Pano Mother, almost inevitably, is a working woman and an earning member of the family. During the early infancy of the Son she is forced to stop her work as she has to tend her infant Son. If there is a grown up child in the house she can leave the infant Son under his care and cut short her period of inactivity. No adult or even old man or woman can take care of the infant as they themselves have to work in the fields. The pattern is slightly different in case of the two families who do not send their women to the fields. In these families the Mother can attend to the Son for a longer period and can take care of him till he is able to walk. This pattern is however not comparable to the Brahman because in case of the Pano, though the woman does not go to the field she nevertheless does other work. The principle behind not allowing the woman to work is that she would not be hired as a labourer. It does not mean that she should not do any work. Therefore the Pano woman who does not work as a hired labourer, is busy preparing manure (both for sale and personal use) working in the garden, carrying paddy from the fields and tending the cattle. These activities do not prevent her from taking care of her infant Son.

The interaction between the adult Son and the Mother does not differ much from the pattern prevalent among the
labour class Khandayat. The busiest season of work for the Son is also the busiest season for the Mother, except during the ploughing season. During the ploughing season the Son is very busy, often working from early morning to evening with a short break for lunch and rest. During this period the Mother has practically no work as the women of all castes are prohibited from working in the fields. During this period she helps the Son by preparing food for him in time, carrying the food to the field and doing such other work as tending the cattle. When the Son is over-worked she sometime massages him, before he goes to sleep in the night.

Even during the busiest period of work, it is the duty of the Mother to cook for the Son. Cooking is generally done in the afternoon and early in the morning. As has been mentioned earlier the Son always lends a helping hand to the Mother in cooking. Specially in the afternoon if she is late in returning from work he starts cooking and because of the brevity of Pano cooking he may even complete it. The evening meal is generally cooked by the Mother without any help from the Son.

The pattern of interaction between Mother and adult Son described above is only possible when he is not separated from the family of orientation. When he is separated from the family of orientation there is no scope for interaction between him and the Mother concerning the daily round of occupational activities.
Performance of religious rites:

This is a very minor item in the daily routine of the Pano. They perform certain occasional festivals which do not form a part of the daily routine. The performance of various Osa can be said to be a part of the daily routine because of their innumerable occurrence. Among the landowning-cum-share cropping group these are performed in imitation of the Khandayat and to some extent of the Brahman. Either the Mother or the Son may purchase and procure the articles required for an Osa. The majority of the purchases are however made by the Mother or the Father. This is done because the main responsibility of performing an Osa is that of the parents’ and not of the Sons’.

Even if the Son’s separated from the family of orientation, the Osas are performed jointly. If he is married, his Wife also participates in these joint performance.

Recreational activities:

The nature of recreational activities among the Pano has been described earlier. The main recreation in the village is gossiping. Occasional playing of game of cards and still rarer playing of outdoor country games are also done by the Pano. In none of these there is any scope for effective interaction between Mother and Son. She may watch the Son playing outdoor games but she does not watch him playing indoor games. Mother and Son avoid each other while gossiping.
Rearing children:

It has been described earlier that the rearing of the Son at the infant stage is the exclusive duty of the Mother. It is much more exclusive on the part of the Pano, especially the working class Pano. The reason is that during the early infancy of the Son the Mother desists from working as a wage-earner. This puts additional strain on the Father to meet the expenses of the family. He therefore takes up additional work during this period and practically has little time to attend to the rearing of the Son. He gradually takes part in the rearing as the Son grows up. As mentioned earlier the childhood of the Pano son is shortlived and compared to the Brahman it is indeed too brief. The rearing of the Son after the infant stage does not present a problem to the Mother. During early boyhood the Son learns occupational work either from the Mother or the Father. As he grows up he learns work from the Father though the Mother is equally a working woman.

It has been observed earlier that among the Brahman and the Khandayats of the landowning group the parents want to inculcate a tradition in their Son. The achievements of the Son are matters of pride for the parents whereas his vices and drawbacks are matters for shame. The Pano parents, have no such aims. They are fully satisfied if the Son grows up to be an able bodied working man. Another point of difference from the Brahman and the Khandayat is that the adult Son breaks away from his family of orientation earlier and has very little relationship either with the Mother or the Father afterwards. The concept of helping the Mother during her old age is not prevalent among the Pano. As a contrary trend can be
described certain forces which have tended for the reintroduction of joint family among a section of the Pano. These forces and their implication for the families have been described in the background chapter. Here it would only be relevant to say that the families which have tended to remain as joint families, the position of the Mother has undergone a transformation. This transformation is not so pronounced compared to similar change with regard to the position of the Father. The Father is able to sustain and improve the income of the family based on land, financed by the Sons outside. He thus works as a key-force in cementing the tie between the nuclear families of himself and his Sons. The Mother cannot take up these functions—on the other hand she is rather handicapped to make any contribution to the earnings of the family, as she is not allowed to work in the fields in these families. Nevertheless, her position is enhanced by the position of her Husband. She is accorded with some respect by the Sons and their Wives, both remaining in the village and working outside. All her expenses are borne by her Sons and she is given better clothing than are ordinarily worn by Pano women. This is done to mark her out from other women and her better appearance is regarded as a mark of prestige for the Sons.

Daily income and expenditure:

It has been seen earlier that part of the expenditure of the family is shared both by the Husband and the Wife though the share of the Husband is larger. Consequently when the Son is an infant a part of his expenses are met by the Mother. During the early stage of infancy she is not able to meet these expenses as she has to attend to the infant Son and cannot go for work. If there
are elder children in the house then of course she goes out to work as soon as she feels strong enough to do so. Thus the Mother remains inactive, as far as earning is concerned, for about four months when there are grown up children in the house otherwise, this period may spread over one year. During this period she is entirely dependent on the Father for meeting the expenses of the Son.

During his early youth the Son hands over a part of his income, or even the entire income, to his parents. The money is usually handed over to the Father, but in some cases this is handed over to the Mother. This behaviour on the part of the Son is very shortlived. After about one year of earning the Son becomes reluctant to handover his income to the parents though he contributes towards the expenditure of the family by purchasing a part of the requirements of the family. He also contributes towards other expenditure but he does not handover the income as before. Gradually he is separated from his family of orientation and does not concern himself with its income and expenditure. It is noteworthy that, while remaining jointly with the parents, he has a more deciding voice in the daily income and expenditure of the family than his Mother. Another noteworthy factor is that he occasionally meets some of the personal needs of the Mother, such as buying a piece of saree or napkin, whereas he does not show the same behaviour towards his Father.

Daily purchases are made either by the Mother or the Son (it is also equally done by the Father) from the village shop. Major purchases and purchases from outside the village are generally done by the Son (or the Father) as it is considered that the women are apt to be cheated in these transactions.
KEUTA

The Mother-Son relationship among the Keuta is comparable to that among the Khandayat though there are certain important points of difference between the two. As against the vigorous participation of the Khandayat in the village affairs the Keuta are withdrawing by nature. The landowning-cum-trading group of Keuta are much wealthier than the landowning group among the Khandayat. The labour class group are also financially much better off than the corresponding group among the Khandayat and the condition of some of them are even better than the landowning Khandayat. The intracaste differences are more pronounced among the Keuta and the pattern of activities are also considerably different. These factors, described earlier in detail, have been taken into consideration while considering Mother-Son relationship among the Keuta. With this general statement on Mother-Son relationship among this caste the specific items of daily routine may now be taken into consideration.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The males among the landowning-cum-trading group of Keuta wash their face and clean their teeth sitting in the front verandah like the Brahman. It is a partial duty of the Keuta Mother among this group to place a pot of water and a piece of twig on the verandah for her Son to clean his teeth and wash his face. It is however not a binding duty and is generally done by younger females of the household.
Among the working class Keuta the washing of the face and cleaning of teeth is done very casually while going to or returning from work. While engaged in husking parched rice it is done also in the house but not so elaborately as is done among the other group. During early boyhood it is rather the duty of the Son to help her Mother in this respect. The twigs are generally collected by the male members of the house including the Son. He helps his Mother to clean her teeth during her illness and infirmity. The Mother also does the same on similar occasions. There is no scope for interaction in the daily routine between Mother and married adult Son as far as this item of daily routine is concerned. Whatever help the Son requires in this respect, he is expected to get from his Wife.

Defecation:

Among the landowning-cum-trading group the infant is taken care of by the Mother and the task of making him defecate and cleaning him after that are entirely her duty. She also washes the clothings on which the Son defecates. The pattern is completely different among the labourer group where the Father equally shares the work of the Mother in this respect. He does not wash the clothing on which the Son has defecated, as often as the Mother, but he very often makes the Son defecate and cleans him after that. This pattern differs from that of all the castes in the village. It has been mentioned earlier that this is due to the peculiar work pattern prevalent among the Keuta due to their preparation of parched rice and the trading in that material.
The task of teaching the Son to observe seclusion at the time of defecation is not a problem for the landowning Keuta because of the availability of adequate private place for them to defecate. The Mother in the labourer group has little time to inculcate this habit in the Son. He learns such habits by emulating the elder children.

The Son helps his Mother to perform the act of defecation among both the groups. The Adult Son also renders similar help to the Mother if he is unmarried.

Bathing:

The infant Son is bathed by the Mother among the landowning Keuta. Among the labourer group both the Mother and the Father bath the infant Son according to their convenience. There is no scope for interaction between Mother and adult Son in either group, except that the Mother is casually helped during her old age and infirmity.

Eating:

It is considered as one of the basic duties of the Mother to prepare the food and serve it to her unmarried Son among the landowning Keuta. As mentioned before cooking among this group of Keuta is second only to the Brahman, in its elaborateness. For the labourer group the cooking is as brief as possible. This is due to the work cycle of this group both inside and outside the house. Both the Father and the Mother share the responsibility of cooking — though the Mother's responsibility is somewhat more. The adult Son also shares this responsibility. In the labour class Keuta household
serving the food is as casual as it is elaborate among the landowning group. Most often the Son and the Mother help themselves to food among this group whereas among the landowning group the Son never helps himself to food. He always waits for the Mother to serve him.

The food expenses of the Son is borne by the family of orientation and the food expenses of the widowed Mother is borne by the Sons among the landowning group. Among the labourer group the Son almost invariably breaks away from his family of orientation and there is no interaction between Mother and Son except on festive and ceremonial occasions when the special cakes, prepared for an Osa are given to him. The food expenses of the old Mother are not generally borne by the Son among this group, even when she is widowed. Only one case was observed in the village where the old widowed Mother was maintained by the Son.

Sleeping:

The infant Son sleeps with the Mother among both the groups. The availability of adequate residential space among the landowning Keuta does not make it necessary on the part of the Mother in this group to make the adjustments, for the sleeping of her married adult Son, which have been described earlier, to be causing effective interaction between Mother and Son among the Khandayat and Pano. These adjustments are not also found to be necessary on the part of the Mother among the labourer group as the Son is separated from his family of orientation almost immediately after marriage.
Cleaning:

Among the landowning group both the daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by the female members of the house. Women labourers are hired for the purpose of periodical cleaning as the houses are too large to be thoroughly cleaned by the women of the household. The Son may procure these hired women and arrange for their payment but beyond this he has no further interaction with his Mother. The outer courtyard is cleaned by the Son but it is not his exclusive duty and may be done by any female member of the family. The room where the Bhagabatgadi is kept is swept and cleaned by the Mother and the Son according to their convenience. This is done as a religious duty and has no patterned mode of behaviour. As against this both the Mother and the Son share the duties of the daily and periodical cleaning of the house among the labourer group. This is done in conjunction with other members of the household.

The clothes of the infant Son are washed by the Mother, among the landowning group whereas, this duty is shared by both Father and Mother among the labourer group. The adults wash their own clothing. Among the landowning group the Son makes his Wife wash the clothes of his Mother, during her illness and infirmity.

Toilet:

The Mother combs the hair of the infant Son, gives him turmeric bath and paints his eyelids with Kajal. This is done more regularly and elaborately among the landowning group than among the labourer group. Beyond this there is no scope for interaction between the Mother and Son among the Keuta as far as
toilet is concerned.

Cooking:

It is the primary duty of the Mother among the landowning group to cook for her Son. Cooking among this groups is an elaborate affair, the details of which have been described earlier. This involves heavy work for the Mother. As against this cooking is very brief and simple among the labourer class Keuta. In this group also cooking is the primary responsibility of the Mother. It is however shared by the Father and the adult Son is also expected to take up cooking when the occasion demands. On the whole cooking is not the exclusive duty of women among the working class Keuta and Mother and Son co-operate with each other to get the work done. The materials required for cooking are purchased or procured, either by the Son or the Mother according to convenience.

Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning Keuta the women are nor engaged in the occupational activities. Mother and Son therefore come only into indirect interaction as far as daily round of occupational activities are concerned. She helps him by cooking his food and serving it in time to suit the work cycle of the Son. After the Son's marriage these functions are taken up by his Wife, though the Mother aids and supervises her work.

The labouring-share-cropping-cum-parched rice preparing group of Keuta present a completely different picture. Among this group the scope for effective interaction between Mother and Son is perhaps the highest compared with the other castes except
the Dhoba. Such scope exists among the working class Khandayat and Pano but among them the occupational activities of Mother and Son run parallel to each other, which reduces the effectiveness of interaction. This is because among these castes all occupational activities are concerned with agriculture. The preparation of parched rice among the working class Keuta and the consequent trade in that calls for close cooperation of all the members of the household. This cooperation is needed not simply to ease the labours of others and to put up some additional work. This cooperation is comparable to the working of a factory where different aspects of the job are performed by different workers. Mother and Son get up very early in morning, collect the paddy, boiled on the previous day and spread in the open to be dampened, and begin beating it with the husker. When the husking lever is operated by one, the other takes up the work of pushing the paddy in and out of the husking lever which is a deft performance because the slightest delay or slip may cause the hand to be crushed under the weight of the lever. Mother and Son take up alternately the work of operating the husking lever and managing the husking hole. This interaction is also extended to the sphere of trading in parched rice. The Mother brings paddy as advance for payment in parched rice, from the clients in the village. She also does the same in the villages which are situated within a radius of two miles of the village. The Son goes to the far off villages and to the different weekly markets. While the Mother's activities call for short but regular absence from the house the Son's activities are marked by periodical but longer absences. During the absence of the Mother the Son manages such work as
cooking and cleaning the house - which should be ordinarily be done by the Mother.

This interaction between Mother and Son among the working class Keuta, though very effective, is not confined to them alone. It is shared by other members of the family. Another important factor to be noted in this connection is that this very effective interaction comes to an abrupt end after the marriage of the Son which is almost co-terminus with his separation, from his family of orientation.

**Performance of religious rites:**

There is scope for interaction between Mother and Son in the performance of various Osa and the worship of Bhagabatgadi. The performance of the horse worship and the observance of festivals like Dolyatra, important as they are, do not come within the purview of daily routine.

The pattern of activities differ between the landowning group and the labourer group of Keuta. Among the landowning group the Osas are held almost as elaborately as among the Brahman. The Mother takes initiative in remembering the particular date on which an Osa is scheduled to be held. It is also her duty to prepare the cakes on the occasion of each Osa. The Son procures or purchases the articles required for an Osa but it is not his exclusive or primary duty (it is the primary duty of the Father to procure the materials required for an Osa). The worship of Bhagabatgadi is a family affair, though the actual worship is done by a hired priest. The sweeping of the room where the Gadi is kept and the arrangement of the items required for the worship is the
duty of all the members of the household. Either the Mother or the Son may do it but there is no patterned relationship centering round this, nor is it confined to the Mother and Son alone.

Compared with the landowning group the Osas performed among the labourer group of Keuta are very few and the connected ceremonies very brief. All the members of the connected household take part in the performance of rites even in the preparation of cakes. Mother and Son participate like other members of the household. One noteworthy factor here is that, though the Son is separated from his family of orientation immediately after his marriage, he and his Wife continue to participate in the Osas as long as the Mother is alive.

Recreational activities:

There is practically no scope for interaction between Mother and Son in the recreational activities. She may come to indirect interaction by preparing food for him in time so as to allow him to indulge in the recreational activities. She also observes him playing outdoor games or indoor games. Beyond these indirect activities the Mother has nothing to do with the recreational activities of the Son. They avoid each other while gossiping.

Rearing children:

Among the landowning group the pattern of Mother Son relationship concerning rearing of children is almost the same as that among the landowning group of Khandayat. During infancy the Son is brought up almost exclusively by the Mother. As he grows up the responsibility of his socialization is taken up by the Father.
It has been mentioned before that the Keuta woman of the landowning group is extremely home-oriented. Naturally therefore she has practically nothing to do with the rearing of the child for the commercial and agricultural activities. The continuation of the Son in the joint family after his marriage is a factor which marks out the Mother-Son relationship among the landowning Keuta from other castes. The antagonism between the Son's Wife and the Mother, which is the reason of the Son's breaking away from his family of orientation among other castes, is conditioned among the landowning Keuta by financial stability of the joint family, availability of sufficient living space, the home orientation of the women and the withdrawing nature of the people.

Among the labour class group the pattern presents a completely different picture. Here the interaction between the infant Son and the Mother is slightly different because of the Father's sharing of the burdens of child-rearing during this stage. The primary responsibility of rearing the child at the infant stage is of course that of the Mother. The pattern becomes sharply different when the interaction between the married adult Son and the Mother is considered. The adult Son and the Mother are separated from the family of orientation soon after his marriage and he ceases to have any interaction with her except on special occasions like the performance of an Osa or during an emergency like illness or death.
Daily income and expenditure:

As far as daily income and expenditure are concerned there is marked difference between the pattern of Mother-Son relationship among the landowning group and the labourer group of Keuta. Among the former the pattern is almost similar to that of the landowning Khandayat. Yet there is some difference owing to the commercial activities of this group - a feature which is entirely absent among the Khandayat. The Mother's role is passive as far as commercial activities are concerned but her help is sometimes taken for obtaining capital for new ventures. Usually a Keuta woman of this group has sufficient ready money available with her. Part of the money she brings with her from her Father's house. This does not constitute a part of the dowry and is considered as her personal money. The Son may borrow from this fund but ultimately he has to return it to her. Apart from this there is also a difference as far as daily expenditure is concerned. Most of the daily requirements are not purchased by the Keutas of the group. As they trade in these articles, they usually keep a part of it for their daily use - the cost of it being deducted from the profit. This makes the Keuta Mother more economical with daily expenditure. The Son periodically gives small amounts of money to the Mother which goes to increase her personal fund. As against this the Mother-Son relationship concerning daily income and expenditure presents a completely different pattern among the labour class Khandayat. Among this group the Mother is an earning member of the family and the adult Son has very effective interaction with her in earning the income derived from the preparation of parched rice. Both Mother and Son
keep a substantial portion of the income and spend it to meet family expenses according to their choice. Whereas among the landowning Keuta the Mother is partly dependent on her Son (and partly on her Husband) for her personal expenses (such as purchase of saroes) among the labourer group she is free to make her own purchases.

DH O B A

After considering Mother-Son relationship among the Keuta, the Dhoba caste may be taken up for similar description. The most important background factors to be reckoned with in this respect are the caste occupation of the Dhoba and the completely subordinate character of the Dhoba women in the family. The two factors influence Mother-Son relationship in the caste and mark it out as different from that of the other castes. With this general note the pattern of Mother-Son relationship among the Dhoba in the specific items of daily routine may now be taken into consideration.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

The face of the infant Son is cleaned by the Mother but she is not particular about cleaning the teeth of the young Son. In accordance with the practice of washing the face and cleaning the teeth at the washing ghat, by both men and women, the Son gradually learns to clean his teeth there.

Defecation:

The residences of the Dhoba being situated at the outskirts of the village and near the fields, defecation does not present a problem for them. The Mother makes the infant Son
defecate and washes him and the clothes on which he has defecated. Early in the boyhood the Son learns to defecate in the fields and wash by himself. In old age and illness the Son helps the Mother to go to the fields, but he has not to do it very often as his Wife and woman members of other families come to his help. (The close relationship between relations outside the nuclear family has been described earlier.) The mother also helps the Son during his illness, a duty which she shares with his Wife.

Bathing:

Bathing among the Dhoba is done very often casually as they work in water for the major part of the day. The infant Son is bathed by the Mother but he learns to take his bath by himself during early boyhood.

Eating:

The infant Son is fed by the Mother. He is served by the Mother in the boyhood and the adult stage before marriage. Father and Son, specially adult Son eat together among the Dhoba. It is therefore natural for the Mother to eat after the Son has taken his food. The food expenses of the old and infirm Mother, especially if she is a widow, are borne by the Son.

Cleaning:

Cleaning activities among the Dhoba can be divided into two categories - the cleaning which is done as a part of professional work and the routine household cleaning. The professional cleaning rightly belongs to the category of occupational activities and would be dealt along with it. The
 head cleaning may be considered here.

The daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by the women. When the Son is unmarried this is done for him by the Mother. After his marriage the Son sets up his own establishment and the cleaning is done by him. Though washing is their profession, the Dhoba male does not wash the clothes of their female. Even the Son does not wash the clothes of his Mother. The Mother washes her own clothing and when she is ill this is done by her Wife and if he is unmarried this is done by a female relative. The services of a female relative are not difficult to arrange due to the intra-family cooperation, which has been described earlier.

The Mother washes the clothing of her minor Son and also of the adult Son when he is ill or otherwise unable to do it. This is however not her sole duty. This is equally shared by the Son's Father and Wife.

Toilet:

The Mother combs the hair of the minor Son and paints his eyelids with Kajal. In this respect the Mother-Son interaction is very much similar to that of the labourer group of Khandayat. There is no interaction between adult Son and Mother as far as toilet is concerned.

Cooking:

Cooking among the Dhoba is exclusively the duty of the women. The Mother cooks for the Son till his marriage. It has been already mentioned that the Dhoba Husband is very exacting in his dealings with his Wife. Similarly the Dhoba Son is also very
exacting with his Mother as far as cooking is concerned. Among the Brahman and other castes cooking for the adult Son is a labour of love for the Mother but among the Dhoba it is a compulsory duty and it is not unusual for the adult Son to abuse his Mother for lapses. As observed earlier the Son among the Dhoba inevitably breaks away from his family of orientation. The break is not sharp and there are very effective interaction between the Mother and the Son even after separation. The Mother therefore helps the Son whenever there is any difficulty in his family. The Son's Wife cooks for the Mother during the latter's old age and infirmity and this is a regular feature among the Dhoba. As the Dhoba exercises a more thorough control over the Wife than other castes, they do not face any difficulty in making their Wives cook for their Mothers. The material required for cooking are procured and purchased by both the Mother and the Son.

Daily round of occupational activities:

It has been observed earlier that the Dhoba is a unique caste in the village which pursue the traditional caste occupation as their major occupation. Both from the point of view of the time spent and income derived from it the washing of clothes is their major occupation. As men and women of the caste share the labours almost equally, the occupational activities provide an effective scope for interaction between Mother and Son. The Son works together with his Mother (and also the Father) right from an early boyhood. At the age of ten the Dhoba boy is able to do some independent washing and at the age of fifteen or sixteen he is thoroughly versed in the trade. As long as the Son is unmarried he
works with his parents. He helps the Mother to carry the clothes to the clients' homes at an early age. As he grows up he concentrates more and more on washing the clothes as carrying clothes to the clients' houses is not considered to be a manly job.

Though the Dhoba Son separates himself from his family of origin, he nevertheless continues to have relationships with it and nowhere are the relationships so effective as in the sphere of occupational activities. The Mother especially has to be responsive to the requirements of the Son's family during the illness and absence of the Son's Wife. This mutual relationship is not confined to the Son's Mother and the Son's Wife alone. Mutual help and adjustment in the occupational sphere is found among different families of the caste removed from each other in kin distance. As mentioned before, this cooperation is due to the demands of the traditional caste occupation of the Dhoba with its emphasis on strict punctuality and this also becomes possible due to the subordinate status of Dhoba women in the family.

Performance of religious rites:

It has been mentioned earlier that the Dhoba observe no Osas and there are no religious rites which can be considered as a part of their daily routine. In discharging the ritual obligations to the clients the Dhoba Father and Son come to effective interaction but there is no scope for interaction, in this sphere between Mother and Son. Only on the occasion of every Osa the Son may expect the Mother to collect enough cakes from the houses of the clients. As a rule the Dhoba males do not go to collect cakes.
Recreational activities:

It has been mentioned earlier that the sphere of social activities among the Dhoba is strictly limited because of his caste status and his occupational activities. This also restricts the scope of recreational activities. The population of the Dhoba is small and not sufficient for participation in games. This makes gossiping the only recreation among the Dhoba male and female. Gossiping usually takes place in the evening when the day’s work is completed. The females have no time for gossiping during the earlier part of the evening as they are busy cooking at that time. Women therefore participate in gossiping after dinner. There is no bar for the Mother to participate in group gossiping in the company of his Son but she prefers a group consisting only women and that too of her contemporaries. The Son also prefers the company of his male contemporaries. The reason for this preference is that they can be intimate in the company of their equals and in gossiping one cannot be "intimate" with his nearest kin. On the whole it can be said that recreational activities do not provide a scope for effective interaction between Mother and Son.

Rearing children:

During the infancy the Son is brought up by the Mother. She feeds and cleans him and watches him when he is able to crawl. She is in complete charge of the Son till he is able to walk and take care of himself that is till he is about five years of age. The Father does not take any active part in the rearing of the infant Son and compared to other castes the role of the Dhoba Father in this respect is perhaps the most insignificant. It has been mentioned
earlier that women play a completely subordinate role to the men in the Dhoba families and one of the marks of subordination is the complete responsibility of the Mother for rearing children. The Dhoba Son, however, does not present a problem after attaining the age of five or six. At this age he goes to the washing ghat in the company of his parents. It is then the duty of both the parents to keep an eye on the boy. Gradually the boy is taught to help in the washing of the clothes but the imparting of this training is the duty of the Father and the Mother has no role here.

**Daily income and expenditure:**

Daily income among the Dhoba is under the control of the male head of the household and the expenditure is also regulated by him. The Mother is under the control of her Husband as far as daily income and expenditure are concerned. She comes under the control of the Son if she is widowed. She plays as much a subordinate role to the Son as she played to her Husband before being widowed. She collects the dues from the clients but these are handed over in their entirety to the Son. Again she may purchase the daily requirements from the village shop but the amount of daily expenditure is also strictly regulated by the Son and even the nature of the purchases are also determined by him. Inspite of this strict regulation the Mother is able to have a small fund of her own. This fund is created out of the small sums of money given to her by the clients on the occasions of different Osas and during the marriage or other ceremonies. The Son at times gives small sums of money to her for personal expenses like the purchase of betelnuts and betel. The money brought by the Mother from her Father's house also forms a part
of this fund. This is treated as a personal fund of the Mother and the Son has no claim over it. He may borrow from it at the time of emergency if the Mother is willing to lend. It is noteworthy that inspite of the subordinate status of the women in the Dhoba family, the males do not force the women to depart with the money which is treated as their personal fund. The Son, though he controls the daily income and expenditure, has therefore no authority over the personal fund of the Mother.

**GUDIA**

The Husband-Wife and Father-Son relationship among the Gudia has been described earlier. The pattern of interaction concerning these relationships were found to be identical with the landowning Khandayat. This also applies to the pattern of interaction concerning the Mother-Son relationship. The behaviour pattern in the various aspects of daily routine among the Gudia 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:

The traditional caste occupation of the Gudia is preparation of sweetmeats but this only a minor occupation, while the members of the caste are engaged in agriculture as the major occupation. If the Son is not separated from the Mother he cooperates with her to prepare sweetmeats on festive occasions when there is demand for it. It has however little significance for daily routine.

Performance of religious rites:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.

Recreational activities:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.

Rearing children:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.

Daily income and expenditure:

No difference of behaviour from the Khandayat.
BADHEI

Like the Gudia, the position of the Badhei is also identical with that of the Khandayat. The various aspects of daily routine among the Badhei are stated below indicating the similarity and difference of behaviour from the Khandayat, concerning the pattern of interaction between the Mother and Son in the daily routine.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

No difference behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Defecation:

No difference of behaviour from that of the Khandayat.

Bathing, Eating, Sleeping, Cleaning, Toilet, Cooking:

No difference from Khandayat.

Daily round of occupational activities:

There is no direct interaction between Mother and Son. The Mother only cooks the food to suit the work cycle of the Son in different seasons.

Performance of religious rites, Recreational activities, Rearing children, Daily income and expenditure:

No difference from the Khandayat.