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MAN IN INDIA

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FAMILY IN FOUR INDIAN VILLAGES*

LALIT KUMAR SEN

(Received on 3 September 1964)

Abstract. Issue has been taken in this article with Nimkoff and Middleton's contention that the family type in a culture is a function of the prevalent subsistence pattern. The questions within the same culture has not been answered or explained so far. The author of this article has investigated this question taking a small universe of 600 families in 4 isolated agricultural villages in West Bengal. In this universe, the nuclear families outnumber the extended families. The explanation, in part, rests with semantics and definitions. The major explanation was found, however, in the direct relationship between land-tenure classes and family types. Nimkoff and Middleton's contention may still hold true if the prevalent subsistence pattern is broken down into specific occupations.

NIMKOFF and Middleton have observed an association between family types and the subsistence patterns in a survey of 565 cultures in Murdock's 'World Ethnographic

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Sample'.¹ According to them, the nuclear family is most common in societies where hunting and gathering are dominant occupations. It is also the characteristic family type in industrial societies. The extended family, on the other hand, is characteristic of societies where the predominant subsistence pattern is either fishing or agriculture. The greatest frequency of the extended family, according to them, occurs in societies where both agriculture and animal husbandry are important subsistence patterns. They also found that the size of the food supply, the degree of spatial mobility involved in subsistence activities and the kind and amount of family property are associated with family types.

In other words, Nimkoff and Middleton have seen the family type as a function of the prevalent type of economy or more specifically, the subsistence pattern and factors associated with it in a society.² They have not attempted, however, to explain the variations within the same society. How would one explain, for example, the existence of both nuclear and extended families in a peasant society ?

Recent studies have shown that contrary to common belief, the basic unit of social organization in rural India is the nuclear family.³ Data presented in this paper raise questions that tend to confirm these findings. It would be misleading to explain this apparent paradox in terms of industrialization since the nuclear family, as shown by Nimkoff and Middleton's study, is not the function of an industrial economy only. Also, in India, the percentage of nuclear families as compared to that of the extended families is not proportional to the degree of industrialization. The data presented in this paper were collected in four agricultural villages which were remarkably isolated from the main stream of urban-industrial life. For these four villages, at least, there is no direct relationship between family types and industrialization and urbanization. It is suggested here that an analysis of family types in relation to certain structural features in Indian villages will throw light on this problem.

Definitions

It should be made clear, however, that the term 'nuclear family' has a different connotation in the Indian context. Most of the confusion about the rural family types in India has arisen due to use of this term in the Western sense. A nuclear family, in the Western sense, consists of the husband, the wife, and their unmarried offspring. Such a unit is independent of the parent unit except, perhaps, in affectionalities. The composition of a nuclear family in India is about the same but the ties with the parent family are quite different. In the West, a nuclear family is formed with marriage. In India it usually comes into existence with the break-up of an extended family. The nucleated units are usually economically independent of each other. In social ties, however, they are definitely not independent in the Western sense. Certain ritualistic obligations bind these units together even when the split is caused or is followed by a serious emotional conflict. Members of each nucleated unit have varying degrees of ritualistic obligations for occasions marking the major events in the life cycle of an individual, namely birth, marriage, and death. These obligations are precisely defined and specified by Hindu custom.⁴ It is also not uncommon for these nucleated units to occupy the same house organized around separate hearths.⁵

It is perhaps for this reason that any attempts at delineating nuclear and extended families in India have ended in confusion. Dr. I. P. Desai's classification of the family types in India brings out the continuous nature of the family system and the way the nuclear family shades off into the extended family and vice versa.⁶ Empirically speaking, Indian nuclear families are more like the units of a decentralized extended family, each unit enjoying a certain amount of economic independence but maintaining strong social ties with each other. It is possible, however, that one might find two types of nuclear families in India. One type quite similar to the Western model may be found in urban-industrial centres. The other type, the type we have described above,

is characteristic of the rural society in India. In order to avoid confusion, it is necessary to keep these two separate.

Although many different types of extended families have been observed all over the world there is less confusion about their delineation. For the purpose of this paper we will include all varieties of the extended family under that general name. The characteristic type of extended family in the four villages we have studied is the patriarchal, patrilocal, and patrilineal extended family. An extended family is defined here as a family unit consisting of more than one nucleus related by blood collaterally or lineally, and all such nuclei are under a joint control, economic or otherwise, usually exerted by the oldest male belonging to the oldest generation.

The Sample

Our sample consists of 594 families in four villages in the Burdwan district of West Bengal. The four villages, however, were treated not as a sample representing a larger universe, but as the universe itself. The reason for such a procedure was that these villages were not selected by random sampling, and statistically speaking, did not represent a larger universe. This would limit our conclusions drawn from this study to these villages only.⁷

The villages were selected on the basis of their similarity. They are not only in the same region of the same state with a common language, but they also have the same political, economic, and cultural history and have been in the same administrative unit for a long time. Secondly, the degree of isolation of each village in relation to the nearest post office, trade centre, town, holy place, school, availability of a licensed doctor and hospital is similar. Although no two villages are exactly the same anywhere in India, these similarities made it possible to treat the villages as one unit. These four villages are about fifty miles from the metropolitan city of Calcutta and are located within a range of fifteen to five miles from the Grand Trunk Road and the Eastern Railway. In spite of their proximity to this important communication

network which connects the whole of North India, our villages are remarkably isolated. The roads linking these villages with the Grand Trunk Road are mud roads and are not usable for a good part of the year due to the heavy rains. The only available means of transportation, the ox-cart, is slow moving and the cattle are also needed for cultivation. An outside contact index was prepared by giving points on visits by the head of the family to various places, and these points were then multiplied by the frequency of visits. It was seen from the outside contact scores obtained by the heads of the families that an overwhelming majority of the population of these villages stay within a short distance of their village. There was not a single newspaper-subscriber in all four villages. There was only one radio owned by a wealthy Brahman. These evidences will illustrate the isolation of these villages in relation to urban-industrial centres.⁸

Data collected in these villages on family types in relation to certain structural features are now presented in the following tables. The figures are percentages and do not represent actual frequency counts.

TABLE 1

Percentage of different family types for all four villages

Family types	Percentages
Nuclear family	56.0
Extended family	38.0
Other	6.0
Total 100.0	

Table 1 presents the percentages of the different types of families for all four villages. It can be seen from this table that in these four villages, the percentage of nuclear families is higher than that of extended families. As has already been mentioned, this does not mean that rural India is highly industrialized. As a matter of fact, the high degree of isolation of these villages would make the external sources seem unimportant as causal factors. It would also seem more appropriate to study the internal structural conditions of the

villages in order to understand the problem. Data were available on caste, occupation, education, land-holdings, ownership of productive assets, income, outside contact, and movie attendance, and family types were cross-tabulated with each of these.

For the purpose of this study, caste has been rank-ordered into three categories, upper, middle, and lower. Statuses of individual caste groups vary from one region to another. The rank scale used here applies only to the four villages under study.

Occupation has been broadly classified into agricultural and non-agricultural. The agricultural occupations again were classified into the four land tenure classes, namely non-cultivating owners, owner-cultivators, share-croppers, and day-labourers. Non-cultivating owners have full property rights on the land but they do not cultivate the land themselves. They enter into a contract with the share-croppers who do the actual cultivation and receive a part of the return, usually 50% of the crop. The owner cultivators own the land, have full property rights on it and cultivate it themselves. The share-croppers cultivate land which they do not own. They have few rights on the land they cultivate. They invest in the land, sometimes jointly with the actual owner, and keep part of the return. They do not rent the land and so the contract can be dissolved at any time by either side. The day-labourers work on a daily wage basis and have no fixed employer. They accept daily employment or employment for a longer period and receive their wages daily in cash.

Education is categorized into 5 classes : no education, first to fourth grade, fifth to eighth grade, ninth to tenth grade, and finally, matriculation or high school graduation. Among the respondents there was no one with a college education.

Land-ownership has been classified into 9 categories starting from no land to 25.5 acres and above.

Only plough cattle and land have been included in productive assets, and the ownership of such assets has been

classified into 10 groups starting from no plough cattle and no land to 4 cattle and 10 acres of land and above.

Income is classified into 10 annual per capita income classes ranging from no income to 350 rupees and above.

To measure the outside contacts of the respondents (the heads of families) an outside contact index was developed. Points were given on visits to different places ranging from neighbouring villages to urban centres. These points were then multiplied by the number of visits.

Movie attendance was categorized on the basis of the frequency of visits to movie halls and these ranged from zero to 'very frequently'.

TABLE 2

Family types cross-tabulated with caste (Percentages)

Family types	Upper	Caste	
		Middle	Lower
Nuclear	60.0	46.0	56.0
Extended	37.0	51.0	37.0
Other	3.0	3.0	7.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

In table 2, family types have been cross-tabulated with caste. It can be seen from this table that the upper castes have the highest percentage of nuclear families. Among the lower castes, there are more nuclear families than extended families. The similarity shown by the upper and the lower castes in having more nuclear families than extended families is interesting. In value-orientation, and in many other respects these two groups are quite different. The difference in caste values and caste statuses does not seem to be related to the family types among the upper and lower castes in these four villages. The common notion that the extended family is a characteristic of the upper castes is not confirmed by the data presented in table 2. The fact that the middle castes have the highest percentage of extended families is also significant. One would suspect the presence of an intervening variable in this rela-

tionship. One might also hypothesize that the middle classes, as in many other societies, show a conservative trend in carefully following the accepted and traditional norms. It is true that in rural India, family norms strongly support the maintenance of an extended family, and the middle castes in having a higher percentage of extended families are reflecting that trend of conformity to the traditional norms. Our main conclusion, however, is that there is no significant break in the distribution of family types in relation to high and low positions in the caste-hierarchy. The higher percentage of extended families among the middle castes may be the effect of an intervening variable.

The upper castes consist of people with priestly and professional occupations; the middle castes represent the agriculturists; and the lower consist of artisan castes as well as day-labourers. To see whether or not there is relationship between family types and occupation, family types have been cross-tabulated with occupation in table 3.

TABLE 3

*Family types cross-tabulated with occupation
(Percentages)*

Occupation	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
Non-cultivating owners	59.0	39.0	2.0	100.0
Owner-cultivators	35.0	53.0	12.0	100.0
Share-croppers	43.0	49.0	8.0	100.0
Day-labourers	75.0	20.0	5.0	100.0
Non-agricultural occupation	61.3	33.0	4.0	100.0

In table 3, family types have been cross-tabulated with occupations and land tenure classes. The owner-cultivators show the highest percentage of extended families and the lowest percentage of nuclear families. The share-croppers follow next with a slightly lower percentage of extended families and slightly higher percentage of nuclear families as compared to the owner-cultivators. Among non-cultivating owners, the percentage of nuclear families is much higher than that of extended families. The day-labourers have the highest percentage (75%) of nuclear families. Non-agricultural

occupations show a very high percentage of nuclear families and a low percentage of extended families.

The above distribution helps to explain the distribution of family types among the three caste groups. We have already noted that the upper castes are predominantly non-cultivating owners and professionals. The middle castes are predominantly agriculturists (owner-cultivators and share-croppers) and the lower castes are either artisans or day-labourers. The relationship between occupations and family types can be explained in terms of the nature of activities involved in each occupation. Both the owner-cultivators and share-croppers who have a high proportion of extended families invest money and labour on the land. They need to pool all the resources at their command. This necessitates a family with a large number of working hands and pooling of resources under a joint control. The slightly lower percentage of joint families among the share-croppers, compared to those of the owner-cultivators, may be a reflection of the insecurity of the share-croppers because of their lack of rights to the land they cultivate.

The relationship of the non-cultivating owners and the day-labourers to the land is similar, though in quite different ways. The non-cultivating owner receives his annual share from the share-cropper, and in most cases does not contribute to the maintenance or improvement by investment on the land in any way. So the pooling of resources is not necessary in his case. In cases where the nucleated parts of a previous joint family have common ownership on a piece of land, they divide the annual share among themselves. There is no need to keep the total income under joint control.

The day-labourer is free from land ownership. The money he earns is not needed for any kind of investment on land, and he earns his wage in cash money. This is a very important fact because when the individual earns cash money without any help from the family he does not have much obligation to the family either. This helps to explain the high percentage of nuclear families among them.

The very high percentage of nuclear families among the

non-agricultural group is also significant. This group includes the artisan classes and few others whose main occupation is non-agricultural. The high percentage of nuclear families is further evidence of how money economy has affected the family type.

In Indian villages even a few decades ago, the economy was based on a system known as *jajmani*. Under this system, the business transaction between the artisans and their clients was continued along family lines from one generation to another. Occupations as well as clients were inherited. The caste system ensured the monopoly of a certain caste over a particular occupation. The *jajmani* system prevented competition within the caste itself. This system had a powerful hold on the rural economy as long as the economic exchange was based on barter. The family and not the individual was the unit of economic exchange. For example, members of a blacksmith family, a barber family, or a weaver family would pool their resources to serve their client-families and get an annual remuneration in crops (when the harvesting was done), pottery, clothes, agricultural implements, and so on. When money economy filtered through to the rural areas, this basis was broken. The individual family member could work on his own to earn cash money for which he did not have to wait till the harvesting was done. The incentive of living together in a joint family was also badly shaken by continuing quarrels over sharing the cash money earned by the individual member. It is no surprise, therefore, that these people would have a higher percentage of nuclear families than joint families.

TABLE 4

Family types cross-tabulated with education

Educational attainment	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
No education	57.1	27.1	15.8	100.0
O - IV Grade	61.7	32.8	5.5	100.0
V - VIII Grade	44.0	52.0	4.0	100.0
IX - X Grade	59.3	37.0	3.7	100.0
Matriculation	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0

In table 4, family types are cross-tabulated with education. It will be seen from this table that there is no significant break in the distribution of family types along the various levels of educational attainments of the heads of the families. The notion that higher education is positively related to nuclear families and lower education to extended families is not confirmed by the data presented in this table. In short, in these four villages, education does not seem to be significantly related to family types.

TABLE 5

Family types cross-tabulated with land-ownership

Land-ownership	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
No Land	60.0	20.8	19.7	100.0
0 - 1.4 acres	66.7	29.8	3.5	100.0
1.5 - 3.4 acres	59.4	30.7	9.9	100.0
3.5 - 6.4 acres	48.1	50.0	1.9	100.0
6.5 - 9.4 acres	41.2	58.8	0.0	100.0
9.5 - 12.4 acres	33.4	66.6	0.0	100.0
12.5 - 15.4 acres	22.3	77.7	0.0	100.0
15.5 - 18.4 acres	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0
18.5 - 25.4 acres	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0

Table 5 presents data on family types and land-ownership. It is clear that the percentage of nuclear families decreases and the percentage of extended families increases with the increase in land-holding. Extended families are thus positively related and nuclear families are inversely related to land-holding. The last two rows in table 5 (land-holding of 15.5 to 25.4 acres) do not follow this pattern. This can be explained by the fact that the actual frequency distribution in these two categories is extremely low, and the percentage distribution of family types for these two categories is not a reliable measure.

The relationship between land-ownership and family

types can be explained in two ways. More land can support and feed more people, and secondly, a large tract of land will need more people to cultivate it. There is also a relation between land-ownership and occupation. We have seen before that day-labourers and non-agriculturists have a very high percentage of nuclear families; these people have shown up in the 'no land' category which also has a very high percentage of nuclear families.

TABLE 6

Family types cross-tabulated with ownership of productive assets

Ownership classes (from lower to higher)	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
1	41.7	4.2	54.2	100.0
2	32.3	67.7	0.0	100.0
3	73.6	16.4	10.0	100.0
4	57.4	34.7	7.9	100.0
5	70.1	28.3	1.6	100.0
6	39.4	45.4	15.2	100.0
7	53.8	38.5	7.7	100.0
8	75.0	25.0	0.0	100.0
9	47.8	47.9	4.3	100.0

In table 6 ownership of productive assets has been cross-tabulated with family types. The data presented in this table do not show any significant relationship between the two. It will be recalled that only land and plough cattle were included under productive assets. Although we have found significant relationship between land-ownership and family types, the absence of such relationship in the case of ownership of productive assets indicates that ownership of plough cattle does not follow the same pattern as land-ownership in relation to family types. Non-cultivating owners have land but no plough cattle. Share-croppers have no land but have plough cattle. Owner cultivators have both, while day-labourers have none. The main reason why we did not find a relationship between ownership of productive assets and family types is

perhaps because ownership of plough cattle and ownership of land neutralized each other in many cases.

TABLE 7

Family types cross-tabulated with income

Annual per capita income class (in rupees)	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
0-49	54.5	45.4	0.1	100.0
50-74	57.4	37.0	5.6	100.0
75-99	40.0	33.3	26.7	100.0
100-124	58.2	13.9	27.9	100.0
125-149	63.3	22.5	14.2	100.0
150-174	71.1	13.1	15.8	100.0
175-199	59.2	24.0	16.8	100.0
200-224	52.0	42.0	6.0	100.0
225-249	63.0	30.4	6.6	100.0
250-349	54.1	40.0	5.9	100.0
350-over	63.9	25.0	11.1	100.0

In table 7 income classes have been cross-tabulated with family types. It is apparent from this table that there is no significant relationship between these two. For all income classes the percentage of nuclear families is higher than that of extended families. This shows that income is not important or significant enough to alter the general pattern of distribution of family types, namely a higher proportion of nuclear families.

TABLE 8

Family types cross-tabulated with outside contacts of the heads of the families

Outside contact index	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
0-9	56.6	26.4	8.0	100.0
10-19	58.7	34.9	6.4	100.0
20-29	68.2	31.8	0.0	100.0
30-39	59.5	35.1	5.4	100.0
40-49	33.3	66.7	0.0	100.0
50-59	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
60-69	75.0	25.0	0.0	100.0
70-79	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0
80-89	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0
90-99	54.5	45.5	0.0	100.0

In table 8 family types have been cross-tabulated with outside contact. It can be seen from the table that there is

no significant break in the distribution of the various family types among outside contact categories. The 100 per cent extended families for outside contact categories 50—59 and 80—89 have not been considered important, since the actual frequency counts were negligible: 2 in each case. The conclusion one might draw from the data presented in this table is that there is no significant relationship between family types and outside contact.

TABLE 9

*Family types cross-tabulated with movie attendance
of the heads of the families*

Movie attendance	Family types			Total
	Nuclear	Extended	Other	
Never seen	59.0	29.9	11.1	100.0
Once or twice, long time ago but not now	63.9	25.0	11.1	100.0
Frequently in former times, but seldom now	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Sometimes now (irregular)	61.4	34.1	4.5	100.0
Once in a year	83.3	16.7	0.0	100.0
Once in every six months	61.0	28.6	9.5	100.0
More than once in six months	52.0	44.0	4.0	100.0

In table 9, family types have been cross-tabulated with movie attendance of the heads of families. It can be seen from this table that people who have never seen a movie and people who see them frequently have a higher percentage of extended families than those who have never seen one. The percentage of nuclear families increases and that of extended families decreases with an increase in the number of visits up to a point. With people who had seen movies quite frequently in the past but do it seldom now, the percentage of nuclear families is 100 per cent. This percentage, however, drops with a further increase in the frequency of visits to movie halls. It goes up again with people who see movies once a year and drops again to the lowest point with people who see movies most frequently. The distribution of the extended families follows the same pattern in an inverse way.

One explanation of the paradoxical distribution is that the time element has provided a significant cutting point. The percentage of nuclear families is directly related and the percentage of extended families is inversely related to increased

visits in the past. The relationship seems to be in the inverse direction taking the present as the time dimension. The time element is perhaps important in making the effect of the movies felt in ideas, attitudes, and behaviour patterns.

Another explanation is that people who see movies most frequently are those who can afford the expenses. Among the four land-tenure classes, the owner-cultivators are the wealthiest and they also have the highest proportion of extended families. The frequency of visits to movies therefore shows a negative relationship with the proportion of nuclear families and a positive relationship with the proportion of extended families.

Conclusion

A few conclusions are now drawn from the data presented in the above tables.

In the four villages we have studied, the nuclear families are more numerous than extended families. This is contrary to the common notion that in peasant societies the predominant family type is the extended family. This cannot be explained by industrialization, since these villages are isolated to a great extent from the urban industrial centres. The real explanation lies in the fact that the nature of the nuclear families in rural India is different from that of the nuclear families in the West, and they can be the result of a combination of factors which are internal to the village societies.

Nimkoff and Middleton's observation that the prevalent family type in a society is the function of the predominant subsistence pattern, can also be applied to explain internal variations in individual societies. The significant relationship found in this study between family types on the one hand, and occupation and land-ownership on the other, indicates the importance of subsistence patterns in relation to family types within the same society. Non-cultivating owners, day-labourers, and non-agriculturists have a very high proportion of nuclear families as compared to the owner-cultivators and share-croppers. This indicates the fact that differences in occupations and subsistence patterns within the same society

will also explain the distribution of the nuclear and extended families among the various sections of the population.

The fact that non-cultivating owners and day-labourers both have a high proportion of nuclear families may be due to the same reason, though in quite different ways. Profits from land and wages in the form of cash money are probably important factors in determining the family types among different sections of the population.

The nature of work involved in these occupations may also explain the distribution of family types in the four villages. People who invest in land and do their own cultivation, the owner-cultivators and the share-croppers, need to have more working hands in the family in order to maximize profits and minimize expenses. Non-cultivating owners and day-labourers do not invest in land and do not do their own cultivation. They earn cash money and it is disadvantageous for them to have a large family dependent on them.

Cross-tabulations of family types with caste, education, income, outside contact, and ownership of productive assets, have not brought out any significant relationships.

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² Nimkoff and Middleton consider the family type as a function of the total social order. In the study referred to above, they have investigated family types as related to the economy as one aspect of the total social order.

³ Dube, S. C., 'Social Structure and Change in Indian Peasant Communities' in A. R. Desai, *Rural Sociology in India* (Bombay: The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1961), p. 261.

⁴ Desai, I. P. 'Symposium on Caste and Joint Family', *Sociological Bulletin* (Bombay), Vol. IV, No. 2, p. 97.

⁵ Dube, S. C., *op. cit.*

⁶ Desai I. P., 'The Joint Family in India', *Sociological Bulletin* (Bombay), Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 149-50.

⁷ Data used in this paper form part of a larger study on the attitudes of the villages toward change and was carried out in 1953-54. The Village Study Committee that sponsored this study consisted of Dr. Henry C. Hart, University of Wisconsin, Messrs. Nirmal K. Bose and Tarak C. Das, University of Calcutta, Dr. Sudhir Sen, Damodar Valley Corporation, Mr. Asoke Mitra, Government of W. Bengal, and Dr. Jyotirmoyee Sarma.

⁸ For a detailed description of the four villages, see Lalit K. Sen, *Social Dimensions of Modernization in Four Indian Villages* (Unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1962), ch. 3.

NOTES ON THE FAMILY AMONG THE DIMASA KACHARI

DIPALI GHOSH

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Abstract. This paper describes the family organization of the Dimasa Kachari of Assam. There seems to be some difference between the expected and observed behaviour. The size of households and some of the residential customs are also described in this paper.

Introduction

HAJADISA is a Kachari village typical of its kind. The Kachari of the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills belong to the Dimasa section of the tribe. Dimasa villages are widely scattered over a vast territory, but their main concentration is found in the North Cachar Hills. They are shifting cultivators and as such require large areas for cultivation. They produce only cash crops and sell their produce in Lumding bazaar which is situated 8 km. away. Lumding market plays a vital role in their economic life.

Kachari villages in the hilly areas are very small in comparison with villages in the plains. The villages are usually situated on hill tops and consist of 8 or 10 houses on the average. Each village is inhabited by a discrete group of people who live and work together. Each village, whether small or large, is a political unit as well as productive unit. The core of each village is a group of agnatic kins of a particular patri-clan with whom the other agnatic groups are linked by affinal and matrilineal ties.

Hajadisa consisting of twenty-nine households is to be

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considered as a sufficiently large village. The Daulagopo is the dominating patri-clan in Hajadisa. The members are in constant contact with one another and co-operate in various economic, social and ritual activities beyond the domestic family level. Out of the 29 households, twelve families, under the leadership of the present headman, have recently decided to shift from their present settlement to another spot in the valley of the Daiang twelve miles away. There is opportunity of wet cultivation in the latter place.

TABLE 1

Size of Dimasa villages

Name of the village	Total no. of domiciles	Total population	Distance from Lumding in km.
Hajadisa	29	110	8
Lairudisa	8	37	14
Masapdisa	9	34	19
Singhunpur	9	35	10

Residence

In a Dimasa village, a household is ordinarily occupied by a married couple and their children. The system of residence can hardly be called patrilocal, as the husband often settles in his wife's village after marriage. This tradition has been operative from olden times, as it is found that out of ten inter-village marriages which took place in the age group ranging from 40—60, five bridegrooms settled in their wives' villages. The bridegroom whose parents have already died, frequently prefers to live in his wife's place. When an inter-village marriage takes place, if the man decides to shift to his wife's village, he first lives with the wife's mother till he can build a new house of his own. During my stay, three inter-village marriages took place, of which in only one instance (case of Kalmudi of domicile no. 13) the bride went to live with her husband in his village, whereas in the other two cases (cases of Amrit Singh of domicile no. 8 and Mintri

Singh of domicile no. 6) the men came to the wives' village. When marriage within the village takes place, it has been found from the settlement plan, that the newly-wed man prefers to build his hut by the side of his wife's father's hut.

Case 1

Bangla Dao (domicile no. 16) married the youngest daughter of Baina Singh (domicile no. 14). Before marriage he used to live with his father Kowai Dao (domicile no. 30). His father's house is situated at the extreme end of the village. There was enough vacant space adjacent to his father's house where he could build his hut. But he preferred to build his hut in front of Baina Singh's house.

Case 2

The case of Sailo Dao (domicile no. 12) proves the same. He was married 14 years ago. His original house is far from the house of Baina Singh (domicile no. 14). But after marriage he built his house by the side of his wife's father's house.

Case 3

Khara Singh (domicile no. 26) lost his father in childhood. Before marriage he lived with his old widowed mother, Saldi (domicile no. 6). She is 60 years old and requires occasional help in heavy jobs, such as clearing the jungle for *jhum* cultivation, repairs of the house, etc. But when her son Khara Singh married, instead of constructing his house in the vicinity of his mother's house, he built it near that of his mother-in-law (Nabalai of domicile no. 27).

Case 4

Nango Dao (domicile no. 9) also did not construct his new house by the side of his widowed mother Sainadi's hut (domicile no. 8), but by the side of Saldi's hut, who is his mother-in-law.

One important feature of the residence pattern of the

Dimasa is that the son must build a new house after marriage. This is because two women belonging to different matri-clans (*jadi*) cannot, according to custom, live together under the same roof. They cannot also use each other's clothes, hair-oil, combs, etc. These taboos are very strictly observed.

In order to understand the nature of the residential arrangements, it is necessary to examine their rules of descent also, for the two are intimately related. The Dimasa follow a peculiar lineage system, which is quite different from that of other neighbouring tribes like the Mikir and the Naga. Generally sons and daughters are affiliated to either of the parents. But here we notice the presence of a number of patri-clans (*sengfong*) and a number of matri-clans (*jadi*). The male child reckons descent through his father and the female child through her mother. This method of descent cannot however be described as asymmetrical, in which both the patri- and matri-clans are recognized, but one of the clans, either patri or matri, functions in a submerged way (Seligman, 1928). But the case is quite different among the Dimasa. Here, none of the lines is either submerged or subordinate. Rather, each is treated as a separate entity. This can be called an example of double descent. The son's wife lives in her father's family till her husband builds a new domicile.

Case 5

Jaiburam (domicile no. 27) married two years ago. He lives with his mother, Nabalai, as he is not yet in a position to construct his own house. His wife with a little child still lives in her father's house (Ranseng Dao of domicile no. 17). Jaiburam occasionally also lives in his father-in-law's house.

Case 6

The same thing has happened to Dubiram (domicile 'no. 17). He was married to the daughter of Nabalai one year ago. Dubiram has also not yet been able to build a new house. So he lives with his father and his wife with her mother. He also lives in his family with his brother or mother. Occa-

sionally he goes to the wife's house and there is no bar to living there for days together.

Generally, within a year a man should be able to set up a new homestead.

Household size

The family among the Dimasa is usually composed of the parents and their unmarried children alone. Due to their system of residence, the family can never be extended, either vertically or laterally as the sons become separate from the parents after marriage. On this account, the Dimasa family tends to split up very easily.

Case 7

The family of Nabalai was one of the largest in the village. Her husband Sidha Singh died a few years ago. Now she is recognized as the head of the family. Two of her sons, Khelai Singh and Khetra Singh, established new households after marriage. Now one married son, one married daughter and the youngest unmarried daughter live with her. The married son and daughter will establish separate households very soon.

The process of proliferation thus always goes on, and most of the families in the village are related to each other by some ties of kinship. The family of Nabalai (domicile no. 27) and Saldi (domicile no. 6) of the Daulagopo patri-clan, form the core of the village to which all the families are related. Only the single household of Khabangdi in the village is entirely unattached. But this seems to be an exceptional case.

The households are normally small, unless when exceptional circumstances compel a man to accommodate any extra members. For example, Marjin Dao (domicile no. 13) sheltered Kalmudi after her mother's death. Her father Jayanana Dao (domicile no. 19) married for the second time. Kalmudi cannot live with his father, as her step-mother belongs to a different descent group. So she had to live with her widowed grand-

mother (*momo*). But after her death, she came to live with her *mosi*, the wife of Marjin Dao. But Marjin Dao cannot shelter his two unmarried sisters, Sakhadi and Kublangdi (domicile no. 15), as his wife belongs to a different descent group from that of his own mother and sister. So the two sisters live separately without virtually any one to look after them. One cannot say that the family tie is weak, but residence is strictly regulated by the social rules.

TABLE 2
Household size

No. of individuals in the household	No. of households	Percentage
1	3	10.34
2-3	10	34.48
4-5	9	31.03
6-7	5	17.24
8 and above	2	6.89
Total	29	99.98

Economic aspect and interpersonal relationship

The family is the basic economic and co-operative unit. Beyond the limits of the family, co-operation also exists at the village level in regard to certain economic, social and ritual activities such as marriage, post-funeral ceremony and various *pujas*. In Hajadisa, although the men and women are equally important and occupy almost equal status, the husband is regarded as the head of the family. After the death of the husband, the wife is recognized as the head of the family. Women play a very important role in economic life. This will be described later on.

We shall treat the family here as an institution from the behavioural point of view. Behaviour may be of two types, formal and informal, prescribed and non-prescribed. By formal behaviour is meant such behaviour as is expected by social custom, expressed in explicit formulation, such as the use of particular terms, avoidances, obligations of gifts and

services, etc. Informal behaviour is not a matter of obligation, it is more or less spontaneous. The latter is very difficult to anticipate, but may be found by careful observation. It is mainly based on sentimental or friendly relationship and grows between one individual and another spontaneously.

The relation of husband and wife is of great social significance in the sphere of economic co-operation on the one hand and rearing of children on the other. They have to perform different tasks to supplement each other's activity directly or indirectly. It is not customary to utter one another's personal name. Though the husband is the head of the family mutual deference is aimed at.

One scene in the morning is very common in the village. All the young couples go to their fields jointly with their agricultural implements. The married or unmarried girls of the village go to their respective fields. Only women having small children stay back in the village. I have found that they go to the market with the back-load, consisting of any saleable goods, such as vegetables, cotton etc. and sell them to the merchants at wholesale rates. Before returning, they purchase their daily necessities. The wife weaves the loin-cloth for her husband and sons. She is responsible for cooking and carrying water for domestic use from the river, which is about a two furlongs away. In this way, the husband and wife work together to run the family. There is no outward expression of affection between them and their behaviour may apparently seem cold. But it is a fact that great love exists between them. In conjugal life, they are very loyal to one another. No case of adultery has taken place in the village for a long time. The last case reported was about 25 years ago. It is, however, said that the people of a neighbouring village, X, are notorious for conjugal disloyalty. This was verified by me by referring the matter to the Political Council. It was also learnt that the case of village X is considered rather exceptional by the Dimasa themselves.

There is outward expression of affection between parents and children. Generally the mother is responsible for looking

after the little child, but the father also often takes his share. It is the duty of the mother to feed the children, to keep them clean and the duty of the father to provide them with food and shelter. This obligation inspires him to work hard. The attachment of the mother to the children is so deep that the widowed mother does not remarry, and in spite of many difficulties stays with them. The children are not afraid of the father. The father often takes part in dances and music with the children in the evening.

Sons and daughters live with the parents until they are married. In childhood, up to the age of eight, the boys do not help their father, but eight-year old girls help their mothers in carrying water, firewood, etc. They accompany their mothers to the market and even carry loads of 8 or 10 seers on their back. When grown up, the sons as well as the daughters help their parents in every way. In the house every adult member is also an earning member, nobody wishes to live as a dependant. Even old men and women work hard for their livelihood. In Hajadisa, Bains Singh is 60 years old. He lives alone and practises *jhum* according to his ability. He also goes into deep forests for collecting honey. Saldi is an old woman more than 60 years old. Her son does not look after her. She works very hard in her field with her youngest son, 12 years old. She carries heavy loads of firewood to the market for sale. To depend on others is considered derogatory in Dimasa society.

It was observed that daughters like to stay near the parents' house while sons prefer to set up new houses after marriage near the house of the mother-in-law. I also noted carefully in my field-book that the daughters visit their mother's house frequently. Practically the mother's house is the gathering place for them. Visiting the market is included in their daily routine and after returning from the market, they assemble in their mother's house for relaxation and gossip. On the other hand, I have never recorded the case of a man who visits his father's house or chats intimately with his parents. The mother also occasionally goes to the daughter's

house but never to her son's house. The son-in-law comes to the house of the father-in-law for gossip. They prefer the company of their wife's brother, while going to collect honey in the forest. If a widowed mother's house is in need of repair, the married sons do not show any interest in it. I saw Nangu Dao (domicile no. 9) working for a few days in order to repair his mother-in-law's house (Saldi of domicile no. 6). But her son, Khara Singh (domicile no. 25) remained indifferent though he is the headman of the village. This concern for the mother-in-law is not, however, socially prescribed. Customarily, the son-in-law has no duty to perform towards the mother-in-law. On the other hand, the social rules demand that the son should look after his widowed mother or invalid parents ; though in actual practice, we observed the reverse to be more common. Of course, the unmarried sons always take care of their old mothers. It was also found that the son's wife (wife of Dainya Singh of domicile no. 24) pounded paddy for her old father-in-law, Hambang Sing (domicile no. 28) voluntarily.

For the study of interrelationship between kinsmen, it is more important to depend on observation rather than on the statement of informants. From an actual observation of behaviour, it becomes easier to follow the rules of conduct and also note deviations from them. On the basis of observed behaviour, it can be said that Dimasa society tends to place more importance upon the female line than on the male line. Of course, the father and son do support each other when a friction takes place outside the family circle. Though the intimate relationship between father and son fades away to a great extent with the passage of years, it does not vanish completely. After the death of the parents, both sons and daughters observe the post-funerary ceremony. During my stay I observed a post-funerary ceremony where the son talked about the deceased father with great feelings of respect and admiration. Similarly, I saw a mother-in-law (Nabalai of domicile no. 27) who looked after her son's wife after childbirth, while she still stayed in her father's house. The degree of nearness of relationship differs from person to

person. Here specific social regulation is not binding. It depends mostly on individual temperament and personal association.

The relationship between brother and brother, and brother and sister is quite happy. Generally, the eldest brother holds a superior position. Others show deference to him. There is no formal obligation on either side, and perhaps for that reason there is little scope for friction. Theoretically it is the custom to help one's brother whenever necessary ; but I had had no occasion to observe any case of this kind. Unmarried brothers live jointly. Brothers treat their sisters affectionately. Before marriage they help each other. Unmarried sisters live separately from their married brothers. It is not obligatory for the brother to render any economic assistance to his sister. But he remains the moral guardian of the sisters. (Kublangdi of domicile no. 15) occasionally helped me in domestic work ; but for this she obtained the formal permission of her brother, Marjin Dao (domicile no. 13). I observed that the relation of sister and sister is closer than the relation between brother and brother. Sisters are more co-operative ; they go to the market and field together and assemble in the mother's house for gossip. The relationship between the mother and her daughters is deep and enduring.

A STUDY OF WOMEN'S POSITION AMONG THE GARO OF ASSAM

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(Received on 2 December 1964)

Abstract. The status and powers enjoyed by Garo women has been examined in this paper. It is based on observations made since 1953. Although descent, inheritance and succession as well as residence is along the mother's line, yet women do not seem to enjoy more power than among patrilineal peoples. Effective power is exercised by a group of matrilineally related *males*.

Preliminary remarks

THIS attempt at an analysis of the position of women among the Garo was the result of our impressions gathered during our joint investigation among the Garo and the Lynggam since 1953. The impression was that the position of the Garo woman has not been affected any favourably by their system of matrilineal inheritance, matrilineal descent and succession and uxorilocal residence. In a purely matrilineal and matrilineal society a woman's standing is normally expected to be much better than that of her compeer in a patrilineal and patrilineal society.

Our studies conducted on approved lines, namely participant observation method supplemented by personal interviews, nonetheless, throw new light on women's position in the Garo social structure. Matripotestas seems to be nominal in theory and practice. The facts noted here were gathered by direct observation. However, to clarify some matters, a few

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case-histories collected by the junior author are published in the annexure.

Among the principal points focussed in this study, the following can be mentioned. This may form the basis of further field researches. Garo social system concentrates power on the *mahari*, which is the group of matrilineally related *males*.

Position of women in the family

The father is the head of the family. He is known as *nok-gipa* (owner). He can punish any member who does something wrong. Men and women work jointly for the subsistence of the family; and the work-load on the males and females is almost equal. Men's work is confined solely to hard work which the womenfolk are not capable of doing, such as felling trees, burning the *jhum*, construction of a house, etc. All other works such as planting and harvesting, and all domestic works such as cooking, husking of paddy, preparation of rice-beer, fetching of fuel and water are all women's work.

In respect of exercising authority over the household possessions as well as the landed property, the male member's word is final, although a woman's approving consent is sought for by the loving husband. She cannot, albeit, wield exclusive right over any material possession. Women have no accession to incorporeal property.

Daughters are not unusually favoured in comparison to sons. A daughter is selected to be the heiress (*nokrom*, which literally means 'one who stays in the house'), but she is in no way treated differently by the parents. Parents willingly spend for the education of both sons and daughters. They take pride in it. But a characteristic remark of a loving father illustrates a typical attitude: 'My sons are bright students, but not so my daughters. My educated sons for whom I have suffered so much in defraying the expenses of their education will earn bread for others.'

Women in the family are expected to respect the elderly

males, whether they belong to the same sib or not. A woman who does not show respect to elderly men is despised by saying : '*sekho phakho mande raja*', which means, 'she does not honour the father and the husband'. A woman cannot divorce her husband out of her own accord. She must first consult her *chra* or the male elders of her sib and get their approval. On the other hand, the *chra* can get them separated if they want to do so (vide *post*, case-history no. 1) An aggrieved woman first approaches her *chra* for redress. Her *chra* relatives consider the pros and cons of the situation before taking a final step. Women can never raise their head against the decision of the *chra*. A compensatory factor of this meek submission is this. The women can assuredly depend upon their *chra* in the crises of life. It is considered to be a sacred obligation of the *chra* to capture a groom for a *mahari* girl who indicates her choice for a particular boy. The chosen boy must belong to a marriageable clan. In conformity with Garo tradition, the captured groom may escape for a time or two. Each time it is the duty of the *chra* relatives to recapture the groom even without the expressed desire of the bride. In the case of selecting a *nokrom*, however, the girl has neither any voice nor any choice for her life's mate. It is purely and exclusively a matter of concern for the *mahari* relatives who collectively take a decision. In a woman's sexual life, too, she can never rebuff the advances of her husband even though she may temporarily be angry with him on one count or another. A husband's sex-demands must be met by his wife. Again, it is the concern of the *mahari* relatives to find out a suitable husband for a widow or divorced woman.

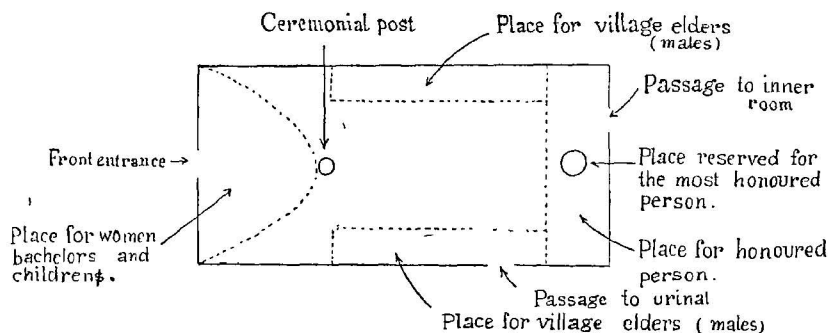
Position of women in the mahari

Mahari signifies the closely related blood relatives within the sib. In the affairs of the *mahari*, the women have no voice at all. Such matters are decided exclusively by the male elders. In deciding affairs of the *mahari*, however, the opinion of the *gachi* (males of other sibs who have married into that particular *mahari*) are also taken into consideration.

And as males do not consider the opinion of women in such matters necessary, there is no way for the women to influence the *mahari* affairs through their husbands. Even regarding matters concerning women, the opinion of the woman concerned or all the women in general of the *mahari* is not considered as essential (vide Case 2). Women must always abide by the decision of the male elders. Marriages are also settled by the *mahari* and the opinion of the girl is not considered significant. The *mahari* can decide to give a very young girl in marriage to an elderly person, and the girl has no redress (vide Case 3).

Position of women in the village

Women are quite excluded from village administration. A woman can never be a village headman (*nokma*), because a village *nokma* has certain ceremonial functions, and such ceremonial rites cannot be performed by a woman. The position occupied by women in village affairs is considered to be the lowest and equivalent to that of children. The Garo classify women, as regards their position in village affairs, with children by the use of the phrase *mechik bisa-disa* (literally, women-children). In areas where there are bachelors' houses, women, excepting the *nokma's* wife, are not allowed to enter the bachelors' house by the front door. In village feasts and ceremonials, women are not allowed to occupy the positions reserved for persons of honour. They enjoy their meals outside in the open courtyard in front. This is shown in the following diagram :



In village feasts and ceremonies, women do not play any

major role. They can be seen busy all the time cooking for the guests, fetching water for preparing rice-beer, while the male folk sit and gossip with fellow villagers for days together.

A popular male attitude towards female folk regarding the latter's alleged lack of intellectual capacities is proverbially well expressed in the following pithy expression : *mechik* (woman) *suri* (worn-out) *gisik* (mind or memory) *gri* (nil, not present). It clearly indicates a poor estimate about Garo women 'who are like torn garments and who are without thinking power'. This being the popular notion about women's capabilities and capacities, they are seldom taken into confidence by the male folk in social organizational and intellectual pursuits.

Women and property

Property is inherited in the female line, but a man must always be there to manage property. However, the case of widows is different. Widows (*randi*) manage property by themselves, occasionally taking advice from the *chra*. But such cases are very rare, because of the accepted system of providing a husband to replace a dead one according to the *akhim* law.⁸ The deceased husband's *mahari* refuses to provide a replacement for those women who are too old to have a husband, or are notorious for their evil nature or suffer from some physical defect. They remain as widows. The position of widows is distinctively low. A widow can be seen living in a small cottage, constructed by the villagers, and she is regarded as next to a destitute. In all other cases, the husband manages property, and when he is too old he passes over the management to his sister's son, whom he brings in as his *nokrom* or son-in-law. In no case can a woman sell or transfer any property. Her husband can, however, do so with the consent of the *chra*. Women may make certain incomes, such as, by selling rice-beer, which need not necessarily be spent towards the general expenditure of the family. But she cannot spend such amounts without the consent of her husband. However, such amounts may be used for purchasing something for her or for the children.

Women and religion

Garó religion is typically man's religion. Garó spirits all bear the characteristics of males. Burling,⁴ while referring to Garó deities, describes them as neither male nor female. But on investigation, it was found that almost all the deities bear the characteristics of males,⁵ except Susime, otherwise known as Rokhime, the goddess of wealth.⁶ The priest, Kamal, is a male, and in no religious ceremony can women take any active part. For propitiating evil spirits which afflict a family member, an elderly male performs the ceremonies if he is conversant with the rituals; otherwise he engages the village Kamal. The only occasion when the presence of a woman is unavoidable in a ceremony is in the status-giving *gana* ceremony,⁶ when the status-aspirant male must perform the ceremonial *gana* dance in public along with his wife. A widower cannot perform such a ceremony unless he secures another wife.

*Women and adultery*⁷

'When a man, whether married or unmarried, commits adultery with a married woman, it is considered, according to Garó law, that the woman so involved does not have any initiative, and her husband claims compensation from the erring male. Similarly when there is illegitimate sexual relation between unmarried boys and girls, boys are regarded as being at fault, and the girl's *mahari* claims compensation. In olden days, punishment for adultery on the part of a woman was very heavy; and for repeated offences she could even be executed.⁸ However, when a spinster commits adultery with a married man, the aggrieved wife can claim a compensation from the erring girl for infringing upon her marital rights. But in such cases also the compensation must be claimed through the *mahari*.

Case 1

S, a youth of the Chambugong sib, was married to B, a girl of the Agitok sib, about 4 years ago. Both of them

lived in the village of M. S was 28 years and B 20 years at the time of the marriage. S's parents and parents' parents are all living and are residents of the village. B's mother has been a widow for the last 11 years. The marriage between S and B was quite normal and the *mahari* of both consented to the marriage.

After marriage, S was living in the family of B and 2 years after the marriage, a girl was born to the couple. The marital life of S and B was happy. But the relation of S with his mother-in-law was not good. The mother-in-law accused him of laziness and failing in his duty to maintain the family properly. Actually S tried his best to earn a decent income for the family. From this the quarrel grew, until the mother-in-law called her *chra* and asked S and B to separate. The *chra* supported her demand, because the matter mainly concerned her, and the *chra* also did not like that B's mother should come again and again to them to complain against S. Ultimately S separated, though he continued to visit his wife and child occasionally. The separation took place 2½ years after the marriage. About 6 months after separation, the *chra* tried to bring in another husband for B and her mother. He was brought once to live with them, but he refused and went away.

Four years after S's marriage with B he was taken to D village as the son-in-law of K. K's daughter is of the same sib (*agitok*) as his former wife B, but K did not consult B's mother or her *mahari* before arranging the marriage. Now S has consented to be K's son-in-law, provided his marriage ceremony is performed according to Christian rites. S had been converted just after his separation with B.

Case 2

J was born in M village. He is now 35 years old. He belongs to the Chambugong sib and his father, M is still living. He was married 15 years ago and his wife died after three years, leaving an infant son. After his wife's death, who belonged to the *agitok* sib of M village, he came with his son

to live with his parents. After the death of J's wife the *agitok mahari* of M village did not find a suitable girl to give as a replacement of the deceased. And J had to continue as a widower for 12 years. The *agitok mahari* of W village, which is 20 miles away, is linked with the *agitok mahari* of M village. J, a girl of 25 years, belonging to the *agitok mahari* of W village gave birth to an illegitimate child 2 years ago. It was not certain whether the man who was responsible for this (and who was a permissible mate in conformity with sib-exogamy) would marry her, though she was keen to marry him. J's *mahari* decided that J should be brought in as her husband. J, despite knowing about her illegitimate affairs, did not object, because due to his age, it was not possible for him to get a young virgin as wife. H was however reluctant and she tried to avoid the union, but ultimately she had to submit to the commands of her *mahari*.

J and J are now living as husband and wife in the village of W.

Case 3

N, a girl of 6 in 1957, belongs to the *agitok sib* of M village. She was given as a *jikgite* or concubine to G, the *nokma*, village chief, of M village. G was then 25 years and his *jik mongma*, principal wife, 22 years old. Their daughter G was born in 1954, and another son in 1963. N was living in G's family since 1957, though her parents were also living in the same village. She used to be a companion of G, the daughter. Now N is 13 years old and she attained puberty in January 1964. G tried to have sexual relations with her after she attained puberty, but she refused on the ground that G was too old for her. G's principal wife was also trying to persuade N to sleep with G and she reprimanded him for not having sexual relations with her from an earlier stage. N was so adamant in her refusal that sensing G's physical insistence to have sexual relations, she used to go to her parents' house every night and sleep there. G complained to N's *mahari* and afterwards her parents did

not allow her to sleep there. Now G enjoys sexual relations with N who has apparently submitted.

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The junior author expresses his thanks to his wife Clarish for collecting all information from the women's side in the case-histories.

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¹ The functions of the *mahari* have been described in detail in a separate article by the same authors expected to be published shortly.

² For details see Burling, Robbins, *Rengsangiri (Family and Kinship in a Garo Village)*, Philadelphia (Univ. Penn.), 1963.

³ Ibid., p. 55.

⁴ Playfair, A., *The Garos*, London (Nutt), 1906, pp. 81 ff.

⁵ Cf. the Kachari goddess Mainao (the goddess of wealth), also a female. See Endle, *The Kacharis*, 1911, pp. 37 ff.

⁶ For details, see Majumdar, Dharendra Narayan, *The Garos (An account of the Garos of the present time)*, Gauhati, 1956, pp 14 ff.

⁷ A separate article entirely devoted to adultery among the Garo by the junior author is expected to be published shortly.

ASPECTS OF BAD-BHATIA KINSHIP IN AN ORISSAN VILLAGE

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Abstract. An analysis of relationship between kinship terminology and sociological phenomena among the POTTER caste of Orissa shows that there is definite correlation. In the behavioural pattern, the principle of the social equivalence of siblings in conjunction with the institutions of levirate and sororate is reflected in the terminological structure. And further, the practice of symmetrical cross-cousin marriage has also an absolute correspondence with the terminological pattern.

THIS paper is an attempt to analyse and understand the kinship structure of the Bad-Bhatia potters through an equation of their kinship nomenclatures, and by correlating them with the extant social and cultural phenomena. 'The study of the relationship between kinship terminology and the sociologically important behaviour patterns towards individuals referred to and addressed by various kinship terms is a fruitful one in understanding the kinship structure. The terms of address form an integral part of the culturally patterned relationship between kinsmen... ..the terms of reference... ..are linguistic symbols denoting one of the two statuses involved in each such relationship (or both statuses where their polarity is ignored)' (Murdock, 1949 : 107). And as a status is well defined in the form of culturally patterned behaviour within the network of social relationships in which it functions, it is apt to assume 'a close functional congruity between terms of reference and the relationships in which the denoted kinsmen interact' (Murdock, *ibid*). In this regard, rather, Radcliffe-

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Brown is more emphatic in his statement : 'We can expect to find, in the majority of human societies, a fairly close correlation between the terminological classification of kindred or relatives and the social classification. The former is revealed in kinship terminology, the latter... specifically in the attitudes and behaviour of relatives to one another' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1935 : 531). I shall try to verify the ethnographic data at hand with the foregoing sociological concept of Radcliffe-Brown.

Field methods

The data collected among the Bad-Bhatia potters consisted of the important patterns of kinship behaviour among different kins, and the kinship terminologies, namely, terms of reference and terms of address.

The methods employed in collecting data were unstructured interview and non-participant observation. The informants were carefully selected from different age-groups and from both sexes. For a sound sampling, the factors of occupation and literacy among the informants were also taken into consideration. The genealogical tables were mainly been obtained through male informants, as the female informants were shy or unwilling to give the required information. Most often genealogies and behaviour patterns were recorded at the same interview for clarity. And my own observation of their kinship behaviour includes their day-to-day life, two marriage ceremonies and a death-rite. As my stay among them was not a very long one, kinship behaviour during other important occasions could not be observed. The data thus collected was verified in informal group discussions. The field work was carried out first in April, 1963 and and again in April, 1964.

Bad-Bhatia potters and their kinship system

The Bad-Bhatia potters are a sub-caste of the Kumbhar caste of Orissa. Bad-Bhatia potters accept food of all kinds from the castes that rank higher than their own, as well as from other neighbouring potter sub-castes.

They do not accept cooked food from other artisan castes, which are juxtaposed with their own caste in the ranking order. And they never accept any kind of victual from castes that rank lower than their own in the hierarchical ranking order. For purposes of ranking all the potter sub-castes are bracketed together as a single caste by other castemen.

The kinship system of the Bad-Bhatia potters was studied in Gurjiguda village in the Bhawanipatna Sub-division of Kalahandi district in south-western Orissa. The village is situated 25 km. north of Bhawanipatna on the Bhawanipatna-Kesinga Road, but the village itself is not connected by any metalled road. At the 16 km. stone (from Bhawanipatna) one can approach the village across the paddy fields westward, the distance being 9 km. The village is inhabited by a number of castes and a few tribal groups.

The Bad-Bhatia potters of this village belong to three different gotras : (a) Indra, (b) Chandra and (c) Baruna ; their numerical strength being 37, 21 and 26 respectively. All the agnatic kins of each of these gotras live within the village.

The structure of the kinship terminologies has been presented in the accompanying diagram. The range of the application of kinship terms covers five generations in all, two ascending, the contemporary and two descending. In the lateral span, considering the range of application, there is no defined limit ; but the terminological pattern is extended bilaterally without any unilateral emphasis to the extent one can remember conveniently. And the kinship system is based strictly on the principle of generation.

Ego's first ascending generation

Father and father's brothers are called by one classificatory term, but qualifying prefixes as 'San' (younger) and 'Bad' (elder) are invariably used for FaBr so as to denote one's seniority in relation to the father. Mother and MoSi, are classed together and are called by one classificatory term, with prefixes such as 'San' (younger) and 'Bad' (elder) as qualifying terms for MoSi. For FaSi and MoBr there are quite different

kinship terms—other than the ones used for mother and father respectively. Hence, irrespective of the sex of the Ego there are four terms in the first ascending generation :

1. 'Bua' for father, and anyone whom he calls brother.
2. 'Ma' for mother, and anyone whom she calls sister.
3. 'Ata' for FaSi and anyone the father calls sister.
4. 'Mamu' for MoBr and anyone the mother calls brother.

Ego's first descending generation

In the first descending generation, as in the first ascending generation, distinction is also made on the basis of the connecting relative's sex. There are four categories of relatives in this generation. One's own children and those of a sibling of of the same sex are classified together and are distinguished from those of a sibling of the opposite sex. Here too, bifurcation is recognized while collaterality is ignored. And those four kinship terms are :

1. 'Puo' for own son and of those designated as brother (male speaking); and for own son and of those designated as sister (female speaking).
2. 'Jhio' for own daughter and of those designated as brother (male speaking); and for own daughter and of those designated as sister (female speaking).
3. 'Bhanja' for own SiSo and of those designated as sister (male speaking); and for own BrSo and of those designated as brother (female speaking).
4. 'Bhanji' for own SiDr and of those designated as sister (male speaking); and for own BrSo and of those designated as brother (female speaking).

Ego's generation

In Ego's generation, no distinction is made between siblings and parallel cousins, whereas cross-cousins are designated by different terms. The elder siblings and parallel cousins are differentiated from the younger ones. And further they are distinguished on the basis of their respective sex. There are

separate terms of reference for cross-cousins ; and they too are differentiated on the basis of their sex, but not on the basis of seniority in regard to Ego. Hence, six types of terms arise.

1. 'Doda', elder male sibling or elder parallel cousin of the Ego.
2. 'Babu', younger male sibling or younger parallel cousin of the Ego.
3. 'Bai', elder female sibling or elder female parallel cousin of the Ego.
4. 'Nani', younger female sibling or younger female parallel cousin of the Ego.
5. 'Menabhai', male cross-cousin of the Ego, both elder and younger.
6. 'Menabainigi', female cross-cousin of the Ego, both elder and younger.

Ego's second ascending generation

In the second ascending generation, no distinction is made between agnatic relatives and maternal relatives ; and thus, paternal grand-parents and maternal grand-parents are grouped together, distinction being made between sexes. The range of the grand-parental terms is so wide that it includes also the siblings and cousins of the grand-parents. The male siblings and cousins are grouped with male grand-parent and the female siblings and cousins with the female grand-parent. Thus the terms are :

1. 'Dadi', used for FaFa, MoFa and their male siblings and cousins. And this also stands for the spouses of the female siblings and cousins of FaFa and MoFa.
2. 'Aai', used for FaMo, MoMo and their female siblings and cousins. This also stands for the spouses of the male siblings and cousins of FaMo and MoMo.

Ego's second descending generation

Similarly in the second descending generation, no distinction

is made between the agnatic relatives and the affinal relatives ; as such, grand-children on the son's side as well as on the daughter's side are grouped together. Distinction, however, on the basis of the sex of the grand-children is made. As in the second ascending generation, here too, a very wide range is allowed for the terms of reference. The cousins of the grand-children are also classed with the grand-children. There are only two terms of reference for the relatives of this generation : one for the males and the other for the females as in the second ascending generation.

The terms are :

1. 'Nati', for SoSo, DaSo, and their male cousins.
2. 'Natni', for SoDa, DaDa, and their female cousins.

Consanguineal kins are not usually designated by descriptive terms, but at times, some of them are. For instance, elder brother's son or younger brother's son are occasionally designated by descriptive terms. The affinal kins, on the contrary, are often designated by descriptive terms. In regard to the affinal kins, one gets his or her cue from his or her spouse. And for agnatic kins one gets his or her cue from his or her primary kins.

There are 13 categories of basic terms of reference under which one's agnatic kins are grouped. But for affinal kins there are as many as 26 terms of reference, and this again depends on the number of kin one recognizes. However, the number of affinal kins recognized remains the same for both the spouses.

Basic terms with qualifying prefixes and the subsidiary terms

Some secondary and tertiary relatives are differentiated from the primary ones by the use of qualifying prefixes to the basic terms, and the basic terms with qualifying prefixes denote those relatives. Father's elder and younger brothers are often differentiated from father by enjoying qualifying lexical elements to the basic term of reference, such as 'Bad' or 'elder' to 'Bua' or 'father' for father's elder brother and 'San' or 'younger'

to 'Bua' or 'father' for father's younger brother. Father's elder brother's wife and younger brother's wife are referred to as 'Bad-Ma' (elder mother) and 'San-Ma' (younger mother) respectively, where 'Ma' is the term which is used for one's own mother. Similarly, mother's elder sister may frequently be referred to as 'Bad-Ma' (elder mother) and younger sister as 'San-Ma' (younger mother). And the Ego is reciprocally designated by subsidiary terms like 'Putra' (male Ego) and 'Jhiari' (female Ego) by his mother's sisters and their spouses, as well as by his father's brothers and their spouses.

Besides these terms, there are certain subsidiary terms which are also used to designate some secondary and tertiary relatives. In these terms, a feeling of remoteness and not of proximity of relationship is discernible, since these terms are not used to designate primary relatives. It has been mentioned above that the son and the daughter of a brother (male speaking) and sister (female speaking) are referred to as 'Putra' and 'Jhiari' respectively ; but such subsidiary terms are seldom used for one's own son and daughter. Father's younger brother is sometimes referred to as 'Koka' and his spouse as 'Koki'. And mother's younger sister is often designated as 'Maisi' and her spouses as 'Mausa'. The subsidiary terms are not applied to primary relatives, because the circles of one's closest relatives are his own family members (family of orientation and procreation both), where the frequency and intensity of interpersonal relationships are most numerous among the family members. The next numerous contact occurs with the paternal kinsmen and still relatively less contacts occur with other agnatic kins. And equally relatively few contacts occur with affinal kins, because of their spatial remoteness owing to the prevalence of village exogamy.

In Ego's generation, the terms 'Maigi' or 'Bahu' used for wife and 'Gerasta' or 'Mansa' for husband are purely terms of reference, and there is no term of address either for wife or for husband. The form of address is, therefore, indirect between the spouses.

The denotative terms used for wife's elder brother and

elder sister are 'Sasur' and 'Sas' respectively. And their corresponding terms for a woman are the same. Wife's father and mother (male speaking), and husband's father and mother (female speaking) are also designated by these terms. Hence terminologically wife's elder siblings are equated with her parents and husband's elder siblings with his parents. Because within the pattern of social usages, elder brother and elder sister are respected like parents. The reason is that the elder brother acts in place of and wields the authority of father after the latter's death and even when he suffers from senile decadence ; and the elder sister nourishes the younger siblings in their infancy as the mother remains busy in domestic work. Similarly, the elder siblings-in-law (wife's elder siblings and husband's elder siblings) are respected. The attitude towards elder siblings-in-law is derived from that of the parents-in-law (wife's parents and husband's parents) but oriented to analogous kin of one's own generation, which is similar to that of one's own elder brother and elder sister respectively ; and hence the terms of address for these relatives too are 'Doda' and 'Bai'. But again there is a difference between one's elder siblings and elder siblings-in-law owing to the prevalence of avoidance between a man and his wife's elder sister as well as mother, and a woman and her husband's elder brother as well as father. The degree of avoidance is more with wife's elder sister (male speaking), and husband's elder brother (female speaking) ; this includes avoidance of sight, speech and each other's food and clothings. Whereas, the spouses of wife's brother and sister and husband's brother and sister are treated on the level of one's own siblings. Such avoidance may be the result of the preferential levirate and sororate marriages which are practised. A man may marry the widow of his elder brother and not of the younger brother. And also a man may marry the younger sister of his wife after the latter's death, but can never marry her elder sister. A man stands in a relationship of patterned joking with the younger sister of his wife as well as with the wife of his elder brother ; because he is the potential spouse whom either of them may marry under the preferential secondary marriage regulations.

The denotative terms used by a man for his wife's younger brother and sister are : 'Sala' and 'Sali' respectively, and his relationship with them is one of mutual joking. But, their corresponding terms for a woman are quite different—husband's younger brother and sister are referred to as 'Diar' and 'Sangat', and the relationship is one of mutual joking among them. Jokes are usually vocal and occasionally physical. The range of joking and privileged familiarity is attenuated if the younger relative is a grown-up one. The younger siblings-in-law are addressed by name excepting the husband's younger brother, who is addressed by the term 'Dhongra', literally meaning, 'a young man'.

It is worthwhile to mention here that the term 'Bahu' used to designate one's own wife is also used for elder brother's wife, whereas younger brother's wife is designated by a descriptive term, 'Bhai-Bahu', or by a subsidiary term 'Bhuasuni'.

The term of reference for sister's husband, irrespective of seniority, is 'Bain-Juin', a descriptive term meaning 'sister's groom'. The term of address for elder sister's husband is 'Doda', the term applied for one's own brother. Younger sister's husband is addressed by name only.

Wife's brother's spouse is referred to as 'Bai' irrespective of seniority, but distinction is made in address. Wife's elder brother's spouse is addressed as 'Bai' and younger brother's spouse as 'Nani', the terms used for one's own elder and younger sister respectively. These two affines are equated with one's own female siblings ; the social equalizer in this respect being the practice of cross-cousin marriage. On the other hand, wife's sisters' spouses are equated with one's own male siblings—the elder is called 'Doda' and the younger, 'Babu'. This factor projects a sociological possibility of two uterine brothers marrying two uterine sisters. And our genealogical data contains such a case. Correspondingly, husband's brother's spouses are referred to as 'Bai', and are addressed as 'Bai' or 'Nani' according to seniority.

Parents-in-law

In the generation of parents-in-law, there is a classification

of agnatic kins and affinal kins : FaSi, MoBrWi and WiMo are classed together and are designated as 'Ata'. And their spouses FaSiHu, MoBr and WiFa are classed together and are designated as 'Mamu'. What is the plausible explanation of such a terminological classification? Is it the result of similar kinship roles played by the relatives designated by the same term in regard to Ego? But such social functions do not exist. Then is it due to the exchange of sisters in marriage at inter-family level? But this again is not proved by the empirical data at hand nor by the terminological structure; because SiHu is designated as 'Bain-Juin' irrespective of seniority, whereas WiBr are designated by quite different terms—elder as 'Sasur' and the younger as 'Sala'. Hence the term used to designate SiHu cannot be reciprocally applied to designate wife's brothers. But it seems quite cogent that such a classification is definitely the outcome of symmetrical cross-cousin marriage. And symmetrical cross-cousin marriage among the Bad-Bhatia potters is common. Murdock agrees that the 'customs of preferential marriage... are likely to influence kinship terminology when they apply to all or most marriages within a society, but not when they apply only to occasional unions or to a distinct minority of all that take place' (Murdock : 1949 : 123). The cross-cousin marriage is the most preferred type of marriage, firstly, because it saves one from the payment of bride price; secondly, it corroborates the existing relationship between the two families; and last, but not least, it unites familiar mates rather than strangers. Hence the term 'Mama' is used as a classificatory term for agnatic and the affinal kin in conjunction with the custom of cross-cousin marriage. The Ego is designated as 'Bhanja' or 'Bhanji' reciprocally by all persons to whom he or she applies the term 'Mamu' or 'Ata'. The terms 'Sasur' and 'Sas' used to designate parents-in-law (both wife's parents as well as husband's parents) are subsidiary ones. Similarly, the terms 'Jhio-Juin' and 'Puo-Bahu' used to designate DaHu and SoWi respectively are subsidiary to the basic terms of reference, namely, 'Bhanja' and 'Bhanji'.

The parents of the spouses of one's own children are termed of 'Samdi' (father) and 'Samdin' (mother) but are addressed as one's own siblings. The spouse of the son is addressed by name, whereas that of the daughter as 'Bhanja'.

Discussion

From the preceding study of the terminological structure, the following features of kinship emerge :

1. The terminological structure fits in with the 'bifurcate merging' type of kinship as enunciated by Lowie and Kirchoff (Lowie, 1950 : 64).
2. There is a terminological grouping of certain agnatic kins with affinal kins, namely, $FaSi = MoBrWi = WiMo$; $Si = MoSiDa$; $Br = MoSiSo$; $So = BrSo = WiSiSo$, and $Da = MoSiDa$; $Mo = FaBrWi$, and $Fa = MoSiHu$.
3. On the one hand, siblings of the same sex are classed together and, on the other, their spouses too are terminologically classed together, namely. $Fa = FaBr$; $Mo = MoSi$; $Mo = FaBrWi$, $Fa = MoSiHu$.
4. In the Ego's generation, wife's elder siblings are terminologically classed with husband's elder siblings, and are referred to in identical terms, by both male and female Egos.
5. The general rule adopted in tracing the relatives of the first ascending and first descending generations, both agnatic and affinal, is contrarily not followed in tracing the relatives of the second ascending and second descending generations, and consequently the agnatic and affinal kins are classed together, being differentiated on the basis of sex only.

The above features can be accounted for by the following explanations : (a) That the 'Bad-Bhatia' sub-caste consists of several unilateral descent groups which are co-extensive with the exogamous units called 'gotra' ; (b) that the preferential symmetrical cross-cousin marriages apply to all or most marriages within the sub-caste ; (c) that the principle of social equivalence is operative among siblings of the same sex ; (d) that the social function between wife's elder siblings and husband's elder siblings is identical, and (e) in the second

ascending generation and descending generation the criterion of bifurcation is ignored for their identical behaviour patterns.

The above explanations can further be elucidated. The first explanation is apt, since the 'bifurcate merging' type of kinship nomenclature is congruous with clan organization (Lowie, 1950 : 64). The Bad-Bhatia sub-caste is divided into several exogamous units on the basis of gotra. And we accept gotra here to be synonymous with clan as the sociological function of both is identical in binding together a group of persons within a tribe or caste to regulate marriage and other kinship functions. Usually, the members of a gotra, are not confined to any particular village, but are spread over in more than one village. As such, any particular kinship term, say 'father', is not applied to all the members of the exogamous unit (gotra) of the father's generation; it is only applied to those members of the exogamous unit through whom actual relationship is traceable genealogically. The usual practice among the Bad-Bhatia is that the lineages within any particular gotra snap the actual kinship ties among themselves after seven generations from their connecting link; because it becomes very difficult to keep the sociological function of the group smooth as death, birth and such other ritual pollutions become quite frequent within it.

Symmetrical cross-cousin marriage is the most preferred type of marriage among the Bad-Bhatia potters. This is evident from the fact that WiFa and HuFa are both designated by the term 'Mamu', which is used for MoBr as well as FaSiHu, and their spouses as 'Ata'. And reciprocally DaHu and SoWi are referred to as 'Bhanja', 'Bhanji' respectively. And further, the institutions of junior levirate and sororate are also operative among the Bad-Bhatia. Radcliffe-Brown, commenting on the hypothesis of Sapir—that bifurcate merging terminology may result from the operation of levirate, does not accept one phenomenon to be the cause and the other to be its effect—but maintains that both 'are the result of a single sociological principle...the social equivalence of brothers' (Radcliffe-Brown, 1931 : 429). His student, Tax maintains that the influence of particular social institu-

tions like preferential marriage and the constitution of kin and local groups can be attributed to classificatory terminology (Tax, 1937 : 10). Murdock agrees that 'rules of marriage may affect kinship terminology when they produce a situation in which Ego can trace a kinship connection to some relative in two different ways. When this happens, the criterion which might otherwise be recognized in distinguishing the two types of bonds tends to be ignored, with the result that relatives of both types tend to be called by the same term' (Murdock, 1949 : 122). Sapir suggests that preferential levirate and sororate marriages may operate to minimize the criterion of collaterality and thus produce the 'bifurcate merging' type of terminology (Sapir, 1916 : 327-37).

Apart from the preferential secondary marriages, such as levirate and sororate, there exist unity and solidarity between a group of siblings which accounts for the extension of the parental terms to the sibling groups of parents. And due to the simultaneous operation of the principle of sex with it, a group of male siblings is segregated and merged together on the one hand and a group of female siblings is segregated and merged together on the other.

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WIDOW REMARRIAGE IN MADHYA PRADESH

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Abstract : It is generally believed that widows in India are not allowed to remarry. This practice is common among the higher castes. However, the proportion of the higher castes among the Hindus is limited. The lower castes among the rural areas of the country not merely permit widows to remarry but even seem to encourage such a behaviour. In three villages of the Narbada Valley, an enquiry carried on by the writer reveals that fortyfive percent of the women who get widowed find a partner again. Some of the factors that promote widow marriages are examined. Widow remarriages thus appear not as a recent urban phenomenon but an established element of the social organization of the majority of the rural population of India.

THE study in this paper is based on field-work carried out regarding widow remarriage in three villages of Madhya Pradesh. The field-work covered three castes, namely, Rajputs, Kulmis and Balais in the Narbada Valley in M.P. One caste was selected from each of the villages. These three castes represent high, intermediate and low sections respectively. Rajputs comprise a control group in this study. They do not allow widow remarriage. There is a deviant case which confirms the findings that the Rajputs disfavour widow remarriages. Thus, in this study, there are two obvious groups, one prohibiting widow remarriage and the other permitting it. We propose to examine here those institutional factors which promote widow remarriage in one section and prohibit or discourage it in the other.

In this study, 252 females were taken into account from the

three castes and their marital status was found to be as follows :

TABLE 1
Marital status

Status	No.	%	Remarks
Married	183	72.62	
Single	7	2.77	
Separated	12	4.76	Not taken into account
Widowed	50	19.84	

Marital practices

The age at first marriage in all the above three castes is invariably low. Girls are normally married before the onset of puberty. It is particularly of interest to note that the Kulmis, until recently, used to celebrate the marriage of their offsprings only once in 10 years, on the auspicious day of *Akshaya Tritiya*. Of late, however, this practice has been discontinued, and now the marriages are solemnized once a year on the same auspicious day. In the past, if a girl attained the age of nine, and could not be married, she had to wait for the next opportunity due after 10 years. By that time she would be 19. For this reason, the age at marriage among the Kulmis was recorded as being as low as 5 years.

In all the three castes, no marriage was recorded to have taken place after the age of 12.

The women shown in Table 1 have been classified thus :

TABLE 2
Incidence of widowhood and remarriage

Civil status	Numbers
Married only once	153
Widowed only once	44
Remarried	27
Widowed second time	9
Widowed, remarried twice	3
Widowed, remarried thrice	1

The first four categories added together would give us what may be called as 'ever-married' females. Similarly, the second, third and fourth categories added together would give 'ever-widowed' females. Likewise, the third and fourth added together would give 'ever remarried.'

Ever-married	233
Ever-widowed	80
Ever-remarried	27
Widowed, second time	9
Remarried twice	3

On relating ever-widowed to ever-married, we get an index of incidence of widowhood, that is, how many married females per hundred get widowed. 35 females per 100 ever-married became widowed. The number of the widows increases with the advancement of the age, that is, in the younger age-group there are fewer widows as compared to the older age-groups.

If we relate the ever-remarried (27 + 9 = 36) to the ever-widowed, we find that the number of widows remarrying is 45%.

The following table shows the number of widows, age at widowhood and remarriage.

TABLE 3

Number of the remarried widows among the Ever-widowed in the 4 age cohorts widowed at various ages

Age at widowhood	Below 13		13-22		23-32		33-42		43+		Total		%
Present age	W. Rm.		W. Rm.		W. Rm.		W. Rm.		W. Rm.		W. Rm.		
13-22	2	2	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	100
23-32	2	2	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	4	4	100
33-43	4	4	7	6	5	1	2	—	—	—	18	11	61.11
43+	8	2	4	4	12	4	14	2	17	—	55	13	32.72
Total	16	16	13	12	18	6	16	2	17	—	80	36	45
P. C.	100		92.30		33.33		12.5		—		45%		

Out of 233 females 180, that is, 77.25%, were married before the age of 7 and 53, that is, 22.75% were married between the

ages of 8 and 12. This indicates the trend of child marriages prevalent among the three castes under study. It may be recalled that the Kulmis now marry every year on *Akshaya Tritiya* instead of marrying once in 10 years. This has sufficiently helped in raising the age at first marriage. It can, therefore, be said that advancing age at marriage and decline in mortality rate have an important bearing on the incidence of widowhood. The incidence of widowhood in modern times is not as frequent as it was in the recent past.

Explanation of the facts

What kind of institutional patterns and pressures, direct and indirect, must exist if a society continues to get a high number of widows without creating major disruptive forces in society? The number of widows may be high because of early marriage and high male child-mortality prevailing in society. In the present study, 180 females out of 233 married before the age of 7 and the rest of them before the age of 12.

16 widows out of 80, i.e. 20%, were widowed before the age of 13, showing that a fairly large section of the widows got married very early.

A pertinent question arises here: What happens when widows have children and when they do not have?

TABLE 4

No. of remarried widows, when they had a specified number of children

Age at widowhood	13-22		23		32			
	0		0		1		2+	
Present age	Rm	Ew	Rm	Ew	Rm	Ew	Rm	Ew
13-22	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
23-32	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
33-42	6	7	1	2	—	—	—	2
43+	5	5	—	3	4	5	—	1
All ages	14	15	1	5	4	5	—	3
Percentage of marriages			99.33		20	80	—	

Here only two age-groups have been taken into account, because the parents do not have children early and they do not think of remarriage when it is too late. The maximum concentration of remarriages is found in these two age-groups. In the age-group, 13-22, females had no children and 93.53% remarried. The single exception comes from the Rajput community. In the age-group, 23-32, only 20% females (with no children) married, since the other females are Rajputs. 80% females with one child remarried but none of the widows with two children remarried. Thus, apart from the customs of the castes regarding the practice of widow remarriage, an issueless widow generally remarries, but if she has children, remarriage needs serious consideration. Now, a pertinent question arises: Why did 80% females having one child remarry? It seems, they remarried because they had daughters, and it is only natural in a tradition-ridden society to wish for a male child rather than a female child. The urge for a son is so strong that in three instances women remarried thrice to beget a son and those who were late in remarrying and had no male child, adopted sons.

Thus it is not only the number of children but their sex also which is considered important in connexion with widow remarriages.

Social factors

Widow remarriage is the double coincidence of demands. A widower can remarry a virgin or a widow but a widow can marry a widower only, as a rule. It is so because in the normal circumstances, virgins are preferred to be married to bachelors and widows are destined to marry widowers.

TABLE 5

Marriage of virgins to bachelors and widowers

S. No. of Em	No. of Em females	No. of Er females	No. of married only once		Total
			M. to bachelors	M. to widowers	
233	80	36	127	24	153

Economic factors

Widow remarriage is a double coincidence of demands. Widows can marry widowers only, and widowers are badly in need of a female partner who could share domestic responsibilities. The majority in these villages are agriculturists. There is division of labour in both the sexes. For instance, the male looks after cattle, milks them, draws water and does jobs that require physical strength ; while the female not only looks after the family and household chores but also helps in the field doing all sorts of jobs.

Bride wealth

By marrying a widow her father gets a 'price' once more ranging from Rs. 100 to 500. A widower marrying a widow gets a wife for lower payment. Generally, a higher bride price is given while marrying a virgin. Thus the remarriage of a widow is an economic gain to her father and to the widower who marries her.

In addition to these factors, a female is desired as a homemaker who would satisfactorily look after the household and beget children. Out of 36 widowers, 9 had to remarry because their mothers wanted a daughter-in-law. In 6 cases, widowers remarried because, living in joint families, many of their demands and conveniences could not be satisfactorily looked after. In 7 cases, a woman was needed to look after children by previous marriage. In 5 cases, remarriage was necessary to beget a child. The remaining widowers had lost their wives at a very young age.

For the widows, the pressures were altogether different. Out of 36, only 4 had children, but all were female. They wanted to have at least one male child. The parents were afraid of the lapses in behaviour of the widowed daughters. It would be recalled that 100% widows before the age of 22 among the Kulmis and the Balais were remarried. In 3 cases, the *Bhabhi* BrWi did not want the *Nanad* in the home and there was maladjustment which led to the remarriage ultimately. A widow was given in marriage four times.

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TRIBE—CASTE AND TRIBE—PEASANT CONTINUA IN CENTRAL INDIA

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Abstract. The relative position of the isolated Hill Maria and the Hinduized Bhumij tribe in Central India has been examined in terms of two ideal sets of continua : tribe—caste and tribe—peasant. The ideal tribe and the ideal caste may be defined both as social structure and as cultural pattern. Movement from the isolated tribal pole to the caste and peasant end involves a progression towards ethnic heterogeneity in social interaction, role specialization, social stratification and in enlargement and diversification in the networks of relationship with civilizational centres.

Introduction

QUITE early in the course of their colonial rule in India, British administrators felt the necessity for labelling certain ethnic groups as 'tribes' on the basis of general impression about their physical and socio-cultural isolation from the mainstream of caste-bound Indian society. When Census Commissioners of India, since 1872, tried to follow the ideas of the administration they found it difficult to decide where the tribe ended and caste began (Ghurye, 1943 : 1-24).

The same picture of gradual merging with the caste system became evident when anthropologists examined the position of the 'tribes' in India. In Central India, for example, Ghurye

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presents an impressive array of evidence that the various groups labelled by the Government as 'tribes' are not isolated from the Hindu castes of the plains in distribution, language, economy and religious tradition ; nor are they necessarily the autochthones of the various regions where they now live. Ghurye is therefore inclined to regard the officially labelled tribal groups of Central India as 'backward Hindus,' i.e., groups imperfectly integrated with the caste system (*ibid.*, Chapters 1.3). While Ghurye rules out the existence of isolated tribes in Central India, Elwin views the officially labelled tribes of the same region as belonging to four stages of acculturation : the most primitive, dependent on axe cultivation, the less wild aboriginals, acculturated tribes of the open lowlands and the acculturated tribal aristocrats. As one moves from the first category to the third, socio-economic life becomes more individualistic and communal art and sacred tradition degenerate. In the fourth category, there is a substantial recovery of order and poise in the few landed aristocrats arising out of the tribal population (Elwin, 1943 : 7-11). Both Ghurye and Elwin approach the subject in terms of an arbitrary cluster of traits without trying to define 'tribe' and 'caste' as two ideal socio-cultural 'systems'. From Elwin's writings, however, one may project the concept of an ideally unacculturated primitive tribe as marked by ecological isolation, backward food-production technology, communal solidarity, and a thorough interpenetration of social relations, aesthetics and religion. Students of Indian society, however, will find it difficult to accept that as one moves from the tribal to the caste society there is a necessary decline in communal solidarity or in the degree of integration of the sacred with the secular.

During 1950-53, when I became involved in the study of the processes by which the Bhumij, an officially Scheduled Tribe of Purulia and Singhbhum districts in West Bengal and Bihar, became integrated with the regional Hindu caste system, I felt the necessity for a systematic conceptionalization of an ideal tribe as the base-line of transformation. In a preliminary statement on the position of the tribes of Peninsular India in the general context of Indian civilization, I tried to define two

ideal levels of socio-cultural systems—the 'tribal' and the emergent level of 'Hindu peasantry'—in terms of a set of characteristics in habitat, economy, social structure and ideological system (Sinha, 1958 a). The peasant level included a number of emergent features like a surplus in economy based on settled agriculture, social stratification, ethical religion and puritanical value system as distinguished from the essentially egalitarian and non-puritanical tribal level (ibid., 515).

In contrast with these earlier relatively unsystematic conceptualizations of the tribes, mainly in terms of a cluster of cultural traits, F. G. Bailey, in a recent series of brilliant publications, presents us with a more systematic 'interactional' model for considering the position of the tribe *vis-a-vis* caste on the basis of his field-work in tribal and peasant villages of Orissa (Bailey, 1960 and 1961). Bailey achieves this systematization by divesting his data of the unmanageable load of 'culture' and by restricting his analysis to the level of economics and politics. In the latter case, he states, Oriya caste society is predominantly 'organic', while the tribal society is 'segmentary'. In Oriya society, economic and political specializations are hierarchic, whereas the Kond clan-territory and its constituent villages are not hierarchically arranged, and they are not interdependent through economic specialization. It is emphasized that such basic differentiation need not take into consideration the fact that the Kond and their Oriya neighbours are precisely similar in kinship values and religious beliefs (Bailey, 1960 : 11). Restricting his emphasis on political behaviour, Bailey states : '...We must see "caste" and "tribe" as opposite ends of a single line. Particular societies are to be located at different points along this line, some nearer to the segmentary tribal model, others close to the model of an organic caste society. In other words, of each society we ask the question : to what extent is this society organized on segmentary principles and to what extent is it organic ? We do not ask disjunctively : is this tribe or caste' (ibid., 13-14). Bailey then faces the more difficult problem of specifying the criteria for deciding at what point on the continuum a parti-

cular society is to be placed. His answer is: 'The larger is the proportion of a given society which has direct access to the land, the closer is that society to the tribal end of the continuum. Conversely, the larger is the proportion of people whose right to land is achieved through a dependent relationship, nearer the society comes to the caste pole' (ibid., 14).

When I try to apply this test to the cases of partially hunting and gathering Kharia and the Pahira ethnic groups in Pargana Barabhum in the former district of Manbhum in Bihar, it does not work too well. The Kharia and the Pahira hold their homestead land as well as rights for hunting and collecting as dependents on other castes, and yet they have rather feeble social articulation with the rest of the Hindu society in the area. On the other hand, there are larger groups in the area like the Bhumij and the Mahato who dominate the demographic scene and landholding and are intricately involved in socio-ritual interaction with the caste system of the region. In the same manner, Baileys' characterization would bring many areas of Peasant India having regional 'dominant castes' such as Rajputs and Jats in the North and Okkaligas in the South, near the tribal pole, while these latter groups participate vigorously in the intricate hierarchy of inter-caste relationship in their respective regions. Rather than the proportion of land held in dependent relationship, it is likely that a society near the caste pole will be characterized by the degree of hierarchy in the regional land tenure system.¹ Even then, a positive correlation between the degree of organic differentiation in the caste system of a region and the degree of hierarchy in land tenure in the same area cannot be taken for granted. It should also be noted that while emphasizing the internal segmentary arrangement of the 'tribal' pole, Bailey's model tends to ignore the fact that one of the major features of the ideal tribe is its lack of interaction—dependent, dominant or equal—with other segmentary or organic social systems.

Notwithstanding the smoothness of his concept of the continuum, Bailey deserves the credit for clearing the ground for systematic treatment of the subject. His writings stimulate

me to look closely into the tribal position once more. This will be done in relation to two concrete field studies—the relatively isolated swidden cultivator Hill Maria Gond of Bastar studied by Edward Jay² and my own work among the plough cultivator Bhumij of Barabhum who have gone a long way toward integration with the Hindu caste system of the region (Sinha, 1953, 1959, 1962). These two cases will be examined in terms of continua, the poles of which will be viewed both in the framework of extended kinship, namely, tribe—caste, and that of territorial systems, tribe—peasant. Unlike Bailey, I am interested in viewing the tribe as a system of social relations as well as a state of mind and cultural tradition; both characterized basically by isolation and lack of stratification. I take both these aspects simultaneously (and yet distinctively) into consideration because the knowledge of one aspect adds to the understanding of the other.³ The upper Hindu castes, for example, have not only feeble social interaction with the tribes, but the former also think that the tribes have their distinctive ‘unsophisticated’ and ‘wild’ way of life.⁴ A knowledge of the ‘way of life’ (‘culture’) on the subjective as well as objective levels of the groups studied seem to be essential in fully grasping the nature of social interaction between them.

My characterization of tribe-caste and tribe-peasant polarities is quite obviously derived from Redfield’s earlier concepts of ‘folk—urban continuum’ and ‘peasant society and culture’ (Redfield, 1941, 1947, 1956). Only, the polarities will be re-defined and specially oriented to deal with the nature of the continuum in Central India.

The tribal end may be characterized by the following demographic and social structural features. It is isolated—in ecology, demography, economy, politics and other social relations—from other ethnic groups. This isolation generates, and in its turn, is bolstered by a strong in-group sentiment. Internally, the group is characterized by homogeneity on account of lack of social stratification and role specialization other than by age, sex and kinship. Such an ideally isolated, homogeneous and unstratified group is also marked by the following cultural features, some of which are direct inter-

dependent correlates of aspects of social structures mentioned above : viewing one's culture as autonomous with reference to those of other groups and consequently, disconnection from the Great Traditions of Indian civilization in terms of objective reality and in terms of subjective awareness ; a value system of equality ; closeness of the human, natural and the supernatural world ; lack of systematization of ideas, a 'sophisticated' stratum of culture, ethical religion and puritanical asceticism.

In contrast with the isolated, homogeneous and unstratified 'tribe', 'caste' is typically connected, heterogeneous and stratified and is characterized by the following social structural features : multi-ethnic residence in the local community ; inter-ethnic participation in an economy involving occupational specialization by ethnic groups and stratified land tenure ; ranked and interdependent interaction with other ethnic groups. Similarly, the following critical features distinguish the caste pole of the level of 'culture' : interaction with the sub-cultures of other ethnic groups in the region ; interaction with the Great Traditions ; polarization of lay and elite cultures with elaboration and systematization of cultural ideals in the latter ; hierarchic view of social relations bolstered by the concept of ritual pollution ; emergence of ethical religion and a puritanical view of life.⁵

If, instead of 'caste' or extended corporate kin groups, we shift the frame of reference to the territorial community of the multi-caste 'peasant' village, most of the characteristics noted for ideal caste will also hold there. In addition, the peasant village community has extensive territorial affiliations with multiple centres of civilization through a diverse network of relationship.⁶ Also, the cultural system of the peasant village is heterogeneous in terms of internal division into caste and class and in its complex external relations with a heterogeneous region having specialized centres of cultural nucleation. The tribal villages in contrast are typically uni-ethnic and their external relations are limited to villages lying in a homogeneous culture area lived in by the same ethnic group.

Movement from the isolated tribal pole to the caste and

peasant end thus involves a progression toward ethnic heterogeneity in social interaction, role specialization, social stratification and emergence of elite classes and enlargement and diversification of territorial network with civilizational centres. There is the corresponding movement toward cultural heterogeneity in terms of ethnic heterogeneity and social stratification and greater systematization of cultural ideals along with interaction with the Great Traditions.

Although our concern here does not exceed the peasant or caste range, it seems obvious that concentration of the above series of characters ultimately leads us to a level beyond the range of our empirical knowledge and notions about the limits of peasant communities in India. The ultimate opposite pole of the tribal end would, therefore, be an urban level of a special kind which would fit in with the characters of an 'orthogenetic' city as defined by Redfield and Singer as an ideal type.⁷

If we shift the frame of reference back to ethnic group from territorial community, it is feasible to raise the question as to what kind of caste group is ideally most remote from the tribal end. Here again, we can face the issue both in terms of social structure and culture. Ideally, such a group tends to live in highly hetero-ethnic centres or cities and exert authority by political power, wealth and knowledge of the most prestigious level of traditional culture, over a wide-range network of inter-ethnic relationship. Whereas the tribe has least relationship as well as control over the regional social organization of a civilization, the ideal caste has maximum connectedness and control. Correspondingly, the culture of the ideal elite caste has maximum access to the Great Tradition and to the highest grade of regional sophistication of culture.⁸ We are also assuming here that the lowest castes within the Hindu society come close to the tribes in terms of social and cultural isolation from the level of the ideal elite caste (Das, 1960).

It should be specified that our concept of tribe—caste and tribe—peasant continua is mainly concerned with the processes by which tribes are integrated with the traditional civilization of India. As an artificial construct it avoids considering the

more modern phases of cultural transformation simultaneously affecting tribal and peasant India away from status and handicraft bound social order.⁹

The Hill Maria Gonds,

A group near the tribal pole

The Hill Maria Gonds of Bastar district represent the most isolated segment of the Dravidian Gondi-speaking people of Central India. They occupy nearly 1,500 square miles of area in the northwest part of Bastar district. Their habitat is typically hilly and jungle-clad. Communication is still mainly based on travel by foot, as even bullock carts cannot penetrate this difficult terrain.

Grigson writes : 'There are only between 150 and 160 villages inhabited in all this area of about 1,500 miles and there are only 11,500 Hill Marias. This means one village in every 10 square miles and less than 8 persons to the square mile. In few places can you lose yourself in such solitude'. (Grigson, 1949 : 28). Thus the average sized village contains about 75 people or 15 families. About the interior villages, Jay estimates the average population as only about 50, i.e., 10 families, and the villages range between 20 to 300 in population. And most of these villages are uni-ethnic, that is, lived exclusively by the Hill Marias : 'The tract is extremely homogeneous. In the 22 Hill Maria villages in Kutru with 1,443 Hill Marias the only non-Marias are 38 Rawat and 1 Halba.... Most of the Hill Maria villages are in Antagarh, and have hardly any outsiders except occasional Rawats or liquor contractors. The few blacksmiths are really Marias, knowing no other language than Maria, having the same clans as the Marias...' (ibid., 50). The village of Orcha at the foot of Abujmarh Hills studied during 1958-59 by Jay is one of the larger-sized Hill Maria villages and contains 38 families of which 33 are Maria, and there are 2 Halba jewellers, 2 Halba distillers, and 1 Maria blacksmith family.

Grigson writes on the basis of his field experiences between 1927 and 1934 : 'In most Hill Maria parishes *penda*¹⁰ is the

only kind of cultivation' (ibid., 127). In the foothills village of Orcha, however, Jay found in 1959 a combination of swidden and plough cultivation of rice. Twenty families did both, 11 only rice, 4 only slash-and-burn, and 4 did not do any cultivation. Although plough cultivation has penetrated considerably in the Maria economy of Orcha, even yet the Marias are supposed to value the slash-and-burn form of cultivation in a very emotional way.

Grigson emphasizes the corporate nature of Maria agricultural enterprise in the interior areas: 'The Hill Maria still regards the crops as the combined labours of the village rather than of the labour of the individuals. If one suffers, all suffer, and all combine to support the old and the needy, and to help each fellow villager to get through the heaviest part of the yearly round. In the raising of crops, then, the village and not the individual cultivator is the unit, even now, in the Abujhmarh Hills' (ibid., 1959 : 125).

Although the Hill Marias are by and large self-sufficient in their subsistence economy, they do obtain from outside sources such important items as cloth, iron implements, earthenware, brass pots, ornaments, salt, grindstones and various trinkets. The most important means of procuring these is at the weekly market. Glasfurd in 1862 reported that except for immediately around the headquarter town of Jagdalpur there was 'not a bazaar in the country' (Glasfurd, 1862 : 121-2). But nowadays, although there is not a single market located within the typical habitat of the Maria in the Abujhmarh Hills, there are weekly markets distributed along the edges of the hills. The villagers of Orcha, for example, regularly attend the market at Dhaurai lying 19 miles away of walking distance. The Maria sells his cash crop of mustard seed at the market. The money thus earned is spent largely on cloth, household utensils, iron implements, ornaments, and liquor.

Besides attending the weekly market, the people of Orcha procure their pots from the annual religious fair at Narayanpur. Iron implements, some jewellery and some earthen pots are procured from wandering artisans. Thus the Maria have to come in contact with about four or five artisan groups either

at the market, or as itinerant traders or as transient or, rarely, as permanent settlers in their own village.

Maria social structure is essentially segmentary in character. Patrilineal clan is the largest effective corporate group, further organized into moities, 'brother-clans' and 'wife-clans'. The clans are regarded as equal in status. The tribe is the widest extension of kin-like ties. Although in theory the tribe includes the entire Gond (Koitor) people, in reality the line of endogamy does not extend beyond the Hill Maria group. Most of the villages in the interior of Abujhmarh Hills are uni-clan communities.

It appears that the interior villages of Abujhmarh, where the Maria live almost exclusively on swidden cultivation and as uni-ethnic and uni-clan communities, there is no stratification in terms of land-holding, and the religious headman of the village, the Kasyeq-gaita or the secular headman, the Gaita, are only *primus inter pares* among the village elders. The right of permanent individual ownership of land is acceded only to the few permanent rice fields in the interior of Abujhmarh. Above the village level there are parganas, which according to Grigson, are mostly clan areas, and the Pargana Gaita or the head of the pargana is again 'merely *primus inter pares* in regard to...the Gaitas and Kasyeq-gaitas of the other villages of the clan or pargana' (Grigson, 1949 : 290).

Although so unstratified within themselves, the Hill Maria, at least some of the adult informants of Jay in the village of Orcha, are aware of 12 other ethnic groups living within the range of their social contact and rank them in some kind of consistent order.

The three criteria usually employed by the informants in caste-ranking were : occupation, wearing of the sacred thread and acceptance of food. It is to be noted that most of the elders of the village were reluctant to rank the 13 castes, but ultimately Jay was able to obtain judgment from six individuals at Orcha. Among these six individuals, again, only the village headman was able to specify the rank of all the 13 castes. The various castes are not conceptualized as 'high'

or 'low', but as 'big' or 'small'. They were placed in the following three major blocks :

1. Big : Bahman (priest)
 Dakar (cultivator)
 Hindu (including Chhatisgarhis and Halbas)
 Kallar (distiller, cultivator)
 Kopal (cowherd)
2. Own : Koitor (i.e. Gond)
3. Small : Pathan (Muslims : shopkeeper, cultivator)
 Isai (Christian)
 Mahar (weaver)
 Gandi (weaver)
 Ghasia (jewellery maker)
 Wade (blacksmith)
 Chamara (leather worker)

Thus all of the Hindu or Hinduized groups other than those who practice 'degrading' occupations, were placed in the 'big' caste category. And the Hill Maria seem to have adopted the characteristic Hindu attitude of regarding the Muslim and the Christians as ritually 'low'. The informants, while being aware that their inclusive category 'Hindu' includes a number of specific castes such as Chhatisgarhis, Halbas, potters, etc., were unable to ascertain their mutual rank.

The Hill Maria have a strong concept of ritual pollution with reference to violation of the rule of tribal endogamy and sexual relationship with members of the lower castes and also with regard to acceptance of cooked food and water from members of the 'smaller' caste block. But in spite of their well-developed concept of ritual pollution and having at least a simplified concept of caste hierarchy (without reference to the Varna Order), the Hill Maria do not have access to ritual service from any such caste of critical importance as the Brahman, barber or washerman castes. According to Jay, caste ranking in this area is based on what Marriott has called 'attributional' in contrast to 'interactional' factors (Marriott, 1955).

If we use Marriott and Cohn's concept of 'network and centers' (Marriott and Cohn, 1958), the interior uni-ethnic Maria villages are indeed connected to a rather simple network of extra-local relationships and with few elaborately differentiated centres. The Maria interactions are largely restricted to their own ethnic area in terms of kinship, marriage and ritual ties. The pan-tribal Pat Raja worship in the village of Irpanar is one important case of emergence of a complex centre within the tribal field. The Maria also come out of the tribal habitat to visit weekly markets and religious fairs sponsored by other castes in larger non-Maria dominated villages. The people of Orcha, for example, regularly visit the weekly market at Dhavri and some of them also attend the annual fair at the Halba-dominated village of Chota Dongar and the Tahsil headquarter village of Narayanpur. Some of them used to go even to the town of Jagdalpur, the headquarter of the Maharaja of Bastar on the occasion of the annual Dussehra festival. But admittedly, the Maria connexion with this only centre of some complexity is quite tenuous and marginal.

The principal deities of the Hill Maria are : ancestral spirits, clan gods, earth goddess and the village mother or small-pox goddess. Besides these localized gods there are also gods of somewhat larger regional scope. We have already mentioned the pan-tribal cult of worship of the god Pat Raja and his consort Pat Rani at the village of Irpanar. We have also referred to the marginal participation of the Hill Maria in the cult of Danteswari Maoli, an incarnation of the Great Traditional Hindu goddess of Durga, sponsored by the Maharaja of Bastar.

All the above gods are offered rituals in relation to pragmatic concern with physical well-being, fertility and property. But the Hill Maria do have a vague concept of *Karma* or rebirth guided by a sense of connexion with ethical standard of conduct. A few of Jay's informants related : 'People say that rebirth depends on how good you are in this life. If you are a good person you will come back as man ;

but if you are evil you come back as a crow or lizard.' However, such a belief in rebirth is only feebly developed if you would compare it with the situation in the Bhumij tribe : 'Although most of the Orcha elders had heard about rebirth, they all expressed skepticism about it, and only a small number (about a fifth of the 35 questioned) added the idea of rebirth into higher or lower forms of animal life depending on ethical conduct in the first life' (Jay, 1961 : 23). The above clearly indicates the exogenous nature of the concept of *Karma*. There is no report that the Maria pray to the gods to save them from sin.

Jay finds a good deal of similarity between the contents of Maria religion and that of the Hindus in ordinary peasant villages : worship of ancestral spirits, mother goddess, powerful male gods ; a vague belief in a great god or Supreme Being, feasting, dancing and noisy processions as prominent features of ceremonial life, animal sacrifice and ritual offering ; use of certain ritual objects as red powder, grain, iron, peacock feathers and chains ; a belief in re-incarnation and more vaguely in *Karma* ; shamans and priests in specialized roles (Jay, 1961 : 38). But Jay also observes that the Maria lack ritual specialization and that they do not find a need for the religious specialists of the Hindu Great Tradition, and that recognizable Sanskritic elements are understandably rare in Maria religion (*ibid.*).

Something may now be said about Maria value system. The Hill Maria, in the characteristic way of many such isolated tribal groups, sharply distinguish between themselves, *Koitor* (men) and outsiders or strangers. We have already mentioned the essentially egalitarian and co-operative social ethic of the interior villages. The natural non-ascetic pleasure orientation of the Hill Maria is quite vivid. Grigson writes : 'In natural cheerfulness few races can surpass the Hill Marias, who, like all Gonds are quick to see the fun of things.' (Grigson, 1949 : 93) Grigson also writes : 'No value is set on premarital chastity, and it is doubtful whether any girl preserves her virginity until her marriage' (*ibid.*, 247).

III

The Bhumij of Barabhum : Within the threshold of the caste and the peasant pole

Whereas W. V. Grigson, the early ethnographer of the Hill Maria groups, was impressed by the fact of intense isolation, clan and village solidarity, and the habitually gay disposition of his subject of study, H. H. Risley, the pioneer ethnographer of the Bhumij, during his tours of the Bhumij tract in the 1880's was impressed by the degree of social stratification and rank consciousness among these people and by the fact that the group was hardly distinguishable from a Hindu caste. 'Here a pure Dravidian race have lost their original language and now speak only Bengali ; they worship Hindu gods in addition to their own (the tendency being to relegate the tribal gods to the women) and the more advanced among them employ Brahmans as family priests. They still retain a set of totemistic exogamous subdivisions closely resembling those of the Mundas and Santals. But they are beginning to forget the totems which the names of the subdivisions denote, and the names themselves will probably soon be abandoned in favour of more aristocratic designations. The tribe will then have become a caste in the full sense of the word and will go stripping itself of all customs likely to betray its true descent' (Risley, 1915 : 75 ; see also Risley, 1889 : 113-125). During 1950-53 and 1956-59, when we studied the Bhumij, it was observed that the Bhumij had moved even farther in the direction of Hinduization since Risley's times (Sinha, 1953, 1957, 1958 b, 1959, 1961, 1962).

According to the Census of 1931, the total Bhumij population in India was 375,938 people and this included 16,797 persons settled in Assam as plantation labourers. The typical habitat of the people is roughly the contiguous area of southern Manbhum, Dhalbhum Subdivision, Saraikella, Kharswan, Mayurbhanj and the neighbouring areas in Midnapur and Bankura districts of West Bengal. In this extensive area the Bhumij do not form more than 9% of the population in any district. We shall focus our attention in this

paper on a narrower region, namely, the Pargana or revenue estate of Barabhum in the former Manbhum district of Bihar, which covers an area of 635 square miles, 244,733 people and 596 revenue villages or mauzas.

Although Barabhum is not nearly as inaccessible, hilly and jungle-clad as the Abujmarh Hills, it has its own substantial share of hills, jungles and uplands. The northern part of the Pargana is relatively plain, and the whole area has been subjected to extensive deforestation during the last one hundred years. To-day, except for the Dalma Range marking the southern boundary of the Pargana, the rest of the area is accessible by bullock-cart roads, and for over half a century a branch of the South-Eastern Railway has cut across the northern edge of the Pargana and there are also a few motorable roads running through the area. The dominant landscape of the region is terraced paddy fields.

Such an open landscape with settled rice cultivation, of course, supports a much greater density of population than in the Abujmarh Hills. Population per square mile in 1957-58 was 386. The villages are distributed nearly at the rate of 1 per square mile and, on the average, a village contains 411 people. On the average, each village has 6 castes. Out of a total of 576 inhabited villages, only 41 are uni-ethnic; of these, only 6 are lived in by the Bhumij. There are also two semi-urbanized centres, Barabazar (4,307 people, 29 ethnic groups) and Balarampur (8,414 people, 45 ethnic groups).

Although the Bhumij are regarded as the earliest inhabitants of the Pargana, and have a monopoly over privileged inalienable *Khunkatti* lands, and hold the majority of the traditional police tenure offices,¹¹ they are not ethnically the most numerous group in Barabhum. With 37,947 people they form only 15% of the population, whereas the Santal constitute 16% and the Kurmi 30%. There are, on the whole, 64 ethnic groups in the Pargana which includes such ritually significant groups as the Brahman (8,421 people, 3.44%), Vaishnava (4,203 people, 1.72%), Napit (4,373 people, 1.79%) and Dhoba (409 people, 0.07%). The above data should suffice to convey the extent to

which the Bhumij live in a demographically denser and ethnically heterogeneous region when compared with the Hill Maria region of Abujhmarh.

The Bhumij, like the neighbouring Santal and Mahato are settled agriculturists cultivating rice with the plough. Agriculture is mainly subsistence oriented and is not a major source for earning cash. The important cash crops are oil seeds and tobacco ; but the main regular source of cash earning is rearing lac resin on privately owned trees.

Unlike the Maria, the Bhumij have strong concern for individual ownership of land. The clan does not have any corporate property other than the clan ossuary site, and the lineage only exerts some pressure against sale or transfer of shares of ancestral landed property to people outside the group. There is considerable differentiation in land-holding among the Bhumij in a village. For example, in the village of Madhupur, out of a total of 142 families, 32 (22.5%) are landless, 18 (12.7%) have less than 1 acre of land, 43 (30.3%) have 1-2 acres of land, 6(4.2%) have 2-3 acres, 16 (9.9%) have 3-4 acres, 14 (11.3%) have 4-5 acres, 10 (7.0%) have 5-10 acres and only 3 (2.1%) have more than 10 acres of land. The village headman holds 44 acres of land rent free as service tenure and he also gets rent from his tenants in the village. The villagers are aware of the following categories of land owners : landless labourers, poor cultivators, substantial cultivators and the village headman. Within this village of seven ethnic groups, the Bhumij own more than 4/5 of the land, and then in a decreasing order, the Kurmi-Mahato and the Sundi. The Tanti and the Kharia practically own no agricultural land.

Although the Bhumij hold the bulk of the traditional feudal tenures and in a large number of villages dominate land-ownership, their dominance is not uniformly distributed over the region. As many as 49 villages were given to Brahmans as rent free religious tenures (*Brahmottar* and *Debottar*) by the Raja of Barabhum. In these villages, the Bhumij are subordinate tenure-holders. The Bhumij are in subordinate tenure relation to other castes such as the Mahato, Kayastha, Sundi, Baniya in some villages in the Pargana.

Whereas there is not a single weekly market in the 1500 square mile area on the Abujmahar Hills, the typical habitat of the Maria, the area of 635 square miles of Barabhum contains 12 weekly markets. At regular intervals of 3 to 5 miles one comes across a weekly market (Sinha *et al.* 1961 : 133). In one such market (Bamni) regularly visited by me, there were as many as 15 different artisan castes selling their wares and 7 different trader castes participating in the market. The total number of ethnic groups participating in the market might be over 30 (*ibid.*).

Like the Maria, the Bhumij are divided into a number of patrilineal exogamous clans or *gotras*, which are affiliated with the respective ancestral villages where the clan ossuaries are located. The clans tend to be localized around the ossuary village ; but there is no clear-cut clan territory or corporate organization in terms of clan. The clans are segmented into functional patrilineages with equivalent status for the further segments. This imparts a sense of equality among the Bhumij families tied by kinship who may possess wealth quite differentially.

But lineage solidarity cannot smooth the marked tendency toward stratification in Bhumij society. Apart from differential land-holding and position in the land revenue hierarchy, the Bhumij are divided into several socio-ritually defined marriage classes, partly corresponding with the land revenue hierarchy. At the lowest rung are the 'degraded' *Nichu* and *Patit* strata, while the bulk belong to the *Nagadi* class, who have access to the ritual service of 'degraded' Brahmans, but do not abstain from taking chicken or liquor. The *Ataishey* class are the fief-holders of about 12 villages who also employ 'degraded' Brahmans, but avoid taking chicken and liquor. The more prosperous fief-holders aspire to be recognized as Rajput Kshatriyas, and it is likely that the royal Kshatriya lineage of Barabhum is also of Bhumij origin (Sinha, 1962 : 38-57).

The very demographic situation places the Bhumij within easy reach of a number of ethnic groups. And often, having a dominant position in the land revenue administration and in land-holding, they have certain advantages in participating in

inter-ethnic interaction. It is, therefore, not surprising that whereas the Hill Maria participate quite remotely in stratified ranking in terms of caste, the Bhumij are more vividly involved in it. Their participation in the regional caste system is indeed quite interactional. They have access to the ritual services of the Brahman, Vaishnava, Barber and Washerman castes and some very low caste groups such as the Sahis, Dom and Ghasi, who serve as their midwives. A wider range of castes is tied to the Bhumij in terms of ceremonial friendship, participation in festivals, share-cropping and market relationship (Sinha, 1957).¹²

The Bhumij respondents were immediately interested in ranking when five of them were asked to rank 28 local castes in a hierarchy. Three assigned a separate rank to each caste, one recognized 21 ranks and another 20. The Brahman was invariably ranked highest and the second position was assigned either to the Rajput or the Vaishnava. They ranked themselves as superior to all the other castes, knowing fully well that the Brahman does not accept water from them and does not consider them to be a 'clean' caste.

In their desire to be recognized as Rajput Kshatriyas, the Bhumij have been intensely involved in social mobility movements under the guidance of the *Ataishey* upper class (Sinha, 1959).

Even within Barabhum itself, there are important multi-ethnic villages which can be considered as specialized 'centres' of 'networks of relationship' connected with the Bhumij inhabited villages. The most important traditional centre is, of course, Barabazar, the headquarter of the chief of Barabhum. It is a centre for administration, market interaction, temple cult and of large regional festivals. The more recently grown town of Balarampur, containing forty-five ethnic groups, is essentially a business centre grown around processing of lac. Then there are lesser centres, forming the headquarters of the fief-holders of various orders and the temporary large gatherings at a number of fairs at regular intervals (Sinha, 1957 and 1958 b). But for the Bhumij the network extends much farther. Some consider it essential

to throw the ashes of the dead into the Ganges near Calcutta, lying about 200 miles away. On this occasion, they make it a point to visit the famous temple of Kalighat and see the museum and the zoo. A few families have even gone to the distant city of Gaya to offer rice balls (*pinda*) to the ancestral spirits, and also to the sacred town of Puri to attain religious merit by offering obeisance to the god Jagannath. Some cherish the desire to visit the pan-Indian sacred centres of Kasi, Prayag, Mathura and Brindaban. But no Bhumij of Barabhum, to my knowledge, has gone on such distant pilgrimages.

Let us consider now some aspects of the value system and of the cultural structure of the Bhumij. The Bhumij have a strong feeling that they are the true autochthones of Barabhum, as their ancestors had cleared the forests to develop cultivable lands, and, as such, they look upon most of the 63 ethnic groups of the Pargana, except the hunting and gathering Kharia and the Pahira, as relative outsiders. But this inside/outside sentiment is not so strongly developed as is evidenced by *Koitor/non-Koitor* categorization among the Hill Maria Gonds or *Horo (man)/Diku* (foreigner—non-men) categorization among the less acculturated Munda of Ranchi. I have shown elsewhere that, beginning with their own groups, the Bhumij range the various ethnic groups of the region at different points of socio-cultural distance from them, beginning with the closest, roughly as follows : (1) the Kharia, Pahira and the Santal, Hindu artisan castes, Barbers, Washermen, (2) Mahato, (3) Brahman, Vaishnava, (4) Rajput-Kshatriya, (5) 'Bengali' castes : Baniya, Kayastha, Tamli, etc., (6) Bihari castes, with whom the Bhumij do not share a common language (Sinha, 1957 : 33-37). This evaluation is mainly based on their idea of relative exogenousness of the various groups mentioned above.

The Bhumij continue to worship many of their traditional gods and goddesses such as Marangburu (the Mountain God), various hill gods, gods and goddesses of the Sacred Grove, and so on. But the worship of these gods does not have the same prestige as worshipping the gods of the Hindu Great Tradition,

such as Siva, Durga and Kali. The names of such gods and goddesses as Siva, Durga, Kali, Manasa, Saraswati, Lakshmi, Srikrishna, Rama, Jagannath, Ganesa and Balaram were known to all of my 40 informants (20 male and 20 female), but they expressed vague and contradictory notions about the attributes of these gods and goddesses. Thirty-eight out of the 40 informants did not show awareness that these gods were associated with moral qualities.

Most of the informants, however, spelled out some conception of re-incarnation, heaven, hell, sin and virtue. In most cases, it appeared clear that merit-earning was being viewed quite mechanically without 'moral flavour'. A few Bhumijes in the village of Madhupur became involved in self-conscious reflection on the Hindu theological concepts under the influence of wandering Vaisnava sadhus. Some of these Bhumijes were also literate and were quite capable of expounding the complex themes in such sacred texts as *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Srimadbhagabat*, etc., to the non-literate Bhumij listeners. These Bhumijes certainly operated as the 'literati' commenting on the Great Traditions within their limited social range (Sinha, 1953). The religious theme of the celestial love of Radha and Krishna provides a major stimulus to the composition of the songs and the dances of Barabhum. Excessive emphasis is often placed by wandering sadhus on the ascetic quality of withholding loss of semen during sexual intercourse, and of avoiding drinking intoxicating liquor and eating meat (ibid.):

The Bhumij share a good lot of the Marias' gay sensuality; but this, again, is slightly toned down by a concern to appear good in the eyes of the upper caste Hindus. The zest for mixed dancing, drinking and festivity is opposed by reformist mobility movements (Sinha, 1959). Although a good deal of premarital sex life is tolerated, there is also considerable overt concern about the chastity of the female folk.

The co-existence of segmentary and hierarchic principles in the social structure is reflected in the sphere of the value system. The Bhumij of the village of Madhupur, for example, look

upon the headman as an equal in terms of lineage membership, but also show some deference to him for holding a position of power, wealth and prestige. The headman is more than *primus inter pares*. The hierarchic principle is also expressed in male—female relationship, restricting the sphere of activity and freedom of movement of the female as one moves up the social hierarchy.

The position of the Bhumij in the regional caste system comes out in relief if we compare them with the partially hunting and gathering Kharia and Pahira who live in isolated hamlets in the foothills of Pargana Barabhum. They are not only ecologically isolated but have no access to the service of the ritual specialist castes. They have unusually simple notions about the regional caste hierarchy, are internally homogeneous and less puritanical than the Bhumij in their notion of premarital sex, and have very feeble knowledge of the Great Traditions (Bannerjee, 1959, Dasgupta, 1959 and Sinha, 1957). They are comparable to the Hill Marias in many ways, other than the fact that their settlements are like scattered islands in an ethnically heterogeneous Pargana dominated by other castes.

Summing up

As we move our focus from the Abujhmarh Hill Marias to the Bhumij of Barabhum, it indeed involves a rather sharp swing from near the ideal 'tribe' pole to near the 'peasant' and 'caste' pole (Table I). Here we find a systematic and yet sharp progression toward lessening of ecological isolation and increase in ethnic heterogeneity in regional demographic pattern and in social interaction, social stratification and emergence of indigenous elite class and enlargement and diversification of the network of spatially defined social relationship with civilizational centres. In cultural structure also the movement is toward the development of regional cultural heterogeneity in terms of ethnic diversity, social stratification and role specialization; greater inclusion of Hindu Great Traditions and of ethical slant in religion, and greater emphasis on puritanical values.

The final contours of the two polarities are guided by the degree of ethnic heterogeneity and the degree of the complexity and hierarchy in the pattern of interaction between and within the ethnic groups of a region. The above factors, in their turn, are directly dependent on the nature of territorial isolation of the group under consideration. It is also obvious that an adequate technological base (like wet plough cultivation (?)) is needed to support the level of complexity in inter-ethnic interaction near the caste pole. It cannot, however, be stated without rigorous quantitative study that there is any direct correlation between the level of technological efficiency and nearness to the idealized caste pole. In the Bhumij case, at least, we know that population density, ethnic heterogeneity and social hierarchy in the area are sustained by settled plough cultivation, regional craft and market organization and the supervisory role of the chief in the hierarchic land revenue organization of the Pargana. It cannot, however, be stated that technological evolution, population growth and increase in settlement size could generate a caste system in a tribal area.

The kind of regularity in progression revealed by comparing two societies so obviously apart in their possible position in our ideally conceived continuum may mislead us to imagine that it may be a simple task to evaluate the relative position of more nearly related societies on the proposed continuum. It is quite likely that within the proximal range, all the criteria used in defining the continua will not move at the same rate. A group may be ahead of another in market participation but behind in sharing Great Traditional gods and ethical slant in religion. But the easy case of comparing two widely contrastive cases like the Hill Maria and the Bhumij certainly encourages us to explore the finer ranges of differentiation.

TABLE 1

The Hill Maria Gond and the Bhumij : their levels of complexity

Tribe	Caste Peasant
Hill Maria Gond (M. P.)	Bhumij (W. Bengal-Bihar)
A. Ecology : Hill and forest	A. 2/3 undulating plains, 1/3 forest
B. Population :	B.
1. Total 12 000	1. 375, 938
2. Density, 8 per sq. mile	2. 386
3. 1 village in 10 sq. mile	3. 1 village in 1 sq. mile
4. Village size, 75 persons	4. 411 persons
C. Ethnic complexity	C.
1. Uni-ethnic villages	1. Average village contains 6 ethnic groups
2. Uni-ethnic tribal tract	2. The Bhumij form 15% of the population of Pargana Barabhum containing 64 ethnic groups
D. Technology and economy	D.
1. Swidden	1. Wet rice cultivation
2. No market within the tribal tract	2. Market at regular intervals of 3-5 miles
3. Communal ownership of swidden land	3. A hierarchic land revenue organization involving at least four levels of sub-infeudation.
E. Internal stratification practically none	E. Considerable feudalization of the political structure and corresponding recognition of at least three nearly endogamous-socio-ritual classes
F. Caste-like interaction	F.
1. Ranked in 3 strata	1. 20 to 28 ranks
2. No non-tribal ritual specialists employed	2. At least 4 categories of castes employed

NOTES

1. Marriott states : '... some formalities and fixity of lands and offices through the device of greater state seems everywhere to underlie the order of caste ranking (1955 : 189).'

2. I take this opportunity to convey my gratefulness to Edward Jay for very generously permitting me to use his analyzed field data on the Hill Maria of Bastar for this paper. He has been responsible to a considerable extent in stimulating me to view the Hill Maria and the Bhumij in terms of a continuum. A comprehensive survey of Pargana Barabhum was possible only on account of collaboration of Biman Kumar Dasgupta and Hemendra Nath Bannerjee of the Anthropological Survey of India during 1957-59.

3. One good example of effective combination of social structure with culture as two distinct frames of analysis in the examination of a problem is Fallers' observation that East African tribes are 'Peasants' on the level of social structure, but not on the level of culture (Fallers, 1961 : 110). See also Marriott's treatment of the nature of isolation and connectedness of a village in India (Marriott, 1955) and Geertz' study of changes in religion in Java (Geertz, 1957).

4. Dumont speaks of Pramalai Kallar as follows : 'It is not without some reason that the same people were in the past called a "tribe." Coupled with their isolation, their independent moral character and their lack of refinement, in contrast to the more sophisticated Hindus, stamp them as atypical in comparison with castes living in the more complex settlements of the well-watered neighbouring valley and more closely enmeshed in the fabric of caste interrelationships' (1962, 120-22).

5. Both Bailey and Jay remark that the tribal groups studied by them, namely, the Kond and the Hill Maria respectively, are more isolated from the world of the Hindu peasantry in social interactions than in sharing of cultural traits (Bailey, 1961 : 11, Jay, 1959 : 82-3). Thus in contrast to Fallers' observation in East Africa, these tribal groups fulfil the cultural requisites of peasant society without fulfilling them on the level of social structure. Although I am not pleading a case for complete congruence between social structure and culture, my general observation on the tribes of Central India is that their social isolation and lack of specialization and stratification is also reflected on the level of culture.

6. Cohn and Marriott state in an exploratory paper : 'The integration of Indian Civilization depends on at least two kinds of supralocal and social patterns : networks of relationships and relationships with centers. India's characteristically loose and partial integrating of great social and cultural diversity may be attributed in part to the fact that her networks are varied, widespread, and complex, while her civilizational centers are multiple, overlapping in jurisdiction, and internally heterogeneous' (Marriott and Cohn, 1958).

7. Redfield and Singer state that the main role of the city of 'orthogenetic transformation' is to 'carry forward, develop, elaborate a long established local culture or civilization' (1954).

8. This concept of 'ideal' caste is not quite the same as the more concrete concept of 'dominant caste' propounded by Srinivas :

'Numerical strength, economic and political power, ritual status and Western education and occupations, are the most important elements of dominance. Usually the different elements of dominance are distributed among different castes in a village. When a caste enjoys all or most of the elements of dominance, it may be said to have decisive dominance' (Srinivas, 1959 : 15).

9. Although the predominant historical trend in Central India has been unidirectional, namely, communities moving toward the caste—peasant pole from the tribal end, our abstract scheme does not rule out the possibility of exploring 'tribalization' of castes.

10. *Penda* is the local term for swidden cultivation.

11. The Bhumij hold majority of the traditional feudal tenures under the Raja of Barabhum, namely, Ghatwali or headmanship of a single village, Sadiyali or chieftaincy over about a dozen villages and Taraf Sardari or superior chieftaincy over about 35 to 97 villages (Sinha, 1962 : 44-45).

12. By their numerical strength, holding of superior feudal tenures, large share in agricultural lands and elaborate participation in the ritual interactions of the regional caste system, the Bhumij indeed fit in with Srinivas' category of 'dominant caste.' The Bhumijes' traditional dominance, however, is shared and competed with by the late-comer agriculturist Mahato who now form 30% of the population of the Pargana.

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A STUDY OF CASTE ORGANIZATIONS IN KANPUR

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Abstract. Organization along modern lines among members of various castes seems to have started in the last quarter of the 19th century; it has apparently become more popular in the present.

A study of such associations was undertaken in the city of Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. It shows how different castes have set up varying aims and objects for their organizations. Their achievements are also described. Lastly, the author has tried to analyse why this accentuated caste-consciousness has come into being.

Introduction

THE aim of the present paper is to present a report on caste organizations in Kanpur. Kanpur is the biggest city of Uttar Pradesh, a state in the north of India and renowned as the Manchester of northern India. As a centre of commerce and industry, it has a population of more than a million.

Kanya-Kubja Brahmans were the first to form their caste organization in 1915. The example was promptly followed by Dosar Vaishyas (a Vaishya sub-caste) in 1917, Kshatriyas (who call themselves Khatri) in 1922, Kayasthas (who have the same status as Kshatriyas but both are endogamous castes) in 1929, Omar Vaishyas (another Vaishya sub-caste) in 1935, yet another caste organization of Kanya-Kubja Brahmans in 1938 (the former having become defunct that year), Barbers (clean Sudras) in 1951 and Sweepers (unclean Sudras) in 1957. Thus, from Brahmans to Sudras, every caste formed its organization within a span of forty-two years in Kanpur.

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TABLE I

Table showing membership in the year of founding, jurisdiction and sub-caste, if any.

Caste	Sub-caste if any	Name of caste organization	Year founded	Membership when founded	Jurisdiction
Brahman	Kanya-Kubja	Kanya-Kubja Sabha (become defunct in 1938)	1915	50	Local body
Vaishya	Dosar Vaishya	Akhil Bharatiya Sri Dosar Vaishya Mahasabha	1917	78	All-India body with H. Q. at Kanpur
Kshatriya	x	Kanpur Khatri Sabha	1922	50	Local body
Kayastha	x	Kayastha Youngmen's Association	1929	35	do.
Vaishya	Omar Vaishya	Sri Omar Vaishya Navayuvak Sangha	1935	75	do.
Brahman	Kanya-Kubja	Kanya-Kubja Education Trust	1938	15	do.
Sudra	Barber	Nai Sabha	1951	100	do.
Sudra	Sweeper	Hind Sweepers' Sevak Samaj	1957	3000	Local unit of an all-India body

TABLE 2

Table showing the record of membership of caste organizations since 1915

Year	Organization of Brahmans	Organization of Khattris	Organization of Kayasthas	Organization of Dosar Vaishyas	Organization of Omar Vaishyas	Organization of Barbers	Organization of Sweepers
1915	50	x	x	x	x	x	x
1917	x	x	x	78	x	x	x
1920	60	x	x	150	x	x	x
1922	x	50	x	x	x	x	x
1925	45	(founded) 100	x	375	x	x	x
1929	x	x	35	x	x	x	x
1930	35	250	(founded) 45	552	x	x	x
1935	18	450	45	830	75 (founded)	x	x
1938	5 (got defunct)	15 (started under new name)	x	x	x	x	x
1940	x	620	40	855	90	x	x
1945	x	840	50	1175	130	x	x
1950	x	950	65	1310	180	x	x
1951	x	x	x	x	x	100 (founded)	x
1955	x	1200	80	1525	200	295 (founded)	x
1957	x	x	x	x	x	x	3000 (founded)
1960	x	1630	130	1925	310	450	3550

From the above tables it will be noticed that Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Kayasthas and Vaishyas had their organizations long before independence while the weaker castes (Barbers and Sweepers) could do so only thereafter. The Constitution guaranteed fundamental rights, but the latter, especially the Harijans, were not regarded by the caste Hindus as their equals. It was then their concern to organize themselves in order to press for their rights.

The dwindling membership of the organization of Brahmans shows their lack of unity and unanimity in regard to their organization. A severe group politics played havoc with the Kanya-Kubja Sabha in 1938, when its membership came down to 5. The same year the Sabha was disbanded and another organization was formed under a new name, namely, Kanya-Kubja Education Trust. It had an initial membership of 15 persons. After twenty-two years of rather disturbed existence, it had the same number of members in 1960.

Khattris, Kayasthas, Vaishyas and Sudras have large membership and every year they add substantially to their numbers. Sweepers, who are at one end of the social hierarchy, have the highest membership, while the Brahmans, at the top, have the lowest. This is due to the fact that the weaker castes are more united in their approach towards their problems. Another point may be noted. The higher castes are generally well placed and have a fair degree of education. They do not depend on their association for status and privileges whereas the weaker castes do.

The Sudras may be divided into two sections, 'clean' Sudras and 'unclean' Sudras. Barbers are regarded as belonging to the clean section while Sweepers to the unclean. The clean Sudras are 'touchable', but unclean Shudras are not supposed to be so. Officially, however, the practice of untouchability is an offence now under the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955.

Brahman

The function of the Kanya-Kubja Sabha, now defunct, was to spread literacy and popularize education. The functions of

Kanya-Kubja Education Trust, the later organization of the Kanya-Kubja Brahmans, are to maintain and manage schools and colleges and to start funds for that purpose. This association never worked for social reforms in the community, although something could have been done in this respect.

The Kanya-Kubja Education Trust has lived up to its obligation by helping the cause of education. The former organization of the Brahmans, Kanya-Kubja Sabha, started in 1915 a High School which prepared students for the Matriculation examination. In due course, a big plot of land was acquired, and in 1940 the school was raised to the Intermediate standard. In 1948, a girls' High School was opened by the Trust to meet the growing needs of girl students. In addition to this, evening and night classes for women were started in embroidery, music and fine arts.

Both the institutions are working successfully. They grant scholarships and free studentships to their poor and meritorious students. The members of the Trust or the Trust itself does not give any scholarship to students.

Besides the above, the Trust does not render any other service. In fact, the constitution allows only those activities that are related to education and its expansion.

Kshatriya 'or Khatri

The Khatri is an enlightened community. They claim to have a literacy figure as high as 75%. They are generally well placed in business or in employment. The functions of the Khatri Sabha can be broadly divided into two groups, general and specific. The general functions are to improve the economic, social and moral condition of the caste-men and to protect their interests. The specific functions have a wide range, the important ones being to help Khatri orphans and destitute women ; to run schools and colleges, rest houses, temples and trusts ; to publish a list of eligible bachelors to help Khatri parents to negotiate marriage ; to celebrate important caste festivals, and finally to do away with the social hierarchy and establish a common Khatri brotherhood.

The Khatri Sabha has been responsible for the largest number of social service and philanthropic activities in the city, especially for Khatri and, in general, for all. Their trusts and institutions outnumber similar institutions set up by any other caste. Libraries, dharmasalas (rest houses), educational institutions, temples, bathing ghauts, public discussion centres, charitable dispensaries etc. have been constructed and opened by Khatri in large numbers. Some of these were started privately by generous Khatri; but the spirit that motivated them was the same that was behind the Khatri Sabha.

Khatri Sabha has brought into effect a number of reforms in the community. It has passed from time to time various resolutions and urged caste-men to follow them. Some of the important resolutions are noted below.

- (1) A Khatri must educate his dependents, especially girls.
- (2) Marriage should be according to religious rules; but in the case of inter-caste/provincial/national marriages, there should be a spirit of tolerance and accommodation.
- (3) Dowry and purdah system should be abolished altogether.
- (4) Indian culture and values should be upheld and there should not be any blind imitation of the West.
- (5) Unequal marriages in regard to age should be disapproved.

The aforesaid noble resolutions speak of the high traditions and intentions of the Khatri. Further, in order to help to negotiate marriages in their community, the Sabha publishes a list of all eligible Khatri bachelors. Twice a year, eminent speakers, scholars and men of religion are invited to give discourses to the members of the community.

The caste organization of the Khatri is well knit, effective and purposeful. This proves that the Khatri are a highly enlightened and integrated community.

Kayastha

The Kayasthas in the nineteen-twenties were not a happy people. An acute sub-sectional feeling was devouring the life fabric of their community. It was to fight this evil that the

Kayastha Youngmen's Association, the caste organization of the Kayasthas, was founded in 1929.

The Association of Kayasthas has functioned as an inspired unit for its basic objectives, namely, abolition of the dowry system, promotion of inter-sectional fellow-feeling, spread of literacy and higher education.

The Association holds annual social and cultural conference which brings various sections of the Kayasthas closer thereby. Competitions are organized to help in raising the standard of knowledge and exchange of ideas. The Association also helps poor and meritorious students of the Kayastha community through grants of scholarship. A rest house is being built for the accommodation of Kayastha tourists and travellers who come to the city for business and other purposes.

In 1946, a small library was established with 500 books. The number has now risen to 5,000. A reading room has also been started where newspapers and journals are provided for reading daily. A few Kayastha medical practitioners treat the members of the Association at concessional rates.

The Association keeps a good stock of mattresses, carpets, utensils etc., to be supplied free of cost to the members at the time of marriage or any other social or religious gathering.

The All-India Kayastha Association brings out a journal named *Volunteer* from Lashkar to serve as a medium for the exchange of ideas between Kayasthas of different parts of India. The *Volunteer* publishes the names of young men who pledge to marry without dowry.

Through its campaign for the abolition of purdah, child marriage, and dowry and promotion of inter-sectional marriage, the Association has rendered a really good service to the Kayastha community.

Dosar Vaishya

The Akhil Bharatiya Dosar Vaishya Mahasabha, an all-India body with permanent headquarters at Kanpur, is the caste organization of the Dosar Vaishyas. Established in 1917, it has held 29 annual conferences so far.

The Dosar Vaishya Mahasabha participates in a number of activities ranging from educational uplift to abolition of dowry and other bad social customs from the community. Through its monthly caste journal, *Dosar Vaish*, it enlightens and inspires caste-men to cast away the futile conservatism and broaden their outlook. The Dosar Vaishya Intermediate College was established in 1926. In 1933, the Mahila Parishad was started to awaken the hitherto dormant womenfolk to take an active part in the social programmes of the Mahasabha.

The Dosar Vaishya Mahasabha, in its annual conferences, has passed a number of resolutions, some of which are as follows :

(1) There should not be any improper monetary transaction in marriage.

(2) Widows should be honoured. (A resolution to remarry virgin widows had to be dropped in face of stiff opposition.)

(3) Foreign goods should be boycotted (1920) and Swadeshi be observed.

(4) Dances of prostitutes should not be allowed at the time of marriage (1924). It was a common practice.

(5) The minimum age of marriage should be 13 for girls and 18 for boys (1925).

(6) 'Purdah Pratha' should be abolished (1928).

The Mahasabha has fixed penalties for social offences, e.g., a fine of Rs. 10,000 for criminal assault on a woman, Rs. 2,000 for a person who refuses to eat in the house of another Dosar Vaishya, etc.

The Mahasabha helped the cause of girls' education by opening several girl schools or *Kanya Pathshalas*. Fines and ostracism are the most effective weapons at the hands of Mahasabha to correct a defaulting member. In fact, more than once, the Mahasabha has acted as the caste panchayat.

Omar Vaishya

Sri Omar Vaishya Navayuvak Sangha represents the other sub-caste of Vaishyas known as Omar Vaishya. It was founded in 1935 by a few enlightened and leading members of the Omar Vaishya community to protect the interests of their caste-men.

The aims and objects of the Sangha are of a philanthropic nature. Like the Dosar Vaishyas, Omar Vaishyas are also mainly traders. The Sangha lays special stress on righteous conduct. Omar Vaishyas had the advantage of having witnessed the formation of other caste organizations and also of having noted their shortcomings. So they tried to benefit by the experience of others.

The Omar Vaishya Navayuvak Sangha was founded in 1935, and the very next year it laid the foundation of Omar Vaishya Primary and Secondary schools. Donations of a few lakhs of rupees enabled the schools to be upgraded to the Intermediate standard. Besides formal education, the college imparts instruction in music, dancing, musical instruments, painting, photography, radio-mechanism, telegraphy, etc. Kindergarten classes are run in the morning. A few years later the Omar Vaish Balika Vidyalaya and Adult Women's School were also started to meet the needs of girls for higher education.

Rest houses have been built by members of the Omar Vaishya community. Strictly speaking, these are individual contributions, and the Sangha has no association with them except in exercising some influence in their running.

The Sangha lends its members utensils, mattresses etc., free of charge at the time of marriage and similar occasions.

Omar Vaishya widows are given, free of cost, instruction in sewing and embroidery, and when they are trained they are given jobs through the Sangha.

The Sangha advocates complete withdrawal of purdah and invites its womenfolk to come out to share the development work of the country along with men.

Some of the resolutions passed by the Sangha are as follows :

(1) Marriage should not be held where there is a wide disparity between the ages of the bridegroom and the bride.

(2) No dancing by prostitutes should be allowed on any occasion.

(3) The minimum age of marriage for girls should be 14 and for boys 18.

(4) The Sangha approves of widow remarriage and shall try to get any caste widow remarried if she so desires.

Through its two magazines, *Navayuvak* and *Samajik Samachar*, the Saugha has been advocating social reforms, emancipation from age-old conservatism, spread of education and controlled liberalism and, lastly, inspiring womenfolk to wake up from the age-old dormancy.

Barber

The Barbers of Kanpur had organized themselves as early as 1931 under the auspices of the Ganga Mela Utsav Committee. The function of the committee was to provide a platform for socio-religious activities to the Barber community during the occasion of their annual fair on the banks of the Ganga. In 1951, however, an organization of the Barbers was founded. Nai Sabha, as it is called, is a big body which pays greater attention to the economic and social problems of the Barbers.

The functions of the Nai Sabha are not numerous. Its main function is to provide for the free education of Barber children and also to provide them with books. The other functions are to help the poor, the needy, the widows and orphans with money, to awaken public opinion toward their not too bright economic and social condition and to hold their annual religious fair befittingly.

The Barbers are a backward community. Although they have the reputation of being particularly clever, they have a meagre income. It is therefore their first concern to make provisions for education.

The Nai Sabha has a modest achievement. Its means are limited. It fully appreciates the importance of education but cannot do much about it. It plans to open a Bal Siksha Mandal and is raising funds for that purpose. When ready, the Mandal will impart free education to boys and girls of the caste.

The Nai Sabha lends utensils and mats to caste-brethren at the time of marriage. It has the intention of granting scholarships to the best students of the caste when the Bal Siksha Mandal comes into being.

The Nai Sabha gives free medical aid to poor helpless Nai patients. At the time of death, the Sabha arranges for

the cremation and tries to find some suitable means of livelihood for the dependents of the deceased.

Nai Sabha strongly deprecates unequal marriages in respect of age. A person found guilty of unequal marriage is summarily ostracized. The Sabha holds that no Barber shall marry his son before 16 years and daughter before 13.

Widow remarriage in the Nai community is possible and is compatible with the customs of the community.

Sweeper

On 2 October 1957, was founded the Hind Sweepers' Sewak Samaj, the caste organization of the Sweepers of Kanpur. It is the local unit of the all-India body of the the same name, with headquarters in Delhi. The parent body issues necessary directives to the affiliated units. Kanpur Sweepers had long felt the necessity of having an organization, but could not establish one before 1957.

The Hind Sweepers' Sevak Samaj has been fortunate in getting quite an amount of Government grant for carrying on social service activities among Sweepers. True to its constitution, the Samaj has been making efforts for raising the standard of life among Sweepers.

The Sweepers' Sishu Siksha Kendra imparts free education to Sweepers' children under twelve years of age. Harijan Bal Vidyarthi Sangha, a sister organization of the Samaj, publishes an annual magazine, *Harijan Sandesh*, giving the list of programmes of the Samaj. The expenses are met through municipal grant. All Harijan students, however, get full free-studentship at any institution where they get admission.

In collaboration with the State Government, the Samaj built a number of Sweepers' colonies. The average rent charged is Rs. 6 per month per tenement.

The Sweepers, who are also employees of the municipality, receive free medical aid from the municipal dispensary.

The Samaj also campaigns for the abolition of bad practices prevalent in their society, namely, alcoholism and gambling. According to the Samaj, the Sweepers had been

subjected to age-long suffering. They did not get the blessings of education. In view of the dark and unhappy background, they fell prey to a number of evil practices like drunkenness and indebtedness. Being aware of this, the Samaj tries in a number of ways to eradicate these habits of the Sweepers.

Before he is admitted to membership of the Samaj, every Sweeper has to take an oath not to indulge in intoxicants. The Samaj believes that prohibition will automatically lessen the indebtedness of the Sweepers. They have also to take a vow not to accept loans from money-lenders except on genuine grounds. The Samaj has also passed a resolution requesting the State Government and the local authorities not to grant licences to Sweepers for obtaining tincture ginger for any purpose other than medical.

The library and the Sweepers' school serve as centres of social and political intercourse.

Retrospect and prospect : an analysis

It has been observed in the preceding pages that it is not unnatural for people of a particular group to form an association of their own to look after their interests, especially for those who belong to the same caste. Caste associations are very much in vogue to-day and '..... command the services of even the most highly educated persons to further their object of helping the members of their castes'.¹

Why the associational aspect of caste in the shape of caste organizations came into being as late as 1891, as compared to caste which has been in existence since time immemorial, is a pertinent question. The weaker castes were slowly raising their heads against higher castes because of the latter's unjust behaviour towards them. The movement gained momentum in the closing years of the nineteenth century. Western education, better means of communication, publication of books and regional newspapers brought people

nearer to each other and created a new kind of awareness in them. Members of a caste now met occasionally, exchanged their views and worked out courses of action in regard to their problems and interests. Funds were started, caste journals published and conferences held, and ultimately in 1891 the first known caste organization was founded. The social condition prior to 1891 was not conducive to the establishment of caste organizations, mainly because of lack of awareness.

It would not have been in any way wrong on the part of caste organizations to serve their castes but for the fact that it leads to the birth and growth of a more evil feeling, namely, casteism. When every caste has its own organization, each restricting itself to serving its own caste, the social distance between the castes increases. Parochial caste feeling grows and the attitude of 'my caste, right or wrong' becomes widely prevalent. The members of the caste organization in turn feel gratified. They feel it their proud duty to strengthen the caste organization, remembering their obligations to it. Thus a vicious circle is created. The feeling of caste solidarity is now so strong that it is truly described as caste-patriotism.² In the desire to help one's caste fellows, many forget the principles of social justice, and are led to do, consciously or otherwise, injustice to members of other castes.³

There is a high degree of positive correlation between casteism and caste organization and the present study has found no exception. Both seem to influence one another. While casteism is abstract and is in the people's mind, caste organization is something concrete, and through its various functions and agencies, helps to boost casteism in a practical way.

All arguments, however, appear ineffective when one comes down to stark realities. If a particular caste is denied social justice and opportunities for development, it cannot be blamed if it sets up an organization to fight for its existence and for better living.

The fundamental rights of equality, freedom, non-exploitation, etc., guaranteed by the Constitution to every Indian citizen and the directive principles of State policy for promoting

with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and to protect them from social injustice would in the long run eliminate many of the functions of caste organizations. Ultimately, caste will lose its bite.

But in the immediate future, casteism and caste antagonism are likely to increase. For some time to come, ignorant and weaker caste-people, now equipped with education and awareness, will summon all their resources and energy to fight for their legal rights. Since these rights cannot be availed of unless conceded to by upper caste people and unless orthodox caste Hindus change radically, conflicts cannot be ruled out. Apprehensive of greater caste conflicts, Srinivas observed, 'I will not be surprised if such fights increase in the near future especially in the villages. As Harijans get more and more educated and as their economic condition improves, they are bound to resent increasingly the disabilities which the fiat of brute Hindu majority imposes on them'.⁴ Another factor to stimulate casteism was, curiously, the advent of Indian independence. Independence brought numerous political rights, privileges and benefits which were hitherto absent under foreign rule. Some of those who had the power tried to help grant benefits to their caste-men in order to perpetuate their hold on them, as well as the seat of power they were in control of. Soon this practice became widely prevalent. Caste seemed to have a bearing on almost every walk of life and the politics of many States became caste-oriented.

Some of the caste organizations may continue to exist without any harm to society. In the present study, the organization of the Brahmans has been rendering a great service to society through its many schools and colleges. Its purpose is the expansion of Higher Secondary education. Its institutions are open to students of all castes. It is a caste organization only in the sense that the management of its various institutions is in the hands of Brahmans.

Some caste organizations, aware of the many evils prevalent in their castes, concentrate on efforts to eradicate these from their society. No one can find fault with that. The Sweepers, with their colossal ignorance and poverty and a host

of such habits as gambling and drinking, have to begin from a negative score. Before they embark on their future, they have to neutralize their past. No one can do that single handed and organized effort is necessary. Fortunately, the State bears, in theory, the responsibility for their uplift. From their experience with the Government, they have drawn certain conclusions and rightly too. Government grants will not come to them without asking and representation. Without concerted action, they will not be successful in their effort to impress upon the Government the imperative necessity of their social and economic advancement, and adequate grants for that. Hence, for the Sweepers and Barbers, caste organizations serve as a means for betterment and in the foreseeable future they are likely to continue their task.

Will caste organizations wind up when the purposes for which they have been established no more exist and their functions are no more effective ? The answer cannot be given straight away. Caste organization, as any other social institution, cannot but be affected by the incessant changes occurring in society : changes in values, ideals, customs, mores, etc. According to the present trends, society is predisposed to let such organizations thrive. It may not be always so. Universal adult franchise, which means political equality ; compulsory education, which means general enlightenment and fuller employment, which means economic stability are bound to shake many of the foundations of beliefs and practices and customs. Caste organizations no doubt will find, at some future date, many challenges and questions to answer.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to give due credit to the various caste organizations for their positive contributions to the task of building up and improving the standard of living of their castes. To be blind towards these contributions will be tantamount to neglecting the undercurrents of social forces in the country. Eradication of illiteracy, promotion of intra-caste fellow-feeling, abolition of evil practices, help to the caste members to get settled in business, social services for the relief of orphans, helpless widows and the crippled, establishment of libraries, discussion centres,

clubs and the construction of bathing ghauts, laying of utmost emphasis on broad and enlightened outlook, insistence on giving up alcoholism and gambling and pronouncements on various other aspects of social life are some of the notable contributions of caste organizations. These exercise enormous influence and go a long way to shape living and thinking. Some of these organizations, as has been evident, go beyond the realm of their caste and extend the benefits to all and sundry. Notwithstanding the fillip given to casteism, these organizations have done much in their small way for their caste-men in particular and others in general.

Caste organization is a complex social institution eminently characteristic of Indian society. It arose out of social setting and context. It changed from time to time. Indian independence impels a re-appraisal of the whole scene. Change is again in the air and for the better.

REFERENCES

- ¹ Ghurye : *Caste, Class and Occupation in India*, p. 120
- ² Op. cit., p. 208 (Casteism and caste patriotism are synonymous).
- ³ Op. cit., p. 210.
- ⁴ Srinivas, M. N. : *Caste in Modern India and Other Essays*, p. 73.

BOOK REVIEWS

Villages, Towns and Secular Buildings in Ancient India. By *Amita Ray*. Pp. 159+101 sketches and drawings. 1964. Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta-12. Rs. 25.00.

The book is divided into eight chapters dealing with (1) tribal and rural settlement patterns and house-types, (2) village planning, (3) house planning, (4) town planning, (5) planning of forts, (6) planning of richer houses, (7) materials and techniques and (8) rituals. An appendix contains evidence gathered from recent archaeological excavations. The period covered is from c. 150 BC. to c. 350 A.D.

It is the author's thesis that sophisticated town-planning and secular architecture in India was the result of evolution from tribal and rural prototypes, which are still in vogue among tribal people like the Munda, Naga, Chenchu etc. She has gleaned as much material as is available about the past from literary sources and sculptural representations. House-types or settlement patterns in vogue among tribal or rural people in India has largely been gathered from anthropological literature. She has then tried to establish a continuity between the two in accordance with her thesis on evolution as indicated above.

In the opinion of the reviewer, this continuity has, however, not been very successfully or very firmly established. But the best part of the author's endeavour lies in her collection of facts regarding ancient India. This has been done with great industry and care; and students of secular architecture should be grateful to her on that account.

There are, however, a few questionable statements made by her, relating to completely technical matters. Thus, on p. 119, it is stated that one of the Puranas recommends particular kinds of soil for particular castes. But the canonical books on architecture are clear about one thing: soil was *classified* into four *varnas* or Orders, just as temples also were.

The illustrations are simple, plain and helpful. Occasionally, however, a few terms have been used in the text in describing them

which seem to be not quite correct. For instance, the two huts in figure 23 do not have a 'barrel-roof', but roof of a different kind.

In regard to settlement patterns in the present times in the Deccan, the author has tended to overlook the dominant linear pattern of villages. This is often repeated, until the villages becomes a series of streets running either parallel or at right angles to one another. A publication of the Anthropological Survey of India entitled *Peasant Life in India*, or the more recent and excellent village studies being published by the Census Department would help readers to correct the implied error.

But these are minor blemishes. Students of Indian civilization should feel grateful to the author for thus presenting a large amount of useful material within a short compass.

N. K. Bose

Life and Times of Birsa Bhagwan. By Surendra Prasad Sinha. Pp. vi + 179 + 16 illustrations and 1 map. Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi. 1964.

Birsa Bhagwan was born about 1870, and died in gaol in 1900. He was one of the greatest leaders of the Adivasis of Chotanagpur; and was responsible for a revivalist movement among his compeers. The religious elements were gathered from Vaishnavism, Christianity and the traditional Mundari religion of old; while there was a considerable political overtone also added to it.

Mr. Surendra Prasad Singh gives us, firstly, the economic and political background of this movement. He then traces in detail the birth, education and activities of Birsa, how he determined to lead his fellow tribesmen into a new freedom from the many bondages into which they had been cast.

The facts have been gathered with care, and the analysis has been done with some amount of care.

Three things have, however, distressed the reviewer. The book could have been compressed considerably. The author tends often to be carried away by the *phrases* used by other students of anthropology who have studied revivalist movements in other parts of the world. He has too often tried to show that, what Birsa did, fitted in very well with the observations made by others elsewhere. Instead of this, it would have been better if he had gone more deeply into his own analysis of the Birsaite case.

The author has also sometimes become sentimental about his hero. It has not been fair to nearly equate the Birsa movement with Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and the like. At least, the comparisons drawn have been of a very slipshod nature. There should be more content in a comparison.

Thirdly, the printing could have been considerably improved with greater care.

In spite of these weaknesses, the Tribal Research Institute deserves our thanks for thus bringing out a useful study of one of the nearly forgotten social and agrarian movements of Chotanagpur.

N. K. Bose

Essays on Social Organisation and Values. By Raymond Firth. *London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology*, London, 1964. 40 shillings net.

This book is a collection of essays differing widely in date and scope. These essays relate in different ways to Professor Firth's continuing interest in the study of social process, specially in the significance within the social context of individual choice and decision. Each essay has been written with some theoretical issue in mind. But the author does not make any attempt to present them as a complete theoretical system, as he is sceptical about the validity of any such unitary holistic framework. Each paper provides an analytical approach to many a significant problem.

Most of the essays draw on the author's field data from Tikopia, a small Polynesian community in the Western Pacific. Discussing authority and public opinion in Tikopia, Firth rejects Radcliffe-Brown's more formalistic notions, in particular, that of social systems in equilibrium. In two papers on social organisation and social change, he criticises the structural approach and substitutes it by the organisational method of analysis. The first exposition of the organisational approach was in a paper on 'Marriage and classificatory system of relationship' published in 1930 and included in this volume. 'Social organisation', according to Firth, 'is that continuous set of operations in a field of social action which conduces to the control and combination of elements of action into a system by choice and limitation of their relations to any given ends.' He has shown how sibling unity which is a structural abstraction is, from the organisational point of view, a reality.

Firth's comments on the 'Dynamic Theory' in Social Anthropology are highly stimulating. He distinguishes between three types of conceptual approach in this field : (i) the operation of forces in action within an unaltered social system, (ii) operation of forces with immediate or partial disintegrative effect on the existing society, but in a developmental evolutionary manner tending to the creation of social forms blending old and new elements and (iii) operation of forces tending to change the system by developmental movement of a revolutionary kind. Dynamic analysis must allow some autonomy and flexibility in the operation of social factors and not assume unitary sequence in social affairs. It should take into account status interest as well as power interest in the relationship between various social groups and categories. The anthropological contribution to the dynamic theory lies in analysis of structures of interest and of power, of meanings and values not only at their ostensible realistic level but also as they express symbolically ideas of group identity and activity.

Anthropologists and sociologists are notoriously vague in regard to the concept of value. Sometimes values are identified with things, sometimes with motives and sometimes with ends. At times the treatment of this subject embraces the whole of social life. Values imply recognition of preference qualities of relationships between means and ends in social contexts. It also implies grading of things and actions as well as systematic behaviour. Values may be conceptualized. They have an emotional charge. As stimuli to action, they operate from the early years of childhood. While useful work has been done by anthropologists on the way in which different processes of child training provide diverse sets of values in different societies, the genetics of value systems, both for individuals and societies, is a subject on which much anthropological work has still to be done. Values are integrated in a system both for the individual and the society. When the level of integration is low, actions tend to be incoherent.

The study of values is important in applied anthropology. Numerous schemes of development have been undertaken in economically backward areas of the world. The standard of comfort and the standard of living in those areas is compared to that of highly industrialized nations of the West and programmes are drawn up in that light. Thus people are denied the opportunity

of exercising their choice; as a result of which many schemes are doomed to failure.

Sachchidananda

Family and Marriage. *Chief Editor : K. Ishwaran, Editor : John Mogeey. Publisher E. J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands. Issued on behalf of the Department of Social Anthropology, Karnatak University, Dharwar, India. 1963. Pp. 153.*

The ten articles contained in this book were published in a special number of the International Journal of Comparative Sociology (Vol. III., No. I) in 1962. This publication is the first volume in the new series called International Studies in Sociology and Social Anthropology, Karnatak University.

This book presents a series of research papers about interchanges between different family systems and the societies concerned. Dr. Madan deals with the definition of the term *joint family* from the standpoint of comparative usages. Dr. Nakane deals with the ways in which the South Indian Nayar *taravad* changed its social functions. Dr. Mitchell describes marriage, matrilineal and social structures among the Yao of South Nyasaland. Dr. Jayawardena outlines the family organization in British Guiana. Dr. Willems opines that social class and urban and rural residence are factors which explain the variation in family forms in Portugal. Dr. Dennis reviews English studies on the subject and finds that, in the course of the century, the goal sought in the marital relationship has changed. Two papers by Karlsson and by Jacobsohn and Matheny endeavour to introduce a system and order into the study of open or preferential marriage. Harold T. Christensen's paper is one in the series of articles comparing sexual intimacy within and across three modern societies, namely, Denmark, Midwestern United States and Intermontane United States. The paper by Murray A. Straus and Cytrynbaum reports on the development of a system for scoring Thematic Apperception Test (T A T) protocols, or other written materials, for the power-relations between nuclear family members and for the patterns of affective support between them. The paper outlines the scoring system and presents the findings which resulted from an application of those procedures to the T A T protocols of a group of student in the University of Ceylon.

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