

Anthropology of Everyday Life: A Study on Daily Routine of Women in a Tribal Setting

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ABSTRACT

The word routine signifies action and duties performed as a matter of usual course in the daily life. The routine in domestic life or family life followed daily as a matter of course in which the obligations of men, women, and children to one another, and also individual actions for subsistence, which is vital for life, can be called daily routine. Traditional anthropological studies have emphasized lives in primary and exotic communities. In its methodological sense, ethnography has always devoted attention to the form and practice of everyday life. The present paper focuses on the daily routine of women folks in a tribal village of Pipri, Sonbhadra, Uttar Pradesh. It also shows how the routine of women changes as they attain new statuses in the society.

KEYWORDS: Child rearing, Daily routine, Economic activities, Religious activities.

INTRODUCTION

Everyday life is a major concept in cultural studies and is a specialized discipline in the field of anthropology. The discussion is that, motivated by capitalism and industrialism's degrading effects on human existence and perception, writers and artists of the 19th century turned more towards personal reflection and the portrayal of everyday life represented in their writings and art to a noticeably greater degree than in past works.¹ Though other theorists correct this discussion merely based on a long history of writings about daily life which can be seen in works from Ancient Greece, Medieval Christianity and the Catholic Enlightenment.²

In the study of everyday life gender has been an important factor in its conceptions. Some theorists regard women as the quintessential representatives and victims of everyday life. The suggestion of everyday life is often negative and is peculiarly separated from special moments by its lack of distinction and differentiation, ultimately defined as the essential, taken-for-granted continuum of mundane activity that outlines forays into more esoteric experiences. It is the non-negotiable reality that sustain amongst all social groupings without discrimination and is an unavoidable basis for which all human endeavor exists.

Much of everyday life is mechanical in that it is driven by current environmental features as mediated by automatic cognitive processing of those features, and without any mediation by conscious choice. Anthropology of Everyday Life is a term used in healthcare to refer to daily self-care activities within an

individual's place of residence, in outdoor environments, or both.

DUDHI –SITE

Dudhi lies in the south of the kaimur range and is between the parallels of 23^{o55} and 24^{o54} north latitude and 82^{o32} and 83^{o33} east longitude. It is bounded on the north by the parganah Agori; on the east by Polan and Sarguja; on the south by Sarguja and on the west by Farganah Singoruli. The river kanhar flows in the east of the parganah. Dudhi is a tehsil for administrative purposes and is divided into four administrative blocks- Dudhi, Myorpur and Babhni. Dudhi has an area of 706.43 square miles. It includes 102 villages with a population of 1,25,515 peoples (survey done in the year 2011). The total population as per the official survey conducted by of the Social Welfare Department in the year 2003-04 was 54776. The Density of population is 178. In the forests of the area, the tigers are not much but leopard is fairly common, wild bear; sambhar cheetal and chikara are plentiful. There are a number of prehistoric caves in the hill ranges; and implements of Neolithic age are found at places. These caves are known to contain rock-paintings.⁴

History of Dudhi

The parganas of Dudhi have been under proprietorship of many rajas but in 1781 Dudhi sovereignty passed nominally into the hands of British after Chet Singh's expulsion. The first settlement took place in 1788-89. Rents were generally fixed in cash. The permanent settlement of 1795 followed it. The villagers in Dudhi

government Estate were, however, again surveyed in 1940, but their boundaries and the areas then under permanent cultivation were surveyed. The sub-divisional officer is stationed at Sonbhadra and the litigants had to traverse about 100 miles each way on foot or on bullocks; but now government have started bus service. The new collar roads have been made to connect tehsil Dudhi with Robertganj. But at present Dudhi is connected to Robertganj by private bus services. But still the way is very dangerous.³

History of Pipri Village

Pipri is a small village near Rihand dam in Dudhi tehsil of Sonbhadra district. The village is situated about one and a half mile away from the field hostel. Turra, the place of our stay, the village lies about half a mile away on the right bank of Rihand (*Renuka Nadi*) a tributary of *Son* river. The village was founded by a person named Mangan Stain who built his hut and started cultivation. The exact date of his setting there could not be ascertained owing to the suspicious nature of the villagers. The village has no communication facilities and was completely cut off from other areas. This was responsible for the backwardness of the village in comparison to other neighboring area.

However, with the start of dam construction half a mile metalled road has been built up to the site of the filtration plant. There after the village is linked with a zig-zag kachcha road which has been constructed by the contractors about four years ago for transporting wood, bamboos, and other construction material to the site of the dam. It was reported that formerly about 100 people used to live in the village Pipri. But due to construction of the dam, the village will get submerged in the next rainy season and, therefore, some of the family members of the residents have already shifted to other sites allotted to them.

The remaining population will stay there till their crops are harvested. This shifting to their new habitat and submergence of the existing site (village) would leave no trace of their primitive dwellings. It was, therefore, necessary to study the existing living conditions of Pipri village and to compare it later with their modes of living under new surroundings to observe the change in their modes of living.

Although government has allotted new sites for settling them and is also granting compensation in cash so that they may build new houses, but the Sains Muslims were of the opinion that the land allotted to them was not very fertile and the huts constructed by the contractors at the new site are dirty and have no privacy. On the other hand, some of the baigas, who are generally more primitive than sains and do not like to shift to the new site allocated to them as they are afraid of the urban or civilized people and think that they might harm them (baigas). They, therefore, propose to shift to the top of the hills where they could live safely.

METHODS

The People

So far as my observation goes the people of Pipri village are illiterate, poverty-stricken, meek and submissive by nature. The dwellings in village Pipri are rectangular sheds of small dimension over-grown with climbing vegetables. The huts are very low and in order to enter the hut a person first bends down and then creeps in. The walls are mostly made-out of bamboo netting with mud plaster over it. This flimsiness of construction is doubtless a survival of nomadic habits of the people. One labour family from Rewah has very recently settled in this village. They have constructed three huts, which are circular in shape and are made of *sanai* grass, which is buried at the bottom under earth while the tops ends of the grass are tied together which gives a domelike appearance to the hut. This hut has a small aperture at the bottom to serve as a small door for entering the hut through creeping. The sains are muslims and are followers of *panch-pir* who were the five original great saints of Islam, namely, Muhammad himself, Ali, Fatima, Hassan and Hussain. But their worship has undergone a wide degradation and has been masked by a mass of the wildest legend and mythology. Little is derived from the real Islamic saints. The baigas are the descendants from among the races of Dravidian origin and they belong to a priestly class having a definite function that is they usually deals with the person possessed by evil spirits and undertake the regular exorcism. His jurisdiction extends over one to three village. For this area he is the general witch-finder and exorcist. He is also responsible to protect the inhabitants, crops and cattle from the attacks of all malevolent ghosts and demons. Among the primitive tribes he generally visits a chero, kol, or bhuinyar but not a manjhi. He gets certain allowance from the villagers in form of grain per plough at the time of harvest. This is known as *kharwan*. Besides this source of income, he derives considerable profit from the various sacrifices he is called on to perform. When summoned professionally, in a case of possession, he takes some barley in a sieve and scatters it until only a few grains are left in the interstices. Then he marks down the intruding ghost by counting the grains and recommends the sacrifice of a fowl or a goat or the offering of some liquor, most of which he usually consumes himself. In some cases he works himself up into a dance of ecstasy, when he is supposed to be under the influence of the diety and able to announce its pleasure; and in other cases expels the demon. Their other duties consist in the perambulation of the village field to keep off evil spirits, and in being the common medium of worship between their parishioners and the godlings of the rustic pantheon. I observed by visiting their locality that their children upto 5 or 6 years of age remain naked or with just a piece of cloth tied round the waist and are not ashamed to meet strangers in such

scanty dress. While the boy move about freely without being sufficiently clothed, the girls after 4 or 5 years of age must put on something to cover the loin and when they grow older a second sheet must cover the upper part of the body. Men usually do not put on any upper garment while inside the hut, but they must put on a *baniyan* or a shirt and tie a turban before going out of the hut. The usual dress of women is *dhoti* (sari) and *saluki* (blouse or a short type of shirt). There are no tailors in the village Pipri consequently they (the villagers) purchase readymade clothes from the *penth* (weekly market) which takes place on Sunday on the dam site. Tattoo is common among baiga and muslim women. The tattoo-designs are mostly geometrical figures, rarely animals and plants, and no totemic belief is connected with the marks.

Birds are also included in these designs but there is no special attraction for any particular species. The women of Pipri village do not usually put on many ornaments as they cannot afford them. They simply use a pair of bangles and a pair of rings on the toes and these are the only ornaments seen on body of married woman while the widows do not wear them. Among muslims, practice of wearing the ring on the toes is absent. Practice of wearing necklaces of beads is also very common as they are quite cheap. Among baiga woman the bigger beads in the necklace have assumed some religious sanctity. It is considered that wearing of beads help them to ward off the effects of evil eye. Men do not usually wear any ornament, but young men are seen to put on brass-carvings which hang freely from the lobes ends. Both, sains and baigas of the village Pipri are dependant more or less directly on agriculture for a means of support. The methods of cultivation followed are similar to those present in other districts of uttar Pradesh. They use wooden plough for cultivation. Maize and paddy are the principle kharif crops grown there. In rabi barley and gram are commonly grown. Tuber-crops like sweet-potato and gethi (grishti) are quite common. Some of the root crops like *nakua*, *durru*, *kanna* are also grown for food purpose. Among vegetables creepers like gourd, pumpkin and beans are allowed to trail over the thatches of the huts while reddish, turmeric and ginger are grown in the fields. The village people know the art of manuring. They generally apply the refuse of the household, dung and dropping of goat, etc., to their fields, although part of the cattle dung is also used for cooking food. Religious and superstitions observances are connected with every phase of agricultural life. Before ploughing the cultivator consults the family priest, who suggests an auspicious day and hour for ploughing and sowing the fields. When the crops are ripe the family priest is again consulted to name an auspicious day for starting the harvest. After the grain has been thrashed, it is collected into two heaps – a larger and a smaller one. The latter is called *agwar*, which is distributed to the

labourers as their wages. Some implements of iron are placed in the centre of the larger heap and a circle is made round the larger heap with cow-dung. Two basketfuls are then taken out. One is set aside for propitiation of the gods and the other for the pacification of the *dhiwar* who is supposed to haunt the village. Then the prayers are recited by the family priest and then the grain is measured and carried to their respective huts. There are no irrigation facilities at present in the village. Crops are grown un-irrigated and are dependant exclusively on rain. The rain water is arrested in the fields by constructing bundhis around the fields. As a side occupation the people of the village, Pipri rear dairy cattle and poultry-birds. The milk and eggs are usually sold in the nearby township (turra). In spare time they go to the forest for cutting and collecting wood for fuel. Baiga women also prepare bamboo baskets during their spare time. The diet of the people consists of rice and bread of coarse grains such as maize or barley. On special occasions wheat-bread is also used. The morning meal consists of *dal* or vegetable and boiled rice. In the evening only chapaties are prepared and are taken with *dal* or vegetable cooked in the morning. Left over chapaties serve for their morning breakfast. In the *nashtha*(breakfast) these chapaties are taken with a little salt. On special occasions *mahua* bread are also taken. *Puris* are fried in *mahua* oil. Sains take meat on special festivals while baigas are strict vegetarians.

The language spoken in the village resembled Bhojpuri. Even the muslim population spoke the same language. The aboriginal tribe, baigas have almost entirely given up their own language and now speak Bhojpuri. So far as education is concerned the people of Pipri village are illiterate, although a primary school exists in the adjoining village, they do not send their children to the school on account of their superstitions beliefs. The village is organized under the headman, called *mukhia*. A council of old and experienced people is also formed no advise the *mukhia*. All disputed matters are referred to him and he after consulting his counselors resolves them. The *mukhia* of the village is responsible for the peace and security of the village. Whatever is decided by him is implicitly obeyed by all. This mukhiaship is not hereditary. Any influential male member of the village may become *mukhia*. The *mukhia* also serves as a go-between the village people and the government. Anybody who visits the village has to meet the *mukhia* first.

Census Operation

Our field work started with the collection of data concerning the population of the village Pipri. The total population of the village is 13213 including the children. Total population of the scheduled tribe is 1409 comprising of 720 males and 689 females. It will be further observed that there were few families of muslim consisting 9.20% of the total village population. But the

number of huts occupied by them is more than the huts of other scheduled tribes. This shows that the muslim of the village had slightly better living conditions than the baigas. The muslim families had on an average four huts per family. One hut is utilized for tying cattle, the second hut as storage godown, the third as kitchen and sleeping, and the fourth hut is used as a living room. The baigas on an average had two huts per family. One hut is being used as kitchen and storage-godown and the second hut is used as a living room. One family of the baigas had one goat and a cow which were tied in the living room in which a small partition-wall of bamboo with mud plaster was built to separate the cattle from the rest of the family. In some cases kitchen is also used for sleeping. From column 5 and 6 of the table it will be observed that muslim families had four adult male members and the baigas had five. While number of females among muslims was eight against that of 7 in baigas. The greater number of women among the villagers is due to the fact that polygamous marriages are common. The muslim male could have a maximum number of four wives. In the village Pipri the thekadar had three wives. Two other muslims had two wives each while only one muslim had only one wife. From column 7 of the table it will be seen that the muslim had eighteen children, while baigas had only eleven. The higher number of children among them appears to be due to polygamous marriages. After the census had been completed the choice of the topic was made. The present investigator decided to study daily routine of women. It was decided to make a comparative study. This will indicate the difference between our present set-up and the old systems which remained unchanged due to their geographical conditions and hardships of life and the resulting life due to the contact between rural and urban life.

Procedure adopted for the collection of data

Due to time limitations it was not possible to make a detailed study of every aspect of the village. The total term at our disposal was about a fortnight. The first two or three days were spent in visiting the villages Pipri, badhura, and padrivka-tola, etc. for making general observations of the locality. The next three or four days were spent in the collection of figures of population and its composition, geneology and so on. The remaining ten days were allocated for main field report. The topic on which the detailed studies were made was daily routine of women among all the castes of Pipri village. It was decided to make a comparative study of the village Pipri by collecting the data with the help of following techniques:

- Observation
- Interviewing
- Case-history
- Documents

The first and foremost prerequisite in conducting field investigation of any community is to win the confidence

of the people on whom the work is to be carried out. For successful investigation it is necessary to create a proper working atmosphere. In the beginning one is placed in an awkward position when one has to approach a stranger and has to put questions relating to his or her personal life or the community concerned. The newcomer is generally looked upon with suspicion and may not be treated hospitably by the persons visited. In order to create confidence among the villagers it is necessary that they are not deceived and that they are treated with affection and kindness. This point was kept in view while conducting enquiry in the village Pipri. The techniques used in collecting data were mainly observational and interviewing science begins with observation and ultimately returns to observation for its final validation. Keeping this too in view the first two days were devoted in obtaining a birds eye-view of the entire village and its surrounding and also in making acquaintance with the village folk, mainly with children and women. On approaching the village. The maukhia (headman) of the village was first contacted. Children of the village showed us the way to the mukhia's house. Incidentally, his house was just near and he too was standing there. The mukhia had four huts, one of which had tiled roof and the rest of the three were thatched like other huts in the village. Thus his house could be distinguished from the rest of the huts of other residents of the village. On seeing us talking to the mukhia his wife came rushing towards us and interrupted in the talk and told us that since she was the mukhiyain she could give us better information about the village than the mukhia. This created an impression that she did not feel happy on mukhia's talking to us and probably felt suspicious about us. This was later confirmed on further enquiry from the villagers that among them polygamy was prevalent and marriages by elopement were also common. Anyway, the mukhiyain took us to her residence and talked for about two hours. The talk was a general one about the people of the village and she was told the object of our visit. At that time it was observed that other women of the village were going to the river for fetching water for domestic use. On further enquiry she told us that after cooking the morning meals the ladies generally go to fetch water from the river and then they grind their grains and then rest for about two or three hours. From this it was concluded that the best time for interviewing the ladies was in noon when they were free from domestic work. On the second day the mukhiyain introduced us to other ladies of the village by visiting their huts. We had only general talks with the women folk and observed some ladies who appeared quite responsive so that we may confine our further investigations to such ladies mainly. On this day also observations on their living conditions were continued in order to confirm the mukhiyain's statement of the previous day. Two days appeared quite sufficient for

general information and for creating acquaintance with the village folk and getting familiar with them. Interview as a tool for information was used then. The interviews were preplanned to some extent. Enquiries about the personal and the domestic activities were mostly based upon the plan given in notes and queries on anthropology (routledge & kejan paul, 1929, pages from 89-101). The general procedure adopted, however, was as follows:

- The interviewer explained the purpose of study.
- A brief conversation was started on some general topics such as weather, news, cultivation, etc.

Special care was taken to see that the attitude of the respondent was in no way affected by that of the interviewer. Encouragement to the respondent was given by showing sympathy with his views. The method of interview followed was direct. Enquiries were made from children as to who bathed them, who changed their clothes when did they bathe last, who loved them most in the family, were they beaten, what work did their mother do, how did their grandmother spend their time, etc. beside these, questions were put to women about their daily routine such as:

- How they started doing the work getting up in the morning?
- What was the source of having water?
- How they brought the water?
- What was the process of cleaning the houses and who cleaned them?
- How they prepared the daily food, what food they ate and who cooked it?

On obtaining sufficient material on above questions further information was gathered about their general routine through more pointed questions such as:

- What they did to preserve grains?
- How they took care of their children?
- What role women played in village-society and festivals?

Lastly enquiries were made regarding their particular role and duties in the house-hold and outside, their other occupations to supplement their family income and type of works done in the field and how they utilize their spare time. On becoming familiar with the women more probing enquiries were made about their private life. Case-histories were then recorded about the role and duties of women from their childhood to the age of puberty and then from a married women to motherhood and them to grand/motherhood. Their property rights and their relations with their parents after marriage. During the course of interview great interest & sympathy was shown with the views of the women, but no opinions were expressed on the remarks made by the informer. The documents from which the help was taken are:

1. Mirzapur gazetteer, 1911.
2. Notes and queries.
3. Out-line of cultural material.

In view of short time at our disposal one of the techniques alone would not have provided sufficient data to base our conclusions hence all the techniques mentioned above, namely, observational, interviewing, case-history and documentary evidences had to be employed. As all the techniques are complimentary to one another.

Difficulties

Certain difficulties and limitations have to be faced in every work. There is much difference between the theoretical and the practical aspects of anything and collection of data in the field is no exception. During the course of the study some difficulties were encountered and they are described below:

- The villagers were suspicious of me and hence I had a great amount of difficulty in establishing rapport.
- The dialect of the people could not be fully understood. Besides this our language was also not well followed by the villagers. Therefore, difficulty was experienced in correctly understanding each other.
- Some of the male member did not like that their womenfolk should be questioned and divulge the secrets of their life because they were afraid that we might not harm them by learning about their ways of living.
- The people were afraid of facing the camera as they believed that it would their death. Owing to this belief it was very difficult to take photographs in the village otherwise the attitude of the villagers was quite cooperative in general.

All the above difficulties were gradually overcome as soon as we gained their confidence. However, no amount of inducement could prove fruitful in talking the photographs. Whatever photographs were taken they were without their knowledge. Thus removing these difficulties the whole information was gathered with the help of these above mentioned general techniques. Though there would be many short-comings in this preliminary rapport but they are due to any fault of the people. The cooperation was available to us in its fullest measure.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The daily routine

The womenfolk of Pipri village rise in early hours of the morning when it is usually dark. After lighting an earthen lamp (in which mahua oil is burnt) in the huts four or five women collect together and go to the field to attend to the nature's call as there are no bathrooms in their huts. On returning back they thoroughly wash their hands and face and then sweep the floor in the hut. Then they collect the dung of the cattle and pile it in the open for preparing dung cakes which are used as fuel. Then they clean the huts of the cattle and the court-yard in front of their huts. The sweepings are usually piled in a corner of the field where it decomposes and then it

serves as manure. This job generally finishes in one and a half hours time by then the menfolk also gets up. For them a little wood is piled in the court-yard and lit up by the ladies. The men then sit around the fire to warm themselves and then they milk their cattle. The women folk at this time get busy in grinding flour. The men folk after some time go to the field for easing themselves. In the meantime the ladies get an opportunity to sit around the fire in the court-yard and also smoke and chatter. The ladies then clean the left over utensils of the previous night's meal. This much work having been done they wake up those of their children who have not already left their beds and arrange the beds, spreading those of the clothes on the roof of the house which have been made wet by the children with urine. Then the women folk go and light the hearth and prepare food which consists of vegetables like somi, sage, dal of arhar, boiled rice, bread of barley, wheat or maize and such other things. The people of Pipri village are very poor; therefore, they do not cook any nashta (the early morning meal). Sometimes they eat bhujja (parched grains). The house wife serves the male members and children with nashta (breakfast) which consists of bread cooked on the previous night and a little salt. After breakfast the people of Pipri village disperse for performing agricultural operations in their fields which are called pali. When there is no work in the field they go to the forest for cutting wood which is their side occupation. Some people go to the town to sell eggs and milk. The children usually take the cattle for grazing. When the ladies finish cooking they go to the river rihand renuka to bath themselves and wash their clothes. While going to the river each woman carries one earthen pail and one brass pail to fetch water from the river. On returning they clean the infants or massage them with mustard-oil in the sun. When this is over they send the mid-day meal for the male member through their children. The rest of the children and the mother take their mid-day meal at home.

The male members who go to the town to sell milk or eggs return home by this time, and they are served with the meals at home. When the meal is over the ladies clean the utensils and scrub the floor of the kitchen and apply mud wash on the floor and hearth in order to clean it. Then they change their dress and comb the head and then bask in the sun. After this having been done they begin husking and grinding of corn or grains. Husking is done with the chakki (the grinding stone). Both the machines need two women at a time to operate them. However, the chakki may be operated by one woman to operate the machine and another has to take of the grains that are being husked, otherwise the grains are scattered away with the force with which the dheki's musar (hammer) falls upon it. When the grains have been husked they are cleaned with the help of a sup (winnowing fan or basket). Thus, noon time is the only

leisure time of women in the village Pipri. By the time this work is done, it is already dark and evening routines starts. At this time the women folk again go to the river to fetch water for the evening. By this time the children and cattle return home, the cattle are tied in the cattle shed and grass or straw is put in the manger to feed the cattle.

Then to ward off mosquitoes smoke is created in the court-yard and the cattle shed. Some wood is burnt in the court-yard and then the ladies start cooking. No vegetable or dal is cooking in the evening, for they cook enough for two or three times in the morning now, male members return to their cattle and milk them. The evening milk is stored and sent to the town with the morning milk. In the evening the whole family sits together in the kitchen to dine. When the food is scarce children get first priority. Whatever is left-over is eaten by the male members and then by females. After their evening meals men folk of the hamlet collect together and sit around the fire and chatter. Similarly women folk form a separate group and sit together to pass their spare time till they go to bed. The children usually go to bed early after taking their meals.]

Child-rearing

Child-rearing also forms an important part of the daily routine of women. The mother has to serve as a nurse to her infant child. During the post-natal period the child is looked after exclusively by the mother and sleeps by her side. This period lasts for ten days during which the mother is confined to bed only with her child. On the 12th day a ceremony called barahi is performed after which the mother does light work of the house-hold. First six days after child birth is regarded as the period of impurity and nobody touches the child and the mother except the chamar women who works as a mid-wife. Although the mother starts doing light work of the house-hold after twelve days of child birth but the child is exclusively attended by the mother till child is about two to three months old. During this period the mother devotes greater time of the day in attending to her child and, therefore, other routine work is not regarded so important. After two or three months the child develops some senses and start recognizing the other family members. When the mother is busy in work the child is looked after by elderly woman of the house-hold or by the elder sister or brother. If the mother has to go out to the field or to bring water from the river she carries the child with her.

When the child is about a year old then he or she is left at home under the care of any member of the house-hold particularly in care of his/her elder brother or sister. Breast-feeding continues up to the age of about three years unless the mother gets another child. Owing to poverty, remain naked. The children are usually bathed once a week. Mud plaster is generally rubbed on the body in place of soap at the time of bathing. The mother

washes the face, hands, and feet of her child daily during noon hours afterwards a little mahua oil is applied to the head and the entire body is massaged daily then the body is wiped with a dirty cloth. On alternative days some kajal is applied to the eyes during night. This black powder is prepared by collecting the smoke of mustard-oil in some vessel or on an iron plate. After the age of about four or five years when the child is sufficiently grown up develops friendship with the children of his or her age-group and usually plays outside the house. From this stage the control of mother on male children is gradually relaxed while of father increases. In case of female child, mother still has full control on her and she starts helping her mother in her house-hold work. Thus the daily routine of women changes as soon as she becomes a mother male child after seven or eight years of age usually go for grazing cattle. When they are 12 or 13 years old they help their father in his work.

Child marriage is common in the village. They are married when they are seven or eight years old. The bride goes to her husband's house after four or six years of her marriage when her gauna (second marriage ceremony) is performed. When the bride comes for the first time, she usually does not do any work of the house-hold and goes back to her parent's house after about a fortnight or a month. When she comes again she starts sharing in the work of her mother-in-law. Usually the cooking is done by the daughter-in-law, while the mother-in-law attends to other house-hold routine. Gradually as she becomes old the responsibilities of the house-hold duties are transferred to her and the burden of the mother-in-law is lessened. The above information's were gathered through questioning as the investigator did not come across any aged woman in that village whose daily-routine could be observed. So far as education of the children is concerned, there is no education whatever among the children. This is due to the belief of the people that the government wants to reduce their population and it is likely that their children might be inoculated in the school and ultimately dies.

WIDER-GROUP ACTIVITIES

Economic activities

As already stated earlier main occupation of all the residents of Pipri village is agriculture. They carry out cultivation in an indigenous manner. Women also join their male members in agricultural field operations, ploughing is the job of males while sowing of the field is generally done by women folk. Transplanting of paddy is exclusively done by women folk. Other field operation, not requiring hard labour such as weeding the fields, harvesting of crops and winnowing operations, are under-taken jointly by men and women both in their fields. However, on the fields of crop-sharers women labour is not employed for fear of elopement which is quite common in the locality. The wife of the farmer

brings his food in the field so that continuity of agricultural operation does not break. Thus for shorts periods when agricultural operations start in the field a change is brought about in the daily routine of women. They have to cook the family meals very early in the morning then feed children and also take their food before going to the pali field with the meals of their male folk who eat their food in the field. During harvest and transplanting days the ladies cook evening food fairly late in the night. Thus the work of the ladies during such periods becomes fairly heavy as they have to perform domestic animals. The women are not expected to do any work for the cattle except collect their dung. But when men are not at home it is women who give fodder, etc. to the cattle. But they never milk them or carry them to hill sides for grazing. Besides this, poultry keeping also serves in muslim women are particularly fond of keeping hens and hatching of chicken. Each muslim women in a house owns and looks after her poultry and she prepares small cages for their protection. Men have generally no concern with this part of women's activities. So far as making of things for domestic use is concerned the women make hearths, small clay-stoves, clay-chakkis (grinding machine) and clay kothis in which they keep corn or grain.

The women folk of the village Pipri do not know spinning, knitting, and sewing. Therefore, they purchase ready-made clothes from the penth (weekly market) which takes places on Sunday on the dam site. On weekly market days women try to finish their morning routine a little earlier say by about 8 a.m. after which they go to the market to sell vegetables or other farm produce and to buy articles required by them or their family for daily use. Some of the male members also go to the market to sell these things fuel wood, etc.

Religious activities

Feasts and fasts form an important part of religious life. Festivals are spread evenly over the whole year. On festival days muslims prepare meat dishes while the baiga-women prepare puries and vegetables. The meal is cooked on such occasions in morning only for both the times. The evening is kept free for enjoyments. The principal festivals of the sains or muslims are moharram, shabe-barat. Id-ul-fittar and id-ul-zuha. These festivals follow the muslim calendar and unlike the hindu festivals, which always occur in the same season, their time varies from year to year. Baigas usually observe the common festivals of the hindus, such as ram navami (birthday of rama; also regarded as his wedding anniversary), desehra (celebration commemorating arjunas victory, with the help of Krishna, over the kauravas), Krishna-ashtmi (birthday of Krishna), deepavali (celebration commemorating the defeat of the demon king narkasura at the hands of Krishna), and holi (bonfires to commemorate the burning of kamadeva, the god of love). In addition to these their chief tribal

festival is karma-festival which is held in the month of bhadon. Men and women dance night and day, sing karma songs and regals themselves by liberal doses of liquor available cheap in the village. On festival days baigas and sains join together in the celebrations except that do not eat together. Baigas perform karma-dance on other festive occasions also specially during desehra. Before dancing men and women drink wine. Among muslims some male members may drink wine on hindu festivals with baigas.

The dance is usually help during the night. During the menstruation period the baiga women do not participate in the karma festival, because this period is considered as the period of impurity. During this period they do not cook food meant for religious purpose. On festive occasions a change is brought about in the daily routine of women as the meal is cooked on such occasions in morning only for both the times. The evening is kept free for enjoyments.

Routine on Special occasions

A little change in the daily routine of women takes place on special occasions also such as at the time of marriage, child-birth or death. During marriage day's guest are entertained and served with good food so the ladies have to spend a good deal of their time of the day in cooking meals. At the time of child-birth when the woman is confined to bed, either other women of the house, look-after her or the women from the neighborhood, belonging to the same caste, attends to her daily routine of cooking meals and looking-after the children. This brings about a little change in her daily routine because the lady who attends to the confined women has to perform her own work at her house and also attends to the work of the mother of the newly born child. Death of a member in the family also brings about some changes in the daily routine. The deal-body is usually burnt among baigas, they bury the dead child or such adults who die of small-pox due to their super-stitions, as small-pox is considered to be the disease of goddess and they believe that if the dead-body is cremated the goddess is likely to get angry. The dead-body is usually kept for about 24 hours in the house and then taken for cremation/burial takes place. The mourning continues for ten days in baiga family and for four days in muslims. During these days food is only cooked once in the evening. On the last mourning day feasting takes place in which the members of their community and relatives from the neighboring villages are invited. Among baigas the death anniversary is celebrated after one year when feasting again takes place. Among muslims chalisvan (40days) is also observed besides the death anniversary. The above mentioned special occasions such as marriage, child-birth or death did not occur in the village at the time of our visit so these details were obtained only through questioning. During pregnancy also a women is relieved of the hard part of

her duties. Normally light duties are given to her. Usually she spends her time in sifting and pounding of corn etc. this also brings about some change in the daily routine of women.

Habits, customs and Etiquette in daily intercourse food habits

The people of the village Pipri differ in certain respects in their habits. Customs and etiquette with the other tribes of the country. The men and women generally dine together on festive occasions in their houses also evening meals are usually taken jointly. The lunch is mostly taken separately because the male members have to take their meals in the field or the forest where they work. Before taking meals they wash their hands and feet as is the usual custom among hindus. They generally associate cleanliness with taste of thee food. The daily meal consists of boiled rice, vegetable and chapattis. Vegetable is often substituted by dal. The poverty of the village people does not permit them to have the luxury of both vegetable and dal at one and the same time. The breakfast consists of only chapattis cooked on the previous night and a little salt. Mid-day meals consist of boiled rice and dal or vegetable. In evening only chapattis are cooked and are eaten with dal or vegetable left-over from the mid-day meals. The chapattis are generally prepared of maize flour or wheat flour. It is only on special occasion that the people can afford to have a variety of dishes. A women's skill as a cook is only to be seen on such occasions.

Bathing and other habits of cleanliness

The people as a general rule are not clean in their habits. The factor responsible for lack of bodily cleanliness may be their extreme poverty. They have not enough clothes for change. Although they bathe regularly every day but put on the same dirty clothes on their body. Body is cleaned by rubbing clay of the river on the body at the time of taking bath. Clothes are usually washed every week. Soap is rarely used for washing clothes. Generally the saline earth (reh) is applied to the clothes for cleaning them. The women of the village Pipri wash their hair at least once in a week or fortnight. The river bed clay is also used for cleaning the hair. All males and females use kadua-oil and comb their hair after taking bath. There are no latrines attached to the houses. Open air evacuation, both for men and women is a usual practice. Cow-dung is usually utilized in making cakes for fuel. The droppings of goats and poultry birds are piled in a corner of the field along with other trash for use as manure in the field. It has been observed that there is special place too, near the river renuka where some of the villagers throw the dirt of their respective huts. This dirt is also used for manure in land. The daily excreta of animals are collected in a corner behind the cattle shed or hut. Every morning the women prepare the fuel cakes out of the dung. The decoration of the houses consists in properly arranging the articles in their

respective huts. No pictures are used for the purpose. And so far as bodily decoration is concerned women put on cheap type of ornaments made of brass or iron. The necklace is usually made of earthen beads or glass beads. Earthen beads are painted in gold. Married ladies of baiga apply vermilion on their head. The utensils of the house-hold are usually of brass and iron. They are daily cleaned after the meals with ash and water and are arranged systematically in the kitchen.

Normal behavior in daily routine

There is neither modern nor primitive school in the village Pipri so the grown up female children help their mothers in domestic work, and also look after their younger sisters and brothers. The male children on the other hand either go for grazing cattle or help their father in cutting wood or in agricultural operations in the field. During sowing time the ladies also work in the field while at harvest the entire family works in the field. Winnowing of grains is usually the job of women. Inhabitants of Pipri village are very poor and they have to work hard to make both ends meet. Women work for wages only when there is an absolute need to do so, otherwise it is not supposed to be good if a woman works somewhere, generally adult females do all domestic affairs such as cooking, grinding and bringing water etc. besides this they do the work in the fields and they also have to go to market to sell their vegetables and grains, etc. and purchase the items of domestic use required by them. Thus the females themselves manage the house-hold affairs as well do the out-side work. There are no common clubs or guest-houses in the village where the guests for the village people could be accommodated, and entertained. The only entertainment provided for the guests is round the family fire. Sometimes songs are sung to the accompaniment of dholaki.

Leisure time activities

Both sains and baigas have learnt to break the monotony in their life through taking part in songs and dances. These songs and dances are generally held in group. Occasionally old stories and tales are related by the old women while young ones sit together quietly and take their care. Some women prepare baskets in their leisure time as part of their hobby.

Baskets can be purchased from the market but women have a taste and desire for making it and thus it becomes a leisure time activity. In this sense any activity can be a leisure time activity unless it is forced. Women who could not get an opportunity for the leisure in the day time can refresh their minds through talking and joking and hence it also becomes their leisure time activity, as well as a job, so far as making of things is concerned, the women make hearths, small clay stoves and kothis (storage bins). They also make brooms of dhurikki grass for domestic use.

CONCLUSION

The daily routine of women in the village Pipri starts from early hours of morning before sun rise after attending to the call of nature they have a thorough wash and then get busy with their domestic work such as grinding flour, cleaning utensils used on the previous night. Sweeping the house and the cattle shed. Then they bring water from the river and start cooking. This work finishes by about eleven o' clock or so, and then they go to the river for taking their bath and washing the clothes. While returning from the river they bring a pail of water for cleaning the utensils and bathing the children. Thus the morning routine generally finishes by one o' clock. During noon the women of the village get two or three hours of leisure time. This period is mostly spent in taking rest, gossiping or basking in the sun. Some of the women utilize part of the leisure time for other miscellaneous jobs of the house-hold, such as cleaning of grain, making baskets, brooms, hearths or kothis (storage-bins). They do not sew clothes but buy readymade garments from the weekly market. In the afternoon they again go to the river rihand to fetch water and then cook food for the eventide their cattle and feed them. The daily routine ends after dinner at about 8 p.m. after which the family members gossip with one another for some time and then retire to bed. On market days they go to the market to sell their vegetables and purchase necessary articles for daily use. In addition to this when a woman becomes mother of a child she also looks after the child, thus a change is noticed in their daily routine, on special occasions such as marriage, birth of a child, death of some member in the family, period of menstruation and on festive occasions a change takes place in the daily routine of women. Some change also takes place in the daily routine at the time of sowing and harvesting of crops when they have to help their men folk in the agricultural operations. The women of the village do not seem to be of very sociable nature and they do not get much time to meet and talk to one another. This may be due to the fact that the huts of individual families are located far apart. Women of the village are not allowed by their men folk to work as laborers for fear of elopement which is very common in the locality. It seems that the daily routine of the villagers mostly depends on the seasons and the status of the people. The role attached to their status marks the routine of the women folks. It also depends on the occasions and the marital status of the ladies.

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