

## CASTE AND GENDER SENSITIVITIES IN BIRADARI BHOJ: A RITE OF WRONG

Devi Prasad\*

### Abstract

Caste system is a very complex phenomenon for women by which they are being segregated and kept away from social occasion. The segregation indicates towards kinds of male-hierarchies that are exercised through deliberative social occasion like *chittha* system (male-based managerial system) of *biradari bhoj* (socio-ritual based community feast) in rural areas of Uttar Pradesh.

The root of *biradari bhoj* can be revealed from 'Hindu traditions' in following way. Customarily, in the *rina* mythology of *Hindu dharma*, there are four steps; a man is born with debts, which must be paid off before one's death namely *dev rina*, *rishi rina*, *pitra rina*, and *atithi rina*. Within the *pitra rina*, there are also four steps: they are *antyeshti sanskar*, *asthi visarjan*, *shradh*, and *brahmin bhoj* (feast of priest). At present, the last step of *pitra rina* i.e. *brahmin bhoj* is celebrated as '*biradari bhoj*' (a feast for own caste). It is organized by Yadav community as a part of ancestral ritual-worship in which people participate together in the name of having *prasada* (gracious gift) of lord *Jagannath* (a popular Hindu deity). It is usually celebrated for two days. On the first day, the native-villagers participate, either a person or all members from every household depending on organiser's economic capacity. Although on the second day, Organizer's own *biradaris* (community members) are invited. The first day of feast is called '*kachchi*' while the second day of feast is known as '*pakki*'.

The first objective of this paper is to reveal the organizational structure of *biradari bhoj* in which caste and gender sensitivities will be examined. The second objective is set to analyze the trend of *biradarism* (male-based mutual relation) by which female are marginalized in the name of *parampra* (tradition) and *izzat* (values) by the codes of conduct of the *chaudharis*. For ground

\* ICSSR, Doctoral Fellow at Department of Sociology, University of Hyderabad,  
Gachibowli, Hyderabad, Telangana

understanding, ethnographic approach and interview method has been used in which eighty respondents from Yadav community have been interviewed from two villages, namely Tandwa and Rajanpur that are situated in Sultanpur district of Uttar Pradesh.

**Keywords: Chittha, Chaudhari, Invitations, Masculinity, Discrimination, Dependency Attitude.**

### Introduction

The idea of *biradari bhoj* is closely associated with the philosophy of Hinduism and its ritual practices. It appears that ritual practices give legitimacy to caste-based feast. However, as a belief system, religion deals so largely with the imaginative and emotional nature, and consequently with such uncertain elements of knowledge, that all primitive religions are grotesque and to some extent unintelligible (Morgan: 1877). But as a phenomena, it is a set of beliefs that involves worship one god, or gods, or even goddesses, as supernatural being (s); a worldview that provides to some philosophical questions around the meaning and existence of life and the universe, and rituals practices and daily life (Wehr: 2011; 386). Although if we examine in Indian context where, in fact, the ancient great Rishis (Saints) seem to be aware about their socio-cultural atmosphere, and inevitable relation with nature and society. The pattern of 'nature worship' could be one part of it. Their sharpness into the deepest depth of human mind had enabled them to develop a perfect logical systematic refinement and escalation of intrinsic faith and natural tendencies of human self. In the same way, they had developed the system of '*panch rina*' (five debts), '*panch mahayagya*' (five sacrifices), '*sodash sanskara*' (sixteen sacraments), etc. for the welfare of the human being.

It seems that the '*sodash sanskara*' are method of conditioning and training or experiments of purification of accumulated instincts and inculcation of virtuous tendencies keeping in view with socialization in various transitional phases of life. The combination of mantras or *Slokas* (hymn) and procedures of *Yagya* (physical practices) associated with each of these rituals. Believers of Hinduism often claim that it had resulted from long-term empirical experience of Indian *Rishis* (seers). It appears that timely it was suitable because these *Sanskaras* kept influence on human consciousness and psychological conditioning. Although in present scenarios, social thinkers

have questioned the relevancy of such traditional practices because the medium of social interaction, social control, social solidarity, social cohesion etc. have transformed into formal and democratic nature. For wider understanding, we can go through some more details-

### **Biradari Bhoj: A New Pattern**

In present scenarios, the *brahmin bhoj* has transformed in new pattern so-called *biradari bhoj*, which is operated in symbolic way among rural commune. According to the native mythology (*natthu myth*), ‘after death of one’s father, the following family becomes impure for a period of time, so one (head of family) need to go to Kashi (Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh) and Gaya (Bihar) for remove this sin (through performing some ritual function)’. After performing these ritual activities, they return to home and organize *biradari bhoj* in the name of lord *Jagarnath*. According to a respondent namely Madhav Dash, “Organizers believe that their ancestors have been waiting to perform *shraddha* (ritual ceremony where they pray water and food)”. Another respondent said, “*Hum Log Pindon ko Tarne Jate hain*” (We go there for relives ancestor’s sin). Few local myths (for instance, ‘*gyasur myth, natthu myth, raja bali myth and dhopap myth,*’ etc.) are also motivating to perform this ritual.

Mostly, *biradari bhoj* is celebrated by all castes as a socio-ritual acceptance. It has been a highly devoted medium of caste solidarity and consciousness, and it is a very powerful medium to demonstrating caste solidarity and unity. If we look upon the whole structure of *biradari bhoj*, it can find that it has also some latent and manifest functions. Manifest functions are, demonstration of economic and numerical strength, fulfilment of the ritual or religious desires, caste solidarity, celebration, interaction and following the vegetarianism. Whereas, the latent functions are like achieving horizontal mobility within castes, getting informal social security and social capital as well as caste based purified identity. Its impact also can see on regional spread<sup>i</sup>, linking in caste-network, getting-honour in local settings. After celebrating this feast, Organizer becomes a ‘reference man’<sup>ii</sup> of his community.

### **Biradari Bhoj: As a Fair**

Fairs have always been inevitable part of rural India and it is major means of getting together, interacting, and inter-linking in remote areas. Even today, most of the rural communities still

have their occasional fairs for fulfilling the socio-cultural needs. If we go in depth into it, there are certain ritual and social practices have been creating injustice and social problems for few sections of the people. The result of which, they have been marginalised or segregated by a category of people or dominant commune.

### Contextualising the Bhoj with Fairs in Rural Scenarios

Few orientalist often refer to rural India as 'little republic' because there are certain rituals, tradition, fairs etc. which make it united and self-independent. If we look at fairs and its impacts on villagers, we can argue that it is organized in many ways in order to fulfil villagers' needs like recreation, interaction, ritual or religious connotation, socio-economic and cultural exchange. In broad sense, mostly these fairs can be distinguished into three parts in which, first one can be called as '*mela*' (local public based fair).

*Mela* is very popular public fair in rural community. It is fulfilling socio-economic needs. The main motives behind this fair are to organize socio-economic activities, commemoration, recreation etc. In *mela*, any citizen may participate irrespective of race, castes, gender, sect, or religion. Whereas, to another fair can be called as 'religious fair'. Its main aims are to bring closeness between the followers, interaction, and fulfilling the religious desires. Because of its religious nature, few famous fairs like *Durga Puja* (goddess worship), *Dashahara* (lord Rama's performance in order to kill Ravana), *Kumbh Mela* (for taking bath in Ganga River), etc., can be included in the same line. Third one is 'caste fair' so-called *biradari bhoj*. Under the criteria of *mela*, *biradari bhoj* falls because in one *biradari bhoj* about five to ten thousand people from same caste participate.

*Biradari bhoj* is based on traditionalism, as part of ancestral worship in which from the some caste or community people get-together for having the *prasad* (blessed food) in the name of lord *Jagannath* (a famous god in Hinduism). This fair is usually celebrated for two days. On the first day, local villagers and friends participate which is popularly known as '*kacchi*'. For the first day program, people invites through 'orally'. Whereas, on the second day, which is also known as '*pakki*'. In the *pakki*, Organizers invites especially from their own caste or community called *biradari* with the help of *chaudhari* (head of caste).

### Chaudhari

Chaudhari is a popular male member of a village who represents to his community. Each caste has its own *chaudhari*. One *chaudhari* is assigned in each village. The work of a *chaudhari* is to take care of community relation and harmony. A *chaudhari* is also considered as a representative of his own caste. Few other facts about *chaudharis* can be understood in following way-

- *Chaudharis* keep dominant influence over the personal affairs in local setting. They also play the role of 'agua' (mediator). Agua is a person who mediates between two families that supposed to build a new marital relation.
- *Chaudharis* also give a road map to create good relation with *biradari*. Few evil customs like dowry, child-marriages, as well as caste conflict related issues are basic concern to these *chaudharis*.
- If there is any dispute between two Yadav families, *chaudharis* can play the role of 'panch-parmeshwer' (jury).
- The role of a *chaudhari* is carried out from one generation to next generation in hereditary way.
- It seems *chaudharis* (of Yadav community) have good relation with 'Samajwadi Party' (the current ruling party of Uttar Pradesh).
- During the election campaign, *chaudharis* play very crucial role to mobilized 'Yadav community' to cast their votes to Samajwadi Party (a political organization).
- Each village has a male *chaudhari*. So, the idea of caste politics becomes applicable with the help of *chaudharis* in order to insure caste based vote bank.

Moreover, the main work of a *chaudhari* is to distribute *chitt* (invitation) and convey the message of Organizers. The idea of *chitt* is deferent from invitation. Therefore, some more details are following-

### Chitt (invitation letter)

*Chitt* is a hand-made card. One *chitt* may be equal to hundred invitations but it depends on proportion of the people in a village. Each card represents to such heads of the family (within a caste framework) who reside in a village. In other words, each card represents to whole village. The *chitt* is given by the name of a *chaudhari*. The *chaudhari* informs to each head of the family (especially male member) who belong to the same caste in a village. Suppose that if a village in

which fifty families are living; a *chitt* will represent each family, and a *chaudhari* represents to whole village therefore the *chitt* is sent in the name of the local *chaudhari*. Moreover, it is functioned with the idea of inviting collectively because for a group of family who belongs to same caste and resides in the same village; they receive a *chitt* which represents to entire village. Moreover, it shows a collective consciousness of Yadav community. The idea of inviting collectively gives a platform to discuss such problems that are related with their community. *Chitt* as a tool gives a way to mechanize caste network. Few more points regarding *chitt* are following-

- It is sent in the name of a (male) *chaudhari*.
- It is a medium to show respect to his (Organizer) community.
- It gives a space to recycle the community relation.
- It is a way to manifest 'collective solidarity'.
- It makes 'caste network' functional because it provides a space to 'effective communication'.

In sum, *chitt* is a system of inviting collectively, which shows itself 'community concern'. The idea of *chitt* is carried out by male members of a caste either they may a *chaudharis* or Organizers' respected *biradari*. The tradition of *chitt* is managed by *chittha* system, which is held before one or two weeks of the *biradari bhoj*. Some details regarding *chittha* system are following-

### **Chittha**

*Chittha* system is a special ceremony for *chaudhari* (male members) where they get-together and discuss some issues, for instance inter and intra-caste conflicts, misunderstanding among *biradaris* etc. The first aim of this function is to organize *biradari bhoj* in proper way in which *chaudharis* take responsibility for distributing the '*chitt*' (invitation) among their community members while second idea of this function is to maintain caste network and community relation smoothly. Few other points can be noticed in following way-

- It gives space to get-together from three to five hundred *chaudharis*. It means the representatives of five hundred villages from the same community collect with certain objectives.

- By this system, *chaudhari* build and recycle their relation, which help them to maintain community relation.
- It helps to maintain collective solidarity because *chaudharis* usually take collective decision with the consensus of other *chaudharis*.
- Due to this congregation, the idea of maintaining consolidated caste network becomes possible.
- *Chaudharis* also play a role of 'agua' (mediator between two families [with 'groom' and 'bride']) and *chittha* gives them spaces to make good relation with other *chaudharis*. In long term, these *chaudharis* also help each other to find out 'achchha ladka' (suitable grooms). The result of which, endogamy has been sustaining effectively in local setting.

In order to become new 'dominant caste', *chitha* seems to be helpful. It appears that a particular caste keeps dominance in each locality (set of villages) because it has numerical strength, political dominance, good relation with administration, etc. In the same way, *chittha* helps to fulfil these criteria to some extent.

### Methodology

Intensive fieldwork along with the participatory observation and semi-structured interview technique are consisting to all sorts of sense, perception. The data is also based on the narratives, group discussion. For comprehensive understanding to the issue of gender sensibility and female segregation, the paper describes the space where a woman have not equal participation as much her male counterpart. In this regards, 'Tarawa and Rajanpura' villages of Sultanpur district in Uttar Pradesh have been selected for in-depth study. The following study area is situated beside Ayodhya (Faizabad) where mythological lord Ram born, and Kashi (now known as Varanasi) which is known for deep-rooted Hinduism. In terms of caste, Kshyatriya, Brahamin and Muslim community keep dominant position in Sultanpur district. Thus, Yadav community has a dominant influence on its neighboring districts like Faizabad, Jaunpur and Azamgargh.

On the one hand, the inhabitants of Tarawa village can be divided, on the basis of caste stratification, into three parts; the middle castes (like- Yadav, Kumhar, Kahar, Baniya), upper caste (like Thakur) and lower castes (Pasi, Chamar and Banraja). On the other, In Rajanpura

village, numerically and socially dominant caste is Yadavs. They are engaged in agricultural and milk-selling activities while few of them are doing government and private jobs.

### **Biradari and Gender**

The word '*biradari*' is used in Hindi slang which mean 'to give special honour'. It is also known in Hindi by the name of '*samaj*' (a society), and in English it is similar to 'community' or 'group of the people'. In other words, *biradari* is a caste feeling or result of consolidated integration. "In the context of a caste group, a *biradari* is a social group made up of male who believe that they are descended from a common male ancestor, which make them equal and 'brother'" (Chowdhry: 2004). If we compare it with caste, it shows few other aspects, such as, equal status, brotherhood, fraternity and connected with the relationship and support between people in the same group or allied castes.

*Biradari* word is used to reflect the equal and hierarchy-less form. The word *biradari* is more popularized by few social organizations, '*All India Yadav Mahasabha* (1924), *All India Pal Mahasabha* and *Kshyatriya Mahasabha*' (1910) etc. It is a new form of caste connotation, which focuses on submerging internal differences. On the one hand, the term '*biradar*' is used to show an ancestral belongings and equal ritual status. On the other hand, the term '*biradari*' is also used for a group of the people to shows community feeling ('we feeling'). The idea of '*biradari*' (community) is stand by belongings of male ancestry so-called 'mythological purification'<sup>iii</sup> in which for 'female' have no space. In addition, endogamy, which is base of caste system, is practiced with the sense of belongingness from *gotras* (linage) and few other values of Hinduism. The concerning point is that all linages belong to male. However, it seems that gender preference marginalizes routinely to female either this preference may be influenced by 'patrifocal'<sup>iv</sup> or patriarchal ideology.

In sum, caste represents to ethno-symbolic based hierarchal order while the term *biradari* is used for sociable and without hierarchal order. Many times both terms 'caste' and '*biradar*' are used synonymously. In one *biradari*, many allied castes can be included, such as; '*Yadav biradari*' word represents more than twenty castes and sub-castes.



### The Place of Female: A Critique

The idea of *biradari bhoj* is taken from the philosophy of Hinduism called '*pitra rina*'. Thus, the ideology of *pitra rina* (father's debt) shows to some responsibilities, which have to do by elder son for his ancestor. Due to giving more importance to elder son, the responsibility of daughter remains deprived or marginalized. In the same pattern, the ideology of *matri-rina* (mother's debts) is also absent in the philosophy of Hinduism, because patriarchy is inheritance of the male, by the male but for the female segregation and marginalization.

### Bhat for Sociability: A clarification

The *bhat* is another form of feast of social acceptance in humanitarian ground. It is organised occasionally; for instance, if a person does inter-caste marriage, he is excluded for a while therefore he must organise this feast for social acceptance. *Bhat* is celebrated for a day, in which, native (*biradari*), relatives, villagers and *chaudharis* are main participants. After successfully completion of the *bhat*, organizer (excluded family) gets social acceptance by *chaudharis* and *biradairis*. Social acceptance means that the socially excluded person or family would be allowed again for marrying within caste or community framework as well as he can participate in *biradari bhoj* or can make social relation in own caste network. It is found, if excluded person by *chaudhari* is not interested to organize it, in such situation, *chaudharis* take decision for 'social boycott' and avoidance relationship until that family is not celebrate this feast with social acceptance because it is matter of honour for *biradari*. Overall, the role of women in entire process of this function is negligible.

From the perspective of gender, it is very important to figure out few consequences. First, it plays a role of mini judiciary body with caste connotation but unlike the *Khap Panchayat* (judiciary body of caste). It is operated by *chaudharis*, native leaders, *pradhan* (elected person of village panchayat), *mukhiya* (village chiefs), and some honourable fellows in local setting. Although the role of women is absent here, they are like 'silent observers' but concerning thing is that due to participation of honourable educated members decisions are taken in positive way in which harsh and punitive punishment is negligible. We can refer it as '*post-khap-panchayat*' in which only positive and affirmative punishment exist.

In other words, if we look at the judiciary body of *khap-panchayats* (especially in Haryana state) which is managed by *chaudharis* (five recognize members of council) and older members (clan basis inheritance). They give harsh and penetrative punishment like 'honour-killing' in orthodox manner. Thus, in case of *bhat*, it can say that *chaudharis* follow egalitarian principle that is focussed on social inclusions but in both cases either it is '*khap-panchayat*' or *bhat*, women are not getting place in the 'decision making body'.

### **Positional Sift and Segregation: A Parallel Differentiation**

The phenomena of positional sift show a shift from one social status to another social status. Mostly, it happens in two levels, 'local level', and 'community level'. The first day of the feast called *kachchi* gives a way to demonstrate socio, political, economic, and organizational skills with participant. For instance, after participate in the ceremony of *biradari bhoj*; it appears local inhabitants seem too aware about the myth of '*Ahir Gaurav Gatha*' (Yadav pride tales)' as well as Organizers' status. On the community level, after completion the *biradari bhoj*, Organizer gets a new identity among their own caste groups or sub-caste group because he starts following the principle of vegetarianism.

In terms of segregation of female participant, the following ceremony has been occurring into two levels: first, in concrete level and second, in abstract level. In concrete level, women are segregated from participation in decision-making body (*chittha*). While in abstract level, it found that, after the feast is over, Organizers usually face economic crisis because the following ceremony require a sum of one to five lakhs rupees. This economic crisis leads to women from deprivation of elementary education. Important thing is that most of the organizers of *biradari bhoj* are illiterate or below the elementary education (about eighty per cent).

### **Concluding Remarks**

#### **Given Category Women and Consciousness Category Women**

After categorizing the data, it found, female respondents can be divided into two classes namely, 'conscious category' and 'given category'. The first category represents to those women who play a dominant role in village *panchayat*, local politics (village level to provincial levels), and economic activities. The women who are government employees, elected leaders and the

presidents of 'self help group' (SHG), etc. fall in first category. In other words, those women who are aware about their right (about twenty per cent), economically independent (ten per cent) and having equal participation in public sphere (fifteen per cent) can be include in 'consciousness category' because they are able to fight for their rights.

Whereas, the terms 'given category' is opposite word of 'conciseness category' and it shows, such women, who are unable to get government opportunity and who are educationally, socially and economically backward can be included in this category. Result shows, conscious category represents deep impacted 'patrifocal' tendency as well as unawareness, ignorance of social environment. That is why among given category women have 'passive' and 'dependency attitude'.<sup>vi</sup> Even they also do not have social capital or social network while the dependency on men creates self-estrangement, powerlessness, meaninglessness and isolation based alienation<sup>vii</sup>.

### Dependency Attitude among Women

Dependency attitude can be referred here for such act that often shows passivity, self-imposed standard, and devotement towards her husband or son in place of self-respect, socio-economically independent, and individual identity oriented attitude. The result of which such women become 'powerlessness'<sup>viii</sup> and self-estrangement or subordinated by her male counterpart. In this regard, fifty-five per cent women have been identified, in both villages, whom do not have right to take decision in any family or community matters. The reason for subordination and powerlessness condition are illiteracy (about thirty per cent), passivity, patriarchal norms (like-Pati-Parmeshwar [husband as supreme being], *parda-pratha* [covering the face]), etc.

After analyzing and interpreting the phenomena of dependency on her counterpart, it can confine that the socio-cultural construction or mind setup, which is constructed by traditional texts (Ramayana, Ram-Charit-Manas etc.), various myths and tales' create such things. However, we can do by analyzing the everyday behaviour, attitudes, and social lives of people/community in question. Then in this process, we come across the certain behaviours of both – higher as well as so-called lower classes. Having done this, we can see that male-centric attitude is ingrained in the psyche of a person during the process of his/her socialization. The whole process shows stereotype, psychological and socio-cultural basis atmosphere in which a person is rely upon.

Due to enacting on family pantheon and certain beliefs, the person would analyse to social phenomena by patriarchal ideology. The idea of *biradari*, *chitt*, seeking identity from lineage or male-based mythic figure is content feature of it. For comprehensive understanding, I would like to point out an observation, which is based on field work-

My research participants namely 'A<sup>ix</sup>' and 'B' is government employee. 'A' is husband of 'B' and both are twenty-eight years old. One day, few colleagues of 'A' come from his office. 'A' expects from 'B' to prepare dinner for them. The 'A' also sits in drawing room with his friends but later on 'B' hosts and serves to the guests of her husband as routine work. Few days later, few friends of 'B' come from her office but the matter of serving and hosting could not happen from 'A' (husband) side. Because, deep rooted patriarchal beliefs never allow to serve dishes to his counterpart. Throughout this occurring phenomenon, we can say that the economically independent women are also facing such dilemma as socio-cultural acceptance at present. These dilemmas also create *meaninglessness*<sup>x</sup> or isolation among women.

### Motivational Factors to Celebrate Biradari Bhoj

Economic stability (land position, business, job etc.) is main causes of motivation to celebrate this feast while some other factors like sociability (getting interaction), patriarchal orientation, close relation with intra-caste group, etc. are also playing significant role for organizing *biradari bhoj*. Illiteracy seems to be helpful to celebrate this feast because most of the Organizers are below the elementary education. *Biradari bhoj* gives them a way to make 'social capital' through building channel with *chaudharis* and well-established fellows.

*Biradari bhoj* gives a space to get-together where people from Yadav community can show 'collectiveness' and positional shift of Organizers through showing up the capacity of expenditures. Although fulfilling the ritual or religious desire, consolidating caste solidarity, spreading consciousness about mythic figure of lord 'Krishna and Yadu' are important factors, which motivate to Organizers for this event at primary level. Whereas, celebration, interaction, idea of 'Sanskritization' by showing vegetarianism, do virtue works in the name of his ancestor are secondary part of it. In this regard, few Organizers claim, 'desire to know caste network,

name-fame, getting popularity as well as informal social security, getting honourable identity etc. factor help immensely to the Organisers' to celebrate this feast.

### Gender Sensitivity and Symbolic Segregation

In terms of gender sensitivities, the position of *biradari bhoj* is very complex and antagonistic. On the one hand, male are only allowed to participate in the *biradari bhoj* and *chittha* system (decision making ceremony) which shows gender based hegemony and symbolic segregation of women in public spheres. On the other hand, there are certain rituals that cannot be performed without women's participation, for instance, (according to local people) 'if any widowers are willing to organize *biradari bhoj*, he must go through the principle of *biradari bhoj*. He must make a doll symbolically which would represent to his wife. Behind this conception, people believe that before celebrating this feast, Organizer must go to Kashi (Varanasi) and Gaya (Gaya district of Bihar) for fulfilling some rituals and religious activities like '*pind-dan*, *yajna* and *pitra-visarjan*' with his wife at least for fifteen days. After coming back, he arranges a speaker of '*srinad bhagawat katha*' (a religious text of Hinduism).<sup>xi</sup> For listening to '*srinad bhagawat katha*', couple (wife and husband) participation is must. People believes that without participation of wife, purpose of the feast cannot be fulfilled. Therefore, the participation of 'wife' here is mandatory in order to fulfilling his desires (for salvation, getting bless of ancestors)'. The necessity for making symbolic doll shows gender equality and sensitivities in ritual feast while restriction of participation in *chittha* custom shows gender based segregation in antagonistic ways.

To sum up, first, those who do not have critical mind-set have been tended to fallows orthodoxy rules. Second, it appears that illiteracy, economic stability, religious desire, and notion of ancestor's worship are major factors, which lead to celebrate *biradari bhoj*.

### Reference

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- <sup>i</sup> The concept of “Spread” was first used by M.N. Shrinivas.
- <sup>ii</sup> After celebrating this beast, Organizer becomes an ideal or an example for other in local caste network.
- <sup>iii</sup> The term ‘Mythological Purification’ shows an ambition of manifesting their identity with some mythic figures. The mythic figures are confined by religious texts of Mahabhart, Ramayana, etc.
- <sup>iv</sup> The term ‘Patrilocality’ differs from the concept of ‘patriarchy’. ‘Patriarchy’ implies dominance of man in all settings and in all situation while in the ‘patrilocal’ system, the mother-in-law (husband’s mother), and not her son, may exercise more influence more over her daughter-in-law in domestic matters. The perceptive code of conduct and hierarchal relation, which gives precedence to men over women, has been called ‘Patrilocality’ [Gupta and Sharma: SSS and Sage Publication 32/5-6 (October-December2002)].
- <sup>v</sup> See- Caste in question: identity or hierarchy? By; Dipankar Gupta, *SAGE Publications Pvt. Ltd, 2005*, pp. 196.
- <sup>vi</sup> Such attitude, which is always, requires unnecessary helplessness and dependency upon other.
- <sup>vii</sup> These terms were by Seeman in 1959 when he was studding on Zambian workers.
- <sup>viii</sup> The condition shows to isolation of woman from decision-making, creative activities and degradation of woman into hearth and producing child.
- <sup>ix</sup> Due to respondent’s request, names cannot be display.
- <sup>x</sup> Such social acts, which have no meaning i.e. this type of alienation refers to the individual’s sense of understanding the events in which he (worker) is engaged.
- <sup>xi</sup> Srimad Bhagwat is parochialized form of Bhagawat Religion (see- “Hindi Sahitya kosha” publisher: Gyanmandal Publication Limited, Varanasi). Mostly, organizer believes that Bhagwat gives a tremendous insight, a profound vision, and an entirely new perspective to the person who hears the narrative and tales. On hearing, a person is never the same. There is a complete metamorphosis, a complete transformation, literally in terms of separation has known a new birth. Atman (soul or parts of god) by its own nature is sovereign – it cannot by nature be bound – whatever bondages felt are sheer illusions of the mind. Another respondent says, ‘Bhagwat provides that light which enables Jeeva (human being) to experience the wonderful freedom of

liberation... One feels, “Yes, I am free! Bhagwat elaborate this philosophy through the narration of the life stories of 24 incarnations of Lord Vishnu (native myth lord Krisna or Gopal).”

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