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CHAPTER-VIII

INTRA AND INTER-TRIBAL RELATIONS

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## VIII. INTRA AND INTER-TRIBAL RELATIONS

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In modern society, the study of interaction process is of great importance. In fact, the tribal communities of today are no longer in a state of isolation, they are coming in contact with other communities living in the neighbouring areas. As a result of the interactions among these peoples of different groups the sphere of their inter-relations has gone wider. But the study of such tribal groups, which are marked by their ecological isolation, socio-economic backwardness and strong in group feelings in their cultural life, may be helpful in giving the picture of acculturated tribes. On the other hand, the tribal communities which are not living in isolation and gradually coming in contact of other human groups and generally interact with the peoples of different tribal and non-tribal communities can only present a reliable picture of the interaction pattern of the intra-tribal, inter-tribal and also of the tribal and non-tribals. Generally, in traditional societies the pattern of behaviour or interaction is determined by some common ideas and feelings which are socially sanctioned and give birth to some social symbols. These symbols, in fact, owned and proclaimed in common, and represent different phases of social life. Thus, these ideas and feelings that the members of the society have and share in common are termed as "Collective Representation", by Durkheim. In reality, the collective

representation has a definite and compelling influence on the individuals ideas, feelings and actions. Durkheim has remarked, "Society is not at all the illogical or a logical in-coherent and fantastic being which it has too often been considered, quite on the contrary, the collective consciousness is the highest form of the psychic life, since it is the consciousness of consciousness. Being placed outside of and above individual and local contingencies, it sees things only in their permanent and essential aspects, which it crystalizes into communicable ideas .... society sees farther and better than individuals<sup>1</sup>. Thus, the modes of behaviour and interaction process is determined by collective representation in the society.

In recent time, numerous studies of interaction between the tribals and non-tribals have been done by different sociologists. Mandelbaum (1941) has studied interaction between Nilgiri tribals viz. the Toda, Kata, Badaga and Kurumba and the nontribals including the European and Hindus. The tribals were living independently with one another and when the non-tribals made roads in their region, the reaction of each of them was different<sup>2</sup>.

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1. Durkheim, E., *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Translated by Joseph Ward Swain, Free Press Glancoc Illinois 1947, p 444.

2. Mandelbaum, D.G., *Cultural change among the Nilgiri Tribes*. *American Anthropologists*. Vol. 43. 1941.

Surjit Sinha (1957) has also studied interaction between the Hindu and the Bhumij, the Bhumij are relatively simple and isolated and the neighbouring Hindus are the advanced peasant community and their close proximity led to the transformation of the Bhumij of the level of peasantry through gradual dissolution of ecological barrier of a forest clad hilly lands between them and so called Hindu peasantry<sup>3</sup>.

Dube (1950) has completed a study of inter-tribal relations in three cultural areas: (i) the Gond-Kumer-Bhumijia, area of the Chhatisgarh, (ii) the Gond Kolam area of Adilabad and (iii) the Koya Hill Reddy area of Warangal<sup>4</sup>.

Saileshwar Prasad (1974) in his study has made an attempt to identify the nature and extent of interaction between the three tribes, viz. Malar, Mal Pahariya and Santals, themselves and with non-tribals<sup>5</sup>.

In the present study the researcher has made an attempt to identify the intra-tribal and tribal and

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3. Sinha, S., The Media and Nature of Hindu Bhumij Interaction. Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, Calcutta, 1957.
  4. Dube, S.C., Inter-tribal Relations. A Study, Man in India, Vol. 30, No. 223, Ranchi, 1960.
  5. Prasad, S., Where the Three Tribes Meet. Indian International Publications. Allahabad. 1974.

non-tribal relations of Rajis. For a long time Rajis have been isolated from the influence of urbanization, industrialization, modernization and other factors of planned social change. However, the constant contact of neighbouring non-tribal communities have created the different problems of acculturation for them. In fact Rajis, the so-called aborigines of Kumaun, are coming out from the limited peripheres of their communal life and also stepping on the threshold of outer world. Thus, the sphere of their social relations have been extending to other communities also. Here, the main object of the researcher is to highlight the pattern of inter-relationships of Rajis with their community members as well as with neighbouring non-tribals.

#### Intra-tribal relations

A man is basically a member of family where he borns and of a community where he resides. Generally, a community embraces all aspects of social life, hence a person develops multifarious relations with community members. All these relations which are confined to the community level, are termed as intra-tribal relations.

Rajis have some certain intra-tribal relations, i.e. both consanguenious and lineal. The nature and extent of such relations is limited because of the geographical

distance and the lack of convenient means of transportation. However, a certain pattern of the inter-personal relations among the community members are observed in different occasions. At the village level the individuals in the field of socio-economic activities, interact with one another. Moreover, in the sphere of religious and ritualistic performances and also in the commensality, a certain pattern of inter-personal relations is observed, which can be understood by the following analysis.

Collective activities performed in daily life

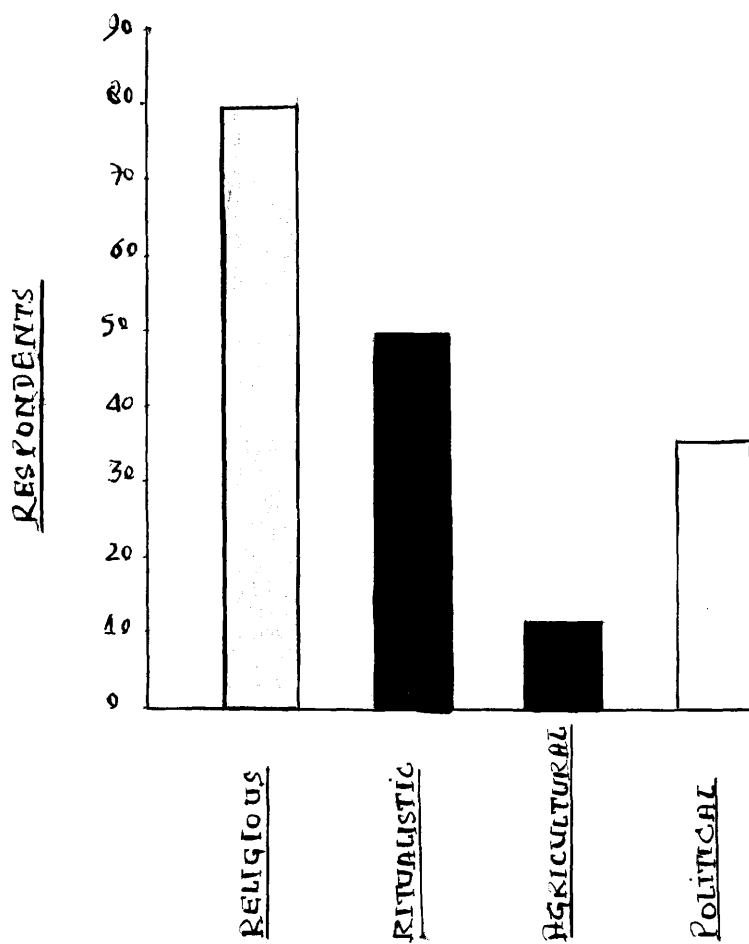
Here, the researcher is mainly interested to point out the pattern of intra-tribal relations particularly at the occasion of religious activities, ritualistic performances, agricultural field and in political sphere of their social life. The available data has shown in the following table 58.

TABLE 58  
COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES PERFORMED IN THE COMMUNITY

	Activities			
	Religious	Ritualistic	Agricultural	Political
Frequency	90	50	12	36
Percentage	100.00	55.56	13.33	40.00

GRAPH No 16

COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES PERFORMED IN THE COMMUNITY



The table exhibits that the religious activities are performed reciprocally by 100% community members. As already been mentioned that Rajis have 'deep faith in supernatural beings and spirits and they have sacred relations with them. Generally, it is their belief that the supernatural power and spirits can be pleased, with the performance of certain rituals worships, offering of sacrifices, and in response they get security from all the natural calamities and also happy and prosperous life. Thus, at the time of the worship of the 'Kul Devata' and other deities, all the villagers participate and collaborate the ceremony. It is the time when we can see a state of collective consciousness among Rajis.

Besides, 50 (55.56%) respondents are of the opinion that the ritualistic performances of life cycle are also performed collectively. In other words, we can say a certain pattern of intra-tribal relations are also observed particularly at the occasion of birth, marriage and death.

At the birth of the child, partly, birth pollution is observed which lasts with the Namkaran Sanskar. During this period avoidance of relationship is maintained the mother do not cook food and do not touch the vessels of

water, other person of the family perform all the functions. The same nature of the avoidance relations are also maintained during the menstrual period of the married women only. In case of the male issue the father invites the villagers and other relatives and give them feast. Similarly the persons of the village and some other relatives participate in marriage ceremony and funeral procession. Thus, the ritualistic performances present a certain pattern of intra-tribal relations.

In agricultural field there are only 12 (13.33%) respondents who seek help of the villagers to perform the cultivation. In fact the Rajis who have comparatively more cultivable land and due to the small size of the family they can not cultivate it independently and hence seek the help of the community members. Thus, a certain pattern of the intra-tribal relations are also observed in agricultural field.

Moreover, 36 (40.00%) responded interact particularly in political sphere. Though Rajis are partly aware with different modern political process. However, in some Uni-dhara villages a traditional form of political structure is observed. Mainly in uni-Dhara villages, there is 'Dhara Panchayat' as a smallest political unit (see table 24). The office of the head of

the Dhara Panchayat is hereditary, the oldest male person holds the status and is regarded as the representative as well as the head of the village. The persons of such villages jointly take decision about the different socio-religious matters of the community and also settle the disputes and other conflict situations of the villagers.

Thus, it is obvious that the various aspects of the community life provide some certain opportunity of interaction to the persons. The peoples mostly perform religious and ritualistic ceremonies reciprocally with each other, and to some extent they also interact in the operation of agricultural and political activities. Thus, the religious, ritualistic and political spheres are the main centres where Rajis people interact with each other.

Persons who play important role in collective activities

The table 59 contains the data regarding to the persons who take part in different collective activities. On the basis of the present study the researcher found that 100% villagers take part in the collective activities, 11 (12.22%) respondents are of the opinion that the kindred living in other villages are also participate, and there are only 9 (10.00%) respondents who state in favour of the participation of friends. Hence, we can say

that the villagers are quite prompt to participate in all type of collective activities performed in village level while the kindred and friends who are living in other villages participate comparatively lesser than the villagers.

In fact the nature of the intra-tribal relations among the villagers are more cordial than others. It is because of the same place of residence and other common ecological conditions. While the kindreds and friends, who because of the geographical distance and lack of convenient means of transportation, cannot participate in the collective functions of their kindreds and friends living in other villages. Moreover, Rajis hardly get rid from the excessive business of their daily routine and hence in spite of the cherished desire they cannot participate the collective activities of their kindreds and friends living in other villages.

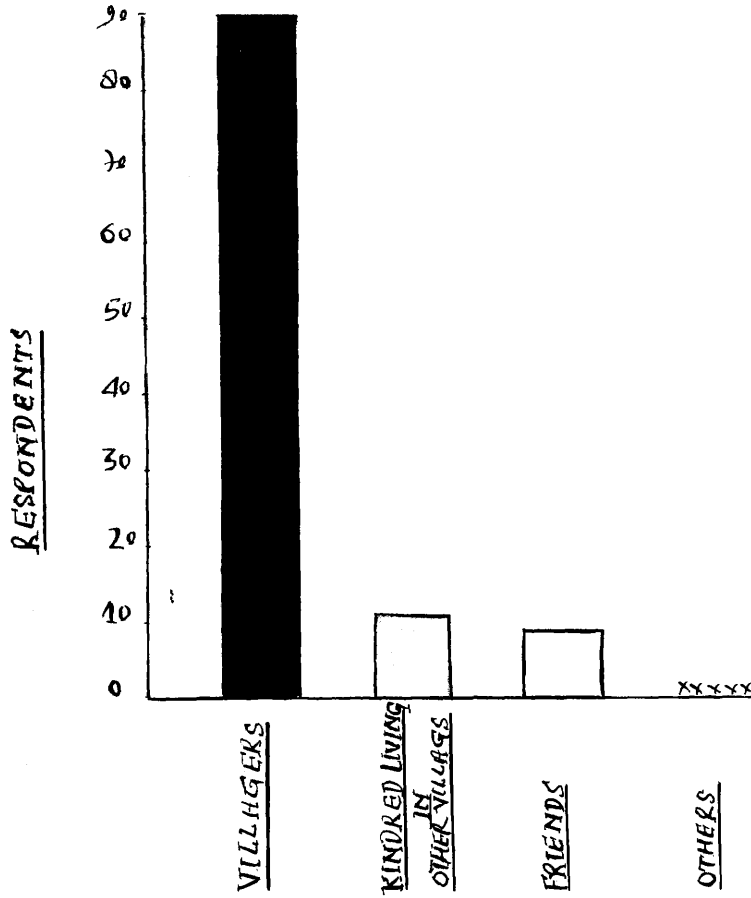
TABLE 59

PERSONS, WHO PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES

	Persons			
	Villagers	Kindred living in other villages	Friends	Others
Respondents	90	11	9	-
Percentage	100.00	12.22	10.00	

GRAPH No 17

PERSONS WHO PLAY IMPORTANT ROLE IN COLLECTIVE  
ACTIVITIES



REFERENCE

xxxxxx ZERO

Persons who are invited at the occasion of religious and ritualistic performances

It is clear by the earlier analysis that the religious activities which mainly consists the worship of deities, sacrifice offering to them, and the ritualistic performances which comprise the birth, marriage and death ceremonies, are the main points where the people present a certain pattern of intra-tribal relations. Hence the researcher wants to highlight the distance of social relations between the friends and kindreds. For this purpose the respondents are asked to state the persons to whom they invite at the occasion of the religious and ritualistic ceremonies. The available data has presented in the following table.

TABLE 60  
PERSONS INVITED IN RELIGIOUS AND RITUALISTIC PERFORMANCES

	Persons	
	Friends	Kindreds
Frequency	64	90
Percentage	71.11	100.00

The table depicts that 100% respondents are of the opinion that the kindreds, whether they belong to the same village or to any other, are invited particularly at the

occasion of deity worship and offering sacrifices to the 'Kul Devata' and the kindreds visit to their original place of settlements and participate their kinsmen. Moreover, the kinsmen also invite each other particularly at the time of birth, marriage, and death ceremonies. While 64 (71.11%) respondents express their views that the friends i.e. affinal kinsmen are also invited. This variation is due to the difference in the proximity of social relations which exist among the kindreds and friends. In fact, all the kindreds because of the same origin, are related by primary relations while the affinal kins or friends are treated secondary in relation and, therefore, given lesser importance in comparison of the kindreds.

Priority given to the friends

To trace out the distance of social relations among friends, the respondents are asked to give preferences to them in order of priorities. The data has shown in the following table 61.

TABLE 61  
PRIORITY GIVEN TO THE FRIENDS

Friends	Preferences		
	1st	IIInd	IIIrd
Maternal uncle	6 (6.67)	13 (14.44)	60 (66.67)
Brother-in-law	24 (26.67)	53 (58.89)	18 (20.00)
Father-in-law	60 (66.66)	15 (16.67)	6 (6.67)
Nephew(Sister's son)	-	9 (10.00)	6 (6.67)
TOTAL	90(100.00)	90(100.00)	90(100.00)

The available data depict that the majority of the respondents i.e. 60 (66.66%) give first preference to the father-in-law (wife's father) while brother-in-law (sister's husband) and maternal uncle are preferred respectively by 24 (26.67%) and 6 (6.67%) respondents. In the second choice preference, maximum 53 (58.89%) respondents prefer brother-in-law (sister's husband) while father-in-law, maternal uncle and nephew (sister's son) are preferred respectively by 15 (16.67%) and 13 (14.44%) and 9 (10.00%) respondents only. Similarly, in the third choice preference the majority of the respondents, i.e. 60 (66.67%), prefer maternal uncle while the rest i.e. 18 (20.00%), 6 (6.67%) and 6 (6.67%) respectively prefer to brother-in-law, father-in-law and nephew. Thus we can say that the distance of social relations is different with different relations. The study shows that the father-in-law (wife's father) is given first priority by the majority of respondents and the second place is given to brother-in-law (sister's husband) while third priority is given to the maternal uncle.

#### Presents offered to the friends

In every aspect of the communal life of Rajis, the process of acculturation can obviously be observed. Raji, the so-called aborigines of Kumaun, with the constant

contact of non-tribal communities have followed the same pattern of presenting offers to the guests at the occasion of ritualistic performances, i.e. at the birth and marriages. The presents which are offered, chiefly consists in the form of clothes, goats and rupees. In this regard the researcher has asked the respondents, whether they offer any present to the friends or not. It is found that 26 (28.89%) respondents always used to offer the presents to their friends particularly at the occasion of birth and marriage and 13 (14.44%) respondents sometimes offer the presents while the majority of the respondents i.e. 51 (56.67%) do never present any offer to the friends.

In reality, the Rajis are in the process of following the different cultural traits of non-tribal Kumaunis mainly through the process of acculturation. Hence, the Rajis who are more or less socio-economically capable, follow the pattern of presenting offers to the friends. While the majority of the Rajis who are socio-economically backward do not follow this pattern and possess the negative attitude.

TABLE 62  
PRESENTS OFFERED TO THE FRIENDS

	Presents offered			Total
	Always	Sometimes	Never	
Frequency	26	13	51	90
Percentage	28.89	14.44	56.67	100.00

Quarrelsome matters among the people

Cooperation and conflict are the relative terms. A society bears both the aspects as its basic characteristics. In the society we generally find various types of differences among the people. The differences may be of biological, of natural, of aptitude, of interests, of capacity and of specialization. Sometimes, these personal differences creat the situation of conflict in the society, and the quarrelsome matters can be regarded as its direct form. Though, among Rajis we observe the feeling of belonging together and also community sentiments. However, some quarrelsome matters have been recorded in their community life. In this regard, the researcher, thoroughly observed and inquired the respondents and found that there had been three quarrelsome matters till 1981. Out of these, the first incident occurred in 'Kimkhola village' where a father was murdered by the abductor of the daughter, the second was from 'Khirdwari village' where a Raji person was killed by two Raji people of the same village. The murderers are yet under life imprisonment. The third and the latest quarrelsome matter was recorded in Chifaltara village where two brothers, because of the illicit sexual relation of the younger one with his sister-in-law, attempt to murder to one another at last the matter was put on the court and the convicted was

punished. Moreover, some minor stray incidents of disputes are also observed among the community members which starts with some controversial matters and resulted in abusing to one others. In such matters the head of the community interferes and take initiative to settle the matters. Thus, a certain pattern of intra-community relationship is observed during the conflict situation in the community.

Apart from the above mentioned centres of intra-tribal relations, a certain pattern of intercommensal relations is also observed among the community members. In fact, the Rajis, in spite of the different Dharas and different economic status, have got the free interdining relations with each other. They don't follow any interdining taboo, particularly on the bases of Dhara and economic status. However, some Rajis do not have 'kachcha' food from those persons who have not got marriage or 'Upanayan Sanskar' in case of boys. But the taboo spontaneously ends up with the completion of marriage or Upanayan Sanskar. In fact, such commensal taboos to which some Raji people, i.e. 52.22% (see table 18) follow, is due to the blind imitation of neighbouring Kumaunis, who generally practise such commensal behaviour. Similarly in the settlement of connubial relations they, in general, follow the traditional pattern of bride price and perform the marriage by purchase. In the marriage they follow the

rules of endogamy, the bride's father is offered the proposal of marriage by bride groom's father. In this concern they do not follow any hard and fast rules in Dhara consideration for marriage. Inter Dhara marriages are allowed but intra-Dhara marriages, due to the same origin of the Dhara, are strictly prohibited. Thus, every Dhara is exogamous by nature. Thus, we can say that every Dhara is treated as equal and no Dhara hierarchy exists in the community. However, there is some economic differences and the people, in general, want to settle their marital relations with those families who are comparatively welloff. In this way the economic factor may be considered as a determinant factor of social prestige and status in the community.

Thus, we see a number of dimensions of the intra-tribal relations which motivate the community members to interact with each other mainly in the sphere of socio-religious activities as well as in economic and political fields. The study shows that the Raji community embraces almost all the aspects of the social life, and the people seems more introverted.

#### Inter-tribal relations

In the previous analysis we observed that Rajis have some particular communal ties on the bases of which they

have got a certain pattern of intra-communal relations. Generally, the socio-cultural aspects of their community life provide them the opportunity of interaction. Moreover, they have their own traditional pattern of political behaviour. They are not much aware with the different processes of democratic political system. Besides, they have some major source of economy, such as gathering jungle products, crude cultivation and labour. Almost all the aspects of the social life present a certain situation of interaction to the persons of the community. However, it is observed that Rajis, in spite of being introverted and coherent, are lagging behind their indigenous social traits and following the emerging new pattern of inter-tribal relations. Hence apart from these intra-tribal relations they have also some sorts of inter-tribal relations. Generally, the traditional economy does not provide them sufficient economic subsistence hence it virtually presents the way and means for inter-tribal relations. In fact, the Rajis living in different ecological conditions, have to depend on equally different economic pursuits, which are determined by their exclusive natural environment. Their respective resources are confined to a certain extent which naturally lead them to depend on others, and thus mutual economic obligations have come into operation among the tribes and the neighbouring people. Similarly, the political affiliation

with neighbouring Kumaun village Panchayats and also the interactions with political leaders particularly during the election period, have provided them a more dimension of inter-tribal relations. The pattern of their inter-tribal relations may be understood by the following analysis.

#### Aspects of the inter-tribal relations

In order to highlight the sphere of inter-tribal relations, the respondents, are asked to state the main aspects on which the process of reciprocity and inter-relations come into operation. It is found that 100% respondents are economically and politically inter-related with neighbouring Kumaunis. While the contrary results are found in the case of socio-religious aspects. The economic inter-relations are observed in the following spheres.

#### Labour in agricultural operation

As already been mentioned Rajis have some major sources of their economy viz. gathering jungle products and crude cultivation. But these sources are quite insufficient for their economic subsistence, hence they oftenly depend on the agricultural labour. In fact, Rajis are employed by the neighbouring Kumaunis on daily wages, particularly for the completion of some agricultural

operations. Mainly, during the weeding season Rajis of the neighbouring villages visit to the Kumaun villages in search of labour and sometimes they are informed earlier to work by the Kumaunis. 100% respondents stated that they had worked for Kumaunis in agricultural operations. Generally they are appointed to remove the scrubs from the agricultural as well as from the barren lands, to dig-up the field, and to make boundary wall.

#### To prepare timber on contract basis

Apart from the working as labourers, it has been noticed that they also prepare the timber on the contract basis. In response they generally get money and other things like corn and clothes from the employer. Thus, the agricultural labour and the work of timber also present the significant situation for inter-tribal relations.

#### Other economic ties

Out of the different types of the economic ties, the barter-system which occurs between Rajis and neighbouring Kumaunis, is also an important factor of inter-relations between Rajis and Kumaunis. Raji prepares some wooden utensils and barter them with food grains and clothes. Moreover, they generally supply

wooden logs to Kumaunis, prepare grindstone, wooden planks, ploughs and yokes for sell. Sometimes they barter all these wooden articles with corn and clothes.

System of loan, taken by Rajis

A more dimension of their relationship with Kumaunis is money borrowing. In this regard the researcher has collected the information about the different sources from where the Rajis take loan. The village-wise data have been presented in the following table 63.

TABLE 63  
SYSTEM OF LOAN TAKEN BY RAJIS

Villages	From Cooperative	From Private sources	Do not borrow
Aultari	-	3	6
Bhoktirwa	-	1	2
Chaurani	-	9	4
Chifaltara	-	3	5
Ganagaon	1	6	8
Kantoli	-	7	4
Kimkhola	7	4	3
Khirdwari	-	7	3
Madanpuri	-	-	7
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8 (8.89)</b>	<b>40 (44.44)</b>	<b>42 (46.67)</b>

The available data depict that the majority of the respondents i.e. 40 (44.44%) take loan from private money lenders while only 8 (8.89%) take from cooperatives. It is thus apparent that the economic relationship between Rajis and Kumaunis is one of the determinant factor of their reciprocal social life.

Political aspects of the inter-tribal relations

It has mentioned that Rajis have not their own village punchayat and every Raji village has been affiliated with the neighbouring Kumaun villages. Hence Rajis are politically related with non-tribal Kumaunis. They at the time of punchayat elections, are asked to cast their votes and also to contest the election for punchayat. They generally participate in polling but never contest the election. Besides, they also interact with different leaders and their supporters during the period of general elections and also participate in the polling but never think to contest the election. In this concern their voting behaviour may be termed as consummative or expressive which is merely a irrational political behaviour.

Moreover, in different circumstances they also seek the help of Sabhapati (the head of village punchayat) and other members of the village punchayat. Particularly in

the settlement of quarrelsome matters, in the division of property, and for the forwarding of the official letters they generally consult to the head of the village. Thus, the relationship between Rajis and non-tribal Kumaunis are also observed in the political field

But, on the contrary there is no any traditional contact between Rajis and neighbouring non-tribals. They don't have any type of ceremonial as well as socio-religious contacts. Thus, the main bases of their inter-relations are confined only to the economic and political field. Thus, the hypothetical preposition no.7 is valid.

Besides, the researcher has made an endeavour to understand their attitudes towards different non-tribal groups. In this regard the relationship between Rajis and Hindu untouchables and also with other castes has been studied, which may be clear from the following analysis.

#### Attitude towards untouchability

Rajis present themselves as Hindus and, therefore, follow a number of taboos about the socio-physical contacts with some fawl castes. They have a acute feeling of untouchability and hence maintain a certain distance in

the social as well as in the physical contacts. Table 64 contains the data regarding their attitudes towards untouchability. It is found that 86 (95.56%) respondents possess the feeling of untouchability. While only 4 (4.44%) respondents are not in the habit of making difference with untouchables. In fact, the respondents who are educated up to primary standard (see table 8) do not make any differences with untouchables. It is thus obvious that the Rajis due to the lack of social mobility and the mass illiteracy possess the feeling of untouchability and strictly follow the social taboos in maintaining some definite social distance with those of untouchables. As Mr. Traill has remarked "...the former (Raji) are certainly very far from holding such an opinion and profess the greatest contempt for the Doms (untouchables) so that if one of that class enters the dwelling of Rajis, the place must be purified with water brought from twenty two different places"<sup>6</sup>.

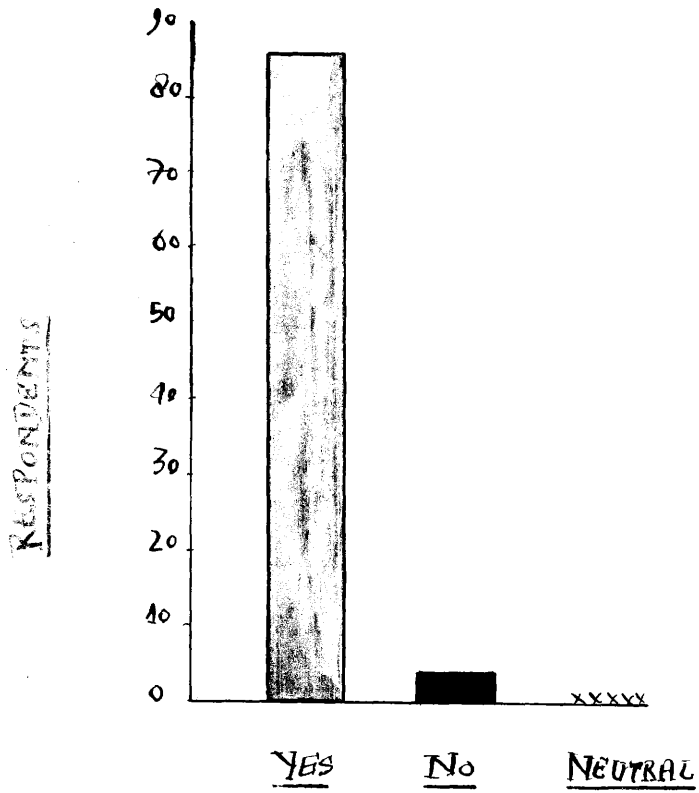
TABLE 64  
ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNTOUCHABILITY

	Response			Total
	Yes	No	Neutral	
Respondents	86	4	-	90
Percentage	95.56	4.44	-	100.00

6. Atkinson, E.T., The Himalayan Gazetteer, Cosmo Publication. Vol. II Part I, 1882. p 368.

GRAPH No 18

ATTITUDE TOWARDS UNTOUCHABILITY



Patterns of relationship on work with different groups

It is clear by the earlier analysis that Rajis have very limited inter-relations with different other human groups. Generally, they are introverted by nature and confined to their community life only. However, they have some economic dependency on neighbouring Kumaunis. In other words we can say the Rajis generally used to work outside from their villages. In this regard they are asked to state their attitudes whether they like to work with outsiders or not. It is found that 63 (70%) respondents do not want to work with outsiders and interested to take the work on contract basis and get money or other things like corn and clothes in return. However, there are 27 (30.00%) respondents who want to work with outsiders. But in spite of the reciprocal nature of the work they maintain a separate position and never mixed up with outsiders. In fact, Rajis, due to their royal origin want to maintain a isolated position and do not summed-up with outsiders. But a small fragment of the respondents who can work with outsiders reveal the changing spirit of Rajis people. Thus we can say that the nature of the interaction and also of the inter-relation, is changing with the constant contact of outsiders. But the nature of the relations is quite formal.

TABLE 65  
ATTITUDE TO WORK WITH OUTSIDERS

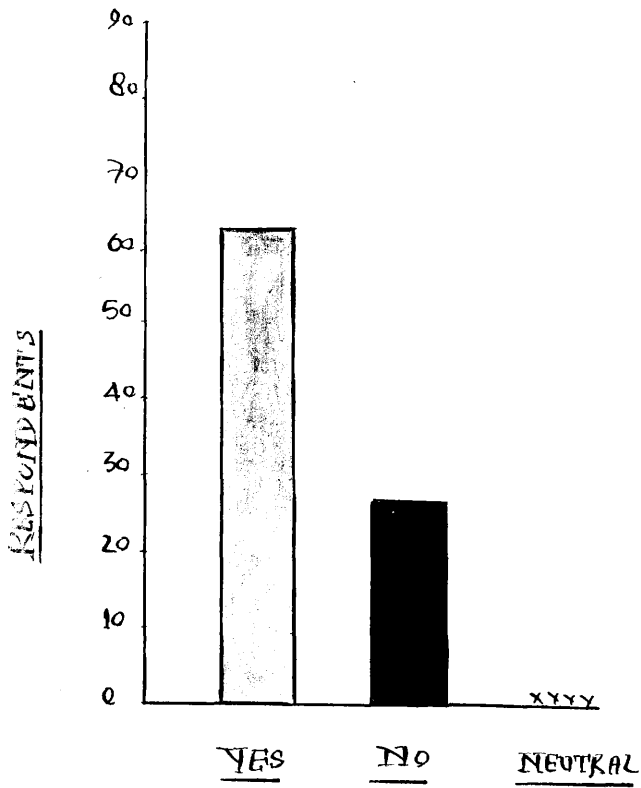
	Response			Total
	Yes	No	Neutral	
Frequency	63	27	-	90
Percentage	70.00	30.00	-	100.00

Acceptance and dining with other persons of  
low castes and Savarn Hindus

Though, with the course of time, Rajis are summing up with neighbouring Kumaun people particularly in the economic and political field. Yet in every respect, the pattern of their social intercourse is directed and motivated by traditional ethos. Hence in spite of the socio-cultural contact with outsiders they still have maintained a certain social distance with them. In regard of the dining relations with 'Savarn Kumaunis' and also with low caste Hindus, they follow some certain taboos. In this concern the available data shows that 100% respondents have no any type of inter-dining relations with low caste Hindus, i.e. untouchables while 25 (27.78%) respondents exercise some certain inter-dining relations with 'Savarn' Hindus. In fact, the Raji youths who generally work with outsiders entertain the inter-commensal relations with Savarn Hindus. While the

GRAPH No 19

ATTITUDE TO WORK WITH OUTSIDERS



majority of the respondents who are less dynamic and more conservative in ideas follow the inter-dining taboos with outsiders. The root cause of the inter-commensal taboos, is their royal origin to which they profess and also the suspicion on outsiders. In other words we can say Rajis present themselves from the royal origin and, therefore, want to maintain a certain distance with non-tribal and do not accept the cooked food from others. Besides, they are much suspicious and belief in the evil effects of the magic which is exercised by some other people.

Hence they have got a suspicious mentality that the outsiders can mix-up the magical things in the cooked food which may cause the death and crisis situation to us and hence they generally avoid cooked food, and get only food grain and other things in return of their labour.

TABLE 66  
ACCEPTANCE AND DIINING WITY OTHER PERSONS OF SAVARN HINDUS

	Response		Total
	Yes	No	
Frequency	25	65	90
Percentage	27.28	72.22	100.00

Thus, on the basis of the present analysis of the inter-relations of Rajis with non-tribal Kumaunis we come to the conclusion that the sphere of the inter-relationship with non-tribal Kumaunis is very limited and confined only

to the economic and political fields. Whatsoever, they have no any traditional contacts with neighbouring human groups but with the course of time they have developed some particular contacts with Kumaunis which are quite formal and of secondary nature. Thus, the hypothetical preposition no. 7 is valid.

Besides, in regard to the commensal relations between Rajis and non-tribal Kumaunis, we come to the conclusion that they still have maintained a certain social distance with Kumaunis. Hence, in spite of the constant socio-cultural contact, they even to-day maintain the commensal taboos and do not take the food cooked and touched by untouchables, while a small percentage of Rajis have the inter-dine relations only with high castes Kumaun Hindus. Besides, Rajis, on account of royal origin, maintain a certain social distance with non-tribals. In this way we find that the hypothetical preposition no. 4 and 5 are valid.