

Intervention of Female Identity in Denotified Communities: A Study of Laxman Gaikwad's *The Branded*

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In pre-colonial times, nomadic communities sustained themselves through a number of livelihood options such as cattle-rearing, itinerant trade, and crafts and military and commander tending. Carrying items for barter – spices, salt, honey, herbs, and trinkets crafted out of silver, earthenware, mats, etc. – on the backs of their cattle, they traded with whoever they came across on their travels. In medieval period they tended army and commanders without being paid any wages they were left to create their own survival through pilfering or plundering. At the onset of British period these nomads were left without any consideration by the princes or states while fixed their own and military pension etc. they were left entirely unattended, survive to stealing only. Subsequently, colonial rule had a disastrous effect on India's nomadic communities. Their trading activities, if they had, were badly affected by the introduction of the railways and expansion of both the road and rail network by the British, in the 1850s. In the 1860s, the British started taking control of the forests and common pastures, armed with the Indian Forest Act of 1865. However, it should be viewed as a combined project of colonial rulers and indigenous supporting allies to control dangerous and volatile nomadic and pastoral tribal communities (Krishna 81). With this, nomadic communities lost access to grazing lands as well as minor forest products needed for their sustenance and their craft (Paul 1).

Since 'these tribes had no concept of money. They would come out of the forest, go to the village market, place honey, leaves, roots, flowers, and silently take away whatever they needed: rice, oil, and spices. So they were thieves!' (Devi v-vi). Moreover, the resistance of some forest-based tribal communities against occupation of their forests by British also made them enemies of the state. In 1871, the colonial state passed the notorious Criminal Tribes Act to deal with these 'suspect' communities—nomadic or forest-based – and prepared a list of communities that were 'notified' under the Act as being 'criminal'. But a wide variety of ideological elements converged in making of 'criminal tribe' ideology. These elements were: the fear of nomadic and wandering groups among Brahmin subordinates of British officials, the cultivators' apprehension of hunting-gathering people and high castes' dread of people outside the institution of caste. The British tradition of associating forests with crimes and outlaws also added to this, enumerates Anand (85). The Act provided for registration of members, notification of their place of residence.

Any contraventions of these legal provisions invited severe punitive measures (Simhadri 30). The act was similar to the Habitual Criminal Act passed in England in late 19th century to exercise discipline and control over the criminal section of working class in order to construct moral subjects. The legal enactment put restriction on the movement of members of 'criminal tribes' and provision of a regular attendance gave power to the village patels (Patils¹) and local police official (Krishn 84). Later the Amended Criminal Tribe Act (1908) provided for settling of convicted members of the tribes in special settlements, to mould and reform them by enforcing work habit under the control of special officers. These settlements acted as sanctified prisons providing captive labour of miserable wages and harsh working conditions in a number of factories state forests and public work departments (Simhadri 29-32). By 1921, the Criminal Tribes Act was extended to all parts of India and had listed over 150 tribes as 'criminals' most of which belonged to marginalized social groups outside settled domesticity. Dilip D'Souja articulates such communities could not lay any claims to protection and impartiality of law. Prior to this, a committee legitimized and exonerated the Criminal Tribe Act (1911 Amendment) in following words: "The main objective of Criminal Tribe Act was to *safeguard the rights of society against the anti-social influences*. Its secondary aim was *the reformation of the criminal tribes—a reformation, which in early stages, had to be carried out against the will of its members.*" Even Enquiry Committee just suggested few minor changes in the working of the act like leniency in taking hazeri (attendance) but nothing basic for tribal. Undistinguished, the construction of entire castes by the British as 'criminal castes' was part of a larger discourse in which caste determined the occupational profile as well as social and moral characteristics of all its members (Bayly).

In independent Indian Govt. realizing that the Criminal Tribes Act was a shameful colonial legacy repealed the Act in 1952 with Denotified and Nomadic tribes Act. But absence of rehabilitation following independence, has left a mark on the way most Indians continue to view nomadic communities. They live as outcastes, outside villages; their children are not allowed into schools; they are denied steady jobs. Later, in 1959, new laws in the form of the Habitual Offenders Act were introduced in various states. These Acts retained many of the provisions of the Criminal Tribes Act such as registration, restrictions on movement, and incarceration in 'corrective settlements' earmarked for 'habitual offenders'. Thus the bias against nomads still lingered (Paul 2) to be treated like wild dangerous animals—to be watched; tamed and hunted up (Krishan 84).

Their being branded as 'criminals' during the long period of British rule, and the absence of rehabilitation following independence, has left an indelible mark on the Indian mass to see these denotified

nomadic communities as criminal. They live as outcastes, outside villages like untouchable. Untouchability, B.R Ambedkar says 'is the mother of all our poverty and lowliness' (Dangle 231). Their children are not allowed into schools; they are not offered any job. Even The Habitual Offenders Act, restrict the freedom of movement of these people but it denies that an entire community could be 'born' criminal. Thus they remained easy target of police and public in general for every kind of atrocities and exploitation. In this connection, Sharan Kumar Limbale says that the (Denotified and Nomadic tribes) DNTs are the most depressed sections of society and all of them are regarded as Dalits (137). Still the police and the people in general look upon the entire community as criminals (Paul 5). This is the only identity they have and are known to.

And identity is a complex phenomenon being wholly social. In modern age identities are 'fraught with contestation of multiple agencies of nation, media and religion' (Gupta and Nanda 8) seems to be incomplete definition of identity for it is the society that attributes and get attributed the identities mutually. In this direction sociological approach begins with the assumption that there is a reciprocal relationship between the self and society (Stryker, 1980). Thus society influences the self through shared languages, beliefs and idea and social interaction to take the role of other and self influences the society creating group, organization and nations etc. to make other follow him/her. Thus self is core and reflexive to influence others in society. For self is operational in society we must understand the society in which the self is acting, and keep in mind that the self is always acting in a social context in which other selves exist (Stryker, symbolic Interactionism). But it is pertinent to understand that self are those who are in power, prestige and possessing that are few people with resources of caste, creed and religion along with the resources rest represent other. Self is active and other is acted upon self is in centre and other peripheral, says Simone De Beauvoir. Thus Society is stable and durable as reflected in the "patterned regularities that characterize most human action" (Stryker, symbolic Interactionism 65). And self is the identity of person how and what she/he thinks, does, influence, perceives and reflects. Obviously society "plays a critical role in identity formation" (Nakkula 9). Society is a stratified, complex, static same is identity. The social structure in which the identities are embedded is relatively fixed and people play out the roles that are given to them. Identity is always the outcome in position or opposition of society of the other identity as Burke says 'any identity is always related to a corresponding counter-identity.'

So 'other' selves who carry imposed identity of being thieves by the mainstream culture, religion, power, politics, in Maharashtra, are known to as: Pathrut, Takari, Bhamta, Uchalaya², Girnewadar, Kamti, Ghantichor³, Wadar⁴, Pardhi, *Laman Tanda*⁵ and Masanjogis⁶ who

live either by thieving or by begging at/near cemetery or shitting ground. The difference is that these are known to different names in different districts but resemblance to all these Denotified and Nomadic Tribes is the fate of being branded as 'born' criminals (Devy 21).⁷ Since these communities are not offered any work by society they are forced to roam around and filling the gap only by hunting. If settled, they are not given any work to earn and survive, constrainedly, their pilferation in weekly markets, fairs or at other station results in arrest and even imprisonment which forces the woman to take care of either to support family in absence of imprisoned husband or to repay the loan taken or bribe for case. Left with only option, young women are trained to steal along with boys from the very beginning. Hard life in society such as, women have to face triple marginalization. Multi-faceted challenges have reduced them to non-entity. Therefore the work under study is not any fictitious work but the autobiography by Laxman Gaikwad that guarantees the authenticity of the life and happening. For self emerges in social interaction within the context of a complex, organized, differentiated society, it has been argued that the self must be complex, organized and differentiated as well, reflecting the dictum that the "self reflects society" (Stryker, symbolic Interactionism). Hence life of women in these communities is the reflection of the society in which they live and strive. Since 'They are excluded from mainstream social and economic development and as a result they are found to be most vulnerable to hunger and poverty (Chalam 81)' they steal and pilfer, as Gaikwad states, because

Nobody would offer work to my father, Martand, as we were known to belong to a branded tribe of criminals. They would not employ my mother, Dhondabai, even as a farm-hand. As grandfather had been rendered useless, my grandmother began to visit fairs and markets to maintain the household. In crowded fairs she removed gold lockets and earrings from children's neck and ears, trinkets and necklaces from the necks of women cutting them loose with her teeth or blade (2).

Along with grandmother of Laxman, Chingu, Changuna, Ithi, Yellava—a girl from Kawatha, Laxman's wife's cousin sister, Chingu's age, the fourth wife of Laxman's brother-in-law, respectively, all 'cut necklaces, *mangalsutras*⁷ and other trinkets very skilfully(47)' with their teeth with great ease and agility. And few women were in business, but illegal, as Changuna and Chandrabhagabai, land lady of house where Laxman dwelt, 'was in the liquor business (93)'...now she was doing another business like grocery shop and *ganja*⁸ tablet and pork business. Business, though illegal, is identity and an occupation chosen rather than forced, empowered them dictate and dominate in certain terrain if not in all. This free choice and agency proves to be a milestone in lives of women such as Changuna and Chandrabhagabai confers new identities and happiness in myriad

forms as Thoits supports 'making roles and accumulating role identities fosters greater psychological well-being (2001).' Yet, unfortunately, women in denotified communities or tribes are no all alike Changuna and Chandrabhagabai.

Stealing or pilfering immoral and, constitutionally, illegal always threatens the thieves and families. Male thieves of family escape or not women are the victim of humiliation, torture and beatings by police, theft of either. Women being in denotified communities and pilfer business police is more powerful and negative towards these. According to expectation states theory, those with more power (should) use more negative behavior in interaction as a way of maintaining the system of stratification (Ridgeway & Johnson, 1990). Accordingly, Police has always forced these tribal to remain in the same position and occupation. Negative behaviour becomes more course and cruel at sight of these tribal. Gaikwad depicts an episode of behaviour as such in his grandmother's life when police had caught her

'Your whore will know,' cried the police and grabbed our grandmother by the hair and thrashed her all over.

My mother Dhondabai had already slipped away into the woods as soon as she had heard of the arrival of police.

The police were beating whomsoever their eyes fell upon—women, children. They squeezed grandmother's breasts, asking her to show the stolen goods (2).

Tajfel (1981) and (Turner et al.1987) sees identity as embedded in a social group or category. This is the reason that police always is negative towards the community and has thrashed all irrespective of age and sex. Such identity is collective or group identity. Unmindful practice to beat, harass, sexual abuse and torture including arrest sometime for with or without rhyme and reason is common for these communities all over India. Because of this group identity and negation by power, police never approached with female constable for arrest and remand but all male for..... as Laxman's grandmother told, 'When the police catch me, they hang me upside down by the legs and lash the sole of my feet with a whip, thrust burning cigarette-butts into my anus. If I don't confess to the theft, they bring shit near my mouth and force me to eat it and keep on beating me (8).' Once the police caught Anna, the elder brother of Laxman, his anus being chilli-powdered by police

'He showed the police our hut.... the police whipped everybody. They thrashed the women and the children from our hut all over, wherever their hands led them. Dhondabai never knew

stealing. She never went that way. Yet they pressed and squeezed her breasts and grilled her...They snatched away her mangalsutra⁹ and another cheap necklace....mother sold all the sheep in the market and paid two hundred rupees. Only then did the police release them without bringing any charge against them in the court. Mother's gold ornaments were kept by the police for themselves. After all, we were thieves by profession; who could we lodge a complaint with (15-16)?'

The police had often visited these poor people in this fashion. They would descend upon them like a pack of wolves, beat them, search their huts, threaten them with arrest and imprisonment and depart after extorting money from them; this would embarrass and disgrace them in the eyes of villagers. 'Even if someone desired to do honest work, nobody would employ him. The police would beat us making false allegations of theft, even when, in fact, no theft had been committed (62),' says Laxman. Penury turns them in as dumb as to complain who would listen them; their condition is like the dumb who complains but no whimper and no howl. Their nomadicity and negative identity invites the police, fail in finding the real culprit, to torture them. Police confiscate the things in their huts; tear the receipt of the confiscated article, register case against or extract money for not registering a case. Police survivor of public had disabled many female including male Laxman's grandmother, Hirabai, Masanjogis—a Pardhi woman, a woman of Sukhwadi, respectively or Laxman's wife's grandmother, or other unnamed females as Laxman state that 'the merciless police constables had clobbered the woman so much that her backbone had got fractured (207).' Police never took into account even new recently delivered mothers but put them into jail only for a gunny bag of *jowar*¹⁰ that she had bought with the money she got under family planning scheme, 'woman showed even medical chit that had recorded her operation. But the police simply ignored it and arrested Hirabai and put her in custody along with her offspring (199). Oppression of police was so cruel that these people were unable to stand or commit even suicide as Jayaba and his wife were booked under attempt to flee away from the police then they attempted to commit suicide is testimony of it, in case of incident in Ahmedpur Taluka Ganjur in Pathrut community

Police Sub-Inspector kicked her (Jayaba's wife) with his boot. The poor, unfortunate wife of Jayaba crashed down. The Jemadar, who was with the Sub-Inspector, picked her up holding her with the bun of her hair, shouted, 'You harlot, you are pretending.' And again they thrashed her mercilessly. They threw her down on the ground and walloped her to their hearts content....Finally he mustered the courage and caught hold of his wife and ran towards the well, thinking that they would

jump in the well and commit suicide. They had no more nerve to stand beating (210).

The force of poverty is a heartrending example of Ithi who sold her pretty little daughter of hardly one and half years, whom she had borne in her womb for nine months and given birth to in pain, for 200 rupees in Pune. 'She kept her four years old son with her and sold her daughter, for the son will be an asset later on, he will steal and maintain the two (185).' If Ithi sold her pretty daughter Hirabai Kale, a Pardhi women whose husband had been arrested under charge of theft, 'underwent a tubectomy operation under the Family Planning Scheme for which she received Rs. 200. She bought half a gunny-bag of high quality of *jowar* out of the amount so received (198-99)' for after delivering a baby she had nothing to eat and only water was insufficient for a new mother.

Police's squeezes breasts, molest and torture of these women is not new for the police is out of the same society which is the main instrument for torturing and pressing of the breasts of women. Village Patil and head, enemy of women of these communities, do what they like if one dares to speak against these bigwigs. It is only these people who have driven these people to such an abject situation to steal and offspring selling. These people along with the police had entrapped these people in vicious plans i.e. *takmudya*¹¹ to keep them in such a position, forever. The hooligan of bigwigs come hit; beat even rape as Laxman describes the incident of Laman Tanda who was living at Murum in Taluka Umrup that 'Some landlords from that place forcibly raped young girls from this Tanda. One day these hooligans in a drunken condition descended on these poor people and indulged in all sorts of debauchery (202).' but whom they complain against and who listens to these silenced people. As Nigam say, the members of these classes and tribes were denied a right to appeal in an ordinary court of law. Under special set of laws, rules and procedures for dealing with the 'criminal classes. These women were the easy prey of lust of people after all what security these poor has—no gated homes, no money, no matter, no land, no language. So not only these were raped to silence but also they were easy targeted to satisfy their lust in dark nights. This was true in case of Laxman's own sister-in-law as Laxman says

One day one of my sister-in-law and I were sleeping in the yard just in front of our hut. The other sisters-in-law were sleeping in the hut. At dead of night somebody came and brazenly lay on my sister-in-law. He pressed a hand on her mouth and lay by her side. I was wide awake but pretended to be fast asleep, and lay quiet. The stranger with a rough mauling action pressed down my sister-in-law, and had intercourse with her and ran away.' Then my sister-in-law began to bawl and shout loudly:

'Run! Run! Some bastard lay on my body and ran away.' On hearing her shout all of us ran after him, but by then he had disappeared in the dark. Then the other sister-in-law asked her if he had done anything to her. The sister-in-law replied that she did not allow him to sleep with her. 'The bastard was trying to lie on me and had put his palm on my mouth,' she said. She knew full well what exactly the truth was (86).

The howl and lie of sister-in-law testifies the patriarchal system. The rape molestation and sexual abuse is upshot of patriarchy that frightens the female in totality. Hence she had prevaricated because she was afraid that Bhau, her husband, would divorce her (86). Thus the woman's identity is crushed every time she is victim of someone's lust. As in Laxman's community divorce is permissible and husband is permitted to contract a second marriage. 'If husband or a wife is unwilling to continue marital relationship with his or her spouse, he or she is required to reimburse the marriage expenses in the Panchayat¹² settlement (55).' Seemingly it is release but practically a spoof. This Panchayat is patriarch and bias against women. Bigamy and polygamy has reduced the status of women to a thing. Women were always in fear and anxiety of being discard and polygamy as Tulsiram had two wives, Sopan, the father of Babusha, had fourth wife, Manikdada had kept one woman (other than wife) as his kept and Sulabhi, my wife's sister's husband had entered into bigamous marriage (223). Here 'Marriage has become merely a commercial exchange. Because of this, couples share no reciprocity or unity, and become separated from each other (Reddi 1937).' Inattentiveness attracts adultery and polyandry but the polyandry is a mean of acquiring new identity for female while gratification of sexual desire for male. Most of the women were kept other caste males. Ithi who had more than one husband, Changuna had three husbands. 'All women in her (Chandrabhagabai) building were mistresses kept by some people. Chandrabhagabai herself had kept two husbands: One a permanent husband of Yalama caste, Tukaram Reddy, a suspended police-constable and the other, a Thakur. In fact, Chandrabhagabai had married two persons from our community and had subsequently left both of them (103).' Polyandry is an outcome of infidelity not of female but of male to their own wives tempting these poor. This polyandry is not alike in Himachal Pradesh tribals that common wife is shared within family or fraternal family to check the distribution of limited resources. This polyandry is not within caste and family but inter-caste. Laxman's elder sister-in-law Kashibai's maternal grandmother had lived with Maratha. Laxman's father, Martand, always 'tortured and beat mother suspecting her of infidelity. Whenever mother came late from milk-selling rounds, father would say, 'You spend your time with your paramour!' Saru is not my daughter, and beat mother severely (22),' writes Gaikwad. Ithi who had sold her own daughter because of poverty is an archetype of

indulging in a compulsive polyandry. The answer to the question, why the despotic marry whom they torture, is as Bharti say that in Hindu religion, that is founding father of casteism, for thousand years, the customs of accepting a girl from low-caste is continue. Why is it? The reason for it is only that beauty is found everywhere, only capable wants to consume that beauty (76). But one not mistaken here that they have inter-caste marriage thus does not observe caste system for Nambodari Brahmin married Nair girls but not bringing them home leave parental home (Santram 54). Similarly, the inter-caste marriages without accepting low caste women in his upper caste family and caste and leaving bride at parental home by upper caste is no more than a sexual abuse contract. However dominance of Chandrabhagabai and Changuna was because these were not parasite. Otherwise they too were not out of grip of the same sexual abuse contract.

Further, patriarchal Panchayat punishes women at many occasions barbarously for the adultery one has not committed as in case of women whose mother had lived with Maratha the daughter was punished. 'Some said let the woman eat shit, and some others said let her be fined 2000 rupees, while some other proposed that her nose be cut off. Finally one of the Pancras proposed a viable middle course that the bride's mother's head be shaved' (120).' Same Panchayat that has punishes female for adultery, has never punished a male though one has raped a woman of family 'Shankar from Salgara used his daughter for wife (52) and Ravan of our own community 'lived with her (Sulabhi) for two years assuring her that he was yet unmarried...A daughter born to Sulabhi. Ravan's family chose another girl for him (224). But Panchayat just ostracized Shankarya and his daughter for two years and Ravan was punished to dip his nose in Sulabhi's urine and pay a fine of 251 to her. Banishment furthers the sexual exploitation of women pushing them in the same situation. In the nomadic community have been treated as a commodity to sell and buy or to use and throw. First, the statement of Sulabhi's father before Panchayat is corroboration of it as 'she (Sulabhi) was sold once to one man and she remained tied to his rope for some time. Then she escaped from that house and came to Kawatha and lived with another man, who was not her formal owner (224).' And second, the case of Padmini as 'they (Kisan Patil and Manik) had sold Padmini (kept of Manik) to that man for two hundred fifty rupees. Kisan Patil took hundred rupees as his commission in the bargain and Dada brought home one hundred fifty rupees (66).' In each and every case women lose while men win. This is the hair-splitting truth of lives of women in Maharashtra's tribal and nomadic communities.

Women undergoes repeated pregnancies even in conditions as such they have to earn along with nourishing the children as

Laxman's had five brother and two sisters while his mother had to do business of milk-selling. Over work and reproduction had pushed her to gone coon disease. Lastly deficit medicinal treatment had killed her. For identity is associated with the spousal role such as "cleaning the house," "yard work," and "maintaining contact with parents and in-laws." But as patriarchy mis-distributes the work and liabilities Burke mentions. Social structure influences one's identity, and in turn, behavior (Stryker & Serpe, 1982, 1994). Since society is patriarchal in which only man dominates and dictates which constructs the self and identities. (Cooley, 1902) says although some of our views are gained by direct experience with our environment, most of what we know about ourselves is derived from others. Accordingly not only male but female also behaves and treat women likewise so whenever a dispute erupts in married life another woman fuel the fire as Laxman accepts

I became touchy and suspected my wife without any rhyme or reason just because she stood outside the room for a while. I started beating her mercilessly. My sister-in-law would add fuel to the fire by telling me that Chhabu was not a woman of good character, we should not have accepted her in marriage. That would fan my anger and rouse me all the more against Chhabu....My sister-in-law had told me such abominable lies about my wife that I had started to hate my wife. I contemplated throwing her out of the house (139).

A woman is what she is told and moulded. A woman has to behave as the masculine society desires. A woman has to be fit in the frame of a good wife; she is defined by certain constructs not she defines. Laxman's sister-in-law had played a decisive role in his married life. Laxman depicts

My sister-in-law often used to tell me that a wife's place was at her husband's feet, much like the chappal's that's worn on the foot. I too felt that if my wife looked at anybody, I should gouge out her eyes. To add this suspicion and torment that day I had found, on my arrival at home that my wife was at the neighbour's door.... I however continued to beat her with that raw stick, wherever my hand led. While I was beating her, Anna knocked at the door. I opened it. My sister-in-law (Subabai) was standing outside. She said, 'Beat her, Laxman. Don't be afraid. I'm here to back you. I won't allow the Kawatha people to enter this lane. (141)'

Laxman's negative role in marriage is gendered identity that forces him to use negative behaviour as 'the meaning of masculinity is related to dominance and competition and this is more consistent with a negative style than positive style of interaction. (Serpe & Stryker 1987).' Further violence and negation in marriage is more

likely to come the way community have developed as Stets (1997) finds that those with a low status on these other dimensions (age, education, and socioeconomic status) are also more likely to use negative behavior in marriage. And we on social ground are unable to extend sensitivity to the women conditions (Aggarwal 117). But to improve the identity of tribal women, more recently, Kiecolt (2000) argues that involvement in social movements can result in change by changing one's salience hierarchy of identities. This can be done in three ways: 1) either adding or discarding an identity, 2) changing the importance of an identity without changing the ranking of the identity or 2) changing the importance and ranking of an identity.

Thus the identity of female in denotified community is a complex blend of multiple identities. They are exploited, tortured, rejected and abused by the society and their own community. They are the victim of negative attitude of powerful identities, reduced to non-entity or suffering entity for being denotified. They are raped and abused for being female; harassed, rejected and divorced being married in patriarchal society; they are abused by other people for they are poor. Firstly, Until police routinely stops to use the Habitual Offenders Act against members of nomadic and denotified communities the status of the women of these women is hard to reform although the National Human Rights Commission and the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination recommended that the Habitual Offenders Act be repealed, but the offensive Act has not been repealed till date. Secondly, the gender sensitization and empowerment be extended. Thirdly, they must be empowered economically along with proper education. Fourthly, efforts be made to execute a common identity for society. Lastly, the society be sensitized for social, economical, political conditions of these women as Laxman Gaikwad has initiated a debate in society writing a piece of significance. And along with all this one has to assert for at the ground level, through Dharna, agitation, activism etc. as Laxman Gaikwad spoke in his presidential speech in a conference on 28 July 2012 organized Centre for Dalit Literature and Arts.

Notes-

1

Patil: A village headman incharge of law and order

2

Uchalaya: Of the Uchale—a community notified as criminal.

3

Ghantichor: the thieves who steals tolling a bell as their arrival.

4

Wadar: one of the names used for this community.

5

Laman Tanda: A group of Lamans, a nomadic tribe.

6

Masanjogis: A quack medico and black magician who lives in cemetery.

7

Magalsutra: A sacred marriage-necklace; a woman is not supposed to part with it till her husband's death

8

Ganja: A highly intoxicating drug.

9

Takmudya—is a fraudulent practices in which the police take help of landlord, police register a case of theft of ring or watch. Then they put the alleged stolen articles in the house of a Pardhi stealthily. The Pardhi is then arrested and slapped with a false charge.

10

Jowar: Millet

11

Takmudya: is a fraudulent practice in which police take the help of a landlord, in which the police register a complaint of theft of a watch or a ring at the house of that landlord. They put the alleged stolen articles in the house of Pardhis stealthily. The Pardhi is then arrested and slapped with a false charge.

12

Panchayat: A community court

13

According to the Hindu custom a woman 's hair is not shaved off as long as her husband is alive.

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