

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AMONG HALAKKIS: A STUDY IN UTTARA KANNADA DISTRICT

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ABSTRACT

Social organization of Halakkis is different from other tribal folk in Karnataka. But, like other communities among Halakkis family is a basic institution of society. It plays an important role in the upbringing and socialization of the younger generation. Family also internalizes among the children the basic values of society which are needed to function as a member of society. Halakki community is an endogamous group. All the members of the community develop a sense of belonging. There are a number of clans among the Halakki. These clans are exogamous units and there are eighteen such clans. Kaur (1977:33) points out, "Kinship is the combination of culturally utilized rules, including marriage, residence rules, rules of succession and inheritance and rules of descent, which place individuals and groups in definite relationship to each other within a society."

Introduction:

The Coastal Karnataka comprising of three major Districts, Uttara Kannada, Dakshina Kannada and Udupi. The present article is the study of the Social Organization of Halakki community of Uttara Kannada District. This paper is based on the data collected for the Doctoral thesis entitled "The Role of Halakki Women of Uttara Kannada District in Economic Productivity and Ecological Sustainability". Primary data was collected by using the interview method taking 300 samples from Halakkis in Uttara Kannada District. An official Census 2011 says that Uttara Kannada had the population of 14, 37,169, of which male and female were 7, 26,256 and 7, 10,913 respectively. In 2001 census, Uttara Kannada had a population of 13, 53,644 of which males were 6, 86,876 and remaining 6, 66,768 were females. There was change of 6.17 percent in the population compared to population as per 2001. In the previous census of India 2001, Uttara Kannada District recorded increase of 10.93 percent to its population compared to 1991. The tribal population of the District as per 2011 census is 34,239. It is estimated that the Halakki population in the district is 1, 14,569.

Total Literacy rate of Uttar Kannada is 84.02%. It is ranked 4 in terms of literacy rate out of total 30 districts of Karnataka and 346 out of total 640 districts of India. Male Literacy of Uttar Kannada is 89.71 while female literacy stands at 78.21%. According to the 2011 census the sex-ratio of Uttar Kannada is 975.25 female per thousand male. (Highest Sex-ratio of India is of Puducherry (1176) while lowest being from Daman district (533). The District consists of 11 Taluks namely Karwar, Ankola, Kumta, Honnavar, Bhatkal, Sirsi, Siddapur, Yallapur, Mundgod, Haliyal and Joida. It has 35 Zilla Panchayat Constituencies, 123 Taluk Panchayat Constituencies, and 207 Gram Panchayats.

The main languages spoken in this district are Kannada and Konkani. Kannada is the predominant language of the district, followed by Konkani which is also ideally spoken. Marathi, Urdu, Nawayath Hindi and English are also used in social communication. The population is predominantly Hindu composed of majority communities. In Karwar district Konkani means generally the Konkani language. However, with relation to demography it means the people with Konkani tongue. They include Gouda Saraswat Brahman, Saraswat, Shergar, Bhandari, Komarpanth, Gawade, Daivadnya Brahmins (Sonar), Christian, Navait, Dalji, Konkani Maratha and Holswar. But the Gouda Saraswat Brahmans are calling themselves as Konkanis and now it has become common. All the Konkani speaking people migrated from Goa to escape the conversion to Christianity unleashed by Portuguese missionary zealots in 16-17th century.

About Halakkis:

Haalakkivokkaligas can be seen on both sides of National Highway 66 that passes through Karwar, Ankola, Kumata, Honnavar and Bhatkaltalluqs of Uttara Kannada district and the parts of land touching the water of Arabian Sea. There are many remnants of ancient society indicating that there was independent, self-rule. The underlying system of their society is very different. The whole population of the Haalakkis has been divided into 7 regions. The religious rituals are bound by these regions. The seven regions are Chandaavara, Gokarna, Kadavaada, Ankola, NushiKote, KumbaaraGadde and HaritteSeemey. A group of Haalakki huts is called 'Koppa'. Many Koppas together form a seemey. Each Koppa has a Gowda and a Budavantha and a Kolkaara to assist him. Leader of the Seemey is called Arasu or Gowda. The power is hereditary. If the judgement pronounced by the Gowda of Koppa is contested, leader of Seemey makes the judgement.

Social Organization of Halakkis:

Social organization of Halakkis is different from other tribal folk in Karnataka. Just like other communities even among the Halakkis family is a basic institution of society. It plays an important role in the upbringing and socialization of the younger generation. Family also internalizes among the children the basic values of society which are needed to function as a member of society. In this context Mandelbaum (1991:43) aptly pointed out, "A family is not only a reproductive unit and a socializing agency; it also provides each person with his main link to wider society." Murdock (1949:15) remarks that, "Every society invariably has found some form of family organization, a convenient way to deal with problems faced by the people." Murdock (1965:1) defines family as, "a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintained a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults". The family is the most important unit of social organization. It continues our first experience of social life and is the most enduring and permanent social group." (Rathnaih; 1991:38). Hammond (1971-152) holds that, "The majority in every society lives most of their lives in domestic groups formed and maintained in response to the fundamental human need to co-operate sexually, and emotionally, economically and socially, in bearing and raising children." Regarding the nature of tribal family, Vidyarthi and Rai have pointed out (1971:188) that, "Monogamous family with a nuclear structure is the main feature of the Indian tribes. But the major tribes hope, as their economy demanded or permitted, to have a good number of joint as well as extended families." They further state that (1971:188-89), "The forest hunting type of tribal in general have nuclear family exclusively, and a number of nuclear families combine to carry out smoothly the economic operation in the forest with success. The tribal's of south India and mostly Kerala and some par of Tamil Nadu of this category are nuclear in composition and matrilineal in inheritance. Similar is the case with the hill cultivator types. They have families mostly of the nuclear form. Regarding the persistence of joint families among tribal's they said (1971:188) "As we go higher from simple to complex economy i.e., from forest to hill and then to agrarian economy, the extension of forms of family broadens. The agricultural tribes have all forms of family and they are a firm evidence of structural adaptation to economic activities. The nuclear, joint and extended family forms are the rule of communities where the nuclear type tops in number and joint and extended families are in minority even when taken together".

Similar studies have been conducted on Halakkis. The majority of Halakki families have the tradition of following the patrilineal laws of succession and inheritance. However, several families of this group living around Karwar are, it is reported following matrilineal law of inheritance. Nalmale Halakki is adhering to the matrilineal descent law at all the places. Among the followers of Matrilineal there are large matrilineal households in which even their or more persons are found to live together and to partake of food cooked in common kitchen. Earnings through gathering of the forest products including cashew from cashew groves would be treated as the personal income of the individual concerned. In this family system the wife and the children of a male member have a place in the joint family only as long as he is alive. Das (1982:1) further pointed out that, "Among those who are following the matrilineal descent system there are practically no joint family households. Every grown up male who have married would set up a family of his own to lead an independent life with his wife and unmarried children. Widowed mothers and sister-in-law however are looked after by the surviving male members. "The present trends indicate that joint families are also dwindling and the practice of setting a nuclear family after marriage is gaining popularity among all sections of Halakki" (Das : 1981:3).

Endogamous Nature of Community:

Halakki community is an endogamous group. All the members of the community develop a sense of belonging. There are a number of clans among the Halakki. These clans are exogamous units and there are eighteen such clans. Each clan consists of 1-25 lineages called kutumba is also considered as exogamous group. Such kutumba or lineage consists of a number of families. Among Halakki, we can find both nuclear and joint family system. Nuclear family consists of husband, wife and children. In several places, joint family system is also found, where the husband, wife, their children, their parents, grandparents i.e., at least three generations live together.

Another feature that we come across is that the joint family system is getting changed. Many new nuclear families are emerging. This feature is found throughout the District. The disappearance of joint family system is due to economic, social and domestic reasons. The push factors are a key factor for the change. Such changes take place due to loss of traditional right over the forest, deforestation; restrictions on shifting cultivation contribute to the migration of an individual or a married couple to nearby places. During discussion with elderly members of the community, it came to light that confiscation of their traditional rights to the minor forest produce has greatly disintegrated their family life. According to them, some of their members had to migrate in search of alternative jobs, either manual or non-manual, leaving their natal family.

Type of family:

The study shows that 62.67 percent of the respondents live in nuclear family and 37.33 percent live in joint family. Occupation-wise breakup of the data shows that the joint family is more prevalent among those who own agricultural land and practice agriculture as their chief occupation. The nature of family among manual workers, agricultural laborers and those who are working in government service and household industry is by and large nuclear. The agricultural households are having common property-both movable and immovable which binds them together and, as the practice of agriculture also needs more work force during some seasons, this also helps to keep the family and its property united. Whereas in the case of those who are engaged in manual work, household industry, government services etc., they can live in a nuclear family as their work does not need group supports.

The families at Karwar, Honnavar and Kumta have adopted patrilineal system of inheritance. However, today, we find that the matrilineal system has been declining among the Halakki. Here the right to property passes through the male line. Both in patrilineal and matrilineal joint family the eldest male member is the head of the household. The role of the head of the household is most important at the time of marriage, death, birth and other socio-religious activities. He is called by them as Headman and his wife as Head woman. This head ship is passed on through male line.

Besides household activities, women are also engaged in some other activities – social and ritual – within the settlement. They visit the neighbors' house, and participate in certain religious functions. Their activities are restricted and they are supervised by the husband, in-laws or other elder members of the family. The traditional system of serving food first to male members and children is still found among the Halakki. It is the responsibility of women to prepare food. They are restrained from eating before the male members and children finish eating food. This restriction is imposed particularly on the wife. She has to wait even if husband arrives home late and serve him food first. However, in some places both men and women eat together. Surprisingly, a few instances of wife taking food before her husband are also observed.

The size of the family among the Halakki varies between 2 and 13. The average size of the family is 6.18 persons. The data shows that 8.86 percent of the households have less than 2 members, 38.57 percent have 3/5 persons. Nearly one-third (33 percent) have 6-8 members, and 19.67 percent have more than 9 members.

The responsibility of taking care of parents in their old age in patrilineal system vests with their sons. The responsibility of the widow is shared by kinsmen. If she has young children, usually they look after her. Otherwise, the members of her natal family take the responsibility to look after her. In patrilineal family the aged parents are supported to assist him. The daughters are not expected to look after their parents or assist their brother in the form of monetary or other help. Only at certain critical times the daughters look after them or give some help to their brothers. On the other hand, in matrilineal system, it is the duty of a daughter to take care of her parents. The sons may give certain financial help during difficult time. If the couple does not have any children, they are taken care of by their near relatives of either matrilineal or patrilineal line.

Family Planning:

Family planning is a new thing to the Halakki. Lack of accessibility to the media radio, television, newspaper etc., is one reason. Their interaction with the plains people is also limited. But today, some Halakki possess radio/transistor, procure newspaper and interact with the plain people in certain circumstances. The government is trying to extend benefits to the tribal's including the Halakki. The Halakki interact with teachers, local social workers and sometimes the government officials at present. As a result of their knowledge about the various aspects the knowledge of family planning is also increasing. Keeping this in mind, respondents of the present sample were asked to state whether they are aware of family planning, if so, to mention the source of information and whether they practice family planning.

It is interesting to note that, most of the respondents were aware of the practice of family planning. Regarding the source of information about family planning, 54.33 percent stated that government officials, health educators, village accountants and school teachers as the source and 41.66 percent stated that their relatives had given the information. Further, they were also asked to state their attitude towards family planning. Surprisingly 79 percent of them have shown favorable attitude towards family planning whereas only 21 percent were against it.

Further, the respondents were asked to reveal the reasons for their attitude towards family planning. One interesting thing that we came across is that a majority of the reasons cited by them are similar to those given by the people of Karwar area. Thirty four percent of them said that they have to reduce the family size in order to meet the necessities of all the people in the family. They pointed out the problems faced by them in meeting the basic needs of life. Another 18.76 percent said that because of more children the family property is divided and it is difficult to make a living. Another reason given by the respondents was that the health of the mother will be affected. They think that birth of more children reduces the vitality of the children as well as the mother. Some pointed out that small size of the family helps to lead a happy life.

Even though a large majority of the respondents have shown a favorable attitude towards family planning, it is important to find out whether they practice family planning methods like contraceptives or have undergone family planning operation. Nearly thirty (29.67) percent of them said that they use the family planning methods. About 36 (34.66) percent of the respondents who have not adopted family planning state that they are not doing so due to lack of knowledge about family planning and lack of awareness about the facilities available. Whereas four percent of them state that bad treatment in the government hospital is the reason for not adopting family planning. Another 6.33 percent of them opined that children are the gift to God, controlling family size is against their belief. Two percent were against adopting family planning for their desire to have a male child.

Kinship Organisation:

Nuclear family is a smallest unit, formed on the basis of affinal (marital) and consanguine (biological) ties of kinship. According to Hammond (1971:165), "Domestic groups, or residential kin groups, are always formed on the basis of the combined principles of consanguinity (socially recognized shared biological descent) and affinity (relationship established by marriage)." Kaur (1977:33) points out, "Kinship is the combination of culturally utilized rules, including marriage, residence rules, rules of succession and inheritance and rules of descent, which place individuals and groups in definite relationship to each other within a society."

There are few scholars who speak about the universality of kinship. Hasnain (1983:40) points out, "People in all parts of the world and in all the societies, irrespective of their technological level, are bound together in groups by various kinds of bonds. The most universal and the basic of these bonds is that which is based on reproduction, an inherent human drive, and is called kinship." Kupar (1971:189) viewed that, "A system of kinship and marriage can be looked at as an arrangement which enables person's ago live together and co-operate with one another in an orderly social life."

Among the Halakkis the status of an individual in a family has become meaningful only when it possesses some other individual who have some other position, e.g., the status of husband is meaningful when only this is related to wife or, the position of parents is only meaningful when they possess children. The relationship between the family members is reciprocal and obligatory and this relationship is based on consanguineous and a final relationship.

In our study we find a few differences in the use of kinship terms. These differences are found mainly because of their contact with other community, spread of modern education, mobility of the few into

urban centers etc. The kinship terms among Halakkis refer to status and also it identifies the relationship between the speaker and the person addressed. The kinship term also guides the individual behavior towards other individuals, such as respect, friendliness, co-operation etc. The status differentiation is made through applying certain kinship terms to certain individuals. For example, in a conjugal family the terms like mother, father, son, daughter etc., show the different roles and their status sanctioned on the basis of group rules. At the same time, those individuals who are referred through the same kinship terms may not have similar status and role. For example, the terms referring to elder brother or younger brother may be used to a group of individuals, such as mother's sister son, father's brother's son to the own male siblings, or even to a stranger. The status and role of these different individuals who are referred by the same term is different. The use of two different terms to a single individual is also found among the Halakki. They use one term to address and another term to refer the same individual. The ego may also use these two terms even for some affinal relatives such as, to younger brother's wife or wife's younger sister, he use the common term to refer and use their names to address.

Kinship Usages:

According to Mayer (1986:214) kinship is, "A description of the attitudes, rights and duties which kinsmen have towards one another, and the degree to which these are fulfilled will give us a picture of the constitution of the effective kin-group." Hasnain (1983:41) says that, "The most profound impact of kinship ties on the social life may be felt through kinship usages found in every society. Kinship usages among the tribes of India present very interesting and significant spectacle. Such types of behavior pattern, verbal and non-verbal, explain many complex intricacies of kinship system."

A kinship usage within the households varies on the basis of age, sex and kinship relations. At an early age of the child, the Halakki are lenient towards their children. In adolescence, the child has to follow the rules strictly. According to established customs of the community, he should obey and respect the elder members of the family, avoid talking freely with his father or the elder members of the family. The younger members are not expected to use the names to address the elder the elder members of the family. The siblings behave in friendly way; we can find love mutual support among them. In the absence of father the eldest son acts as the head of the family. Similarly in the absence of mother the eldest daughter plays the same role as the mother does.

Treatment of the Husband by the wife:

The wife should treat her husband as her master; she should take care of him properly. But in the case of those who live in wives parents' house (Home- in-law) occupy a subordinate position. In matrilineal families the maternal uncle occupies an important position. He takes all the decisions relating to the household maintenance and other problems of the family. It has been observed by the researcher that, after marriage when a wife enters her conjugal family, she is expected to be obedient and talk less with the members of her husband's family. After the completion of a year or so, the wife gets full freedom and a little power over the household activity. Sometimes, the members of her husband's family take the advantage of their already established position and do not give freedom to the new comer. As a result, there may be some frequent bickering between the daughter in law and brothers/sisters of her husband or with daughter in law and her husband's mother. In some cases, the frequent bickering may lead to separation of married couples.

Some kind of kinship behavior can also be observed in outside the households, such as an individual's behavior towards his father's brother, mother's brother etc. The brothers who have separated an established their own conjugal family, possess close, friendly relationship and whenever needed help each other. Physical proximity for a longer time and inescapable agnatic relationship provides more authoritative power to the eldest brother. The elder brother takes more responsibility when problem arise in the family. At the time of life cycle ceremonies and other religious and ritual time he guides his brothers. The relationship with the father's brother is not intimate in matrilineal family, where as in patrilineal family the father's brother is treated equal to father.

Social Obligations:

As the time of certain social gatherings the kins are expected to fulfill certain duties and prerogatives. Marriage is one of such gatherings, where the relatives are gathered and help to perform the rites of the marriage. The custom of giving gifts to the newly wedded couples by the relatives is also found among them. The affinal relatives are not expected to give any gifts. Another important situation where the kins are required to behave in a specific way is death. The pollution will be observed by all the family members.

After the death of husband, the 'uglification' ceremony for the widow of the deceased is performed by her brother. The close relatives and neighbors also participate during the cremation of the dead. The son has to light the pyre.

Even at the time of child birth and puberty of a girl, the kins gather and help to perform the ritual practices. At the time of birth, the mother, father and other members of the family of a child observe the ritual impurity. The naming ceremonies is performed after the 9th/12th (it varies from place to place) day of the child birth. Gifts are presented to the newly born baby by the guest. At the time of puberty, the maternal aunt (mother's brother's wife), and the wife of tribal head (Head woman) along with other females pour water to the head (of the girl who have been polluted by puberty and invite to the house.

Another important kinship usages among the Halakki women is, avoidance, where many sets of kins avoid each other. Another form of kinship usage can be found which is extremely opposite to the avoidance where, extreme degree of familiarity is expressed. The relationship between daughter-in-law and parent-in-law, between son-in-law and his parent-in-law, wife and her husband's elder brother etc. are cramped by certain restrictions.

The daughter-in-law and son-in-law are not expected to speak without hesitation and not to stand in front of their parent-in-law, they should not use personal name to identify their parent-in-law. Like this kinship usages among the Halakki is subjected to a number of restrictions. On the other hand, the kinship behavior between a man and his wife's younger sister, his brother's wife and his cross cousins etc. are subjected to a kind of extreme degree of familiarity. This familiarity leads to some kind of joking relationship which may include exchange of abuse, fun, jokes etc. Among the Halakki the kinship behavior is institutionalized. They think this kind of behavior is important to maintain healthy relationship among the community members. Through restricted kinship behavior they try to avoid unwanted bitterness. On the other hand, mutual joking behavior in some cases is necessary to normalize any kind of strain and to maintain group cohesion.

Lineage:

A group of families having a common ancestor combine to form a lineage. A lineage in the sense in which we generally employ this word is a group of living agnates, descended from the founder of that particular line. Logically it also includes dead persons descended from the founder-and we sometimes use the word to include them also-but these dead persons are significant only in that their genealogical position explains the relationships between the living" Pritchard:1940:216) viewed that, "The lineage is the simplest form of extended unilineal kinship group in that it normally is limited to closely related agnatic (male descent line) or uterine (female descent line) kin and is rarely more than six generations deep." Lowie (1950:236) states that, "...the lineage is made up exclusively of provable blood relatives, i.e., all members are demonstrably descended from a common ancestor or ancestress."

Those who have migrated from the settlement also retain their traditions and continue to rely on the parent's lineage for political, social and ritual support. But there is no doubt that their interaction is declining with their lineage in proportion to the degree of spatial separation and its duration. In the neo-local residence as they make their living independently they establish their relationship with surrounding people. This result in their need for social, political and ritual support from the lineage become less. In this situation many of them are aware of their lineage membership. To overcome the above problem and to continue to keep in touch with the lineage membership, they use certain names to designate all the lineage members.

Clan System:

Apart from the size, the only essential difference between a lineage and a clan is that the members of a lineage can actually traced out their genealogies of common descent from a know ancestor, while clan members cannot" (Hoebel:1977:448). Mandalbaum (1991:145) says, "Botra is most commonly used to mean what we have called a clan that is an exogamous category within a jati." Regarding clan system among the tribes, Vidyarthi and Rai (1977:175) said that, "...the clan can be defined as a exogamous division of a tribe, the members of which are held to be related to one another by some common times, may be believed in the descent from common ancestors, possession of a common totem or habitation of a common territory."

'In olden days, Halakki had their own clan system and intra-marriages were not allowed. But as the population of Halakki is dwindling, the old system of clan is being over looked and the intra-clan marriages

have become common among them. If the boy and girl of a same clan want to marry, certain modifications either in girl's clan or boy's clan should be made. If they boy observes his father's clan, the girl should reckon her mother's clan and vice versa. At Karwar, Honnavar and Kumta there is no system called clan, except for the close relatives, they can marry and other person. In other places they follow the clan system. The identity of clan can be through the female line in matrilineal system and male line in patrilineal system. There is no clan totem in the form of any object, animals, birds or any other form. So among the Halakki the clan can be discernible through the clan name. It is believed that all the members of a clan are the descendants of common ancestor. This belief of blood relation is not merely imposes taboo on affinal relationship, but also induces high degree of interested and unified groupings among Halakki. In their difficult times they contact their lineage of clan members to resolve their problem. They treat the members of their clan as their family members and use the terms to address like brother and sister which is similar to their close relatives where the marriage relationship is prohibited.

Descent and Inheritance:

Tribes are indigenous people who are termed as the Fourth World. Government of India has specified 427 communities and has included them in the schedule of tribes. These tribes are known as scheduled tribes. They are entitled to special protection and privileges under the constitution of India. Numerically, the three most important tribes are the Gonds, the Bhils and the Santhals each having a population of more than 30 lakh. Next to them are the Minas, the Mundas, the Orgons each having a population of more than 5 lakhs. Then there are 42 tribes each having a population between one and five lakh. The tribal people of India, who come under the category of Scheduled Tribes (ST's) in terms of the provisions of the constitution of India, number 8.43 crore, constituting 8.2 percent of the population of the country according to 2001 census. From the point of view of distribution and diversity of the tribal population, India can be divided into seven zones.

Dress and Costumes in Folkdance:

The dancers' costumes will put a male peacock to shame. Their turbans are decorated with red, yellow and blue beads. An attractive "Turaayi" (head gear) is inserted in the center of the turban. The local Gudigars prepare them from pith and "begadi." Some of the red and yellow flowers have pith birds on them. Each dancer wears a long kurta, red or yellow pyjama and flowing shoulder robes. They carry "kuncha" (a bunch of peacock feathers inserted in a wooden handle and "kolu" (playing sticks.) "Gumate" (two faces ear--then drum one face of which is covered by "chappa" skin,) "jagate" (beating disc,) and "Tala" (cymbals) provide loud background music. The dancers move in a circle singing devotional songs. The master of the ceremonies controls their singing and rhythmic steps. They perform a great variety of dances including "kolata" (stick dance.) Tired troupes are honored by offering of refreshments and coins. Their landlords and traditionally recognized persons have the good fortune of witnessing the "SuggiKunita" at their residences. The troupe moves from on village to another and spends the nights at temples. After three or four days' tour they return to their villages on full moon day, where a hero's welcome awaits them. The age differentiation is made within the own generation of ego and his ascending generation. This differentiation is ignored when it comes to the descending generation. They do not use this term if the stranger belongs to lower caste Hindu. The term is used only if he belongs to a higher caste Hindu.

Conclusion:

The family organization of Halakkis seems to be different from the other caste groups. The study shows a few similarities in the usage of kinship terms between the other caste groups and the Halakkis. These differences are found mainly because of their contact with other communities, spread of modern education, mobility of the few into urban centers etc. The kinship terms among Halakkis refer to status and also it identifies the relationship between the speaker and the person addressed. The kinship term also guides the individual behavior towards other individuals, such as respect, friendliness, co-operation etc. The status differentiation is made through applying certain kinship terms to certain individuals. So among the Halakkis the clan can be discernible through the clan name. It is believed that all the members of a clan are the descendants of common ancestor. This belief of blood relation is not merely imposes taboo on affinal relationship, but also induces high degree of interested and unified groupings among Halakki. In their difficult times they contact their lineage of clan members to resolve their problem. They treat the members of their clan as their family members and use the terms to address like brother and sister that is similar to their close relatives where the marriage relationship is prohibited.

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