CHAPTER 5
REPRODUCTION OF MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY AND CASTE IDENTITIES

This chapter aims at finding out how gender and caste identities are reproduced. The ideas regarding masculine and feminine are not inborn rather perpetuated through a series of social forces. Important among them are: name, history, origin, religion, social conditioning, family type, family relationships, authority system within a family, rules of marriage and kinship organisation. In fact, the above mentioned factors decide the way a baby is to be brought up and they "override the biological structures".

The word 'identity' denotes a person's sense of orientation, reflecting his/her 'self' and 'a self system'. Identity provides a person with a sense of belongingness and a sense of pride by being part of that group or society. It also involves a notion of maintaining one's exclusiveness. In reference of masculine/feminine identity formation identity could be associated with "mechanism" through which an individual internalizes gender roles as his or her personal

traits. It sometimes involves avoidance of cross sex models or, in other words, orientation towards the same sex model.4

In context of caste identities Steve Barnett write "given the rapid and profound changes in caste in this century, Indians can choose among a number of identities; and the relation to these choices to caste is central to understanding the operation of ideologies in everyday life."5

The chapter looks at the history, family, family decorum, occupation, architecture and a few life histories from the field work to find out the process of reproduction of gender and caste identities.

I. HISTORY

The history of a group and the code of conduct derived from that history is an important factor in its identity formation. Although family is the primary unit from which a person derives his/her identity but family relations are always governed by the value system held by that group. In

India it is the caste system that rules and regulates all social relations.

A. Brahmins

Brahmins have always been associated with the study of Vedas, teaching learning officiating prayers and sacrifices. In this reference they were/are expected to follow a certain kind of lifestyle which stressed on purity of descent and right conduct. In effect, they developed a tradition of tracing their origin from some learned rishi.

Being a Brahmin what gotra one belongs to is important. The system of gotra is, primarily, based on tracing origin from some famous Vedic or Puranic Rishis. For instance, Kashyap, Bhardwaj, Vashisht, Gautam, Shandilya, Dadhich and Vyas are the main gotras, based on the name of the same Rishi, from where Brahmins all over India derive their origin. In fact, it is the only common factor they share otherwise divided on the geographical, regional, lingual, cultural and occupational lines.

The system of gotras is further divided into sub-gotras and within a sub-caste one finds many gotras. What is important is that the system of gotras plays an important

role in arranging marriages. Normally people do not get married into the same gotra if they do such relationships are considered incestuous.

Brahmins are comparatively strict about keeping their descent pure through the system of marriage. In Jaipur city, Brahmin sub-castes in general, do not intermarry and within the sub-caste they avoid 2-3 sub-gotras including their own. Through the gotras it is decided to whom one can marry or not.

This system of avoidance helps in forming relationship not only between the families of same sub-caste but also between their men and women. Moreover, since most of the marriages are still arranged through parents the system of gotras remain important.

B. Rajputs

Since the Rajputs have a long history as rulers and warriors, for them `being a Rajput' and following the Rajput code of conduct is the most pervasive force behind masculine/feminine identity formation.7 Being a Rajput was not simply a "historical genesis and genealogy rather it was a

claim to political status or a rationalization of political alliance". And continuity of this association through clan system and bardic tradition became important for their existence as Rajput.

As the Rajputs have a tradition of tracing their genealogical history usually from ancient epic heroes or kings, there came into existence a class of people who became professional genealogists, e.g., Bhats, Barot and Charans. Their services were very important among Rajputs because it was the only way through which a Rajput could claim and validate his position as a Rajput.9

Another important factor was their hierarchically arranged lineage and clan system. The primogeniture inheritance system among the ruling families gave rise to less powerful lineages within a clan. Also, with a clan there arose an inferior section formed of the offsprings of women of other inferior castes, who did not have the membership of their father's clan, e.g., Rao Rajas, Darogas etc. Clan ranking was important in arranging marriages10 especially of the daughter and efforts were made towards marrying her into

10. For examples see Plunkett 1973:64.
a family of equal status or higher status clan.

The history enforced by the system of clans and bardic tradition helped in forming an ideal type image of a Rajput man and a woman, which in turn provides an effective model for identification.

C. Banias

Most of the Bania sub-castes including Jains in Rajasthan trace their origin from Rajput rulers11 but they are not organised on the lines of clans like Rajput. Likewise, their sub-castes are not as exogamous as Brahmin sub-castes. Banias do get married to other Bania sub-castes and Jains of equal economic standing.

II. FAMILY

Family plays the most important role in forming personal and social identities. "In all societies the personalities involved in family situations tend to arrange themselves in much the same order of dominance and to develop much the same pattern of private, informal interaction."12 And the similar lifestyle is repeated generation after

11. See Chapter two.
generation. Likewise, family is the basic unit where, one learns caste norms and where masculine and feminine identity is formed since it "provides different individuals with different experiences" through various relationships "and results in their developing different personalities"¹³ in relatively identical environments. Family and family relationships are all the more important for the analysis of the study because it deals with the sub-culture of three communities who enjoy a similar social status, share identical environment and similar cultural and historical reality. They still managed to develop different personalities of their men and women for each caste - Brahmin, Rajput and Bania. Significantly, the pattern of family and interpersonal family relations gives continuity and stability to the ideas related to caste and gender. As they reproduce "culturally established norms" in their men and women through child rearing practices.

Within the family it is the network of familial relationships, like father-son, mother-son/daughter, brother-sister, elder brother-younger brother, husband-wife and master-servant derives his/her identity and decides what he/she would like to be. Here his/her social character as

¹³. *ibid.*, p.95.
masculine/feminine is formed.

III. FAMILY DECORUM

A high value is attached on maintaining family decorum through rules regarding interaction within the family, separate living spaces, ways of speaking and addressing a person according to his/her age, status and relation to the concern person etc.

The most explicit form of maintaining family decorum is excluding women from public spaces to the domesticity of home. A common form is the covering of the head and face by the married women. Purdah is the term generally used for excluding women from public to private sphere as a part of female modesty. It implies covering of face; curtain, 'veil', or 'ghunghat' and segregation of men and women with separate living spaces.

Purdah was/is also observed by women among themselves. Within the women's quarters women were/are supposed to maintain decorum. 'Reserved', 'disciplined', and 'respectful' conduct is expected of women, especially the daughters-in-law. They are required to have full command over their gestures, language and proper dress in front of other female relatives.
Among the three castes purdah was not only used as a means of enforcing sexual segregation but to maintain their exclusive status by secluding women into 'zenana'. Inside the family it was/is a mark of respect for the elders of both sexes. Purdah is ingrained as a part of feminine etiquette and a question of family honor.

Here are a few passages from Rama Mehta's novel, Inside The Haveli (1977). Though the book is on the Oswals of Udaipur city but it also represents the lives of Brahmin, Rajput and Bania women of Jaipur city. It also reveals how a woman learns and internalizes feminine ideals.

'Keep your head covered; never argue with your elders; respect your mother-in-law and do as she tells you. Don't talk too much'.

These are mother's advices to the heroine of the novel before her wedding.

"It is in these families that you will have to make your reputation as a good devoted daughter-in-law, Don't ever forget that your head must always remain covered".

These are the instructions to the bride on her arrival at

15. ibid.:15.
"All she had to do was to shake or nod her head demurely; the questions to her were answered by her mother-in-law. She came to love the veil that hid her face this allowed her to think while the others talked. To her delight she had discovered that through her thin Muslim sari she could see everyone and yet not be seen by them." 16

That is how the bride felt in the sasural and accepted the purdah as a defense from questioning relatives.

"Even after two years her father-in-law and his father were strangers to her. She had never spoken a word to them. The men, including her husband, seemed to disappear as soon as it was daylight. The whole day they were away in their offices or busy in their section of the house. They came into the interior courtyards only at meal times." 17

"Though men could come to the women's apartments when they wished it was not considered dignified to do so during the day except when women had to be consulted on some family matters." 18

"But in the haveli men were regarded with awe as if they were gods. They were the masters and their slightest wish was a command; women kept in their shadow and followed their instructions with meticulous care. And yet, her mother-in-law was a force that could not be ignored." 19

17. *ibid*. 16.
19. *ibid*. 184
Over the years the young bride got used to the system as she "no longer felt trapped in the haveli. She found that she too had changed. She had seen the value of kinship ties and wanted to preserve the ancestral dignity of the haveli. She still did not like the rigidity with which the women held on to old customs."20

"In the last years the etiquette that completely separated her from her father-in-law had been relaxed. She was now allowed to sit in his presence when no outsiders were present and even talk to him directly. The years had ingrained in her a shyness that she found difficult to overcome."21

And the father-in-law's death made her the mistress of house in the presence of her mother-in-law. The following passage shows how women derive their power and status in the household from their husband's status within the family. It also reveals the helplessness of a widow.

"...the mistress of Jeewan Niwas came out of her room, her shrunken body draped in black, her hands bare, her neck empty, her feet naked without the anklets.... In a voice that had lost all its strength, she said with infinite love, "Binniji, the Goddess has taken away my happiness. She has left me bereft. God bless you. May you always wear red. May gold always shine on your hands. Don't cry, my child. Your father-in-law lived honourably. He has gone, leaving you the mistress of this house. If you loved him, you will keep

20. ibid.:142.
21. ibid.:143.
this haveli as a trust for your children. He did his duty by us all. Now it is your turn. Don't weep. If you don't show strength now, to whom shall I look for comfort? You are all I have. Everything else has gone." 22

A relative reminds the new mistress that, "you are now the mistress of this haveli. You can't forget its traditions in your sorrow." 23

IV. OCCUPATION/FAMILIAL DIVISION OF LABOR

Jaipur has a strong tradition of adopting to one's caste specific occupation. The fieldwork data reveal that even after changes in the secular order of the society (its power structure, economy and education) adopting/following to one's father's profession is quite common and it helps in propagation of caste and gender identities.

A 20 year old Dadhich Brahmin is a B.A. student and aspires to join civil services. His father, a non-practising pandit, is working in a government office. His grandfather was a pandit by profession.

Another student, doing his master's degree in commerce, age 32, is a Gaur Brahmin, he comes from a nearby village and working in a shop. His father and grandfather both are pandits but their main occupation is agriculture.

40 year old Pareek Brahmin is a government servant like his father. His jagirdar grandfather's agricultural land was acquired by the government when he was a child.

22. ibid.:208.
23. ibid.
A 71 year old jeweller is an exception among Gaur Brahmins. His father and grandfather were both moneylenders/bankers with agriculture land. His three sons are into jewelry business and they also have agriculture land.

A Parashar Brahmin, 68, retired from the government job, belongs to a family of priests. His son is a government servant. His elder brother's son is looking after the family temple.

A retired engineer, Chaturvedi Brahmin, age 73, is also a degree holder in Sanskrit and used to work as a part time pandit. His father and grandfather were Vaidik pandits but this son have a retail store as he doesn't like panditai as a profession.

A Tanwar Rajput, 70 years of age, retired army officer, proudly narrates how he lost his left eye in the 1947 war during his posting in Kashmir. His father was a captain in the Jaipur state army and grandfather was a thakur. He also owns a farm in his ancestral village but he stays in Jaipur. His two sons are also in the army and the youngest son is a shareholder in a factory.

A 37 year old Kachwaha Rajput is a polo-player, looks after his father's agricultural land in their village and had recently converted part of his house into a hotel. His father was the erstwhile Thikanedar who later joined politics.

30 year old Rathore Rajput is a practicing chartered accountant like his father. He also owns agricultural land in their village. One his brother is into hotelling business and other brother is running a jewelry business.

A 50 year old Shekhawat Rajput is a doctor in the security forces, his father and grandfather were jagirdars. His son is a research scholar. His daughter is teaching in a college. He also owns a farm in his village.

Agrawal Bania boy of 20, was a helping hand to his businessman father since his childhood. Now he is preparing for medical entrance examinations but
his ambition is to start off his own business. His time is divided between his father's shop and studies.

A 33 year old Agrawal Bania, violinist by profession, is a son of an advocate. His grandfather was a cloth merchant.

A social worker, Maheshwari Bania, 66, took voluntary retirement from his job and started his own handicraft business. His father and grandfather both were into food grains business. One of his son is an engineer and other is looking after his handicraft business.

31 year old, Digambar Jain, is a leading exporter of gems and jewelry. His father is a bureaucrat and grandfather was an advocate. His material relatives are into jewelry business.

A 55 year old Khandelwal Bania started helping his father during his school days and set up his own business at the age of 17-18, got married at 19. Now he is supervising his sons to establish their business. "We are eight brothers and each has his independent business so we don't have any mutual conflicts/tensions."

The above examples from the field suggest that Brahmins seek for services (even those who were/are priests and pandits). Rajputs either join services (preferably defence) or are looking after their ancestral property or converting their old houses into hotels. While Banias tend to join family business. The reason behind seem to be approximation and accessibility to certain occupations. A child tends to adopt and aspire for profession that are similar to his father or other members of the family.
However, it is the male child who is expected to join family or the caste-specific occupation. Particularly among the upper castes women are, normally, discouraged to seek employment outside the home, even if they join they rarely take up the family profession/business. The women who work, their jobs are usually related to their achievements in the field of education or so. Normally, Brahmin women do not become pandits, pujari or mahants. Rajput women never became a ruler in their own right. Similarly, Bania women do not sit in their father's shop as a helper or business partner.

The data on division of labor shows that outside the home caste norms play decisive role in selection of occupation for men. Inside the home women exclusively take care of household tasks like cooking food, washing dishes, washing cloths, daily cleaning, looking after the children, etc. (sometimes with the help of a maid).

As a result women's activities revolve around their home - leading to their confinement to domesticity and men become the 'providers' rather than the "caretaker" to the family. Still not much value is placed on a woman finding a job outside the home. If she opts for a job it is seen as an economic need rather as a woman too require to work
outside in the gainful professions.

Deeply rooted men's extradomestic and women's domestic orientation among the three communities is also evident in the responses gathered during the field work. Both men and women said that the most satisfying thing in their life is that sons are well settled careerwise and daughters' are married into good families. Even for the women their career outside the home is not important if they can afford it economically. Likewise, most of the working women either belong to the service class educated families or are in need of a job due to economic constraints. Women rarely consider job as an ambition or turning point in their life, they place more importance to marriage.

On the contrary, for men getting a job or starting off their independent business is the major goal/turning point/achievement in life particularly in the age group of 25-45. However after a certain age one's professional achievements are overshadowed or rather priorities get shifted from self to the children. Respondents in the age group of 50 and above relate their achievements to the success and settling down of the children jobwise and marriagewise.

Furthermore, for men their tensions are mainly related
to career/job/business/property. But for women, career or profession is not a cause for tensions rather family members relatives and children's education are the reasons behind mental stress.

V. ARCHITECTURE

In Jaipur architecture also plays an important role in reproducing the caste ethos and ideas related to masculinity and femininity in the three communities. The city, as mentioned earlier, is planned in such a manner that it has a clustering of the population according to caste, profession and religion. As a result a child grows up in this rather homogeneous surrounding inculcates a value system that is common to all. Moreover, men and women both tend to interact more with the neighbours if they belong to the same caste group. As many of the respondents, who have shifted out of their ancestral homes from the walled city to the new colonies, confessed that now they either don't know or have very formal relations and limited interaction with their neighbours. They prefer to go back to their ancestral house to celebrate festivals and meet friends and relatives.

The living space within a house was divided into separate domains for men and women known as mardana and zenana.
Such separation of the space within a house was rather strictly followed among the upper castes. Especially in the royal zenana rules were very strict and was closely guarded by eunuchs. Gayatri Devi writes, "The zenana quarters were divided into a series of self-contained apartments (rawla).... In the year of my marriage (1940) there were still about four hundred women living in the zenana. Among them were widowed relatives and their daughters as well as their servants and attendants...." 24

Keeping a large zenana was a status symbol during feudal times. Zenana of a Rajput prince used to consist of Maharani, ranis and rakhels (concubines) and the largeness of a zenana was a sign of Rajput virility. The internal politics of zenana was quite important, conflicts existed between the ranis, who were from different rival factions, with their own group of relatives and servants. The ranis with sons or the mother of the "heir-apparent" have often affected the relations between the Rajput principalities. 25 Women were not allowed to move out of their quarters without a "proper" escort and even the free movement of men in the zenanas was restricted.

In the walled city of Jaipur houses are mainly three or four storied with a single entrance and the walls touching the neighbouring houses. As one enters a house there is a passage called poli then one reaches a courtyard (chowk) and other interconnected courtyards depending on the size of the house. Rooms are generally constructed around the courtyards along with an open verandah outside a room, called tibara in Jaipuri. Women of the house usually do not stay on the ground floor and in the first courtyard's upper stories if the house is divided into many courtyards.

This kind of construction of the houses helped in keeping women away from the gaze of the strangers as well as from interacting with certain relations. This was/is restrictive for men and women both. But it had different repercussions on men and women. It confined women to home and domesticity and men became the 'providers' to the family and holder of power-positions inside the home as well as outside the home.

These houses were meant for large joint families even today one can find large joint families staying together sometimes with separate kitchens. Many of the havelis in the walled area consist of families related down to four-five generations.
Such living conditions not only result in separate spaces for men and women but also provide an environment where they can maintain the old traditions of keeping a distance with the elders-in-law as a part of family decorum. Surprisingly, in the well educated families where women are working outside the home even though they cover their head and face inside the house, they do not sit and talk in the presence of the elders-in-law particularly the men folk.

Moreover in big havalis family members tend to interact and spend more time in each other's company, in fact they do not need friends outside the home as there are parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, cousins and relatives who frequent the house. As a result, without much effort, families with their values intact, are carried over generation after generation. And the architecture helps in maintaining and sustaining caste and family solidarity.

Furthermore, it seems that the construction of the houses, persistence of purdah and strong kinship ties are closely related. While modern construction of houses, particularly outside the walled city of Jaipur do not provide enough space to carry on the age old traditions of avoiding certain relatives and strangers. Consequently,
purdah is loosening its strictness within the immediate family. As many of the respondents reported that they do not talk and do not cover their head and face in the presence of relatives like husband's parents and brothers. But when other relatives visit them, in their presence women still observe purdah. That is how the old traditions continue while making adjustments with changing times. This also shows how men/women relationships/lives are shaped and influenced by the living spaces.

VI. LIFE HISTORIES

Here, life-histories of a few respondents have been elaborated to give an idea how the caste ethos, family, familial relationships/responsibilities, occupation festivals, religious activities are interlinked in forming a man's and a woman's course of life.

She is a 56 year old Rajput Rathore housewife. She passed the senior Cambridge examination from M.G.D. school. Her father was a jagirdar and she was married to a now-retired administrative officer and is the mother of two engineer sons. She doesn't give importance to caste associations though as a member of Kshatriya Mahila Sabha she once attended contributory dinners. She is not interested in politics. She was a member of the I.A.S. association club.

She is religious and spends about one hour daily on puja, path and meditation. She is a devotee of Deviji-Amba mata and reads Durga Saptasati. Whenever possible, she visits Govinddevji temple.
and Amberki Siladevi during Navratras. She observes a nine day fast during Navratras and installs Deviji at home and a Pandit is invited for special Puja. She also observes a fast on Mondays in the month of Savan i.e. Savan Somvar.

In the name of dan she gives donations sometimes, like recently given for Latur earthquake victims. Her mother is good at astrology and can make janmpatris also. She observes all the Hindu festivals celebrated in the city and on Dussehra perform "Shahastra (weapon) puja' and "davat-kalam" (ink and pen) puja on Basant Panchami. The exchange of gifts takes place not only on birthdays and marriage anniversaries of self and children but also on festivals like Teej, Gargaur, Bhaiauz and Rakhi. She brought up an orphan girl and got her married so she sends sinjara for her on Teej and Gangaur. She received bhat from her brothers on the occasion of her son's marriage. Most of her relatives - maternal, paternal and sasural - are ex-jagirdars, now mainly into the civil services, army and still possess land in their villages. She meets her school time friends and family friends from time to time and they invariably end up discussing the Western influence on their grand children and the security for the people of her generation.

She manages the family purse and her husband contributes. The major expenditure these is household maintenance unlike earlier when it was marriages, bhat and children's education. Marriages do not take place between members of the same clan. She says, "earlier marriages of girls to the zamindars or jagirdars of Madhya Pradesh, Gujrat and U.P. were avoided as they were considered culturally inferior and economically weak." She continues, "I got a Daroga girl (Bandi) in my marriage who still stays with us and was a daughter of Darogas of my mother. When my mother got married she brought seven Daroga girls with her and as per the tradition Daroga boys from her father's side got married to these girls. Among Darogas remarriage of widows (churas) is allowed. There are no restrictions on them like on a Rajput widow. And I know many Darogas who are now claiming to be Rajputs."
The family decorum of covering the head and face in the presence of husband's elder male and female relatives is still maintained. The women go out unescorted but with covered heads especially in Jaipur. She does not eat at her 'adopted' married daughter's house. In her family there was a tradition of sharing same plate (thali), during meals between husband and wife and brother sister ("Ek thali mein Khane ka rivaj tha"). She does not drink or smoke and now only take/eats vegetarian food. She was in boarding of school, spent vocations in her village near Jaipur. Initially her father didn't like the idea of sending girls to a school but like other Jagirdars was forced to do so as it was made compulsory by the Jaipur Maharaja. She was scared of her father "family tradition was such that he never played or mixed with us and Dadi Sa (grandmother) was very dominating. So I always confined in my friends though I was also close to my sisters. I'm really thankful to Maharani Gayatri Devi because due to her efforts we, the daughters of jagirdars, could study." Joining boarding school and getting married are the major turning points in her life. She feels thankful that she got married into a Rajput family of Uttar Pradesh which was not as conservative as her father's family.

Now, she spends her time gardening painting and doing interior decoration. Her only responsibility is to take care of her mother. Her children's education, their settled life and their marriage within the community gives her a sense of achievement/fulfilment.

At a glance her life seems like that of any higher middle class woman living in a capital city. A typical housewife: who's aim in life is to look after her husband and children very religious, following the family traditions, still observing purdah etc. If we look at her from the perspective of a Rajput women with a feudal background
her life shows how social changes in general affect an individual's life-course and for her the changes were for good. Likewise, she received education when it was not common among the girls of her background. Since the Jagir system was abolished at the time of her marriage he father preferred an educated service class groom for her not someone from the equal status Rajasthani Thikana. Because of her marriage to a Rajput from Uttar Pradesh she was able to come out of rather strick system of purdah prevailed among the Rajputs of Rajasthan.

A 24 year old college educated, Khandelwal Bania housewife, staying in a joint family, born in a rich jeweller's family, expresses that joining business or helping husband in his business has never occurred to her. She has no idea about the activities of their caste association though her father-in-law, a lawyer by profession is an ex-president of the Khandeival Samaj. She is neither interested in politics nor a member of any club. But at the same time is very religious. She regularly performs puja, reads Hanuman Chalisa, keep fasts on Mondays, four chouths (a year) purnimas, Janamasthmi and Shivratri. They also have a family guru. The family organizes kathas on every purnima and during Navratras. Her mother-in-law offers (dan) to Brahmins on Ekadashi. Since she is the youngest these things are taken care by elders of the family. She celebrates birthdays and marriage anniversaries by going out for dinners. Most of her relatives are in the city so she keep meeting them during festivals, marriages and other social functions. Gifts are sent to her sister-in-law and husband's buas on all the festivals including sinjara on Teej and Gangaur. She gets the same from her parents on these occasions. She is generally worried about
Her son's admission into a good school. Her mother-in-law manages the house and the male members contribute financially. She and her mother-in-law cover their head and face not only in the presence of husband's elder relatives but also when they go out. They never go out unescorted. The women are not supposed to sit and talk in the presence of elders-in-law. Whenever her father visits her he never eats at her place. She spent her childhood in a joint family in Johari Bazar is very close to her mother but scared of father. She never idealized or got influenced by anyone, rather never thought of in these terms. 

Marriage is the major turning point of her life. Her responsibilities, according to her, are related to daily routine. She wants to bring up her son properly and wants to join hobby classes. Her mother-in-law takes care of the house. As a young daughter-in-law she obeys her sas and does whatever she asks her to do - domestic tasks or regarding behaviour in front of certain relatives or observing of family traditions or festivals.

In fact she portrays life of an average Bania woman in the city, who never thinks of a life beyond domesticity. She is "rich enough" so she need not worry about a career of her own. At the same time, for a Bania man emphasis is different to him, it is important to start off a career/business of his own.

He is a 71 year old Digambar Jain, B.A. and L.L.B., who started his career as a bank employee and later established his own gems business. His father was a businessman and used to finance Jagirdars. His grandfather was into state services. So he has a background of both business and services. His only child, a daughter, now married, is a housewife. He adopted his daughter's 21 year old son and initiating him into jewelry business.
He is an active member of his caste association, take part in its meetings, holds a post. He is also a trustee of a few Jain temples and an important member of associations related to the gem industries in the city. Though he is a Jain, his daily routine includes a visit to Shiv temple, Jain temple and Manumanji mandir on Saturdays. He used to keep fasts in the month of Bhandon (July-August). His wife keeps the fast very strictly and she takes her meal before sun-set. He spends money on Jain muniseva and also give donations to institutions and Jain temples according to his "capacity". He recently contributed rupees one lakh for a cancer hospital. He is also interested in astrology and considers it as "complete science". He celebrates both Hindu and Jain festivals and send gifts on the same. This also includes appropriate gifts on Teej, Gangaur and Sanskranti to his sisters, cousins and the daughter. He used to receive gifts from his sasural. He celebrates birth day and also celebrated "silver and golden jubilees" of his marriage.

According to him major causes of tension are economic condition and children's job/marriage. His tensions are mainly related to safety of the property and accidents. He is the main contributor to the family's income and his wife manages the family purse. A large portion of his income goes on the maintenance of his two cars, household expenditure and gifts to friends/relatives.

For marriage alliances Digamber Jains are preferred but they do get married to Agrawal Banias. His wife had always covered her head and face in the presence of his elder relatives. She never went out unescorted. He is a vegetarian and avoids eating outside home. He never smoked or took alcohol. Recently, he shifted out of his 258 year old house situated in Johri Bazar, but he conducts his business transactions from the old house. The major turning points in his life are "education, joining and leaving of a bank job and setting up of my jewelry business. Business was what I always wanted to do, I joined the bank to gain some experience." Meanwhile, he brought up a boy, 8 years of age, got him married and now the boy and his family stays with him. "He is like a
son to me". He gets all the due respect of a father from him. In fact, the boy provides him the security of a son and he is a father figure to the boy also. A fulfilling experience for him.

He is a 26 year old, married, Khandelwal Bania. He left college after one year and joined family business of jewelry at the age of 18 but used to help his father since his childhood. None of his family members studied or rather completed their schooling. He is a member of his caste association and attends contributory dinners. He feels the caste association is useful and doing a social service by running schools and colleges. He is not interested in politics. He is religious - reads Hanuman Chalisa; visits Chandpole Hanumanji (daily); keeps Shivratri and Jamnasthami fasts; and organizes Sunderkhandpath on Sundays at home. Dan and other gifts/offerings are made by his father. He celebrates all the festivals observed in the city. Birthdays, only of the male members of the family, are celebrated. Give and take of gifts take place at various social functions and festivals. He carries sweets, cloths and cash on festivals like Teej, Gangaur and Sankranti to his sister and bua's place. His father, recently, gave bhat to his buas children weddings. Most of his relatives including in-laws are residing in Jaipur and are into jewelry and cloth business. He meets his friends on holidays. His wife stays at home and he never met her friends. His mother and wife cover their head and face in the presence of elder male relatives and when they go out of the house. The women are free to visit relatives and go out for shopping without a male escort. His father avoids eating at his sister's sasural. He is a vegetarian and do not drink or smoke. He always stayed in Jaipur city and was very closed to his grand father and still confines in him. In contrast he is very scared of his father. "I never idealized anyone and nobody influenced me". The joining of the business as a full time occupation, at the age of 18, is the major turning point in his life. His main responsibility is "as the eldest son I must follow the right path". He wants to set up his own independent business. "My experience and learning of gems and jewelry business is the only achievement in my life."
The most striking thing about the above two cases is that in spite of having age difference, as one is 71 years and the other is 26 year old, there is hardly any difference in their course of life. What a 71 year old man did or doing in his life is what a 26 years old young man is following in the identical manner - idealizing the same values, following the same norms and traditions including his ambitions, responsibilities. Indicating continuities in the tradition and the lifestyle in midst of various socio-political and economic changes.