CONCLUSION

The study focuses on the notions of masculinity and femininity, not in general but, with particular reference to Brahmins, Rajputs and Banias in the city of Jaipur. This is done with the help of various methodological tool and conceptual frameworks to get a "world view" of the situation. The study suggests that in the city there exists a single model of femininity and multiple masculinities. The caste ethos play a significant role in the construction and reproduction of these notions (femininity and masculinities).

"Many" masculinities are related to caste identities as in Brahmins, Rajputs and Banias or rather to an extra-domestic orientation of men with reference to their professions/economic pursuits which are influenced by the caste-specific occupations.

If we compare notions of masculinity among Brahmins, Rajputs and Banias the major difference lies with their professions rather than on the domestic front. Further, on the home-front there exists a single masculinity, i.e., men irrespective of their caste differences share similar values, expectations and responsibilities in their familial
roles as fathers, brothers, sons, husbands and uncles. Men's roles, at home, do not mean that they help women in domestic chores or in child-care, they basically play the role of "provider" rather than of "caretaker".

Since women of these communities are almost confined to the home-front and their extradomestic status is not recognized or appreciated. Therefore, notions related to femininity are commonly shared by the women of all the three communities.

Single femininity has one focus for women, that is, married status as 'pativratas' and all their activities are directed towards the well-being of their husbands and families. For women, the accepted domain of activity is the home. If a woman seeks work outside in gainful occupations this is seen as an economic need.

For men there are two domains of activities, one is the world of work outside home beyond family and household, second is the home in various positions and responsibilities.

Brahmins within the community differ in their "world view", self-image fundamental values, ideas of "a desirable person" and social relationships. For example, what a
priest values in life and what kind of lifestyle he leads is completely different from a secular Brahmin's world view. Moreover, references regarding Brahmin ideals are exclusively and explicitly for a Brahmin man, completely avoiding what a Brahmin woman should do or should be like.

Being a Brahmin man means to behave like a Brahmin. Ideally moral qualities like penance, self-restraint, charity, knowledge, purity, education, religiosity are emphasized in the make up of a Brahmin. A Brahmin as a priest is not idealized but his renunciatory attitude towards life provides him the prestige of a Brahmin. He should not be greedy even in his role of accepting gifts. Furthermore, money and wealth are not idealized in the Brahmin ethos. Their ideal of purity is reflected in marriage, food and occupational preferences. They follow caste or rather sub-caste endogamy rules with strictness. Vegetarian food is the preferred type for Brahmins in the city, and majority are into services.

Thus the major themes in Brahmin culture are vegetarianism, adopting 'clean' occupation, sub-caste endogamy etc. These are also the sign of strength for a Brahmin. A Brahmin is considered a weak personality if he takes up to non-vegetarian drinking and other prohibited modes of conduct as
well as of subsistence. So being a "masculine" Brahmin men have different connotations as compared to a "marital" Rajput or an "enterprising" Bania.

On the contrary, what is "the right code of conduct' for a Brahmin man is not directed towards a Brahmin woman. They were never taught or initiated into the family tradition of panditai or trained into the Sanskritic learning. Though, in Jaipur, Brahmin women are relatively educated as compared to Rajput and Bania women. The educated women mainly belong to the secular and educated Brahmin families. The Brahmin ethos do not idealize an educated woman as a feminine ideal. In other words, an educated or unmarried or career oriented woman is no way an acceptable model of femininity. Till the "marriageable' age girls are part of various social functions and many of the festivals are directed toward them in anticipation of a married life, for instance, Teej and Gangaur. The unmarried girls remain in the periphery and their social significance decreases with their age and their unmarried status, or in other words they lack social space.

Therefore, the feminine ideal for a Brahmin woman is that of a married woman, with related roles and duties popularly termed as "Partivrata", "chaste wife" dutyful
daughter or daughter-in-law and sacrificing mother. And a
woman's femininity consists in how sincerely she enacts her
various social roles.

Being a Rajput man means being martial that is how a
Rajput man is depicted in the literature1 and in the oral
traditions. He is characterized as an inborn fighter, courageous and loyal. For a Rajput his long mustaches, high
turban etymology of name, eating habits are all a part of
displaying his virility. For Rajput men masculinity is not
related to success rather they valued personal bravery. The
founding principles for a Rajput are honor, obligation, loyalty, revenge if insulted and the greatest crime for him is "forgetfulness of favors".

For a Rajput man physical prowess was a matter of pride
and a sign of manliness but not physical labor. For Rajputs
masculinity is also coupled with the feminine modesty and it
was a matter of honor for the Rajput men to protect their
women from any kind of disgrace.

The history of Jaipur city does not provide any femi-
nine ideal for Rajput women or to women in general. Though
a Rajput woman is supposed to be 'courageous' and 'self-

sacrificing' matching with the martial orientation of Rajput men, as well as conforming to feminine models of grace, modesty and sacrifice. The qualities and characteristics expected from a Rajput man are also idealized in a Rajput woman. But a woman's loyalty and honor lies exclusively in her self-sacrifice for her husband as his wife, as a mother for her son and for her master if she is a servant. However, the queen mother's who acted as regents were never appreciated and they could not emerge as the ideal women. They ruled from the zenana, in fact the women who came out of the zenana have a notorious reputation in the city's public memory. Such instances further enforced the feminine ideal of woman who stays at home as a matter of family honor.

Banias, in reality, give importance to the same ideal values as Brahmins but are taught in practice to earn money above everything. For a Bania man important is to earn money, speculation, hardwork, family solidarity, business orientation, enterprise, commercial success, vegetarianism and teetotalism. Though the major thrust is on money, there are certain ethics to be followed for earning, keeping and spending money. As a result, Banias abstained from certain professions and business of certain items, for example, the art of making jewelry and oil processing. For a "masculine"
Bania hardwork does not mean physical or manual labor rather success in business and value is also attached on starting one's own independent business. Business and money are so highly valued in the Bania sub-culture that its influence can be seen in their marriage alliances, 'caste associations', their working, religious practices including donations made to various agencies etc. Their marriage preference goes for economically high status families of the community irrespective of their sub-caste difference unlike Brahmins who still prefer marital alliance in their own subcaste of the region.

For a Bania man masculinity lies in making money, expanding business, being polite, cool, calculative and foresighted. For the same a Brahmin may call him "cunning" and a Rajput may term him as "coward". But for Banias if a person is high strung, short tempered spendthrift, economically dependent means he is a weak personality. Someone who is not a proper Bania man.

What the Bania ideal upholds and values in a man is not applicable on Bania women. In a sub-culture where so much emphasis is placed on earning money, women are not supposed to earn money, participate in business deals or sit and help their male family members in the shops etc. Furthermore,
there is no feminine ideal from the Bania community itself to whom Bania women, in general, could appreciate or emulate. Like Brahmin women Bania women also lack history and are also absent from the Rajasthani proverbs. What is admired in a Bania woman, too, is her self-sacrificing and uncomplaining nature her unquestioned service to husband. The expected feminine ideal is of a tolerant, dutiful and devoled wife. Her tolerance is not seen as her weakness but rather considered as braveness of character.

In fact, Brahmin, Rajput and Bania "feminine" ideal emphasises the same values and ideas in a woman. Or we can say that there is a one common model of femininity for the women of Brahmin, Rajput and Bania communities and that is, of a married woman. But for men, each community places and demands different expectations from their men. What a Brahmin man is supposed to do is not idealized by Rajputs and a Bania's priorities in life are different from a Rajput or a Brahmin man. Thus, masculinity is constructed differently in these castes but they share a common model of femininity for their women.

Festivals, celebrated in the city, are important manifestation of the notions of masculinity and femininity. For example, in the Gangaur songs we find that women derive
their identity in relation to their male relatives as daughters, sisters and wives. The whole puja procedure conveys that getting married should be the first priority for a girl. Further, such a kind of feminine ideal is accepted and supported by their menfolk (irrespective of caste/class difference). Furthermore, they (festivals like Gangaur and Teej) suggest that it is the mythical figure of goddess Parvati which is followed and idealized as a model of femininity in the city of Jaipur.

In fact, femininity in the city is constructed around the ideal of pativrata, the devoted wife, who desires a happy and life long conjugal life and the mythical goddess Parvati is seen as a pativrata personified.

Festivals and give-and-take of gifts during festivals and other social occasions indicate that a man's (Brahmin, Rajput and Bania) masculinity lies in taking up domestic responsibilities in the role of father, brother husband, son and on extradomestic level, earning enough money to fulfill these responsibilities. Teej and Gangaur also reflect the preoccupation of women and young girls and society's expectations from their womenfolk. It seems that femininity of a woman consists in dressing up, finding a good husband and wishing long life for her husband. Womanhood means a mar-
ried status and any role out of matrimony is not much appreciated. And Rakhi reinforces the idea - man as the "protector" and "protected" woman.

Moreover, exchange of gifts during festivals make daughters' visit to her parental home a formal occasion. Unmarried girls are not involved in such exchanges implying that until they are married girls are not considered as a full member of society - once again the implication that a woman's femininity lies in conjugality.

Women's domestic orientation, avoidance of certain relatives, covering of the head and face are taken as a part of family decorum and feminine etiquettes rather as restrictions or suppression of women among the three communities. In fact, for a woman covering of head and involvement in domestic activities are considered important in giving her the required feminine gait of a "respectful", "disciplined" and "reserved" woman who has a full command over her language and gestures.

Living conditions or rather the architecture of old house provide an environment where the traditions of keeping a distance with the elders-in-law and avoidance of certain relative can be maintained. The planning of the city helps
in segregating castes through their different localities.

However, caste history, family, familial relations, family decorum, occupation, architecture of the houses and the planning of the city are important factors in maintaining, sustaining and reproducing gender and caste identities.