CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The present study was undertaken to study the Sexuality, Self/Body Image and Personality of Kinnauri tribal women as related primarily to education (schooling) and secondarily to marital status. The results and their main trends, in accordance with the various hypotheses formulated by this study will be discussed in this section. The present chapter is divided into three major parts. In its first section, the effect of education, as seen on the entire four tests (DAP, TAT, Iconography and DAC) is presented and then the important trends highlighted. Following this, in the second part, the variable marital status, its effect on various aspects of women's selfhood is being elaborated upon. In its final section within the marital status, the impact of education will be explored. A qualitative synthesis will follow the quantitative presentation of results. Thus, whereas the quantitative segment mainly presents the findings, meaningful configurations around them are arrived at in the qualitative section.

RESULTS

I Education

(i) DAP

Table V.1a shows no significant differences between the formally educated (N=52) and formally uneducated (N=44) Kinnauri tribal women on self/body image/size (self-image/esteem) and prominence of fingers (work and relational self). However, the Mean=2.56 of the uneducated women
for drawing abstract/stylistic/hourglass drawings/colour red (ethnic identity) is significantly (p<.01) higher than that of the women with middle to matric and +2 (M=1.87).

Table V.1a
Means, SDs. and t-values of Formally Educated (N=52) and Formally Uneducated (N=44) Kinnaur Tribal Women on various indices of DAP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>DAP (Indices)</th>
<th>Formally Educated (N=52)</th>
<th>Formally Uneducated (N=44)</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Self/body Image/Size</td>
<td>Mean 2.66 ± 2.87</td>
<td>Mean 2.58 ± 0.81</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Prominence of Fingers</td>
<td>Mean 2.33 ± 1.38</td>
<td>Mean 2.08 ± 1.45</td>
<td>0.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Abstract/Stylistic/ Hourglass</td>
<td>Mean 1.87 ± 1.10</td>
<td>Mean 2.56 ± 0.82</td>
<td>3.44**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drawings/ Colour red</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p<.01

TRENDS

Formal (school) education is making no difference to the self/body image/size and prominence of fingers of Kinnauri tribal women. Studies indicate that education has failed to make an impact on the life styles of tribal women. Socio-cultural biases and gender inequality seems to hinder women’s education (Upadhaya, 1983; Panigrahi, Menon and Joshi 1987; NIEPA, 1986; Mukherji and Verma, 1987; Chauhan, 1989 and Kulkarni and Krishnamoorthi, 1992). The educational status of tribal women in India is quite low (Singh and Ohri, 1993). On studying the gender differences in the literary status of Himachali tribal population over the period 1971 to 1991, educational backwardness among the women continues due to a variety of socio-cultural reasons (Singh & Ohri, 1996). However, in the earlier study (Sain, 1992) there was a difference of 10% among the educated and uneducated Kinnauri tribal women on self/body image. This may have been due to a different sample being younger and having better
socio-economic status than the uneducated women. In this study, hypotheses Nos. I (i)(a) and I (i)(b) were upheld.

In the present study, the only significant difference is seen among unschooled women who have a higher Mother-Goddess feminine identity and their drawings reflect a natural sense of rich cultural inheritance. Ethnic self-esteem reflected in the traditional dress, perhaps a deeper sense of self worth. These women also have a higher preference for colour red in their drawings which symbolizes sexuality, regeneration and life giving energy (Eisler, 1988; Mookerjee, 1988 and Shirali, 1990). Sain (op. cit.) found that the highest use of abstract/stylistic drawings, 35%, were by the polyandrous women, who happened to be older and uneducated. These women had not been influenced by the bad effects of schooling, represented by contact with the dominant middle class North Indian culture and values, which is insensitive to indigenous diversities and worldview. Hypothesis No. I (i)(c) is not upheld, since the uneducated women were higher in abstract/stylistic/hourglass drawing/colour red.

RESULTS

I Education

(ii) TAT (Themes, Relationships and Mental States)

Table V.1b shows the percentages of different themes, relationships and mental states projected in TAT stories of the Formally Educated (N=52) and Formally Uneducated (N=44) Kinnauri tribal women.

a) Themes

I

1. Bonding: The uneducated had 24.06% and the formally educated women 19.69%.
Table V.1b
Percentages of different Themes, Relationships and Mental States Projected in TAT stories of the Formally Educated (N=52) and Formally Uneducated (N=44) Kinnauri Tribal Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>TAT (Indices)</th>
<th>Formally Educated (N=52) %</th>
<th>Formally Uneducated (N=44) %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) Themes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Bonding</td>
<td>19.69</td>
<td>24.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Care and Concern</td>
<td>22.21</td>
<td>22.23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Discord *</td>
<td>15.10</td>
<td>16.33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Unconcern</td>
<td>4.78</td>
<td>5.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Woman’s Assertion</td>
<td>5.50</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Woman’s Insecurity</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Extra-Marital</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Social Stresses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Alcoholism</td>
<td>14.10</td>
<td>8.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Poverty</td>
<td>5.36</td>
<td>12.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Aggression</td>
<td>26.19</td>
<td>11.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dominance</td>
<td>20.75</td>
<td>22.89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Achievement</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>7.77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Childbirth</td>
<td>9.87</td>
<td>12.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Lack of Children</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>10.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Relationships</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Man-Woman</td>
<td>67.75</td>
<td>71.45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Familial</td>
<td>7.45</td>
<td>7.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Mother-Child</td>
<td>14.03</td>
<td>10.67</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Sibling</td>
<td>10.77</td>
<td>10.35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Mental States</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Supportive/Caring/Concerned/Loving</td>
<td>39.78</td>
<td>38.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Happy</td>
<td>32.65</td>
<td>30.55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Confirming</td>
<td>17.70</td>
<td>18.06</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Seeking Support/Reassurance</td>
<td>9.87</td>
<td>12.75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Unhappy</td>
<td>29.53</td>
<td>36.22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Unwell</td>
<td>20.18</td>
<td>23.24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Anxious/Insecure</td>
<td>10.18</td>
<td>13.60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Helpless</td>
<td>5.80</td>
<td>6.49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Angry</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Assertive</td>
<td>8.35</td>
<td>7.71</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aggressive</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Discord though seen in different familial relationships, was most often expressed in the marital space.
2. Care and Concern: The formally educated had 22.87% and the uneducated women 22.23%.

3. Discord: The uneducated had 16.33% and the formally educated women 15.10%.

4. Unconcern: The uneducated had 5.11% and the formally educated women 4.78%.

5. Women's Assertion: The formally educated had 5.50% and the uneducated women 5.41%.

6. Woman's Insecurity: The uneducated had 5.71% and the formally educated women 3.33%.

7. Extra-Marital: The formally educated had 3.76% and the uneducated women 2.02%.

II Social Stresses

1. Alcoholism: The formally educated had 14.10% and the uneducated women 8.67%.

2. Poverty: The uneducated had 12.01% and the formally educated women 5.36%.

3. Aggression: The formally educated had 26.19% and the uneducated women 11.72%.

4. Dominance: The uneducated had 22.89% and the formally educated women 20.75%.

5. Achievement: The uneducated had 7.77% and the formally educated women 3.45%.
6. Childbirth: The uneducated had 12.01% and the formally educated women 9.87%.

7. Lack of children: The uneducated had 10.98% and the formally educated women 4.48%.

b) Relationships

1. Man-Woman: The uneducated had 71.45% and the formally educated women 67.75%.

2. Familial: The uneducated had 7.53% and the formally educated women 7.45%.

3. Mother-child: The formally educated had 14.03% and the uneducated women 10.67%.

4. Sibling: The formally educated had 10.77% and the uneducated women 10.35%.

c) Mental States

1

1. Supportive/Caring/Concerned/Loving: The formally educated had 39.78% and the uneducated women 38.64%.

2. Happy: The formally educated had 32.65% and the uneducated women 30.55%.

3. Conforming: The uneducated had 18.06% and the formally educated women 17.70%.
4. Seeking Support/Reassurance: The uneducated had 12.75% and the formally educated women 9.87%.

II.

1. Unhappy: The uneducated had 36.22% and the formally educated women 29.53%.

2. Unwell: The uneducated had 23.24% and the formally educated women 20.18%.

3. Anxious/Insecure: The uneducated had 13.60% and the formally educated 10.18%.

4. Helpless: The uneducated had 6.49% and the formally educated women 5.80%.

5. Angry: The uneducated had 4.98% and the formally educated women 4.13%.

6. Assertive: The formally educated had 8.35% and the uneducated women 7.71%.

7. Aggressive: The formally educated had 3.93% and the uneducated women 3.25%.

TRENDS

The results were examined from Table V.1b.
a) Themes and Education

Both the formally educated and unschooled Kinnauri tribal women projected prominent themes of familial bonding (19.69% & 24.06% respectively), care and concern (22.81% & 22.83% resp.) and marital discord (15.10% & 16.33% resp.). In Sain's (op. cit.) findings, the single Kinnauri tribal women, who were mainly younger and educated, projected 21.68% care/concern/nurturance/love and 10.83% conflict/discord, whereas the polyandrous women, who happened to be older and uneducated, projected 17.50% care/concern/nurturance/love and 13.33% conflict and discord. In this study, bonding was slightly higher for the uneducated women. Both the groups did not vary much on unconcern, woman's assertion and extra-marital themes. Woman's insecurity was however, higher among the uneducated women (5.71%). Overall, these findings are in consonance with previous research. French (1986) states that women are more life nurturance motivated rather than 'power,' similar to the study by Gilligan (1982).

II Social Stresses

Both the groups were highly stressed by male dominance (20.75% & 22.89% respectively). Surprisingly, the formally educated felt stressed by male oppression through alcoholism 14.01% and twice as much by male aggression 26.19%. Jena (1994) found that although, modern education has broadened the outlook of the educated Santhal women of Orissa, to participate in the wide political and economic spheres; they are still overcome by social problems which education alone cannot change. Perhaps, because of education, they are more aware or/and less accepting of male alcoholism and male aggression. Whereas, among the Kinnauri
people, brewing and drinking local fruit-rice beer (Ghanti) in the severe cold climate is a traditional household activity. It is in fact, the in-road of the hard liquor from the plains that has become a major cause leading to male misbehaviour and alcoholic aggression.

Whereas the uneducated were stressed twice as much by poverty 12.01%, achievement 7.77%, and lack of children 10.93%; were also slightly higher on childbirth 12.01%. Garg’s (1988) study reported sad themes (TAT stories) by both the formally educated and uneducated Kinnauri tribal women. Probably, this may have been due to their low socio-economic status.

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(a) is partially upheld i.e. education (formal) is making a difference in the projection of TAT themes to some extent.

b) **Relationships and Education**

Education did not influence the projection of heterosexual relationships. Overall the trend indicated, that both formally educated and uneducated women were able to perceive and cognize the heterosexual possibilities presented by the stimulus material. Often located in disturbed and conflicting spaces, the relations between the genders were projected as strained. For e.g., as illustrative representations, one uneducated woman’s story revolved around marital discord over her supposed ‘inability’ to conceive. The female protagonist in taking the blame on herself was seen as submissive and quiet. Her husband remained rejectful and unconcerned.

In another story, repeated in the TAT records of several women, the husband was seen as drunk and abusive. The wife on the other hand, was not able to counteract and assert herself.
In addition to the marital relationships, other familial ties were also duly acknowledged.

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(a) is upheld, since education is making no difference to the projection of various relationships.

c) **Mental States and Education**

Both formally educated and uneducated Kinnauri women were prominently high on mental states of supportive/caring/concerned/loving (39.78% & 38.64% respectively), happy (32.65% & 30.55% resp.), conforming (17.70% & 18.06% resp.) and seeking support/reassurance (9.87% & 12.75% resp.). These women were also high on unhappiness (29.53% & 36.22% resp.), unwell (20.18% & 23.24% resp.) and anxious/insecure (10.18% & 13.60% resp.). This finding is contrary to earlier study by Garg (op. cit.) wherein Kinnauri tribal women of all classes, irrespective of education, projected mental states of sadness, anxiety, fearfulness, confusion, guilt and स्तुना-मनाना (sulking and pacifying). Happiness was rarely found in these women.

In the present study, both the groups to a lesser extent projected not only mental states of helplessness (5.80% & 6.49% resp.) and anger (4.13% & 4.98% resp.) but were equally assertive (8.35% & 7.71% resp.) and aggressive (3.93% & 3.25% resp).

Overall there was a much higher projection of positive mental states, in both the groups, though the uneducated projected 36.22% of unhappiness, more than the formally educated and happy mental state. Thus a relational identity was seen in the personality of Kinnaur tribal women. Central to their lives were inter-personal relationships.
Interestingly, on the one hand, these women were the caretakers (seen as
 catering to the needs of their husband, children and brother). While on the
 other hand, they also wanted to be protected/sheltered.

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(c) is partially upheld i.e. only in some mental
 states, the influence of education is seen.

Table V.1c shows the Means, SDs. and t-test of Formally Educated
(N=52) and Formally Uneducated (N=44) Kinnauri Tribal women on
Heroes Needs, Presses and Outcomes, projected in TAT stories.

### Table V.1c

Means, SDs, and t-test of Formally Educated (N=52) and Formally Uneducated
(N=44) Kinnauri Tribal Women on Heroes, Needs, Presses and Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>TAT</th>
<th>Formally Educated (N=52)</th>
<th>Formally Uneducated (N=44)</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td>Heroes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.70</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5.41</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>5.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b)</td>
<td>Needs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sentience</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c)</td>
<td>Presses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Nurturance</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>0.75</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d)</td>
<td>Outcomes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>4.08</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>4.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>1.53</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05

1. **Heroes**

Male: The formally educated women (M=0.58) were significantly
(p<.05) higher than the uneducated women (M=0.30) on projection of
male heroes.
2. Female: The uneducated women (M=5.70) were significantly (p<.05) higher than the formally educated women (M=5.41) on projection of female heroes.

b) Needs

1. Need-Achievement: The formally educated women (M=1.29) were significantly (p<.05) higher than the uneducated women (M=0.50) on need achievement.

2. Need-Sentience: The formally educated women (M=0.58) were significantly (p<.05) higher than the uneducated women (M=0.14) on need sentience.

c) Presses

1. Press-Nurturance: The formally educated women (M=0.77) were significantly (p<.05) higher than the uneducated women (M=0.16) on press nurturance.

2. Press-Poverty: The uneducated women (M=1.92) were significantly (p<.05) higher than the formally educated women (M=0.75) on press poverty.

a) Outcomes

1. Positive: No significant difference between the formally educated and uneducated women was found on positive outcomes.

2. Negative: No significant difference between the formally educated and uneducated women was found on negative outcomes.
The results were examined from Table V.1c.

a) Heroes and Education

1. Male: The formally educated (M=0.58) had a significantly (p<.05) higher projection of male heroes in their TAT stories than the uneducated women (M=0.30). These women projected male heroes mostly in the role of a husband or brother, both considered important figures in a family set-up.

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(d)(i) is rejected as education is making a difference to the projection of male heroes.

2. Female: The unschooled women (M=5.70) on the other hand, had a significantly (p<.05) higher protection of female heroes in their TAT stories than the formally educated (M=5.41). Similar to findings reported by (Sain, op. cit. and Garg, op. cit.). These women, by passed by formal education, were probably more in touch with their feminine identity.

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(d)(ii) is rejected, as education is making a difference to the projection of the female heroes.

Needs and Education

In this study, only 2/12 needs of achievement and sentience were significantly different. The formally educated had a (p<.05) higher projection of need achievement (M=1.29) and sentience (M=0.58) than the uneducated women. Probably, the educated women want to study and seek employment. At the same time, they want to indulge in recreational activities. Garg's (op. cit.) study as well indicates that the educated women
have a higher projection of need achievement and need rest, than the uneducated women.

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(e) is partially upheld, since projection of majority of needs is not influenced by education.

See Appendix C for further detail of needs.

**Presses and Education**

In this study, only 2/18 presses were found to be significantly different. The formally educated (M=0.77) had a significantly higher (p<.05) press nurturance than the uneducated (M=0.16). The uneducated (M=1.92) had a significantly higher (p<.05) press poverty than the formally educated women (M=0.75). This was congruent with earlier findings of (Garg, op. cit. and Sain, op. cit.).

Hypothesis No. I (ii)(f) is partially upheld, since projection of majority presses is not influenced by education.

See Appendix D for further detail of presses.

**Outcomes and Education**

The formally educated and uneducated women did not differ significantly on positive or negative outcomes in their TAT stories.

Overall both the groups (formally educated and uneducated), who were relatively from same socio-economic background, showed higher projection of positive outcomes than negative in their TAT stories. Perhaps, by retaining a positive orientation, these women are trying to adjust and conform to the given social reality.
Hypotheses Nos. I (ii)(g)(i) and I (ii)(g)(ii) were upheld, since education is making no difference to the projection of outcomes in TAT stories. Its meaning will however be explored in the qualitative section.

RESULTS

I Education

(iii) Iconography

Table V.1d shows the Means, SDs. and t-test of Formally Educated (N=52) and Formally Uneducated (N=44), Kinnauri Tribal Women on various Sexual Iconographic Imagery.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Iconography</th>
<th>Formally Educated N=52</th>
<th>Formally Uneducated N=44</th>
<th>t-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dimensions of Sexuality</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Auto-Eroticism</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>5.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sakhi-Bhav</td>
<td>7.01</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td>7.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Heterosexuality</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>1.34</td>
<td>6.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**p<.01

1. **Auto-Eroticism**: No significant difference was found between the formally educated and uneducated Kinnauri tribal women on Auto-Eroticism.

2. **Sakhi Bhav**: The uneducated (M=7.81) had a significantly (p<.01) higher projection of Sakhi-Bhav than the formally educated women (M=7.01).
3. **Heterosexuality**: The formally educated (M=7.52) had a significantly (p<.01) higher projection of Heterosexuality than the uneducated women (M=6.65).

**TRENDS**

1. **Auto Eroticism**

   No significant difference was seen between the formally educated and uneducated women in their preference for this dimension of sexuality. Auto-Eroticism was least preferred mode of sexuality for both the groups (M=4.09 & M=5.05 respectively). Perhaps, as these women reside in a cold region, where throughout the year, their bodies remain fully covered with woollen clothes. They may be shy and hesitant to the Konark nudity stimulus pictures of Auto-Eroticism; or perhaps it may represent repressed conflict and guilt around masturbation. Thirdly, breasts may not be sexual objects and sexually cathected.

   Hypothesis No. I (iii)(a) is upheld, since education is making no difference to the women’s projection on Auto-Erotic dimension of sexuality.

2. **Sakhi-Bhav**

   The unschooled women (M=7.81) had significantly higher projection of Sakhi-Bhav than the formally educated women (M=7.01). This was the most preferred orientation within the group as well. Probably, in attributing the Sakhi-Bhav stimulus material to the images of the Mother Goddess. They see in the ‘devi’ a protective, omnipotent presence before whose
image they place their appeals and problems. Their preference for *Sakhi-Bhav* also may represent female bonding and sisterhood. The range of these relationships may extend from the asexual to the sexual domain.

In Kinnaur, women have to face harsh geographical and climatic conditions, requiring a strategy for survival which is through sharing, cooperation and bonding with sisters, and other women which is being perceived as the *Sakhi-Bhav*.

The formally educated on the other hand, may not be that much involved in fieldwork and may be more occupied in seeking employment and individual achievement, outside their villages and hence their need for female bonding is less.

Hypothesis No. I (iii)(b) is rejected, since education is making a difference to the women's projection on *Sakhi-Bhav* dimension of sexuality.

3. Heterosexuality

The formally educated (*M*=7.52) had a significantly (*p*<.01) higher projection of Heterosexuality than the uneducated women (*M*=6.65), as well as the most preferred projection of sexuality within the group. This probably reflects that the formally educated women are being conditioned to the socially desirable mainstream middle class norms of man-woman relations. However, they also project almost as much preference for *Sakhi-Bhav* (*M*=7.01).

Hypothesis No. I (iii)(c) is rejected i.e. education is making a difference to the women's projection of Heterosexual dimension of sexuality.
RESULTS

I Education

(iv) Relationships - Draw a Couple (DAC)

Table V.1e shows the percentages of different relationships projected in Draw a Couple (DAC) of Formally Educated (N=52) and Formally Uneducated (N=44) Kinnauri tribal women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Kind of Relationships (Jodis)</th>
<th>Formally Educated N=52 %</th>
<th>Formally Uneducated N=44 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Sakha-Bhav Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Man-woman</td>
<td>9.05</td>
<td>5.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Husband-wife</td>
<td>16.19</td>
<td>12.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>52.38</td>
<td>37.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Sakhi-Bhav Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Two female friends</td>
<td>26.19</td>
<td>45.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Two women</td>
<td>15.72</td>
<td>11.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Two sisters</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>47.62</td>
<td>62.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I Sakha-Bhav Relations

1. Man-woman: The formally educated had 9.05% and the uneducated women 5.73%.

2. Husband-wife: The formally educated had 16.19% and the uneducated women 12.86%.
3. Brother-sister: The formally educated had 27.14% and the uneducated women 19.24%.

II. Sakhi-Bhav Relations

1. Two female friends: The uneducated had 45.79% and the formally educated women 26.19%.

2. Two women: The formally educated had 15.72% and the uneducated women 11.11%.

3. Two sisters: The formally educated had 5.71% and the uneducated women 5.27%.

TRENDS

Table V.1e shows two main trends in draw a couple drawings i.e. Sakha-Bhav Relations (implying a woman’s emotional relationship with a man in varying forms as a brother/friend/husband/lover) and Sakhi-Bhav Relations (meaning a woman’s emotional relationship with another woman as a sister/friend/lover). The formally educated women projected higher Sakha-Bhav relations 52.38%, surprisingly the highest being for Brother-sister Jodi 27.14%. Whereas, the uneducated women projected Sakhi-Bhav relations 62.14%, the highest being for Two female friends Jodi 45.79%. The result is congruent with sexual iconographic preferences, where the formally educated women preferred Heterosexuality (man-woman) and the uneducated women Sakhi-Bhav dimensions of sexuality.

Hypothesis No. I (iv) is partially upheld, since education is making some difference in projection of relationships.
CONCLUSION

Education

Education may have triggered a transitional phase in a Kinnauri tribal woman’s life, yet it has not been able to act as a facilitator; elevate her self-image/esteem or reduce her work pressures. Her stresses of male dominance, alcoholism, aggression, poverty, childbirth, or childlessness emerged mostly within the dynamics of man-woman relationships (especially husband-wife). A tribal woman’s basic nature reflects a happiness, support, care, concern, love and bonding. In her social reality she conforms rather than rebel. But her unhappiness gets projected in her need to rest, which remains unrecognized, taking the form of psychosomatic ailments. Her internal construct indicates a desire to identify with other women (more among the uneducated), a preference for female to female bonding.

RESULTS

II Marital Status

(i) DAP

Table V.2a given below shows the comparison of the mean scores of Single (N=50), Polyandrous (N=26) and Zomos (N=20) on various indices of DAP.
### Table V.2a

Comparison between the Single (N=50), Polyandrous (N=26) and Zomos (N=20) on various indices of DAP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>DAP</th>
<th>Single (N=50)</th>
<th>Polyandrous (N=26)</th>
<th>Zomos (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Self/Body Image/Size</td>
<td>2.88</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prominence of fingers</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>1.73</td>
<td>2.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abstract/Stylistic/Hourglass Drawings/Colour red</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>2.66</td>
<td>2.25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Self/Body Image/Size:** The single women had $M=2.88$, the polyandrous women $M=2.44$ and zomos $M=2.23$ on self/body image/size.

2. **Prominence of fingers:** The zomos had $M=2.78$, the single women $M=2.32$ and the polyandrous women $M=1.73$ on prominence of fingers.

3. **Abstract/Stylistic/Hourglass drawing/Colour red:** The polyandrous women had $M=2.26$, the zomos $M=2.25$ and the single women $M=1.91$ on abstract/stylistic/hourglass drawing/colour red.

### TRENDS

1. The **single** women had the highest mean score of 2.88 for self/body image/size, which is incidentally the highest mean across the groups. This confirms the earlier finding by Sain (op. cit.) that young single women, (age group 18-25 years) have a higher self-esteem, self worth (size) in self- image, compared to the polyandrous women.
Hypothesis No. II (i)(a) is partially upheld.

2. The **polyandrous** had the highest mean score of 2.66 for abstract/stylistic/hourglass drawings/color red, which is incidentally the highest mean across the groups; supported by Shirali and Sain's (op. cit.). This result reveals that polyandrous women have a high ethnic identity.

Hypothesis No. II (i)(b) is partially upheld.

3. The **zomos** had the highest mean score of 2.78 for prominence of fingers (work and relational self) which is incidentally the highest mean score across the groups. Shirali and Sain (op. cit.) had found that the polyandrous women had high prominence of fingers compared to the single women. In the present study, zomos especially **Upasikas** not only work in the fields, do household chores like other Kinnauri women, but also have to take care of their **Guru's Gompas** (nunneries/monasteries). At times of religious functions, held quite often, they have to make all the preparations for the rituals; clean, cook and serve the gathering. Besides, their religious practice is quite time consuming. Many times they are called upon by the village folk to read/recite/chant Buddhist scriptures (Bhoti language) for the well being of their families. Telling of the rosaries is being projected in the prominence of fingers. It may also reflect cathecting of the fingers for unconscious gratification.

Hypothesis No. II (i)(c) partially upheld.

Overall the **single** women projected a slightly higher self-esteem/self worth; the **polyandrous** ethnic self image and **zomos** work and relational self-image.
RESULTS

II Marital Status

(ii) TAT

Table V.2b shows the comparison of means score of Single (N=50), Polyandrous (N=26) and Zomos on Heroes, Needs, Presses and Outcomes.

(a) Heroes

1. Male: The zomos had a mean score of 0.45, the polyandrous women 0.35 and the single women 0.27.

2. Female: The single women had a mean score of 5.73, the polyandrous women 5.65 and the zomos 5.54.

b) Needs

1. Need-Affiliation: The zomos had a mean score of 14.60, the single women 14.38 and the polyandrous women 13.73.

2. Need-Sex: The single women had a mean score of 3.94, the polyandrous women 2.73 and the zomos 2.20.

3. Need-Succorance: The polyandrous women had a mean score of 5.47, the single women 4.74 and the zomos 4.25.

4. Need-Autonomy: The zomos had a mean score of 1.85, the single women 1.08 and the polyandrous women 0.81.
Table V.2b
Comparison of Mean Scores of Single (N=50), Polyandrous (N=26) and Zamos (N=20) Kinnauri Tribal women on Heroes, Needs, Presses and Outcomes Projected in TAT stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>TAT</th>
<th>Single (N=50)</th>
<th>Polyandrous (N=26)</th>
<th>Zamos (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Indices</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Heroes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5.73</td>
<td>5.65</td>
<td>5.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Needs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>14.38</td>
<td>13.73</td>
<td>14.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>3.94</td>
<td>2.73</td>
<td>2.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Succorance</td>
<td>4.74</td>
<td>5.47</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>1.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Nurturance</td>
<td>1.78</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Dominance</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.41</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Abasement</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Presses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>10.62</td>
<td>10.12</td>
<td>10.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>1.30</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Dominance</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>1.84</td>
<td>2.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>2.23</td>
<td>2.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Work</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Illness</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>2.62</td>
<td>2.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Rejection</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.27</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Infidelity</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Lack of Children</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Death</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>0.58</td>
<td>0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Outcome</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>5.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>1.96</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>0.65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Need-Achievement: The single woman has a mean score of 0.98, the zamos 0.95 and the polyandrous women 0.81.
6. Need-Nurturance: The polyandrous women had a mean score of 2.50, the \textit{zomos} 1.90 and the single women 1.78.

7. Need-Dominance: The single women had a mean score of 1.90, the polyandrous women 1.41 and the \textit{zomos} 0.85.

8. Need-Aggression: The single women had a mean score of 1.28, the polyandrous women 0.83 and the \textit{zomos} 0.35.

9. Need-Abasement: The single women had a mean score of 2.84, the polyandrous women 2.50 and the \textit{zomos} 1.90.

c) Presses

1. Press-Affiliation: The single women had a mean score of 10.62, the polyandrous women 10.12 and the \textit{zomos} 10.05.

2. Press-Achievement: The \textit{zomos} had a mean score of 1.35, the single women 1.30 and the polyandrous women 1.84.

3. Press-Dominance: The single women had a mean score of 2.94, the \textit{zomos} 2.40 and the polyandrous women 1.84.

4. Press-Aggression: The single women had a mean score of 2.98, the \textit{zomos} 2.43 and the polyandrous women 2.23.

5. Press-Sex: The single women had a mean score of 2.94, the \textit{zomos}, 2.15 and the polyandrous women 2.11.

6. Press-Work: The single women had a mean score of 2.46 the polyandrous women 2.16 and the \textit{zomos} 0.85.

7. Press-Illness: The \textit{zomos} had a mean score of 2.70, the polyandrous women 2.62 and the single women 1.04.
8. Press-Rejection: The polyandrous woman had a mean score of 1.27, the single women 1.10 and the zomos 0.85.

9. Press-Infidelity: The polyandrous women had a mean score of 1.15 and the single women 0.68. This press was absent in the zomos.

10. Press-Lack of Children: The zomos had a mean score of 1.50 and the single women 0.78. This press was absent in the polyandrous women.

11. Press-Death: The single women had a mean score of 1.26, the polyandrous women 0.58 and the zomos 0.25.

12. Press-Poverty: The single woman had a mean score of 2.26, the polyandrous women 0.58 and the zomos 0.25.

d) Outcomes

1. Positive: The zomos had a mean score of 5.10, the single women 3.96 and the polyandrous women 3.69.

2. Negative: The polyandrous women had a mean score of 2.15, the single women 1.96 and the zomos 0.65.

TRENDS

Examining the results in Table V. 2b, it was found that all three groups of single, polyandrous and zomos identified more with the female heroes, (Sain, op. cit.). This result reveals that these women were in touch with their feminine identity.

These subjects also expressed a high relational identity through need affiliation and to some extent need succorance. Press affiliation too was
quite high and their stories projected more positive outcomes (Sain, op. cit. and Shirali, 1990). These results show that though surrounded by several stresses, these women in adjusting with their conditions were also able to negotiate their realities.

1. The single women were highest across the group on female identification of heroes. These women within the group had high need affiliation and expressed some sexual desire (need sex) and to a small extent need abasement (on the stories they were frequently seen as succumbing to male dictates). They were also high within as well as across the groups on press affiliation.

2. The polyandrous women were higher within the group on need affiliation and to a lesser extent need succorance among the groups. Press affiliation was highest within the group; they were slightly high on negative outcomes, which yet remained lesser than the positive outcomes.

3. The zomos were highest within and across the group on need affiliation. Press affiliation was highest within the group and they projected more positive outcomes across the groups.

Hypothesis No. II (ii) is partially upheld, since marital status did affect the projection of indices like heroes, needs, presses and outcomes to some extent.

Table V.2c shows the comparison of the mean scores of Single (N=50), Polyandrous (N=26) and Zomos (N=20) on various sexual iconography imagery.
RESULTS

II Marital Status

(iii) Iconography

Table V.2c

Comparison of the Mean Scores of Single (N=50) Polyandrous (N=26) and Zomos (N=20) on various Sexual Iconographic Imagery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iconography</th>
<th>Single (N=50)</th>
<th>Polyandrous (N=26)</th>
<th>Zomos (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dimensions of sexuality</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Auto-Eroticism</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>5.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sakhi-Bhav</td>
<td>7.09</td>
<td>8.00</td>
<td>7.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Heterosexuality</td>
<td>7.43</td>
<td>6.62</td>
<td>7.02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. **Auto-Eroticism**: The *zomos* had a mean score of 5.29, the single women 4.98 and the polyandrous women 4.89.

2. **Sakhi-Bhav**: The polyandrous women had a mean score of 8.00, the *zomos* 7.28 and the single women 7.09.

3. **Heterosexuality**: The single women had a mean score of 7.43, the *zomos* 7.02 and the polyandrous women 6.62.

Examining the results in Table V.2c, it was found that:

1. The **single** women had the highest mean score of 7.43 for Heterosexuality, which incidentally is also the highest mean among the three groups. The single women were younger (16-38 years), perhaps more influenced by the romantic notions of the contact culture, and the media of the dominant culture reflecting social desirability.
Hypothesis No. II (iii)(a) is partially upheld.

2. The polyandrous women had the highest mean score of 8.00 for Sakhi-Bhav (sister/friend/lover’s emotions) which incidentally, is the highest mean score across the three groups. They were both from the younger and older group, but 75% uneducated, so less likely to be influenced by the school system and the contact culture.

Hypothesis No. II (iii)(b) is partially upheld.

3. The zomos had the highest mean score of 7.28 for Sakhi-Bhav, similar to the polyandrous women. The advanced zomos (in Mahayana Buddhism) was the older group, and the younger group was mostly the beginner zomos in acquiring religious training. Interestingly, the zomos projected the highest mean score of 5.29 for Auto-Eroticism across the three groups. In their given responses of Tara and Pragya devis to the Konark sculptures, indicates an attempt to sublimate Auto-Eroticism in projecting it to the divine. This is in consonance with Mahayana (Tibetan) Buddhism; having females deties of the Taras, Pragyas and the Dakhinis. Tara, the Saviour is one of the most widely venerated deities in Tibetan religion. The cult of Tara, originated in India. She protects her people; they can turn to her with their sorrows and joys, and she readily helps those in need. Both men and women worship the goddess Tara, but women appear to have a special relation to her (Havnevick, 1997).

Hypothesis No. II (iii)(c) is partially upheld.

Earlier study by Sain (op. cit.) reports no significant difference on various sexual iconographic preferences. Sakhi-Bhav images were
preferred the most by all Kinnauri tribal women, indicating female bonding and sisterhood, social desirability notwithstanding.

RESULTS

II Marital Status

iv) Relationships

Table V.2d shows the percentages of different relationships projected in DAC of Single (N=50), Polyandrous (N=26) and Zomos (N=20) Kinnauri Tribal Women.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Kind of Relationships Jodis</th>
<th>Single N=50 %</th>
<th>Polyandrous N=26 %</th>
<th>Zomos N=20 %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>Sakha-Bhav</em> Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Man-woman</td>
<td>13.99</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>5.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Husband-wife</td>
<td>28.10</td>
<td>8.14</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Brother-sister</td>
<td>16.00</td>
<td>15.38</td>
<td>40.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>58.09</td>
<td>31.66</td>
<td>55.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td><em>Sakhi-Bhav</em> Relations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Two female friends</td>
<td>20.40</td>
<td>49.10</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Two women</td>
<td>20.40</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Two sisters</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>15.39</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>41.91</td>
<td>68.34</td>
<td>45.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Sakha-Bhav Relations**

1. Man-woman: The single women had 13.99%, the polyandrous women 8.14% and the zomos 5.00%.

2. Husband-wife: The single women had 28.10%, the zomos 10% and the polyandrous women 8.14%.

3. Brother-sister: The zomos had 40%, the single women 16% and the polyandrous women 15.38%.

**II. Sakhi-Bhav Relations**

1. Two female friends: The polyandrous women had 49.10%, the zomos 30% and the single women 20.40%.

2. Two women: The single women had 20.40%, the zomos 15% and the polyandrous women 3.85%.

3. Two sisters: The polyandrous women had 15.39% and the single women 1.11%. This relation was absent in the zomos.

**TRENDS**

Examining the results in Table V.2d, it was found that all groups of single, polyandrous and zomos were high in their projection of Two female friends *Jodi*. The single women were highest within and across the groups on Husband-wife *Jodi* 28.10%. They were also high across the groups on Two women *Jodi* 20.40%. The polyandrous women were highest within and across the groups on Two female friends *Jodi* 49.10%. These women were also high across the groups on Two sisters *Jodi* 15.39%. The zomos were highest within and across the groups on Brother-sister *Jodi* 40%. These
Buddhist nuns also showed a high preference for Two female friends Jodi 30%.

Hypothesis No. II (iv) is partially upheld.

CONCLUSION

Marital Status

Marital status does not prominently influence the self-image/esteem; work and relational selfhood; and ethnic identity of a Kinnauri tribal woman. She can identify more with the female protagonist, besides being a sister, daughter or mother; mostly in the form of a wife; she has high need affiliation as well as press affiliation; projects more positive attitude in her life. As she does so, she again suppresses her actual condition, which is rooted in drudgery of her toilsome routine life. The single woman, perhaps, more influenced by the prevalent culture, preferred the Heterosexual dimension of sexuality. Her DAC illustration too indicates a liking for Husband-wife Jodi. On the other hand, present within the internal framework of both a polyandrous woman and a zomo (nun), is a preference for Sakhi-Bhav dimension of sexuality; and on DAC, Jodis of Two female friends and Brother-sister.

RESULTS

III Marital Status and Education

(i) DAP

Table V.3a shows Means, SDs. and t-values of Single, Polyandrous (Formally Educated and Uneducated) and Zomos (Advanced and Beginners) on various indices of DAP.
Table V.3a
Means, SDs. and t-test of Single, Polyandrous (Formally Educated and Uneducated) and Zomos (Advanced and Beginners) on Various Indices of DAP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Polyandrous</th>
<th>Zomos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formally Educated</td>
<td>Formally Uneducated</td>
<td>Formally Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=35</td>
<td>N=15</td>
<td>N=7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>(16-38 Yrs -35)</td>
<td>(16-38 Yrs -15)</td>
<td>16-38 Yrs -6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>39-60+Yrs -1</td>
<td>39-60+Yrs -10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAP</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self/Body Image/Size</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>2.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prominence of Fingers</td>
<td>2.19</td>
<td>1.22</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract/Stylistic/ Hourglass/ Drawings Colour Red</td>
<td>1.71</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>2.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05
1. **Self/Body Image/Size**: No significant differences was found between the formally educated and uneducated single women; formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner *zomos* on self/body image/size.

2. **Prominence of fingers**: No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated single women; formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner *zomos* on prominence of fingers.

3. **Abstract/Stylistic/Hourglass drawings/Colour red**: The uneducated single women (M=2.37) were significantly (p<.05) higher than the formally educated single women (M=1.71) on abstract/stylistic/hourglass drawings/colour red.

   No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner *zomos* on abstract/ stylistic/hourglass drawing/color red.

**TRENDS**

Examining the results in Table V.3a, it was found that only the uneducated single women (M=2.37) had a significantly (p<.05) higher projection of abstract/stylistic/hourglass drawings/colour red than the formally educated single women (M=1.71). The trend too indicates, that the uneducated polyandrous women and beginner *zomos* were high on ethnic self-esteem.

None of the marital groups were influenced by education in projection of self-image/esteem and work and relational selfhood. However, the highest mean score of 3.10 was found among the advanced
zomos on work and relational selfhood. These Buddhist nuns, with years of religious orientation seem to be working harder, in contrast to the beginners.

Hypothesis No. III (i)(a) is upheld, since within the marital status groups, the effect of the education is not seen on self-image/esteem.

Hypothesis No. III (i)(b) is slightly rejected, since within the marital groups (zomos), the effect of education is seen on their work and relational selfhood.

Hypothesis No. III (i)(c) is partially upheld, since within the marital groups, the effect of education is seen on the ethnic identity.

RESULTS

III Marital Status and Education

(ii) TAT

Table V.3b shows the Means, SDs. and t-test of Single, Polyandrous (Formally Educated and Uneducated) and Zomos (Advanced and Beginners) on various indices of TAT.

a) Heroes

1. Male: No significant difference was found between the formally educated and uneducated single women; formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner zomos on male heroes.
2. Female: No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated single women; formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner zomos on female heroes.

b) Needs

1. Need-Autonomy: The formally educated single women (M=1.46) had significantly (p<.01) higher projection of need autonomy than the uneducated single women (M=0.13). The advanced zomos (M=3.00) had a significantly (p<.01) higher projection of need autonomy than the beginners zomos (M=0.70). No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women on need autonomy.

2. Need-Achievement: The formally educated polyandrous women (M=2.29) had a significantly (p<.05) higher need achievement than the uneducated polyandrous women (M=2.00). No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated single women; advanced and beginner zomos on need achievement.

c) Presses

1. Press-Affiliation: The beginner zomos (M=12.70) had a significantly (p<.01) higher projection of press affiliation than the advanced zomos (M=7.40). No significant differences were found on this press between the formally educated and uneducated single women; formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women.
2. **Press-Sex:** The uneducated polyandrous women (M=2.68) had a significantly (p<.05) higher projection of press sex than the formally educated polyandrous women (M=0.57). No significant differences were found on this press, between the formally educated and uneducated single women; advanced and beginner *zomos*.

3. **Press-Infidelity:** The uneducated single women (M=1.33) had significantly (p<.05) higher projection of press infidelity than the formally educated single women (M=0.40). No significant differences were found on this press, between the formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner *zomos*.

d) **Outcomes**

1. **Positive:** No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated single women, formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginners *zomos* on projection of positive outcomes.

2. **Negative:** No significant differences were found between the formally educated and uneducated single women; formally educated and uneducated polyandrous women; advanced and beginner *zomos* on projection of negative outcomes.

**TRENDS**

The results were examined from Table V.3b
Table V.3b
Means, SDs. and t-test of Single, Polyandrous (Formally Educated and Uneducated) and Zamos (Advanced and Beginners) on Heroes, Needs, Presses and Outcomes, Projected in TAT stories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAT Indices</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Polyandrous</th>
<th>Zamos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formally Educated N=35</td>
<td>Formally Uneducated N=15</td>
<td>Formally Educated N=7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) Heroes</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5.29</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) Needs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>1.76</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievement</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) Presses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affiliation</td>
<td>10.37</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>11.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>2.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Infidelity</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>1.14</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) Outcomes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>4.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>1.52</td>
<td>1.53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p<.05  **p<.01
a) Heroes

1. Male: Though no significant difference were found between any of the groups, the trend indicates that the formally educated single and polyandrous women as well as advanced zomos have a slightly higher identification on male heroes, than the uneducated single, polyandrous and beginners zomos respectively.

Hypothesis No. III (ii)(a)(i) is partially upheld, since the formally educated groups of women were slightly higher on projection of male heroes.

2. Female: Though no significant difference were found between any of the groups, the trend indicates that all groups of single, polyandrous (formally educated and uneducated) zomos (advanced and beginners) have higher female identification. The trend also reveals that the uneducated single, polyandrous as well as beginner zomos were a shade higher in projection of female heroes, than the formally educated single, polyandrous and advanced zomos respectively.

Hypothesis No. III (ii)(a)(ii) is partially upheld, since the uneducated groups of women were slightly higher on projection of female heroes.

b) Needs

In this study only 2/12 needs of autonomy and achievement were significantly different. The formally educated single (M=1.46) had a significantly (p<.01) higher need autonomy than the educated single women (M=0.13). Probably, being educated they want to exercise control over their lives. They want to be free and independent in their decision
making. The advanced *zomos* (over 20 years of religious training) (M=3.00) seem to be exercising more autonomy (p<.01) in their disciplined religious life than the beginner *zomos* (M=0.70). The formally educated (M=2.14) had a significantly (p<.05) higher need achievement than the uneducated polyandrous women (M=0.32). Probably, being educated the polyandrous women want to look beyond their domestic front.

Hypothesis No. III (ii)(b) is partially upheld, since marital status is not modified by education on majority of needs.

See Appendix E for further detail of needs.

c) **Presses**

In this study only 3/18 presses of affiliation, sex, and infidelity were significantly different. The beginner *zomos* (M=12.70) had a (p<.01) higher press affiliation than the advanced *zomos* (M=7.40) The uneducated polyandrous (M=2.68) had a significantly (p<.05) higher press sex than the formally educated (M=0.57). Perhaps, the uneducated polyandrous felt more sexually repressed by press sex. The educated single (M=1.33) had a significantly (p<.05) higher press infidelity.

Hypothesis No. III (ii)(c) is partially upheld, since marital status is not modified by education on majority of presses.

See Appendix F for further detail of presses.

d) **Outcomes**

1. **Positive:** All groups of single, polyandrous (formally educated and uneducated) and *zomos* (advanced and beginners) did not differ significantly in their projection of positive outcomes.
Hypothesis No. III (ii)(d)(i) is upheld, since marital status is not modified by education on positive outcomes.

2. **Negative:** All groups of single, polyandrous (formally educated and uneducated) and zomos (advanced and beginners) did not differ significantly in their projection of negative outcomes.

Hypothesis No. III (ii)(d)(ii) is upheld, since marital status is not modified by education on negative outcomes.

**RESULTS**

**III Marital Status and Education**

(iii) **Iconography**

Table V.3c shows the Means, SDs. and t-test of Single, Polyandrous (Formally Educated and Uneducated) and Zomos (Advanced and Beginners) on various Sexual Iconographic Imagery.

1. **Auto-Eroticism:** All groups of single, polyandrous, (formally educated and uneducated) and zomos (advanced and beginners) did not differ significantly on this dimension of sexuality.

2. **Sakhi-Bhav:** All groups of single, polyandrous (formally educated and uneducated) and zomos (advanced and beginners) did not differ significantly on this dimension of sexuality.

3. **Heterosexuality:** All groups of single, polyandrous, (formally educated and uneducated) and zomos (advanced and beginners) did not differ significantly on this dimension of sexuality.
Table V.3c
Means, SDs. and t-test of Single Polyandrous (Formally Educated and Uneducated) and Zamos (Advanced and Beginners) on Various Sexual Iconographic Imagery

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Iconography (Dimensions of Sexuality)</th>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Polyandrous</th>
<th>Zamos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Formally Educated N=35</td>
<td>Formally Uneducated N=15</td>
<td>Formally Educated N=7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auto-Eroticism</td>
<td>4.99</td>
<td>4.97</td>
<td>4.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakhi-Bhav</td>
<td>6.88</td>
<td>7.58</td>
<td>7.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexuality</td>
<td>7.64</td>
<td>6.95</td>
<td>7.39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The results were examined from Table V.3c.

No significant differences were obtained for the single, polyandrous (formally educated and uneducated) and zomos (advanced and beginners) Kinnauri tribal women on various dimensions of sexuality i.e. Auto-Eroticism, Sakhi-Bhav and Heterosexuality. But the trend indicates that the uneducated single, polyandrous and beginner zomos were high in their preferences of Sakhi-Bhav (M=7.58; M=8.24 & M=7.33 respectively) and the formally educated single, polyandrous and advanced zomos were high on Heterosexuality stimulus material (M=7.64; M=7.39 & M=7.21 respectively).

Hypothesis No. III (iii)(a) is upheld, since within the marital groups, the effect of education is not seen on the Auto-Erotic mode of sexuality.

Hypotheses Nos. III (iii)(b) and III (iii)(c) were partially upheld, since within the marital groups, the effect of education is seen on their projection of Sakhi-Bhav and Heterosexual modes of sexuality.

CONCLUSION

Marital Status and Education

Irrespective of education, within the marital groups, a tribal woman’s self-image/esteem; work and relational selfhood remained almost the same. She showed a high female identification and a positive approach, despite her difficulties and preferred the Auto-Erotic mode of sexuality the least.
Some effect of education is seen, within the marital groups. The uneducated single women had a significantly high ethnic identity than their counterpart (formally educated single woman). Falling into a similar trend, were the results of uneducated polyandrous and beginner zomos. A high preference for female identification is seen among the uneducated single and polyandrous groups as well as beginner zomos. Whereas, a high male identification is preferred by the formally educated single and polyandrous groups and advanced zomos. The overall trend indicates that all the marital groups irrespective of education, preferred identifying with the female protagonist. Among the significant results, the formally educated single and advanced zomos were high on need autonomy; the uneducated single women were more stressed by infidelity; the uneducated polyandrous women by press sex; and the beginner zomos by press affiliation.

The trend also reveals that the uneducated single and polyandrous groups and beginner zomos were high on their preference for Sakhi-Bhav mode of sexuality; whereas the formally educated single and polyandrous groups and advanced zomos on Heterosexuality.
DISCUSSION: A QUALITATIVE SYNTHESIS

In reconnecting the threads that run through this study, we hear it in the voice of Kinnauri Tribal women, as they speak to us through their projection on the different tests. In gathering their responses, a portrayal of their life gradually emerges out. This effort attempts to situate them in their contemporary reality and the possible life space it permits them.

Irrespective of their educational background or marital status, the trends as seen throughout this work, reveal that all women prefer women to women relationships. Where a wide range marks their choices, a high relational identity defines their selfhood. In consonance with earlier findings by feminist psychologists (Chodorow, 1974; Rosaldo, 1974; Miller, 1978; Gilligan, 1982 and French, 1986), this work too, locates Kinnauri tribal women as essentially defining their identities in relational networks. Extending from man-woman, heterosexual, brother-sister; the relational choices they hold in their inner constructions, speak of rich inner possibilities. Most outstanding amongst all of them is the desire for relating with other women. In comprehending the meaning of this finding-do we account it to their natural order of social existence? Or does the preference also indicate an identification with a part of the self, as reflected in the lives of other women, going through similar experiences as oneself? While working in the fields and at home, do these women not share their lives with each other. Perhaps their projection, then, tell us that in identifying with each other, they meet their expectations to be understood and acknowledged.

Authenticating the above observations, their responses, which tell us of their otherwise difficult life situation, oppose some past studies that view tribal life as through an idealized perspective. This study (as also Sain,
Coming to us in different ways; but most emphatically in their TAT stories, we hear of the pressures that define their lives as they live with their male partners. Especially reflected in their narratives are a number of stresses, in the midst of which they try to adjust themselves. Thematic analysis reveals the male figure as frequently abusing alcohol. The negative effect of which considerably constrains the life of woman. She has to take on additional responsibilities that fall upon her, as the man indulges in drinking. As an absent figure, even he fails to bear the brunt of chores; his dominance and aggression are still perceived as significant pressures in the life of these women, who have no space for relaxation or rest. Within their inner conception, it is only in periods of illness that they can withdraw themselves, but that too with an active sense of discomfort, from the work domain. This aspect has especially been emphasized by their projection of a resting woman as essentially being unwell. Further themes of relational discord and conflict portray the unconcerned, male figure, thus peripheral in the life of these women. Especially poignant are stories around childbirth, where the woman find herself abandoned and alone. Desiring male support, she hardly finds it in actuality. Reflecting the truth of patriarchal standards, the barren women’s narrative, on several occasions revolved around the pressure that the larger society exerted on her. That her acceptance and recognition in the society, more so with her male partner is often contingent upon her possibility to procreate; as expressed in several stories. Another environmental press on the girl child is her mother’s expectations from her. As the husband is projected either as dead or absent, in loving her daughter, the mother saw her as a potentially responsible figure, and expected the daughter to take on the role of the absent father.
Thus located in stressful space, the lives of educated tribal women do not show a considerable difference as compared to their uneducated counterpart. While for the unschooled group, the TAT stories, in addition, recorded environmental presses such as poverty, affiliation, sex and infidelity; among the educated group, unfulfilled needs for autonomy, achievement and sentience further generated frustration in their lives. Interpreting these findings, in opposition to past reflections on tribal women’s selfhood, this study arrives at a different understanding of their experiential reality. In accordance with past works, the present endeavour, also finds a high relational self in these women. Represented most frequently, on the TAT, through her needs, she seeks her identification with the female protagonists; sometimes in the form of a mother, daughter, wife or sister. However, contending past findings, a tribal woman too, is oppressed in the systemic dominance and patriarchal reality. Amongst other tests, these projections stand affirmed in a qualitative reading of the TAT stories. Surprisingly her outcomes, though on several occasions are negative, yet overall they do retain a positive orientation. In possibly interpreting this trend, as we search for its meanings, a few questions get formulated. Are her positive outcomes, representing a lack of cultural space to contain the difficult truth of her actuality? Or are these outcomes, efforts at conforming and adjusting? Or are they wish fulfillment? These efforts, through which as an integral part of her culture, she tries to strike a balance in her life. But the question remains how does she cope up with her stress? Is mental stress somatized into bodily states of illness? Probably so, because being ill is a ‘normal state’ in which this woman represents herself. In this state of physical fatigue and somatization, a disguise is used by women especially in the ‘third world countries’ to cope up with psychological pain? Validated by research conducted in various parts of the
world, it has often been seen that in cultures, where the space or expression for introspection and verbal articulation is not possible for women, they somatize pain into bodily states of ill being. The present study, too, supports this finding in the context of Kinnauri tribal women’s TAT projections.

Perhaps after having understood so much of their lives, these women’s female preferences, now make a much deeper meaning to us. Amidst her hardships, whom does she turn to, if not to other women? Who (even if not verbally expressing) understand her being, because theirs too, is constituted by the same pain and difficulties? If this is so, then why do the educated and single women, indicate a shift toward man-woman relationships? This brings us to a point of transition, where education in their lives symbolizes social change and personal movement, achievement and confirmation. However, this will be dealt with later. A few reflective observations on the lives of polyandrous women and zomos may help us further develop our understanding around its possible meanings.

Few cultures today have still kept alive the tradition of polyandry. Viewed differently by critics, sometimes it represents female freedom and at other instances, it is critiqued as an imposed burden, in having to live within which, women have but little, if any, choice. In the Kinnauri culture, the polyandrous women generally stay with two men (*Joridar*), at least in the present sample. Representing a unifying force in the larger dynamics of the family. It is her responsibility to keep the familial threads and economy intact. Multiple chores are assigned to her, in addition to the familial and sexual responsibilities, that she must necessarily carry out. Paradoxically, a closer association, as one reviews her life, one finds that it is the same responsibility that burdens her, which also provides her with identity and
self-affirmation. Central to these families is her presence. Within their confines, her voice has a definite position and it is here that she exercises her agency as a person. As her space is demarcated by her unique role in the family, the polyandrous women, with a high ethnic identity (as seen on the DAP drawings, her figures are aesthetically complete and harmoniously blended with her ecology), functions with some relative freedom in her culture. But then, why do her projections reveal the highest preference amongst all the different groups, for Sakhi-Bhav relations? Living in a world, where she associates closely with men; her inner being desires women to women relatedness. What does this finding say to us? Does it not bring us once again to the inevitable question in revealing happy outcomes (TAT), is she merely conforming to her cultural role? Is her polyandrous status, in any way reflective of her personal choice? And also that, apart from it, does monogamy in any way provide her with a better life? Or does it take away even the minimal freedom and status that she now has?

Departing from the life of the polyandrous women as we encounter that of the zomos; we once again meet a group, unique in choosing of their life style. That no single reason answers why a woman decides to become a nun, is only to well understandable, given the complexities of life. Whereas for some it is a religious quest; for others it is a possible alternative to the socio-psychological imposition of monogamy and perhaps for a few, it may be the only way to move out of male domination. Whatever be the guiding factor, Kinnauri culture, like that of Buddhism anywhere else, respects the zomos considerably. Exercising a significant role in their tribal society, they are called upon for ritualistic and religious purposes. Dignified and respected they are often engaged in ‘selfless activities’. In line, with their philosophical orientation and material possibilities, whereas some can aspire for higher spiritual development (Rab-jum-ma), others as Upasikas
remain a part of the Buddhist order, but spend most of their lives doing hard work. Be it at the higher or the lower level every zomo does have a role in her social system. Through her identity as a nun, she exercises her personhood constructively. Demonstrating a high work and relational identity, (especially for the beginners) who articulate their stress, in the earlier years of training (press affiliation). Entering into a different institution demands a stressful inner adjustment. In dealing with one’s own emotions and interests, slowly internalizes the philosophical commitments of one’s order; relational stress remained high. An inner movement is indicated by a need for autonomy in the advanced zomos. Does this finding not speak of an inner freedom that comes along with spiritual pursuits? Further, sceptically viewing several of the Iconographic pictures, the zomos in their responses, sublimated sexuality to the divine order. This, too, is in line with their religious goals; so was the high relational self, especially Sakhi-Bhav relationships. In working for others, in connecting oneself to several selves, a community of sisters and brothers, their positive outcomes, probably speak of a space that they have found for the expression of their identity. This space is accordance with their culture and religion.

The issue of identity, space and possibilities obviously bring us to the question of agency and selfhood. Even living amidst difficult life situations, Kinnauri tribal women do not come across us as victims or being excessively depressed. Though significantly stressed, they are conscious of their hardships, especially in their man-woman sphere. This consciousness signifies that even though they mostly conform to the dictates of their culture, yet in recognizing their difficulties, they retain a voice for themselves. Connected to this is the question whether this voice is heard by their society. Whether her laborious participation even brings her
a recognition in the economic life of her culture. The answer is probably not, this being because she works within the parameters of her role stereotypes.

Moving away from the tribal women's position in society, as we ponder over their sexual preferences, we find in their internal frame, reflected wider possibilities of relatedness; nowhere restricted by the narrowed down idea of heterosexuality. Irrespective of their marital status or educational background (on the DAC), her six sub-relational choices (man-woman; husband-wife, brother-sister; two female friends; two women and sisters), all women showed a preferences for women to women bonding. This is illustrated in the desired companionship lived between two female friends. Close to this is a preference for the bonding shared between a brother-sister. Interestingly, both these choices depart from the exclusive domain of genitalized sexuality, otherwise so vociferously upheld in the contemporary modern so-called romantic culture. In so responding, tribal woman, perhaps tell us that beyond the constraints of middle class homogenized city culture, there are form and expressions of knowing and loving. Be it in the undefined relationship between a man and a woman; a husband-wife, sisters or a brother-sister; the presence of this realm in their imagination, permits for a broader and more expansive relational feeling. Similar to these, they can relate with each other as two women, friends or sisters bonded more by closer networks; rather than exclusively by the presence or absence of sexuality.

In indicating their preferences, do all these women not significantly broaden our notion of sexuality and human relatedness? The man-woman relationships (as seen on the Jodi) in their construction, is not simply a matter of genital proximity; it is a relational field that has a breadth
extending from the closeness experienced by a brother-sister; to the loving known by a man and woman.

Finally as we arrive at the influence of education on the life of the Kinnauri tribal women, we find ourselves at a threshold, a crossroad, a moment of transitional change. As earlier studies reveal (Upadhaya, 1983; Panigrahi, Menon & Joshi, 1987; Mukerji and Verma, 1987; Chauhan, 1989 and Kulkarni and Krishnamoorthi, 1992), this study too concludes that education alone cannot overcome gender inequalities, socio-cultural biases and psychological deprivations. Though female literacy rate in Kinnaur is still low, with a high drop out rate, yet it must be acknowledged that education does seem to have opened avenues for Kinnauri girls; at least for those who manage to finish schooling. These educated girls are opting to join technical institutes (ITI), midwifery courses, JBT institutions and government run in shawl weaving centres. They have also started participating in the working of modern institutions like Gram Sewikas. However the question still remains within the larger purview of their lives; what is the meaning of the transition being lived by them, as far as selfhood and its agency is concerned; or are they just replicating the main stream, middle class females?

First as a concern, this study joins previous works in emphasizing that education is not likely to have any sustained positive effect in their lives, until and unless it forms an integrated part and becomes convergent with tribal language and culture. It agrees with (Singh and Ohri, 1996), that education needs to be productive in terms of increasing scientific knowledge, it has to use technology for better physical quality of life, along with improvisation of skills, creating awareness in the masses, it must remain one of its imperative focus. Thus, the presently decontextualized
curriculum of formal education as extended to tribal women is not likely to have any kind of serious positive effect on their lives. Moreover, in itself education cannot change their lived reality. It may minimally broaden their economic and political horizons, yet until and unless there is a parallel change in cultural practices; social problems, constraining situations will continue to encircle and limit their lives. Rather, the present endeavour brings us once again to a critical point, worthy of further engagement. It appears that with the advent of tribal culture, as it exists today; it is increasingly in an imminent danger of being homogenized into the middle class morality and conservative repression of modern mainstream India. The question standing before us thus asks; is modern education acting as a deculturizing agent, an alienating force in tribal societies?

As we move closer to the lives of Kinnauri women, we find the educated ones as living through a transitional phase. Experiencing an estrangement from their tribal cultural heritage, a lower ethnic identity is revealed in their projected responses. Distantiated from their former life styles, the educated and single women show a gradual shift towards a heterosexual preference in their relational choices; in contrast, the unschooled women continue to retain their female bonding and a strong sense for women to women relationships. As education affects their lives, these women show high need achievement, autonomy and sentience. On the one hand achievement, autonomy and sentience may reflect their journey and search towards identity confirmation; yet on the other, does it not speak of an illusionary possibility, not only in the context of the tribal life but also in the life of all women? Problematizing, their issue further, it brings into the wider arena of women’s position, irrespective of their ethnic background. Education, along with its content and messages, will always be rooted in the reality of any social system. Within a patriarchal world, it
but reflects patriarchal interests and values. Unreflectively and insensitively as it reaches tribal society, it not only upsets the older order, but also fails to provide a new creative one instead. Where and how do formally educated tribal women now experientially locate themselves? As their linkages with the past weaken, they attempt to fulfil the newly created vacuum in their lives by seeking (as indicated by gradual shifts), man-woman relationships. As they join their sisters all over the world and enter into the most sophisticated, more disguised and subtle domination of systemic patriarchy. They also slowly begin to lose their inner women to women connectedness that previously, at least, provides them with the space to share, to identify and relate with. In no way idealizing their former condition, this study in its conclusive thoughts, attempts to capture the difficult space in which any and every woman exists. Within the patriarchal order, not much of a difference separates the modern successful city woman from her tribal counterpart. Whereas, tribal life did in the past, have more freedom for women, this too remains a relative and complex proposition, problematized on several fronts. However, with the advent of education that symbolizes a more direct contact with patriarchal domination; the tribal women also begin to search for achievement and autonomy. In coming closer to other women, as she enters into an endless struggle for identity, like them, she too will now meet systemic domination in various forms, forever changing and yet inherently representative of the same suppressive order. Like other women, as she chooses heterosexuality, will this woman also soon begin to appropriate her mind, body and even self in order to meet male standards and male expectations.

Even if this remains a question for the future, the present work in its final analyses, remains concerned not only with the life of educated tribal women, but with the lives all over the world. Struggling for identity and
selfhood, do not we as women find ourselves chasing a system? A system far too stronger and powerful that confronts us with its multiple forms and finds the means to shape our realities according to its dictates?

Coming to us in this study is the idea of education, the issue before us is of immediate relevance and demands the serious engagement of, if not the whole of humanity, at least a half of it, whose lives are directly and explicitly affected by it.

Returning to the life of tribal women, the question remains—is the transition that is taking place, proceeding in the right direction? Perhaps, not, because education may have been able to ignite self-awakening, but it does not leave the educated with any choice, other than to continue in their role stereotypes. To close their minds, moving away from traditional roots to vacuous urban glitter. Until education brings with it a new system of values, where a change in mental attitudes, role changes, shifts in sharing responsibilities (not based on gender), come about; the roots of patriarchy will continue to act as a fortress, far too difficult to be conquered. The future of the tribal woman remains entangled with the question-will she, now initiated into the mainstream of life, be left to endlessly struggle as her modern sisters and repeatedly readjust her body and mind to meet the unreasonable male standards.

Tennyson had said “The old older changeth, yielding place for new.” In acknowledging the inevitability of transition and change, yet the tribal woman’s transformation through education appears but a remote dream. However, at the same time, today, it is even ironical to state that she does not need education i.e. schooling!
SELECTIVE DAP AND DAC DRAWINGS
FORMALLY EDUCATED WOMEN

HUSBAND - WIFE

HUSBAND - WIFE

TWO SISTERS
UNEDUCATED WOMEN

DRP

DAP

HUSBAND AND WIFE

TWO FEMALE FRIENDS

TWO FEMALE FRIENDS

TWO WOMEN
FORMALLY EDUCATED WOMAN
UNEDUCATED WOMEN

DRAW A WOMAN

DRAW A COUPLE

BROTHER SISTER

BROTHER SISTER

TWO FEMALE FRIENDS
POLYANDROUS WOMEN

DAW

DAC

AHE - आहे

TWO FEMALE FRIENDS

TWO FEMALE FRIENDS

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ZOMOS (BUDDHIST NUNS)