CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In the previous chapter, a basic conceptualization of women’s sexuality, self/body image and personality was presented. In the present one, important research studies in these areas are being reviewed. Previously conducted research on the life and sexuality of tribal women remains a rarely encountered possibility. Especially in the Indian context; within the discipline of psychology, little effort has been invested in delineating the psychic contours of tribal women’s cultural and personal selves. Wherever significantly worked upon, the present review has attempted to cite and include those efforts.

SEXUALITY AND CULTURAL VARIATIONS

Culture remoulds our experiences by its sanctioned norms, prescribed rituals and morally permissible practices. It defines and limits the possibilities that portray our experiential boundaries. The experience of sexuality has always been coloured and shaped by the dominant community norms in any society, at any given point of time. Presented below are a few studies that highlight the cultural colouring of sexuality.

Malinowski (1932) in his study of Trobriand Islanders found that positions used by the Trobrianders omit the dorsal-ventral (man on top of woman) position used by Europeans, which they dislike because it makes the woman uncomfortable. Further, in this tribe, masturbation is highly devalued and looked upon as a practice of an ‘idiot,’ this culture sees it as a sign of impotence.
Davenport (1965), found in the South West Pacific society that sexual intercourse was not only considered to be highly pleasurable, but that marital relationships were often contingent on the experience of sexual satisfaction, the partners enjoyed in their union.

Mead (1967) reports that in Arapesh tribe, sexuality is devalued, tenderness and parental responsibility is developed in both males and females. The adolescent girl is not treated as in need of protection from the male’s exploitation of her as a sexual object. Menstruation is therefore, not the signal of danger as in this society. Arapesh males simply do not regard females as vessels for their own sexual satisfaction, but individuals whose desirability as spouses is related to the culture’s primary work of child rearing.

Wekker (1993) studied the Afro-Surinamese working-class culture and found it quite unique in displaying a public and varied repertoire of sexual behaviours and styles. For e.g. many women engage in sexual relationships with men and women either simultaneously or consecutively. This pervasive institution, the mati-work has been described from the beginning of this century and has its own behavioural environment. No significant stigma is attached to the mati-work. In contra-distinction to hegemonic, western approaches, it makes more sense not to conceptualize ourselves and sexualities as ‘static’ identity but as malleable behaviour in an environment that is poor in chance for fulfillment.

Gardner (1995) reports that in the south Bedouin tribe (Egypt), the outside nature of women’s and girls chores, such as herding, collecting, binding and transporting water, ensured that they had an important role and often provided them with the opportunity to mingle. Secret romances with the opposite sex were common.
Thus we find that in some indigenous groups, dominant codes of conduct satisfy only heterosexual practices (as shown by Malinowski and Davenport). However, several other communities (Mead, Wekker and Gardner) reveal more permissive space for women to experience their sexual possibilities.

**Indian Studies**

Within the Indian context, tribal societies definitely permit a wider range of sexual choices to women. Ritual occasions and practices amongst others, such as *Toshim* and *Ramb* are the living examples of the pre-marital freedom enjoyed by these women. Restrictions often accompany the institution of legalized marriage. Tribal women whether married or unmarried reflect in their choice, a preference for women to women relationships over that for male to female bonding (Sain, 1992). These preferences have not only been seen in normal times, but also in the larger context of world reality i.e. in crucial moments of war (Tillion, 1975 and Brozan, 1983).

Shashi (1978) expressed that among Oraon people, nobody talks of virginity. It is not a criterion for engagements for marriages. The parents discuss the sex problem even in the presence of their own grown up children without privacy and prudery.

According to Chib (1984), in Kinnaur, *Toshim* is the occasion which is celebrated by unmarried men and women who spend nights together and may develop liking for each other, but this liking has to be curtailed there itself as it cannot be culminated into marriage. So, *Toshim* is only to enjoy each others company and nothing beyond, but it speaks for the freedom
the Kinner woman enjoys. Toshim can be seen as a residue of dormitory system, which is still in practice in many north-east and middle Indian tribes. Ramb (youth dormitory) of Bhotia and Dhyanti system of Jaunsaries of U.P., also fulfil the same function as Toshim of Kinner people.

Pre-marital relationship is not forbidden in the indigenous communities of Bihar. This is permissible within the tribe and not within the same clan. The Akhara or dancing ground is the centre of attraction for unmarried girls and boys. After the dance, they pair off for more intimate relationship. After marriage, however, a tighter discipline is enforced by the society (Mandal and Sahoo, 1992).

Sain (op. cit.) examined the DAP drawings of Kinnauri tribal women and found that they had very few indices of erogenic zones such as breasts, waists or well-formed hips. Kinnaur being a bitterly cold area, men and women are generally clothed in woollens, even in the summer. Colour red was used most prominently (44%) in the drawings which reflects the significance of this colour as a powerful symbol in India, used for worship, tantra and magic, celebrations of birth and marriage (Shirali, 1990). Hourglass figure drawings were made only by the single women (15%), indicating sexuality and the female sexual organ (Gimbutas, 1989).

Marital status did affect the subjects’ sexuality in their TAT stories to some extent. The single women projected themes of pre and extra-marital sex; whereas, the polyandrous women healthy sexual relationships. Marital status did not affect the preferences of various sexual iconographic images. Pictures depicting Sakhi-Bhav (sisterhood) were preferred by all groups of women, over the other sexual images. This could be reflective of their belief in the ‘Mother Goddess’ and their kinship with the local devi; or female bonding and sisterhood which is also socially desirable. In their
harsh geo-climatic existence, survival would largely be dependent on female bonding (Sain op. cit.).

The Iconographic test used in this study brought out the spontaneous responses of five other kinds of adult couples (\textit{Jodis}), such as man-woman, brother-sister, two women, two female friends and two sisters, besides the stereotyped husband-wife \textit{Jodi}, which warranted further exploration.

\textbf{Sexual Exploitation of Indigenous Women}

More than in all other spheres, exploitation of women's sexuality, mark the social reality of their existence. Conditions of poverty and scarcity of work opportunities, makes them especially vulnerable. Often, they are forced into choiceless relationships, within which, their selfhood is brutally and violently abused. A few researches on the tribal women's exploitation at the site of work are enumerated below.

Sachchidananda and Mandal’s (1985) study, conducted on 150 tribal working women in Jamshedpur and Hatia industrial areas of Bihar found that these women work under private contractors who get contract works from industrial units. They supplement family income/or are the only earners in their families. As the availability of workers is disproportionate to that of the job, they are treated harshly and become victims of sexual harassment.

Tribal women are employed by contractors in Bihar at meagre wages. They have to give them four days earning as their commission. Also the working conditions are hazardous and these women occasionally become victims of sexual exploitation. Many women are forced to live with contractors, site engineers and officials. Newer, younger women constantly

46
replace them. Poverty prevents them from refusing (Women's Feature Service, 1990).

Sexual union on account of cash or kind has been gaining ground among the tribal women in industrial area. In 17 interviews of tribal women of Hatia industrial area, it was found that the major predisposing factors leading to prostitution were, unhappy family relationships, sexual urge, deception, poverty, high ambition, death of father or husband, alcoholism in family and negligence or indifference of parents or husbands (Mandal and Sahoo, op. cit.).

Thekkekara (1993), reports that the sexual freedom within the tribal society is seen by the non-tribal male population as an opportunity for cheap fun and games with 'easy' women. In Tirunelli in Kerala, the local press highlighted the fact that in the lean season when people were starving, their poverty was being exploited and women were being turned into prostitutes. Many young women were now single mothers, the father being non-indigenous customers.

**Sexuality and Age**

Contrary to popular belief that women's sexuality decreases with age, Fooken (1994) found that not health variables but more general aspects of the body image seem to be more valid in shedding some light on the determinants of psychological well-being and of keeping sexuality alive in old age.

Wang and Lin (1994) found that a woman's age is the most significant factor in predicting sexual frequency which increases with being young, unmarried, less educated, married for a few years, and on the pill.
Brahler and Unger (1994) found that older people engaged in sexual activity had more social contacts and potency than elderly people with no sexual activity.

As we review past history and even contemporary practices, within the Indian culture, we find that some women, especially those known to us as courtesans and *devdasis* have always experienced a varied repertoire of sexuality; from the mundane to the sublime.

**SELF /BODY IMAGE**

The image of the body is primary in constituting the self-image and is specifically salient in distortions of it as well (Diamond, 1957). Studies in Western urban cultures have found a close relationship between one self and one's body (Witkin, 1965; Wiley, 1960 and Fisher, 1970), suggesting the theoretical importance of perceived body characteristics on the formation of 'self'.

In India, many workshops in the hills organized by NGOs, on women and empowerment, the concept of women's bodies and the feelings around it are explored: areas of shame are identified and collective restitution work carried out that leads to a reclamation of one's own body (Shirali, 1995).

**Self Acceptance and Self/BODY Image**

As self-acceptance is crucial for emotional health, its relation with self/body image is important. In a study done by Jourard and Secord, 1955, it was found that girls increasingly disliked their own dimension, the more they deviated from the ideal. In another study, it was seen that subjects who
cared about fitness and health had a more positive body image about their appearance alone (Cash, Winstead and Janda, 1986). This finding indicates a relationship between self-acceptance and body image.

Kapoor (1989) in a North India study found that the urban girls projected a better self/body image in (DAP) test as compared to rural girls and that subjects (both urban and rural) who have greater self-acceptance, projected a better self/body image as compared to low self-accepting subjects.

**Gender and Body Image**

Patriarchal injunctions, in the last few decades, have come to invade women's sense of selfhood in a manner, which is both frightening and as well as psychologically damaging. In knowing herself through the male eye; women have undergone rigorous self-torture, to fit their bodies and minds in accordance with male standards.

Bird; David; Porter; Skevington; Taylor; Ward; Weinreich-Haste and West (1979), found media to be a significant factor which lays heavy emphasis on external appearance, on fashion, make-up, diets and hair-styles.

This has resulted in the spread of anorexia nervosa, related to cosmetics and body image, both in the west, as well as in India.

According to Gottesfeld (1994), women in this culture are influenced and affected by pervasive media and social conditioning that tells them that they must be young, beautiful and thin to be desired by men. These standards are unrealistic and often create obsessions and oppressions.
Research indicates that women hold a higher percentage of negative attitudes towards their body parts (Franzoi, 1995), and are significantly higher in appearance orientation (Hall-Polus, 1995). This may be as greater pressures are exerted on women to meet attractiveness standards (Frazor, Kessenich and Sugrue, 1989). Clothing may create a better perception of the body (Marker, Carey and Pedersen, 1990) and for women to deal with body image and feeling towards body (Diaz, 1991). Mediators of body cathexis scores include media sources and educational and occupational characteristics, in rural Scottish and American women (Hamilton and Chowdhary, 1989).

The construction of women as body in India is gaining rapid ground. With the recent invasion of the consumer culture, media and cable TV, an additional stress to meet attractiveness standards is being imposed on women, as the Ms. World and Ms. Universe 1994, have been bestowed on Indian maidens. This Indian scenario reflects the post modern consumerist endorsement of women as body (Shirali, op. cit.).

Self Esteem and Body Image as seen on Psychological Testing

The relationship between self/esteem and body image has often been explored with the help of projective tests. In a study carried out by Mahoney and Finch (1976), it was seen that amongst general appearance; physical attractiveness, facial features (face being the most important), and the chest for the male, whereas the mid-torso area for the female. Facial features and major body elements contributed most to self-esteem. Also, the closer was the body image to the ideal image, the more likely the person manifested a high self-esteem.
A small relationship between femininity in DAP drawings and self-esteem was found in 36 (16-18 years old) females (Delatte, 1985). Middle aged women’s higher satisfaction with body image played more importance on body image and higher self-esteem and mystery of life events (Rackley, Warren and Bird, 1988 and Irvine, 1995).

**Education / Age and Self/ Body Image**

Past research has usually indicated an ambivalent relationship between an increase in age and its effects on self/body image; though trends do sometimes reveal a negative relationship between old age and self/body image. Similarly, studies do not point towards conclusive trends in locating the relationships between education and women’s self/body image.

Indicating a positive trend in the previous quoted work by Sain (op. cit.), education and age affected the self/body image of Kinnauri tribal women more than their marital status. The educated women projected 69.5% ‘average’ (1.7-3.3) self-image and 61.11% ‘average’ body image, whereas the uneducated women projected 58.33% ‘average’ self image and 50% ‘average’ body image. The younger women projected 70% ‘average’ self-image and 80% ‘average’ body image. The older women projected 50% ‘average’ self-image as well as body image. This was confirmed by Janelli (1986), that the older women possess less positive perception of their body image. The factors contributing to such perception includes cultural background, religious beliefs, roles and recreational activities.

Van Deusen, Harlowe and Baker (1989), reports that the community based elderly, consistently perceived their body image less positively than did the younger adults.
Older women equated satisfaction or dissatisfaction with body parts more in terms of limitation or loss of function rather than appearance (Briggs, 1993).

Cash and Henry (1995) surveyed women (18-70 years) in the United States about their body dissatisfaction. Nearly one half of the women reported globally negative evaluation of their appearance and a preoccupation with being or becoming overweight. Whereas, age effects were minimal, significant race/ethnicity effects were found, with clearly more positive body images among African American than Anglo or Hispanic women.

Donaldson (1995) found that the weight status appears to be the largest contribution towards body image attitudes in women at mid life and emphasizes the importance of socio-cultural factors influencing mid-life women concerning body image attitudes.

In focusing upon marital status, education and personality of Kinnauri tribal women (Sain, op. cit.) along with other indices examined prominence of fingers in their DAP drawings. 50% of the uneducated women had ‘good’ (3.4 - 5.0) prominence of fingers, compared to 16.67% of the educated women. Fingers and hand usually represent ‘reaching out’ to the world and social interaction. This reflected a work and relational self image (fingers), since these women are more involved in the fields, tending the animals, spinning and weaving wool, besides the households chores and care of the family than the educated women. Even the polyandrous women projected 40% ‘good’ and older women 60% ‘good’ prominence of fingers. Probably this confirmed the earlier low self/body image of the older, uneducated women. This may be closer to the real self-image of these tribal women.
The single (younger and educated) women had a better self-image/esteem than the married women, since 90% of these women made medium and large size drawings in the post session. Traditionally, an Indian woman’s self worth lies in marriage, but these single tribal women seem to be belying it. However, the polyandrous (older and uneducated) women projected 35% abstract/stylistic drawings reflecting an ethnic self-esteem in their traditional dress, perhaps a deeper sense of self worth. Some of these women drew stylistic pine trees along with their drawings, showing their affinity with nature (Sain, op. cit.).

Shirali (1996) studied the Canadian native women of the West Coast. Their DAP drawings indicated that age does not seem to be making any difference to the self-image and esteem. Though these first nation women between 35 to 45 years seemed to be higher on self-image/esteem. However education, which probably goes along with better socio-economic professional status, showed that women with 12+ education had higher self-image/esteem than the ones with lesser education.

EDUCATION AND TRIBAL WOMEN

Any one specific shift in society is encircled by such a complexity, that it inevitably connects itself with several other factors. In times of transition, simultaneous changes, in various domains can help us realize the impact of any specific social or cultural shift. This is true for realizing the impact and change that consequently come about as tribal women undergo education. Amongst other hurdles, the economic hardships of tribal life make them more sceptical in educating these women. However, even where efforts have been made, it has generally been seen, that in itself education can bring about little changes in their overall life experiences. As social reality
remains difficult, they continue to find themselves oppressed by different social customs, such as marriage, dowry demands and widowhood. Their lives, so entangled, remain more or less the same, despite their now being educated.

In a study by Panigrahi, Menon and Joshi (1987), it was seen that education has failed to make an impact on the life styles of 60 women of varying age groups belonging to villages of Gunpur and Siasurni, (Kalahandi district of Orissa). Moreover, when asked about the need for women’s education, the characteristic reply was “What does she need education for? She should know her household duties. As long as she can read a little and write her name, it is enough. Besides, those better off, should send their sons, rather than their daughters to school”. Other studies also reveal that socio-cultural biases and gender inequality seems to hinder women’s education, particularly the tribal women (Upadhaya, 1983; NIEPA, 1986; Mukherji and Verma, 1987; Chauhan, 1989 and Kulkarni and Krishnamoorthi, 1992).

Singh and Ohri (1996) having studied gender differences in the literary status of Himachali tribal population over the period 1971 to 1991, found that educational backwardness among the women continues due to socio-cultural reasons.

Singh and Ohri (1993), have reviewed the educational status of tribal women in India and found that the literacy status of tribal women in India rose from being 8.86% in 1951 to 39/42% in 1991. However, when compared with the tribal men literacy status (27.16% in 1951 to 63.86% in 1991), indicate the widening gap between the tribal male and female literacy rates. Within these cultures, as a gender, women stand obviously disadvantaged and prejudiced against.
A comparative study on demographic characteristics of 3428 tribal and 2447 non-tribal women in the Kundam block of Jabalpur district (Pandey, 1994) brought out the differences between the tribal and non-tribal females. Literacy among the tribal women is about half of non tribal; there is no significant difference in age of marriage and marital status between the two groups, and the tribal women is younger in age composition, which shows the lower fertility and mortality levels among the tribal females.

In contrast to other findings, according to Jena (1994), modern education has broadened the outlook of educated Santhal women of Orissa to participate in the wide political and economic spheres, but they are facing different social problems like marriage, dowry, widows, re-marriages etc. in the social sphere. The belief in witch and witchcraft still persists.

**PERSONALITY, EDUCATION AND MARITAL STATUS OF TRIBAL WOMEN**

It has been found that economy, ecology and ethnic environment makes conspicuous differentiation on cultural features. The status of women in an indigenous society is not a static phenomenon but oscillates according to situational patterns. According to Sarkar (1994), the status of women in different communities can be understood more in the context of socio-cultural matrix of the concerned societies.

Garg (1998) studied the educated and uneducated groups of Kinnauri tribal women and found on the basis of TAT.

i) **Themes**: Both the groups projected TAT stories with sad themes.
ii) **Heroes**: The uneducated group identified more with the female heroes.

iii) **Needs**: The educated group projected significantly more need nurturance and sex than the uneducated. Whereas, the uneducated showed significantly more need income because they were poor. Also the educated group projected needs-duty, educational achievement and rest, which were absent in the uneducated group. The educated group seems to have greater exposure. Interestingly, the educated group’s greater need sex projected greater press sex. Perhaps, they have adopted the repressed middle class norms of educated urban Indian women, influenced by the media.

iv) **Presses**: The uneducated group projected significantly more than the educated, press- poverty, alcoholism, aggression, death of parents, bigamy and death of husband; the latter was absent in the uneducated group. But the educated group projected significantly more press sex, affiliation, intrusion and deference, the later was absent in the uneducated group. Thus presses projected by the uneducated group were more, which tells a ‘story’ of stress by death of parents and husband, the natural caretakers of patriarchal Indian society. This stress is further exacerbated by male oppression, through alcoholism (of husband) and bigamy. None of the women projected the traditional polyandry system, since none of them came from a polyandrous family. Bigamy on the other hand was quite prevalent i.e. polygyny.

The uneducated group probably projected more presses (environmental) because of poverty, social conditions and vulnerability of their family life. The poor being more prone to death...
and illness, it is the women who are left to shoulder the burden of raising children, and providing for the family.

v) Mental States: The Kinnauri tribal women of all classes, irrespective of education, showed different mental states mostly sadness, anxiety, fearfulness, confusion, guilt and धुङ्डा- मनाना (sulking and pacifying). Happiness was rarely found.

vi) Outcomes: The educated group projected more optimistic outcomes - 60.95% than the uneducated 42.65%; whereas the percentage of pessimistic outcomes was higher in the uneducated women 57.34%, than the educated 39.04%.

Shirali (op. cit.) found that all the women, hills and plains had needs of affiliation, succorance (their weakness) and counteraction and work (their strength). Their presses were twice as many as their needs, mostly male aggression and alcoholism. She concluded that the plains and working class women of the hills projected feelings of powerlessness. However, in the very act of submitting to male oppression, the Rajisthani women were trying to connect with their inner beings by becoming sati (goddess); some need autonomy was also seen. The tribal hill women connected with nature and music (their mythical inheritance of Gandharvas), also projected some need autonomy.

Shirali and Sain (1994) found that all the Kinnauri tribal women identified with the female hero, highest being the polyandrous 92.5%. However, there was also male hero identification, highest being for the single woman 16.68%. One can say that the Kinnauri women were more feminine, but also did include some masculine identity.

i) Themes: These women projected care/concern/nurturance/loving themes the most. The single 21.68% and polyandrous women 17.5%.
This finding is in consonance with feminist thought. Feminist understandings, in the West have strongly emphasized the nurturant side of women’s being. Women generally gain an identity through connection rather than through the use of power (French, 1986).

The single women, who were mostly younger and educated, perhaps more modernized among the tribal women, projected conflict and discord 13.33% the most, probably due to the dissonance modernization is causing to their lives. These women rejected the older traditions of tribal community life as well as polyandry. There was unhappiness 5%, due to a number of reasons like lack of children, alcoholism, illness, family in-support, death and daughter’s marriage. These women were also a little high on material loss and recovery, poverty and unconcern/rejection. The polyandrous women projected more bonding relationships 9.17% and illness and care 5.83%. Probably, these women hold the family together in their traditional wisdom and occupy privileged position in the family.

ii) Relationships: All the Kinnauri women projected husband-wife relationship the most: polyandrous 66.67% and single 52.5%. Probably, husband-wife relationship is considered the most important relationship in the Indian society, where a woman’s identity is recognized through marriage. This seems to be very much so for the tribal women. However, it may be noted that husband-wife relationship does not speak of the sole truth. Other relationships emerged such as brother-sister, mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter and man-woman among the single as well as the polyandrous women.

iii) Needs: All the Kinnauri tribal women were high on relational self projected in need affiliation and nurturance. Need dominance and
aggression indicate that they were not docile as well as need succorance i.e. seeking support/sympathy/sustenance, expresses the need for dependence. Need affiliation and nurturance was much higher than dominance/aggression, supporting Gilligan (1982) and Mc Adams (1988) findings. These women also incorporate to a lesser extent need abasement, counteraction, autonomy, rejection, rest and play. This is to some extent similar to Shirali’s (op. cit.) findings of the stresses and needs of tribal ‘hills’ and ‘plains’ women of rural India.

The single women had higher needs of acquisition and exhibition, probably due to the influence of consumer culture, more than the other groups. The polyandrous woman projected more need infravoidance and understanding. Being the older, this group would rather avoid and understand than confront need aggression and dominance, being lesser.

iv) **Presses:** The most common stresses as seen in the TAT stories were affiliation, aggression, age, lack of child, death, defendance, injury, intrusion, nurturance and alcoholism. Press alcoholism is a modern day stress and was similarly found among the tribal hills and plains women of rural India, (Shirali, op. cit.). In Himachal Pradesh, there are more liquor shops than fair price shops, both government controlled. Besides, in Kinnaur, country liquor is brewed at home. Although, these tribal women also partake of this home brew, they do not get drunk, or shirk responsibilities of household chores, family and fields, nor do they get abusive and violent. The single women were higher around achievement, discord, family in-support, poverty, material lack and rejection. Whereas polyandrous women’s presses included daughter’s marriage, illness, work and play.
e) **Mental States/Outcomes:** Positive mental states of caring/concerned/loving, happy/satisfied, seeking support/reassurance, coping, cooperating/bonding and pacifying were much higher than the negative ones of unhappy, unwell, frustrated, quarrelling/complaining and helpless/yielding for all these women and so were the optimistic outcomes. Contrary to Garg's (op. cit.) study of Kinnauri tribal women, who irrespective of education, projected negative mental states. This may be because of their low socio-economic status than the present subjects.

The single women were more caring/concerned/loving 14.17% but at the same time, unhappy to a lesser extent 5.83%, angry, 5%, unwell 4.17%, coping 4.17%, cooperating/bonding 3.33%, achieving 3.33%. Overall, this group had more positive mental states than negative ones and projected more optimistic outcomes. The polyandrous projected the highest percentage of happy/satisfied mental state 20%. This finding is contrary to Chib's (1984) observation about polyandrous women suppressing many of their feelings and making sacrifices every now and then.

Ohja (1995) assessed personality needs among 200 Santhal tribal and 200 non-tribal Hindu students. Results show that Santhals are significantly different from non-tribal in 10 personality needs. Santhals were characterized by higher needs for deference, order, affiliation, succorance, nurturance and aggression. Non-tribal subjects had higher needs for achievement, exhibition, autonomy and dominance.

**Overview**

Past studies indicate that sexuality is subject to cultural variation, (pleasurable in one and devalued in the other). In some communities,
dominant codes of conduct, sanctify only heterosexual practices as shown by Malinowski 1932 and Davenport, 1965. However, several other indigenous groups reveal a more permissive space for women to experience their sexual needs and possibilities (Mead, 1967; Wekker, 1993 and Gardner, 1995). Though, sexual laxity is flexible within a tribal culture, yet, frequently women even there become victims of sexual exploitation (Mandal and Sahoo, 1990 and Women's Feature Service, 1990). The relationship between sexuality and marital status of tribal women as reported by (Sain, 1992), reveal this factor to be unaffected by marital status and the trend reflects a preference for *Sakhi-Bhav* over other dimensions of sexuality. Further, other studies point out that age, too, is a significant factor in determining sexuality (Fooken, 1994; Wang and Lin, 1994 and Brahler and Unger, 1994).

**Self/Body Image** is affected more by age and education, than by marital status in the tribal culture (Sain, op.cit.). Though, majority studies indicate that education has broadened the outlook of indigenous women, nevertheless it has failed to make an impact on the life styles of such women (Panigrahi, Menon and Joshi, 1987). This is due to gender inequalities and socio-cultural biases (Upadhaya, 1983; NEIPA, 1986; Mukherji and Verma, 1987; Chauhan, 1989 and Kulkarni and Krishnamoorthi, 1992). Women promoted as body by the pervasive media, feel social pressure to meet standards of attractiveness (Bird et al., 1979; Hamilton and Chowdhary, 1989 and Gottesfeld, 1994). The older women’s perception of their bodies is even less positive (Janelli, 1986; Van Deussen et al., 1989; Sain, op. cit. and Briggs, 1993).

**Personality** studies (TAT stories) show that tribal women are more feminine and have higher identification with the female protagonist. Their
inter-personal aspects of life are projected in their relational identity. Education does seem to be reducing the stresses, but, by and large, tribal women are not free from socio-cultural and economic conditions and patriarchal injunctions. It has also been seen that the single, younger and educated women are rejecting the age-old traditions of their tribal community life as well as polyandry. A gradual alienation is being experienced by the educated tribal women, fulfilling their traditional role. (Garg, 1988; Shirali, 1990 and Shirali and Sain, 1994).

Formulation of Hypothesis

Based on the above observations, several interesting dimensions of tribal women’s lives need further reflection. In reviewing past studies, it has often been noticed that despite cultural variations, tribal women are allowed a free sexual domain. Most true for the unmarried, this freedom remains partially with married women as well. Moreover, it has generally been noticed that a preference for relating with other women over men, either as sisters or friends marks their relational selfhood. Further, in indicating the relational possibilities in their lives, as compared to their counterpart modern women, tribal women retain in their inner constructs a wider and broader range.

In respect with self/body image, previous research indicates that marital status does not in any specific way influence it. However, the self/body image is affected to some extent, by age and education. In view of the fact, that research in this direction has been very limited; the present endeavour in retaining an interest in this field, attempts to broaden the possible scope of such exploration. In extending Machover’s (1948) index of self/body image as interpreted through the DAP; this study further introduces a few additional relevant dimensions, such as Prominence of
Fingers as reflective of her work and relational selfhood, and Abstract/Stylistic drawings representing ethnic self identity. In making these additions, it is expected that a more realistic and holistic portrayal of women's self/body image will emerge.

Further, in the foregoing account we do not find a definite direction indicating the inter-relationship between the impact of education and tribal women's sexuality, self/body image and personality. Some past research has explored women's personality with the help of the TAT. Particularly on this test, on its various indices, tribal women demonstrate a more feminine, relational and culturally integrated identity. Specifically in locating the impact of education, on personality; these studies while acknowledging a slight reduction of stress in their lives through education, simultaneously record several pressures, patriarchal injunctions and difficult socio-cultural and economic conditions that remain largely unaltered; which would negate any possible beneficial effects of education.

Thus, whereas, a few studies do show education as leading to an upward shift on some variables, most research remains inconclusive of its beneficial effects. Rather reiterating again and again, the need for a parallel change in social dynamics. Previous efforts realize the futility of isolated educational efforts; instead, demanding congruence between lived reality and education. They are unable to trace any actual benefits that it is bringing in the lives of tribal women. As its central focus, this work further explores the relationship between education and Kinnauri women's selfhood.

Moreover, as we ponder over past efforts, apparently little interest has been directed toward studying the possible effect of marital status and its impact on the overall life of tribal women. Apart from one or two
isolated studies in this review, this area of inquiry has largely been neglected. The present work retains a special interest to understand these aspects.

Thus, the following hypotheses pertaining to the lives of Kinnauri tribal women are being formulated.

**Main Hypothesis**

1. **Education** of Kinnauri tribal women will make no difference to their Sexuality, Self/Body Image and Personality. This will significantly be studied on the following tests:

   (i) The DAP test will project the subjects' **Self/Body Image**. Education will make no difference on the following indices of DAP:

   (a) Self/Body Image/Size (b) Prominence of Fingers (c) Abstract/Stylistic/ Hourglass drawings/Colour red.

   (ii) The TAT will project the dynamics of **Personality**. Education will make no difference on the following indices of TAT:

   (a) Themes (b) Relationships (c) Mental States (d) Heroes: (i) Male (ii) Female (e) Needs (f) Presses (g) Outcomes: (i) Positive (ii) Negative.

   (iii) The Iconographic test will project the subjects' preferences of **Sexual orientation**. Education will make no difference on the following sexual dimensions of Iconography.

   (a) Auto-Eroticism (b) *Sakhi-Bhav* (c) Heterosexuality.

   (iv) The DAC test will project the subjects’ range of **Relationships**. Education will make no difference to their projection of various relationships.
Though poorly represented in past research, a tentative hypothesis looking into the relationships between marital status and women’s sexuality, self/body image and personality is being formulated. There are not many studies commenting upon the impact of the marital status. Yet, as a special area for further exploration, this study aims to highlight the emerging trends.

**Tentative Hypotheses**

**II Marital status** of Kinnauri tribal women will make no difference to their Sexuality Self/Body Image and Personality.

(i) Marital status will make no difference on the following indices of DAP:
(a) Self/Body Image/Size (b) Prominence of fingers (c) Abstract/Stylistic/ Hourglass drawings/Colour red.

(ii) Marital status will make no differences on some indices of TAT.

(iii) Marital status will make no difference on the following sexual dimensions of Iconography:
(a) Auto-Eroticism (ii) *Sakhi-Bhav* (iii) Heterosexuality.

(iv) Marital status will make no difference to the projection of various relationships (DAC).

**III Within the marital status**, the effect of education will not be seen on Sexuality, Self/Body Image and Personality of Kinnauri tribal women.

(i) Marital status will not be modified by education on the following indices of DAP:
(a) Self/Body Image/Size (b) Prominence of fingers (c) Abstract/ Stylistic/ Hourglass drawings/Colour red.
(ii) Marital status will not be modified by education on the following indices of TAT:

(a) Heroes: (i) Male (ii) Female (b) Needs (c) Presses (d) Outcomes: (i) Positive (ii) Negative.

(iii) Marital status will not be modified by education on the following sexual dimensions of Iconography.

(a) Auto-Eroticism (b) Sakhi-Bhav (c) Heterosexuality.

Though not formulated as a hypothesis, an area of special relevance and interest; the qualitative discussion will wherever possible, comment upon the Kinnauri tribal women’s experience of sexuality and the relational range as seen on the Iconographic pictures and in the notion of the Jodi, on the Draw a couple test.