Women’s Issues

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Theory of Feminism and Tribal Women: An Empirical Study of Koraput

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ABSTRACT
In the mainstream culture to identify oneself as a “feminist” has been a fashion. Feminism covers all issues degrading and depriving women of their due in society vis-à-vis male members and it has started a crusade against atrocities on women across the globe. It is therefore regarded as synonymous with a movement and revolution to defend and promote issues involving women. However, the concerns that feminism raises do seem alien to tribal inhabitants in the Koraput district of Orissa, because, unknowingly, they are its champions. Its principles are ingrained in their very culture. They practice and follow feminism as a matter of habit that has come to them down the ages. They do not follow it out of fear, compassion, enlightenment, education or compulsion; it is a necessity that comes quite naturally to them. It has been spontaneous and indigenous.

Key Words: Civil society; Feminism; Femininity; Gender discrimination; Leviration; Postfeminism; Women’s Liberation Movement

Introduction

Today, atrocities on women have become a matter of rising concern. Crimes against them such as dowry, female infanticide/foeticide, and domestic violence, including marital rape, continue to increase. Besides these, other problems that still afflict women are patriarchal oppression, violence, gender discrimination,
lack of opportunities, extreme poverty, etc. Therefore, we talk about issues like women’s liberation/emancipation and women empowerment. Feminist movements, the world over, are reflective of such a reaction against the dichotomy between sexes inherent in modern society. However, the status of women in the tribal society of Koraput stands in contrast with the mainstream experience. The society there is a happy blend of both patriarchy and matriarchy leaving none as the oppressor or oppressed. It is a society that exhibits a kind of relative equality between males and females that deserves to be lauded.

However, before discussing this interesting phenomenon, let’s begin this case study with a theoretical discussion on what is feminism.

**Feminism: Evolution**

Feminist views and feminism are not the same thing. Although the two terms “feminist” and “feminism” entered the English language in the 1980s (MIA Encyclopedia, 2008), these terms imply two different phenomena or stages of development of human history and civilization. Traces of the former, i.e., feminist views could be found in the respective literatures of ancient civilisations of Greece and China, whereas the latter, i.e., feminism is a 20th century movement. Feminism as a set of ideas and concepts that stands for a distinctive and established sociopolitical ideology developed during the second half of the 20th century. It challenged the most basic assumptions of conventional political thought which kept the role of women off the political agenda on the basis of their sexual “disability” or “disadvantage.” However, with the flowering of radical feminist thought in the late 1960s and early 1970s, feminism emerged as a political ideology to reckon with. Since then “Feminism” as a term has become quite familiar in everyday language; it has become almost a fashion, and being called a feminist has assumed a special identity. It implies a diverse collection of sociopolitical theories, political movements and moral philosophies, largely motivated by a concern for co-equal social role and position and rights of women vis-à-vis male members in a society. Therefore Feminism is regarded as the ideology of, or theoretical commitment to, the Women’s Liberation Movement across the world.

**Feminist Ideology**

Feminism, however, is not a coherent ideology. It is a combination of some major traditions developed within feminism. These are Liberal Feminism, Socialist Feminism, Radical Feminism, New Feminism and Postfeminism. The first one (probably the earliest among all such traditions), as the name suggests, was based on the principle of liberalism that advocated for equality of human individuals regardless of their sex and other distinctions. Thus, it argued for
women’s equal entitlement to all rights and privileges in the society as enjoyed by men on the basis that both were human beings. The second one, i.e., “Socialist Feminism,” emerged as a reaction to the stand taken by the liberal thinkers. They put forward their view that only political and legal rights were not enough to emancipate women from all of their disadvantages which could only be done through a social revolution that would give them economic equality or economic freedom vis-à-vis men. The third tradition went further by advocating equality of women not only in politics and economy but also in all aspects of personal and sexual existence. They started a crusade against patriarchy in all its forms and manifestations. The next one in this succession of traditions has been a number of schools of thought (e.g., Postmodern Feminism, Black Feminism, Lesbian Feminism, etc.) as a whole termed as “New Feminism,” which is a mixed variety of the above three core traditions. These point to the psychological, cultural, and intrasexual aspects of feminism. And the last one is represented by an emerging trend in the tradition called “‘Postfeminism.” Here feminist thinkers have started making compromises with regard to their anti-men or -patriarchy stand by calling for the restoration of family values by subscribing to traditional role of women in the family for the imperatives of social stability and order. These are the long drawn traditions of feminism.

For understanding the evolution of such a tradition, the earliest feminist ideas and women’s movements in the 18th and 19th Century have been called the “first wave” which continued until the early decades of the 20th century. The liberal feminist tradition belongs to that period. The “second wave” saw the resurgence of liberal feminism along with the appearance of socialist and radical feminism in the period spanning from the 1960s to 1970s. During that period feminism reached its height from the artistic and radical point of view. However, after that it saw a decline as discussed in the last two traditions. It gradually lost its radical fervor toward the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century as well. Heywood calls the present stage, “deradicalization and ‘‘Postfeminism’ phase” (Heywood, 2002; p242).

This narrative shows how feminism as an ideology has traveled a long way and in the process has witnessed a variety of ideas and schools of thought. Despite its variety and different point of views, says Heywood, “feminism as an ideology has succeeded in establishing gender and gender perspectives as important themes in a range of academic disciplines and in raising consciousness about gender issues in public life in general” (Heywood, 2002; p240-265).

The basic assumption of all the traditions of feminism is that they believe in human equality. They object vehemently to the discrimination of women made on the basis of gender. They are critical of the imposition of men-centric dress codes and taboos against women. They urge that all women should have the choice of everything in their lives and they should have the same opportunities
as men do in day-to-day activities. They are critical of patriarchy. They seek
to uncover the influence of patriarchy not only in politics, public life and
the economy, but also in all aspects of social, personal and sexual existence.
According to some feminists “femininity is being imposed upon women by men”
(Solli, 2002). Women’s liberation, female emancipation and gender inequality
are their chief concerns. Today, feminist organisations form a substantial part
of civil society in almost all countries across the globe.

Feminist theory is the extension of feminism into the theoretical or
philosophical framework. Feminist theory aims to understand the nature of
inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality. While
generally providing a critique of social relations, much of feminist theory also
focuses on analyzing gender inequality, and the promotion of women’s rights,
interests and issues.

Feminism as a Theory

Theory is understood as a set of reasoned ideas intended to explain facts
and events (Hornby, 1994). Theories and ideologies are crucial resources for
ordering, defining and evaluating political reality and establishing political
identities. However, some regard theory as ideas or suppositions in general
contrasted with practice. The validity of a theory warrants an empirical study.
Hence, for testing the validity of theories and to assess their relevance, empirical
researches are encouraged.

The applicability of feminist theories, therefore, forms a subject of interesting
study. In this backdrop, the proposed study seeks to explore the applicability of
this theory of feminism to the tribal society of Koraput.

A Case Study of Tribal Society in Koraput

The focus of this research is on tracing the status of women in a traditional
tribal society in the light of feminist theories discussed earlier. Koraput, being
one of the most tribal dominated districts in Orissa (India) nestles all 62 tribes
(which is, though, a contested figure; see Panda, 2008; p54) found in the province.
This study is thus worth undertaking. The hill people here are considered
marginalized and backward. They are primitive in their outlook and way of life.
Majority of them lack formal education and their economy is forest oriented.
They are below the subsistence level. Modernity or modernization has little
effect on them; it has not penetrated their unique lifestyle, though some changes
are noticed at present. Interestingly, however, on one account, it is found to be
ahead of modern society—it exhibits a kind of relative equality between sexes.
Nobody has fought for this; no activist has ever launched a movement for this.
It may not be a consciously drawn tradition but a fact that despite the existence of a system of division of labour and a system of stratification, oppression of women does not take place by the so-called stronger male members. Therefore researching the status and social role of tribal women in their community vis-à-vis feminist theories is an interesting area of enquiry.

**Aims of the Study**

The crux of the research problem lies in finding linkages of established or prevailing feminist ideas or attitudes in the way of life or culture of the tribal people in Koraput. It seeks to test feminist theories in the context of a traditional society of tribals in an underdeveloped district in an otherwise backward state of Orissa in India. “How far do these people conform to modern feminist ideas in their attitude, behaviour and way of life?” - is the central question around which the present research revolves. The other related questions, which are complementary and supplementary to the principal one, are as follows:
1. What is the male members’ attitude to tribal females?
2. Are the tribal women conscious of their social disadvantages, if any?
3. Have they ever projected themselves as activists?
4. Is their society patriarchal in structure?
5. What is their approach to the birth of a girl child in their family?
6. What are the tribal parents’ expectations from a daughter?
7. What is their approach to the education of a female child?
8. What is their approach to property possession and inheritance by women?
9. Do women have access to modernization?
10. What political role are they playing now that the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments have come into effect followed by complying Acts of the Government of Orissa that have secured 33% reservation for women?
11. What is the impact of polyandry on the status of women in tribal society?
12. What is the impact of self help groups (SHGs) etc. on tribal women?

These are not only questions but also issues to be covered by the present study. On the basis of these issues the proposed research has sought to explore the position of women in some of the tribes like Holva, Saora, and Banda. These include the most advanced and backward tribes in Koraput.

**Materials and Methods**

This study was conducted during mid-January to mid-February, 2008. It is mainly focused on three aboriginal tribes of undivided Koraput district, namely Banda, Holva, and Saora. It relies heavily on both primary and secondary data. [Primary data comprises of data collected afresh that are original in character along with census report of the Government of India; secondary data comprises of findings of scholars on similar themes published in different journals.]
Several methods are used to collect primary data relating to the present research such as the observation method, the interview method, and to some extent, schedules. In the interview method mostly unstructured interviews had been resorted to. Since the tribes under study are mostly illiterate and speak their typical native languages, the assistance of a person who knew the local language and was acquainted with their culture was necessary to elicit responses. Therefore, the assistance of Mr. Gobardhan Panda, Founder Secretary of “Banabasi Bhasa O Sanskriti Gabesana Kendra” (a centre for tribal language and research) had been taken. No prior intimation was given to them (the tribes under study), but on arrival in their villages they were intimated regarding our purpose. From each tribe, 60 persons were randomly chosen. Factors like sex, age, and education were given due weightage.

**Demography**

So far as the proportion of the tribal population in the total population of a district is concerned, Koraput is found to be one of the largest in the state of Orissa. As per the 2001 Census, in Koraput, the tribal population comprises almost half (about 49.62%) of the district’s total population. Banda tribe is found to inhabit the Banda Ghati Area (Banda Hills) in the undivided Koraput district which now comes under Malkangiri district after 1992. The people of that tribe do not have mobility. They are therefore confined to that area. As per the 1991 Census data they were 6863 in number, of which 3257 were males and 3606 females. They speak a language called Remo. Agriculture and forest collection are principal sources of livelihood of the Bandas. They practice both shifting cultivation (podu chas) and terraced cultivation. Other sources of livelihood are gleaning, hunting, fishing, animal husbandry, and wage earning. Bandas are one of the most backward tribes. They are extremely aggressive in nature. On the other hand, Holvas are an advanced lot having undergone a process of “sanskritization.” They are mainly found in Undivided Koraput and Kalahandi districts of Orissa. According to the 1991 census, population of Holvas in Orissa was 30,662, out of which their population was 11,732 in the undivided Koraput district. They speak a dialect called “Halvi,” but are also capable of speaking Oriya language without difficulty. The pattern of dress and ornaments among the Holva is the same as that of their Hindu neighbours. In case of the third group under study, the Saoras are known as one of the oldest tribes in Orissa. The population of Saoras was 404,000 in Orissa according to the 1991 census whose number is 21,064 in undivided Koraput district. They are known for their artistic skills and traditional Panchayat system, which is responsible for maintaining law, order and solidarity in the village.

So far as following the guidelines of an Institutional Review Board (IRB) or Ethics Committee (EC) is concerned, the tribal chieftains (Gamango/ Buyya in case of Saora tribe) of the respective tribes were consulted and were intimated about our intentions. The places where the interviews were conducted are
Banda Hills (for Bandas), Saora Guda (for Saoras), and Umeri (for Holvas). Since Bandas are found only in Banda Hills, there was no option left other than that area but in case of other two tribes convenience had dictated the option. In case of the Banda tribe, the Banda Hill was found to be the only place where they were living to the exclusion of the other tribes; whereas in case of the other two tribes the two villages, i.e., Saora Guda (for Saoras) and Umeri (for Holvas) were found to have the respective tribes in a sizable majority. In the absence of modern day varieties in the composition of the population of the three tribes, only age, sex, and to some extent education were taken into consideration while taking samples. Sixty persons from each category were interviewed for the purpose. Since the tribes under study were not an educated lot, observation method, and interview methods were given precedence over the schedule method. Interviews were mostly unstructured. Questions were added or changed according to the necessities of the situation during the interview.

**Results and Observations**

Of the 180 subjects enrolled in the study and subsequently interviewed, it is found that 80% of the male respondents are followers of feminist principles, which is extremely significant ($\chi^2 = 19.52; P < 0.001$). Here, the present study has taken into consideration their feelings for their women folk and how much they regard and what position they accord to them in their social dealings. Among the female respondents, about 55% showed their willingness to assert their position in their society in the face of challenges to their position posed by their men folks. It is statistically of higher significance ($P < 0.01$) as it points to their consciousness about their social position. It is further found that 37% among women preferred not to answer the questions, or, to be more specific, were rather shy to answer the questions. The questions to these tribal women were perhaps bit embarrassing, which seems to be natural given the cultural mindset of women in general in a society where they usually would not appear to be making any sort of complaint about their husbands. It seems to this researcher that these subjects (the 37%) were perhaps facing these questions for the first time from any outsider. Although it may appear that the reason behind their silence could be that they were afraid of their husbands or they did not like to appear as protesters, but to this researcher this reasoning is not convincing. Maybe these women have not experienced domination or harassment by male folk or husbands or they could not visualize such situations in their wildest imagination; so they preferred to remain shy and silent. Since exclusive privacy could not be ensured at the time of interview with unstructured questionnaire (as at times the respondents answered the questions in the presence of other women) deep probing could not be possible in view of the delicate situation. This finding is also significant ($P < 0.05$) in the sense that it was their immediate reaction when asked to ascertain their relative social position vis-à-vis their male members.
Table 1 shows all these findings while enlisting the responses of different age groups of the concerned tribes. It has also taken into consideration the views of the educated sections in the Halva community since literacy level is almost nil in the other two tribes. The responses of the Halva women, in sharp contrast with the other two tribes, indicate that they have shown more interest in raising their status vis-à-vis their male members.

This difference in the responses of the Halva male and female is found to be "highly significant" vis-à-vis the other two groups. In terms of percentage, it is 20% more than the other two in case of women and around 18% less than the other two groups in case of men. As per the "Michelin Guide" scale its P value is less than 0.01 (i.e., < 0.01). This is statistically very significant. This indicates the possibility that when a community advances economically and educationally a sort of gap and inequality between the genders might become visible.

### Table 1: Sociodemographic variables

| Sociodemographic Variables | Subjects Interviewed | Feminist, n (%) | Nonfeminist, n (%) | Neutral/Don't Know, n (%) |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Gender                      |                      |                 |                   |                          |
| Male                        | 112                  | 88 (80)         | 10 (9)            | 14 (11)                  |
| Female                      | 68                   | 40 (55)         | 05 (8)            | 23 (37)                  |
| Age Group: Male (years)     |                      |                 |                   |                          |
| 5-15                        | 32                   | 19 (60)         | 5 (15)            | 8 (25)                   |
| 1-45                        | 40                   | 34 (85)         | 4 (10)            | 2 (5)                    |
| 46-and above                | 40                   | 38 (95)         | 1 (2)             | 1 (3)                    |
| Age Group: Female (years)   |                      |                 |                   |                          |
| 5-15                        | 18                   | 9 (47)          | 2 (8)             | 7 (45)                   |
| 16-45                       | 30                   | 17 (55)         | 2 (6)             | 11 (39)                  |
| 46 and above                | 30                   | 20 (65)         | 3 (10)            | 7 (25)                   |
| Caste:                      |                      |                 |                   |                          |
| Banda                       | 60                   |                 |                   |                          |
| Male                        | 38                   | 36 (92)         | 1 (4)             | 1 (4)                    |
| Female                      | 22                   | 10 (45)         | 2 (9)             | 10 (46)                  |
| Halva                       | 60                   |                 |                   |                          |
| Male                        | 37                   | 24 (65)         | 6 (15)            | 7 (20)                   |
| Female                      | 23                   | 16 (70)         | 1 (4)             | 6 (26)                   |
| Saora                       | 60                   |                 |                   |                          |
| Male                        | 37                   | 31 (83)         | 3 (8)             | 3 (9)                    |
| Female                      | 23                   | 12 (50)         | 3 (11)            | 8 (39)                   |
| Literates (Halva): Schooling|                      |                 |                   |                          |
| <1                          | 13                   | 9 (68)          | 1 (10)            | 3 (22)                   |
| 1–5                         | 10                   | 6 (60)          | 2 (20)            | 2 (20)                   |
| 5–10                        | 9                    | 5 (55)          | 1 (13)            | 3 (32)                   |
| 10>                         | 8                    | 4 (50)          | 1 (15)            | 3 (35)                   |
In a similar way, male members of the Halva tribe are found to be less feminist in comparison with their counterparts in the other two tribes. This difference, though not statistically “highly significant”, is of no less significance objectively. The $P$ value calculated, i.e., $P < 0.05$ is found to be quite below the average difference among the three categories of data. This difference seems very significant scientifically. This shows how in a relatively advanced tribe, feminist principles are followed less.

However, taking into consideration the responses of 180 persons (as a primary source as displayed in the table above) and the literature available on them (as secondary source) the tribes studied are found to have internalized and followed some feminist principles and at the same time some deviations have also been found. The following are the findings and observations:

The Holva tribe encourages widow remarriage. A widow can remarry the younger brother of her deceased husband—a practice called leviration (Mohanty et al., 1990). In a similar way, Saoras practice both sororate and levirate forms of marriage, i.e., a man can marry his deceased wife’s younger sister and women can marry her deceased husband’s younger brother (Mohanty et al., 1990, p.94).

In the Banda tribe, the usual/customary practice is that a Banda woman of the age group 16–20 years marries a male (boy) of the age group 12–14 years. This is how a relatively mature woman (who happens to be older than her spouse) exercises control over the latter. Therefore, it is the women whose opinions get precedence over male members with regard to household matters (Panda, 2004, p104-108). This marriage system is thus a peculiar one. There are specific dormitories meant for boys and girls for this purpose, which serve as matrimonial agencies to facilitate selection of spouses. Usually, older girls prefer to marry boys younger than them so that the latter would earn for them when the former grew old.

The entire tribal society, especially the Banda tribe, regards and respects women as clever and intelligent and thus they consider them as decision makers. Women therefore interfere when they find their partners doing any wrong.

Among all tribes of Koraput, no discrimination is known to be made on the grounds of sex. They accept and welcome the birth of both a male and female child equally. No preference is attached to either of the sexes, as nontribals do in India. This is reflected in the sex ratio exhibited in the census data. According to the 2001 census, out of 8,145,081, i.e., total number of Scheduled Tribe (ST) population in Koraput, female population (4,078,298) outnumbers the male population (4,066,783). In Koraput, therefore, the sex ratio (female per 100 males) in the age group of 0–6 too outnumbers the state statistics. While it is 953 in case of Orissa, it is 983 in case of Koraput (Saran, 2001). This shows the attitude of tribals toward the female child.
In most of the tribes, both male and female members are economically self-dependent. Both of them go for work; both of them earn for their family. Therefore, male members’ domination over women folk for their dependence is not found as both enjoy approximate economic equality here.

Both male and female consume country wine. There is neither taboo nor restriction that prohibits women from consuming liquor.

Both males and females dance together during their community festivals. *Dhemsra* is the most popular form of dance among tribals where both males and females dance together keeping hand on each other while singing in a chorus.

Even if today female members are given some political offices through the Panchayati Raj Act, it does not make any difference in the status and position of the women. They prefer to work and live in cooperation with their male members.

Gradually tribal women are increasingly enrolled as members of the SHGs. This has been a means to enhance the economic condition of tribal women. However, the benefits and responsibilities of the SHGs are also regarded as a partnership between males and females in tribal community. This has been found while interacting with them during interview.

With the exception of the Banda tribe in case of other tribes it is found that both sexes can propose to marry the candidate’s partner of his or her choice. The same attitude is taken in case of divorce. Although marriages are arranged mostly by negotiation, proposals could be entertained directly from the candidates too.

Unlike the dowry system (open or hidden) prevalent in the mainstream culture in India, tribal society has a customary practice called “bride price.” In case of the former, the bride’s family has to pay valuables to the groom’s family, which is found reversed in case of a tribal marriage. The tribal brides are given valuables instead, and thus the brides become distinct beneficiaries. The cost of bride price sometimes hinders and discourages aspiring grooms from getting married to their desired ones. The practice of “bride price” is prevalent especially among the Saoras (Mohanty *et al.* 1990; p.94). They therefore prefer to marry the daughter of their maternal uncle.

The Banda women look majestic in their traditional dress and ornaments. The necklaces of different colors hang down until the navel. They are embellished with ornaments in nose, ankles, and wrists. Whereas a Banda male uses a cloth 3 feet in length and 1.5 feet in width to girdle his loins.

In the villages inhabited by Holva tribes, institutions like Youth Centers, *Kirtan Mandali* and *Mahila Samitis* (Women Organisations) are found to exist. Women take up issues concerning them in these centers.
In most of the tribes, marriage by negotiation is the common practice; however, there is no social discouragement if one chooses one’s life partner.

With regard to their attitude toward divorce, it has been found that both the tribal male and female can go for it on equal terms. Their society is tolerant enough to permit this practice to be followed by either of the sexes. A tribal woman does not have the fear of social taboos relating to divorce.

Some Socially Imposed Disadvantages Too

Despite the instances cited above, it does not mean that women in this society do not suffer from some male or socially imposed disadvantages. In the Saura tribe, for example, if a woman remains unmarried after attaining adulthood (if not proposed to by someone for marriage), she is forced to marry a plant, and her remarriage is performed like that of a widow (Pattnaik, 2003; p149-152). After marrying the plant, the spinster is sent to stay in her maternal house. Except for few such cases, tribal women in Koraput mostly face no inhibition and disadvantages imposed by men. However, this view cannot be generalized since all the tribes in Orissa are not brought under this study. This remains an apparent limitation, which discourages generalization of our findings and observations. Nevertheless, the findings are encouraging if treated specifically, and these would inspire further research on these tribes in Koraput, and elsewhere, since research on this aspect of tribal society, to my knowledge, is scant and inadequate. However, there have been some “studies on women’s movements in the tribal societies” (Basu, 1990; pp. 193-209) across India, but their contexts and approaches are quite different from this study. Especially in Orissa, such a study on tribals is quite fresh and innovative.

Concluding Remarks

The tribal society of Koraput presents a picture of a stable, tolerant, gender-cooperative, gender-nondiscriminatory, and humane society. They follow and practice the principles of feminism spontaneously. The practice of these principles is quite indigenous and has been a matter of evolution for them. This has been possible in these tribal communities due to the approximate equality (on economic terms) of tribal females with their male members. The other reason that might have contributed to this is that, tribal society here is a closed society having a primitive life style and attitude. It remains far away from the developments achieved by the modern world. Despite their backwardness, however, on one count, i.e., their attitude toward their women folk, they are found to be much ahead of the non-hill people. They are natural feminists. In that sense, they are really modern though they might appear primitive from other considerations. They can confidently say that there is hardly any gender
inequality or discrimination in their society, whereas we, in the developed world, are struggling against it. In this backdrop, let’s conclude that such a perspective is likely to idealize tribal culture which denies patriarchy, providing a source of inspiration for women movements in the mainstream. This also calls for an introspection in the context of the ongoing debate in women’s studies regarding the extent to which feminist theory and practice owe their origin to the experiences of the Western and middle-class women across the globe.

Take Home Message

This study has empirically traced feminist ideas and attitudes present in the tribal society of Koraput. It has exposed a lacuna in the feminist literature or women’s studies since they have not paid due attention to these primitive societies. This has brought to the fore a question of striking consideration whether these communities of the earliest inhabitants should be taken as role models to be adopted by the women’s movements anywhere. Finally, it has raised another important matter to be scrutinized as to whether feminist movements belong to the developed or advanced communities only. This study thus, on the whole, posits that today’s feminist theory is not all-inclusive and final; it is rather an evolving concept requiring much refinement and readjustment in its premises, applications and goals.

Conflict of interest
None declared.

Declaration
This is an original unpublished work, not submitted for publication elsewhere.

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Questions that this Paper Raises

1. Is it that a society which shows respect for women always either a primitive or backward society?

2. Are modernization and development responsible for the deplorable position of women in society?

3. Were primitive societies feminist?

4. Is feminism as a movement confined to the modern civilized world alone?

About the Author

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