

SYNOPSIS

Tattoo: An Inquiry into its Different Dimensions

1. Introduction

Tattoos have had a significant rise in popularity in recent years, which some have discounted as a fad. The relative invisibility of such forms of body modification makes it difficult for them to fully integrate into the fashion industry. Tattoos are used by some as a type of anti-fashion and as a manner of fixing or anchoring the reflexively built self, whether or not their meaning is fixed. They have affinities and distinctions with various types of current body projects in this way. Our bodies are a reflection of who we are. As a result, people compete to achieve a socially idealized body. Individuals must work together to obtain the ideal body.

The type of body modification that is the focal point of interest in the present research is tattooing the body, and how it is shaped by the culture and fashion trends of society. The significance of tattooed bodies is immense. Firstly, they are the first visible form of body art through which the cultural codes of conduct of society are written and the self of an individual is defined. Contemporary discourse on tattooed individuals seeks to assert individual agency in the process of becoming tattooed, through the expression of oneself. Tattoos are increasingly done as a sign of rebelling against social norms. It highlights the importance of an individual's autonomy and freedom of choice in contemporary times. Phelan (1993) suggests that bodies that are socially marked carry social value. Butler (1993) argues that discourse creates groups or social categories that consist of bodies that are in privileged social positions and ones that are abject. The tattooed body, at the same time, has signs that have destroyed the natural body and thus become socially stigmatized. Accepted tattooed bodies need to follow the social norms associated with them. Thus, tattooed bodies reflect the cultural demands of society and also its changing nature. Thus, in this context, the present research aims to analyse the historical evolution of tattooing as art and how it is shaped by the cultural standards of a particular society at a particular period. The study's goal is to show how these cultural norms influenced their religious beliefs and gender norms. Above all, how a definition of self is created and impression management is practiced to avoid stigmatization in the context of tattooing culture is also analysed. The technological evolution of tattooing as body art and the risks associated with it are also analysed, as the evolution of tattooing is related to the evolution of technology as well. The tattooed body is controlled by the same

discourse that controls the body in general. It is both a metaphor for theories of social inscription and also a key cultural site or creation of body theory in general.

Many sociologists have been concerned about both the body and identity. This topic is important in sociology because it helps to understand how the body becomes a medium for symbolic interpretation of self-identification and how that identity has evolved from group to individual identity. ii) The topic also serves to emphasise that tattooing, piercing, and other types of body modification are all archaic procedures that have been homogenised by technology. And iii) it aids in the analysis of a society's fashion trends, which are, in turn, a reflection of the culture of that civilization.

2. Overview of Literature

The focus of the study is to point out the relationship between tattooing culture and the construction of an individual's identity, guided by social norms. Several pieces of literature have contributed to separate aspects of this thesis, insofar as they fall into separate academic disciplines, such as anthropology, gender studies, and religious studies, to name a few. However, certain literature directly focused on tattoos and their different dimensions. Though there is quite a lot of literature in the western context, in the context of India, it is mainly based upon anthropological studies and tribal studies, as the art is mainly associated with the I The art of Godna (Tattooing) is traditionally tied with or related to religion and regarded rites of passage among the Nondwij castes in the Awadh areas of India, according to Singh (2015:15-22) in her study on tattooing culture across the Awadh region of India. Both men and women choose this type of art, though the designs are comparable to those of other Indian tribes. In research on the Baiga tribe of India by Mohanto (2015:82-83), the author underlines the relevance of tattooing in Indian tribal culture, analysing the symbols employed and their meaning associated with the tribal culture.

Dr. Mohanto points out that the designs of the tattoos were strongly along gender lines. Such symbols were assigned to women. Scorpions and other symbols are associated with men. These are associated with norms of masculinity and femininity as defined by the cultural standards of society. Rao (1942:175-179) stated that tattoo culture is prevalent among South Indian tribes like the Korava and Irula Doms and is mostly connected with their religion and mythology, totems, and traditional avocation. The figures of scorpions, birds, fishes, flowers are common.

A study conducted on a small number of tattooed respondents in Kolkata, India, by Archita Dey, Kaustav Das, Koel Mukherjee, and Sutopa Mukhopadhyay (2017:32-33) points that there are no legal issues and rules related to tattooing in India; anyone with a tattoo machine becomes a tattoo artist without proper knowledge. The individuals who are getting inked are also not aware of the health risks associated with tattooing unless there are some issues. There are also no rules about the certification of tattoo artists. The desire for high profit leads to the use of low-quality ink, making the process more risk-prone.

In the context of Western sociological literature available on tattooing, the names of Sanders and Vail, Michael Atkinson, Lisiunia, A. Romaneiko, Pitts, and Victoria are some famous names. Michael Atkinson is an influential tattoo scholar to publish several works on tattooing. Atkinson believes that tattooing is a pro-social activity in which individuals purposely engage to resist cultural discourses about what is defined as an appropriate body project. Atkinson's (2004:125-146) ethnographic study with 92 tattoo enthusiasts of Canada concluded that tattooing the body represents one's sense of "I" within social circles, i.e., "WE" groups (e.g., family, friends, peers). Sanders and Vail (2008), in their book *'Customizing the Body: The Art and Culture of Tattooing'* point out that wearing a tattoo connected a person to significant others who were similarly marked and made one unique by symbolizing freedom or self-control.

Romanienko's (2011) book *'Body Piercing and Identity Construction: A Comparative Perspective'* was based on fifteen years of experience with defiant communities engaged in body modification (Gutter punks, bikers, and anarchists). She investigated how body modification can be used as both private and public symbols to represent a specific identity of rebellion and defiance, demonstrating a rejection of conformity and conventionality. Such displays also provide a sense of status and belonging within one's group. Scholars like DeMello and Sanders showed the correlation between certain groups and tattoos, like bikers, convicts, sailors, punks, and delinquents. These groups are also stigmatized by society. The popularity of tattooing with these groups was associated with the relation of tattooing with symbolized group affiliations. Sanders indicates that by the twentieth century, tattooing was established as a deviant practice in the public mind. (1989, p. 445). Goffman's concept of Stigma can be associated with this connection. According to Goffman, stigma is a sign that designates an individual as spoiled and differentiates them from normal. (Goffman, 1963:132-150). Those who do not follow the trend are stigmatized as deviants or rebels.

Individuals trying to maintain their impression and avoid stigma try to abide by the norms culturally set. Others get the identity of being deviant. Stigmatization is an individual process; some attributes and characteristics that are devalued are socially created, depending upon how individuals interpret the situation in the interaction.

Most of the literature on the tattooed body reflects primarily on the male tattooed body or gender-neutral context. Only a few scholars have talked about the gender politics associated with tattooing. Atkinson's study here shows that gain becomes significant. Atkinson argues that despite the growing popularity of tattooing, the female body remains a contested site concerning the gender representation of tattoo selection. Atkinson argues that to mitigate the potential disapproval, women generally negotiate with the tattoo selection process. To make the tattooed body socially acceptable, various measures are taken to make the tattoo look more feminine (2002). This includes the size, design, location, and visibility of the tattoo.

There is literature focusing on stereotypes of tattooed individuals based on their gender. Arndt and Glassman, in a study conducted in 2012, pointed out the differences in gender norms associated with female and male tattooed respondents in the workplace. The study concluded that even if tattoos are accepted, there are definite codes of acceptable conduct for male and female tattoos. The research also concluded that tattooed salespersons were not always viewed negatively by tattooed respondents as by non-tattooed respondents. In her study on extreme body modifications, Pitts points out how female body projects like tattooing can act as an opportunity to resist female gender roles (2003). Pitts points out that: "Some women have described their body art as a way to rebel against male domination.....they aim to reject the pressure of beauty norms and the role of "proper" femininity." (Pitts, 2003:3).

With the increase in technological innovations, there has been an increase in tattooing popularity as the process is made easy, available, less painful, and more decorative. With the increase in popularity, there are increased risks associated with it. The risks are both social and health-related. Deschesnes et al. (2006:379-393) conducted a study with 2,145 students (aged 12 to 18) in Quebec, Canada. While most teens said that a "professional" in a studio performed their body modification and that they received aftercare instruction, a high percentage of students report health complications following the procedure.

Tattooing also had therapeutic values. Anthropologist Lars Krutak has studied and analyzed the tattooing cultures of many societies and written extensively on the subject. She points out

that in several societies like Borneo, Papua New Guinea, and several indigenous cultures throughout America, tattooing was believed to be a remedy for several problems like infertility, spiritual possessions, joint pain, vision problems, paralysis, body pain, headache, etc. (Krutak,2018:1-5).

3. Objectives the Study

Tattooing is one of the most popular types of body modification in both past and present society. The present study thus tries to get insights into this popular form of body modification, which has the following objectives:

1. How do tattoos as a marker of body modifications help in creating a definition of self or identity construction?
2. What role do gender and religious factors play in the processes of body modification and identity construction?
3. What are the positive and negative social and individual effects of body modification, especially concerning the health risks associated with it?

The present study attempts to use a mixed-method approach to explore tattooed individuals' perceptions about body modification and identity construction and explore how technology has made the process a part of contemporary fashion. To combine the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches for an expanded understanding of the research problem, a mixed-method approach has been used for the present research. The research was conducted on a basis of partially mixed concurrent dominant status design where quantitative and qualitative data was collected with major emphasis on qualitative data and methods.

The present research aims to use a qualitative approach to analyse how, through the process of body modification like tattooing, individuals develop their identity. Fashion and identity are socially constructed phenomena shaping tattooed individuals' lived experiences of the respondents. In the case of qualitative analysis, the experience of the respondents through the narratives shared by them is comprehended and explained, which became the primary basis of the research. In the case of quantitative analysis, the demographic profile is discussed with descriptive statistics. At the same time, percentage calculations were also done to figure out various dimensions associated with tattooing.

Though the research is mainly based on qualitative methods and data, in certain contexts, quantitative measures are also used. For example, while analysing demographic data and some other aspects, quantitative methods were of help. No single methods get priority over the other in the case of qualitative research.

In addition to mixed methods research, the present research also aims to use an Interpretative approach to mixed methods research. An interpretative research approach aims to understand how individuals make meanings in their social world. From an interpretative perspective, a mixed-method project often uses quantitative research as an auxiliary to a primary qualitative methodology as a means of understanding both broader objective context and contextualizing people's experiences. When a researcher employs an interpretative research approach, the researcher's epistemology assumes multiple subjective realities, that include meanings and stories constructed or produced by individuals within their natural settings. (Hesse-Biber, 2010)

The present research aims to interpret how the social experiences of individuals lead one to adopt a certain form of body modification as an agent of acceptable fashion in society and how tattooed individuals, through their lived experiences in society, create a form of identity dictated and controlled by societal norms. Here, an individual's interpretation of the meanings of the social world is significant in the creation of his or her identity. Individuals adopt fashion trends and modify their bodies to manage impressions with the audience in interaction. Thus, individuals' interpretations of the reactions of their audiences are significant. Individuals' interpretations are to a great extent shaped by their social experiences. Therefore, the primary aim of the research is to interpret how tattooed individuals, through their lived experiences, create a form of social identity. Through a cross-sectional approach, the research aims to interpret gender and religion as social parameters in such identity construction. The research also highlights and interprets how technology has evolved with society, making fashion and body modification an accepted trend in contemporary society.

In the present research, I have used different methods of qualitative approach, i.e., face-to-face interview schedule followed by observation and narrative analysis. The research tool was a semi-structured interview schedule. The interview method is often preferred by many researchers while conducting a qualitative approach. It is a "favorite methodological tool for the qualitative researcher" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994) is practiced in this present research.

Interview methods help the respondents to answer in their own words and also express their thoughts and feelings. They do more than just provide information about cultural frames and their importance, while individuals create meanings from their social experiences. Through interviews, the lived experiences of the individuals studied and their perspectives were able to be taken into account, which is again an attribute of the qualitative interpretative approach.

Narratives are used and are the preferred choice here, as the research aims to highlight the experience of the tattooed individuals in creating their own identities. Narratives like respondents' experiences of getting stigmatized for having tattoos despite being a woman, mythological narratives of particular communities for compulsorily having a tattoo as a marker of community identity, and many more were significant for the present research.

In the present study, the unit of analysis was 40 tattooed individuals, both men, and women residing in Kolkata, in the age group of 20-60. In this study, the primary sampling technique was used to select the respondents. The Snowball method for collecting samples was also used. As 40 tattooed respondents were required, after interviewing one respondent, contacts of known people with tattoos were gathered. A tattoo artist with a tattoo became the main source for snowball sampling. Individual face-to-face interviews were taken while recording the interviews with the consent of the respondents while keeping in mind the ethical issues. Other than recording the data, field notes were also taken so that all the necessary information could be taken into account. Narratives and live experiences of the respondents were also taken into account, for better in-depth insights.

4. Structure of the Study

The first chapter of the thesis aims to introduce this study with a review of relevant literature as available in books and journals. As research on the body and body modification, specifically in respect to tattooing and identity, is rare, relatively new studies originating mainly in the 19th-century English-speaking world were analysed. The section highlights the history of tattooing and the evolution of tattooing culture and technology. Tattooing, being a popular tribal art, has gained popularity among modern youth. The chapter also aims to highlight how body modification, specific tattooing, helps define an individual's social self. The chapter, with the help of secondary data, tries to explain the correlation between tattooing, fashion, and identity construction. It aims to point out how the cultural codes of a particular society teach the dos and don'ts, and thus those who do not follow these codes of

conduct are tagged as deviants. Stigmatization and Impression Management become important steps in defining the identity and self of individuals. The chapter also highlights the gender and religious norms associated with tattooing. Tracing the evolution of tattooing technology, the chapter discusses the health risks associated with tattooing at the time, trying to point out the positive social consequences associated with the art.

The second chapter aims to highlight the basic major theoretical assumptions applicable to this research. Here, sociological interpretations of the body and self in Symbolic Interactionism, especially in the work of Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead, and dramaturgical interpretations of Ervin Goffman are reviewed. The research is also critically interpreted with a sociological feminist perspective on the body, identity, and fashion. The theory in this research was later related to the empirical data collected and interpreted accordingly.

The third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the thesis aim at analysing narratives gathered or collected through interviews with the respondents as a source of primary data. Because the research was based on both qualitative and quantitative approaches, with a preference for the qualitative approach, the narratives were analysed along with a few statistical analyses of the data gathered from closed-end questions from the in-depth procedures.

The third chapter, based on empirical findings and interpretations, focuses primarily on gender and identity construction, religious norms associated with tattooing, tattooing and identity construction, and positive and negative consequences associated with tattooing. The section on tattooing gender and identity construction focus upon socially constructed norms associated with masculinity and femininity, disciplining and controlling the individual's body, and defining his or her self. The cultural codes of conduct associated with masculinity and femininity are also reflected in cases of modification processes like tattooing and identity construction. In contemporary times, though, tattooing has gained popularity. Showing off one's tattoo, especially if she is a woman, is taken for granted that it is done for the male audience. As a result, her identity and character are socially tagged as deviant. In this way, the body is controlled and disciplined by societal norms. Individuals who do not follow the cultural codes of conduct associated with masculinity and femininity are tagged as stigmatized and tagged as deviants. As individuals have a goal of impression management, they tend to follow the social and cultural norms associated with their gender. Individuals

who do not follow it get the definition of having a deviant self-identity, which many times becomes a fashion trend.

In the section on tattooing religion and identity, the research focuses upon tattooing practices in three major religions of the world: Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity, in the context of India. The section tries to analyse the cultural codes of conduct associated with tattooing and religion and how it helps to create an identity. Through body modification practices like tattooing, religion also performs the role of social control, by pointing out the dos and don'ts of society. Secondary data sources point out that in certain religions like Christianity and Islam, tattooing is considered a sin and is therefore forbidden. However, in the case of Hinduism, there are no such laws. In fact, in some communities within Hinduism, it is a mandatory act to get tattooed, especially for women, to showcase their attainment of marriage age. Such norms are even practiced today. Tattooing of religious symbols has gained huge popularity in contemporary times. They also portray the religious identity of the individual. The identity of belonging to a particular group. For example, a tattoo with a symbol of a cross gives the individual the identity of a Christian which he or she may not be. Many times, the individual adopts it solely as a fashion statement. Some of the major tattoo designs popular among the respondents are 'Om', 'Cross', 'Shiv', 'Ganesha', and 'Sanskrit Slokas'. In Christianity and Islam, though tattooing is a forbidden act, the tattoo culture is quite high among the modern youth who belong to these two communities. They simply take it as a fashion statement and describe it as an act of expression, freedom to beautify oneself. Here again, they are tagged as deviants, and the identity of being different is bestowed upon them. Stigmatization for those who do not follow the religious codes of conduct is also applicable in this respect.

The section on tattooing and identity construction deals with body modification, identity construction, and stigmatization. As individuals adopt body modification practices to portray the socially defined perfect body and the perfect self, the concept of impression management becomes significant. Tattooing is both a part of the deviant culture and popular culture. Individuals adopt it primarily by adhering to societal cultural codes, and they tend to display the art to the audience for it to gain acceptance. Here, the concept of significant others is very important. One's body is a reflection of one's self, and hence, if he or she chooses to display an identity that does not follow the social norms, he or she gets the identity of being a deviant. To avoid these deviant self-individuals, we tend to abide by the social norms,

especially if the audience involved in the interaction is our significant other. In the case of occupation or profession, for example, respondents feel they need to hide their tattoos in their work-life where it can give them the identity of a deviant. Simultaneously, respondents in professions such as gym training, modelling, and so on felt that showing off their tattoos had become associated with their identity as a model or a gym trainer. Thus, individuals maintain multiple identities mainly to maintain the impression of creating the desired self-image. In this way, society, on a very unconscious level, maintains a form of discipline and control, which we as individuals just adopt in the name of fashion trends. The personal and public self is also a matter of concern in this respect. Which self does the individual want to portray and to whom?

The final section highlights the evolution of tattooing technology, as, without technology, this art loses its significance. The evolution of technology highlights the evolution of culture and society. The chapter points out certain health risks associated with this art. Evolving technology has made the health risks even more complicated, and individuals are mostly ignorant about the health risks associated with tattooing. The major health risks associated with tattooing are infection and allergic reactions, which the respondents were more or less aware of. However, risks of transmittable diseases such as HIV, Hepatitis B, and C can occur, albeit inadvertently. Data shows that both tattoo artists are ignorant about the health risks associated with the ink used in tattooing, but knowledge of transmittable diseases from the needle was present mostly among all. Awareness of HIV is relatively high compared to Hepatitis B and C. The respondent did not have any history of these diseases after tattooing, but infection and allergic reactions were common. Though the risks are coincidental, governmental control is essential as these risks cannot be ignored.

The chapter also points out the positive consequences of tattooing technology. In this respect, therapeutic tattooing was analysed. Though therapeutic tattooing had a long history to be used in acupuncture points of the body for various medical purposes, in modern times nipple tattooing, hair tattooing, eyebrow tattooing, tattooing to cover scars and burnt marks can also be regarded as therapeutic, as these tattoos help in healing the pain associated with not having the perfect social body and self. Though such technology can be associated with consumer culture and disciplining body, the positive social role of boosting self-confidence and creating a new social self cannot be ignored. Many times, such tattoos are also used to overcome emotional stress and life events, the symbols of the tattoo also give the individual a sense of

emancipation, empowerment, and freedom to express one's self. In this respect, the positive social role of tattooing technology cannot be ignored.

Chapter four tries to summarise the thesis by pointing out that tattooing is one of the oldest forms of body modification, practiced in almost all cultures around the world. Though it has a history that shows that tattooing as art was mainly practiced by the tribes, it has gained huge popularity among modern youth. Tattoo culture, which was associated mostly with the western world, has also shown great popularity all across the world. Following the dominant cultural trends of society, or rather, following the fashion trend, becomes significant to create or express the perfect social self or identity. Tattooing is one such major form of body modification that has seen cultural evolution and has evolved with cultural and technological evolution. Individuals adopt body modification practices like tattooing, as defined by society, to represent the perfect social self. There are social norms based on gender and religion that govern body modification practices, define the social identity of men and women, and also highlight our religious identity. These norms also dictate the dos and don'ts associated with tattooing. Certain major health risks are there with the tattooing process, but it can act for therapeutic purposes as well.

5. Future Research Potentialities and Limitations of the Study

The current study is based on 50 Kolkata residents, both men and women between the ages of 20 and 60. The goal was to investigate how an individual's identity is formed through tattooing and body modification while adhering to cultural standards of behaviour. Future study has a lot of potential because more respondents can be included, and a bigger field could have been covered. Other sorts of body modification can be considered as well.

As tattooing and identity construction is not such researched work in India, more large-scale studies with a larger population can be done. The practice of art in the present-day tribal cultures of India and the changes in them can also be observed.

In the case of the health risks associated with tattooing, patients with diseases that can cause tattooed can be studied, especially in medical sociology. Class factors and health risks that were not a parameter for the present research can be considered as a part of future studies. As tattooing is not a researched topic in India, finding literature for the study, especially in the context of India, was difficult. As the narratives given by the respondents were so vast, interpreting them and bringing them under sub-themes was a challenge.

SELECTED WORKS

Atkinson, Michael, and Kevin, Young. (2001). 'Flesh Journeys: Neo Primitives and the Rediscovery of Radical Body Modification.' *Deviant Behavior and Interdisciplinary Journal*. 22. 117-146.

Atkinson, Michael. 2002. 'Pretty in Ink: Conformity, Resistance and Negotiation in Women's Tattooing.' *Sex Roles*. 47. (5/6). 219-235.

Atkinson, Michael. 2003. *Tattooed the Sociogenesis of Body Art*. Toronto. University of Toronto Press.

Atkinson.M. (2004). 'Tattooing and Civilizing Process. Body Modification and Self Control.' *Canadian Review of Sociology*. 41. 125-146.

Butler, Judith. (1993). *Bodies that Matter: On Discursive Limits of Sex*. Routledge. New York. London.

Davis, Kathy. 1995. *Reshaping the Female Body: The Dilemma of Plastic Surgery*. London. Routledge.

Deschenes, Marthe. Fines Philippe and Demers, Stephanie, (2006). 'Are Tattooing and Piercing Indicators of Risk Behaviour among High School Students?'. *Journal of Adolescence*. 25. (3). 379-393.

De, Mello. Margo. 1995. 'Not just for Bikers anymore: Popular Representations of American Tattooing.' *Journal of Popular Culture*. 29. (3). 37-52.

De. Mello. Margo. 1995. 'The Carnavalesque Body: Women and Tattoo.' *Pierced Hearts and True Love*. Ed. Don. Ed. Hardy. Honolulu H.I. Hardy Harks. Pub. 72-82.

De. Mello. Margo. (2000). *Bodies of Inscription. A Cultural History of Modern Tattoo Community*. Durham and London. Duke University Press.

Glassman Myron and Arndt D. Aaron. 2012. 'What Tattoos tell. Customers about Salespeople: The Role of Gender Norms. *Marketing Management Journal*. 22 (1). 50-65.

Goffman Erving. (1963) *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. New York. Simon and Schuster.

Goffman Erving. 1956. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Edinburg. University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre. a tattoo.

Kala Silverman. 1996. *The Threshold of the Visible Body*. Routledge Press.

Krutak, Lars. (2015). 'The Cultural Heritage of Tattooing: A Brief History. In Serup J. Kluger N. and Baumler W.'s *Tattooed Skin and Health*. G.B.R Jemic. 48.

Mohanta Kumar Basanta. 'Tattoo and Tribal Identity: Case of Baiga Tribe of Central India.' *Asia Mirror. International Journal of Research*. II. (2). 82-83.

Phelan, M.P., & Hunt, S.A. (1998). Prison gang members' tattoos as identity work: The visual communication of moral careers. *Symbolic Interaction*, 21, 277-298.

Pitts, Victoria. (2003). *In the Flesh: The Cultural Politics of Body Modification*. New York. Palgrave MacMillan

Pitts, V. 2000. 'Visible Queer: Body Technologies and Sexual Politics.' *The Sociological Quartey*. 41. (3). 443-463.

Rao, Hayavadana. C. (1942/1945). 'Note on Tattooing in India and Burma'. Nomos Verlage selleschaft. mbtt.37

Romaneiko, A. Lisiunia. (2011). *Body Piercing and Identity Construction: A Comparative Perspective*. New York, New Orleans, Wroclaw. Unite States. Pub: Palgrave Macmillan.

Singh Neetu. 2015. 'Godna Body Tattooing of Awadh Region from Mythology to Modernity.' Bhopal. India. *International Journal of English Language Literature and Humanities*. 3. (4). 15-22.

Singh, Vidya Bindu. (1989). *Awadhi Lokgeet Virasat, Chandan Chowk*.(Ed). Lucknow. Vidya Niwas Mishra. Uttar Pradesh. Sangeet Natak Academy. 295.

Smith S. George and Zimmerman.R. Michael. (1975). 'Tattooing found on a 1600 years old Frozen Mummified Body from St. Lawrence Island Alaska'. Washington. D.C. *Society for American Archaeology*. 433-437.

Sween, M. C. (2008). Tattoos and the interaction process: managing a tattooed identity.

Wingate Douglas (2019). 'Tattooing as a Method of Acupoint Stimulation and Potential Therapeutic Interventions.' Research gate

Yumiko Sasaki, MD; Hajime Matsumine. 2018. Modified Medical Tattooing Techniques in Nipple-areola Complex Reconstruction, MD, Ph.D. The Department of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgery, Tokyo Women's Medical University, School of Medicine, Tokyo, Japan.

