

## Reproductive Health Vulnerabilities and Gender Role Attributes among Tribe's: A study for Public Health system strengthening in, India

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### ARTICLE INFO

#### Article history:

Received: 2 April 2018;

Received in revised form:

29 April 2018;

Accepted: 8 May 2018;

#### Keywords:

STI,  
RTI,  
Gender Transformative  
Approach,  
Tribes,  
HIV,  
AIDS,  
Sexuality,  
Alcohol,  
Masculinity.

### ABSTRACT

Gender Based Violence occurs in all socio-economic and cultural setups even in tribal NFHS 3 data shows high percentage of domestic violence among tribes in Jharkhand. Women are socialized to accept, tolerate, and even rationalize domestic violence and to remain silent about such experiences. Various research's on violence against women shows that Intimate partner violence is associated with negative physical and mental health sequel i.e. depression, low self-esteem, alcohol abuse and sexual and reproductive health issues, and HIV/AIDS. Household survey was administered among respondent age 15-49 years, following two stage sampling design to represent the state. Overall 247 tribal women and 217 men were on Santhal Tribes in Jharkhand. The analysis shows that those who consume alcohol are considerably more likely to get involved in violence against the women leading to reproductive health vulnerabilities like STI/RTI outcomes. The study suggests that better understanding of the causes of violence against women will be useful in designing both prevention programs and interventions with men as center of all the programs. The research has begun to identify childhood exposure, high alcoholism to later high masculinity.

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### Introduction

Men have long been known to be violent against their women folks in several existing societies, also men from violent homes are significantly more likely to use violence against their wives (Gracia., 2004). In many they do so to demonstrate their superior masculinity which results to physical attack, abuse, neglect and relegation to their women to the background and only appreciate as an object for sex (Dood et al., 2003). Although interventions have primarily been concerned with increasing women's social status and amplify their voices within the public sphere, there is a long way to go to pin down this discord.

The present paper explores the construct of masculinity and examines its links with the perpetuation of violence among married men in tribal settings of Dumka district in Jharkhand. Behaviour is the reflection of thinking and perception of an individual. Therefore, links of masculinity with risk perception have also been examined in the paper. The paper discusses the masculine attributes in which men are encultured and suggests how policy makers might respond.

There is a slender streak of delineation between 'being different' and 'being unequal'. The latter one is a hierarchical model, frequently allied with the concept of superiority / inferiority and is thus socially value laden.

At present upliftment of women's status in India is a searing issue that can only become a reality if the issue of gender based violence is revisited and explicate through further debate. When a woman attains economic independence she naturally becomes the mistress of her own body and author of her own decisions.

Even she can take free choices of her sex life and no one can force her to use her for their pleasure and benefit. Nancy et al., (2002) has emphasized that inter-linkages between different socio-cultural and environmental factors are responsible for this social evil.

It is right time for reviewing and debating gaps in existing literatures to improve statistics on domestic violence, and with this in mind to develop a clear picture of its nature and prevalence, to permit the identification of those sections of population which are often hidden and hard to reach.

Over the years there are growing evidence suggesting that violence against women is perpetuated primarily due to rigid views of gender and masculinities that encourage men's use of dominance and aggression. One-fifth of young men and 1 in 10 young women think that abuse or violence against women is acceptable (Zero Tolerance Charitable Trust, 1998). Research in Brazil and India has shown, for example, that men's attitudes towards gender norms (assessed through the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale) are highly

correlated to self-reported use of violence against women<sup>1</sup>. It is important to recognize that masculinity plays a significant role at individual level i.e., men who perpetrate violence towards women are more likely to have negative attitudes about women, but also at the community or contextual level (Katz, 1995, 2003). Both individual and contextual factors are related to the perpetration of violence. A review in the *Lancet* of factors predicting perpetration of violence against women identified issues related to male privilege and control as one of the major factors (Jewkes, 2002). In this review, male entitlement and stereotypical notions of gender roles, along with poverty and alcohol use, are the most significant predictors of perpetrating violence against women and health outcomes even down to HIV/AIDS. That is, men who hold more rigid views about gender roles and are more supportive of gender inequality are more likely to use violence against women. Also those men that follow a "gender transformative approach," that is, they deliberately seek to change gender relations and gender norms, are more likely to show evidence of attitude and behavior change in support of gender equality and health outcome (Barker et al., 2007.)

Domestic violence occurs in all socio-economic and cultural setups. Women are socialized to accept, tolerate, and even rationalize domestic violence and to remain silent about such experiences (NFHS 3, 2005-06). Various research's on violence against women shows that Intimate partner violence is the most prevalent form of Gender Based Violence (GBV) and is associated with negative physical and mental health sequel i.e. depression, low self esteem, alcohol abuse and sexual and reproductive health issues (Christine et al., 2002). Recent research reveals that 45 percent women and 26 percent men had experienced at least one incident of interpersonal violence in their lifetimes. (Walby and Allen, 2004) ) – However when there were more than 4 incidents (i.e. ongoing domestic or sexual abuse) 89 percent of victims were women.

Women in Jharkhand are not very different from women elsewhere in the country in terms of discrimination and disadvantages. There are a number of common characteristics, which the women of Jharkhand lack behind their male counterparts, mainly their level of literacy and education, doing unpaid work, low participation in the work force, very little property rights and even discrimination within the family. Data from various studies confirm the existence of gender inequalities and strain. NFHS 3, Jharkhand State report (2005-06), clearly demonstrates that

Fifty-five percent of women from Scheduled Tribe (ST) agree that "husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife" against 50 percent women of other caste group. Evidence from NFHS-2 (1998-99) show that women from Schedule Tribes (STs) and Lower caste group are significantly more likely to experience domestic violence than their counterparts. Results from NFHS-3 (2005-06) portray that Fifty percent of tribal women in Jharkhand have ever experienced any form of violence against 34 percent women coming from other caste groups. The prevalence of anemia among women in Jharkhand is higher than in almost all other Indian states (Rani, S.,2007).

Estimates derived from a study conducted by IIPS, Mumbai and JHSPH, Baltimore (2005) in four states of India founds that, among all four states the highest prevalence of domestic violence was observed in Jharkhand, where one in three women reported having experience of domestic violence (33%). The study further reveals that fifty-three percent of women in Jharkhand responded life time ever experience of physical threats or violence. Thirty percent of women reported experience of sexual violence in form of forced sex from their partners.

Whereas, 18 percent of women witnessed violence during pregnancy. Wife refusing sex to husband was mentioned as a factor in violence by 19 percent of women. Similarly, alcohol consumption by husband appears to be an important precipitating factor for intimate partner violence (31%). Study also collected data on women's mental health, results for example, show that 40 percent of women felt constantly under strain, 37 percent lost sleep and 36 percent feeling unhappy or depressed, and clearly mentioned the magnitude of the problem of women's mental health. In another study conducted by IIPS, Mumbai and Population Council, New Delhi among Youth in India, confirmed that overall 19 percent of young women reported indicatives of mental disorder (Youth state Report, Jharkhand, 2006-07).

In this context we analyzed the construction of masculinity and examines the links of masculinity with sex outside marriage and gender based violence based on primary data collected from tribal married men from Jharkhand state in central India. The data was collected from structured questionnaire and tools as a part of primary survey. The prime objective is to assess the dimensions and determinants of masculinity, attitudes and reproductive health behavior on issues related to gender role in order to address gender inequality and insights for gender differentiated policies and programs

### Research Design and Methods

The research is based on a cross sectional design, to produce primary data to examine multiple dimensions of gender role attitude and GBV from the perspective of tribal male population. Our research method was involving the use of quantitative techniques. Household survey was administered among respondent age 15-49 years, following two stage sampling design to represent the state. Overall 247 tribal women and 217 men were interviewed for the for-PhD research work on Santhal Tribes in Jharkhand. Bi Variate and Multivariate Statistical analysis was done to analyze the role of predictor variable on response variable

### The Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale

An important prerequisite for achieving gender equality is changing men's attitude towards gender norms that they internalize and that influences their behaviour. The level of perception of men regarding masculinity is assessed using an

<sup>1</sup>The GEM scale was originally developed and validated in Brazil and has since been adapted in diverse settings, including India. It consists of a set of attitude questions related to gender roles in the home and intimate relationships and has been found to be associated with important health outcomes such as partner violence and reproductive health. For example, young and adult men who say they tolerate or even support violence against women are more likely to show non-equitable attitudes about gender roles in the home and intimate relationships, as measured by the GEM scale (Pulerwitz, J. and Barker, G. 2008. "Measuring attitudes toward gender norms among young men in Brazil: Development and psychometric evaluation of the GEM Scale," *Men and Masculinities* 10: 322-338).

adapted version of the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale developed initially by the Horizons Program and Instituto Promundo in Brazil. This scale has been widely adapted by many countries and has shown a high level of validity.

To generate masculinity index, all 37 variables were summed up to get a score range of 22 to 65, and it was further trichotomized as 'low' (22-38), 'moderate' (39-50) and 'high' (51-65) to support for equitable gender norms. It is not necessary to done equal categorization as Baker et al., (2008) in their study on 'Gender, masculinity and son preference in Brazil (Baker and Recardo *et al.* 2008). The categorization was done to facilitate bivariate and multivariable analysis.

In order to make the results easier to interpret, the respondents were classified into three categories based on their GEM scale scores. The selection of cut off for low, moderate and high is based on evidence from other studies conducted in similar socio-cultural settings. The results show that 34 percent of men have high support for equitable gender norms, 37 percent have moderate support for equitable gender norms, and 30 percent of men have low support for equitable gender norms like in favor of traditional gender role attitudes (Figure.1).

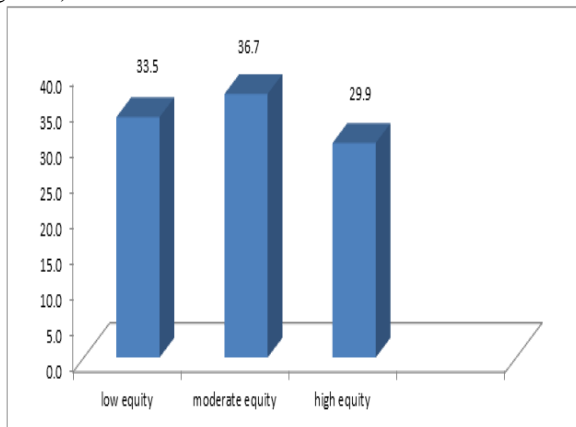


Figure 1. GEMS SCALE (need to give a suitable title).

Table 1. Multinomial logistic regression of masculinity attitude of men according to selected background Characteristics.

Background Characteristics	Moderate equity (OR 95% CI)	High Equity (OR 95% CI)
<b>Age</b>		
15 to 24@		
25-34	2.1(0.78-5.51)	1.1(0.38-3.26)
35 and Above	1.5(0.63-3.68)	0.5(0.20-1.27)
<b>Education</b>		
No Education@		
Below Primary	5.5***(1.90-15.95)	1.0(0.31-3.27)
Middle school	3.8*(0.85-16.99)	3.7*(0.89-18.78)
High School and Above	2.7***(1.13-6.28)	0.6(0.25-1.47)
<b>Occupation</b>		
No occupation@		
Informal/unorganized	0.04***(0.004-0.366)	0.1***(0.004-0.88)
Govt	0.04***(0.004-0.309)	0.1***(0.003-0.65)
Private/business	0.05***(0.005-0.4354)	0.4(0.03-6.42)
<b>Media Exposure</b>		
No exposure@		
Partial Exposure	0.1***(0.014-0.189)	0.01***(0.00-0.07)
Full exposure	0.13***(0.044-0.366)	0.6(0.18-1.770)
<b>Religion</b>		

Hindu@		
Christian	2.1*(0.90-4.86)	1.0(0.43-2.38)
No Religion /Sarna	2.2(0.86-5.72)	1.3(0.51-3.29)
<b>Wealth index</b>		
Poor@		
Middle	0.6(0.26-1.37)	0.5*(0.19-1.07)
Non Poor	0.8(0.35-1.73)	0.5(0.23-1.26)

\*The reference Category of Response variable is Low Equity

**Masculinity and risk perception among married men in Santhal Tribe**

Attitudes for premarital and extramarital sex have been considered to measure the risk perception among married men in rural settings. Masculinity index has been taken as the predictor variable along with other demographic and socio-economic predictors to examine the differentials and determinants of attitudes for premarital and extra marital sex.

**Sexuality and attitude towards premarital sex**

An index of attitude towards premarital sex was created using four attitudinal statements about attitude towards premarital sex such as "It is sinful to have sex before marriage", "It is ok for both men and women to have sex before marriage", "It is ok for a man to have sex before marriage", "It is ok for a woman to have sex before marriage".

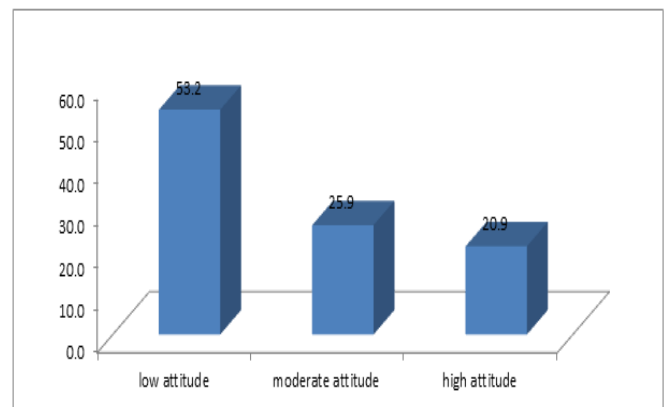


Figure 2. Attitude towards Pre-Marital Sex among Santhal Men.

Figure 2 show that around 53 present of Santhal men have low attitude towards pre-marital sex, which represents that they believe in like there is nothing wrong in having sex before marriage. But here one should always keep the study area into account. Around 26 percent have medium attitude and 21 percent have high attitude or positive attitude towards Pre marital sex

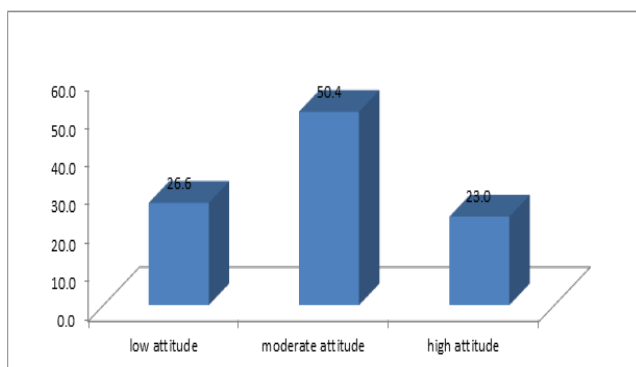
**Sexuality and attitude towards extramarital sex**

An index of attitude towards the extramarital sex was also created using nine statements about attitude towards the extramarital sex such as 'It is all right for a man to have an extra-marital relationship', 'There is nothing wrong for a man to have sex with another lady when wife is pregnant' etc.

Figure 3 depicts the percentage of men having attitude towards the extra-marital sex according to some selected background characteristics. The attitude towards extra-marital sex is very low among married men. Around 27 percent of married men opine to have low level of attitude towards extramarital sex, and more than 50 percent of them view to have moderate level of attitude towards the extramarital sex. And around 23 percent have high attitude towards the extra marital relationship.

**Table 2. Percentage of men age 15-49 and above having childhood exposure to violence according to selected background characteristics.**

Background characteristics	Childhood exposure to violence		
	Yes (%)	Model 1	Model 2
<b>Age</b>			
15 to 24	46.2		
25-34	21.6	0.6 (0.27-1.46)	0.6 (0.28-1.58)
35 and Above	23.1	0.6(0.22-1.63)	0.6 (0.23-1.72)
<b>Education</b>			
No Education	35		
Below Primary	15	0.4(0.08-2.09)	0.3 (0.06-1.73)
Middle school	26.8	0.9(0.29-2.86)	0.8 (0.27-2.76)
High School and Above	30.4	1.0 (0.32-3.14)	0.9 (0.29-2.99)
<b>Occupation</b>			
No occupation	41.1		
Informal/unorganized	25	0.4 (0.14-0.99)	0.3 (0.13-0.95)
Govt	10.3	0.2 (0.04-0.57)	0.1 (0.04-0.50)
Private/business	22.2	0.5 (0.07-3.77)	0.5 (0.07-3.83)
<b>Media exposure</b>			
No exposure	76.7		
Partial Exposure	22.7	0.1 (0.02-0.20)	0.0 (0.23-0.21)
Full exposure	18.4	0.1 (0.01-0.25)	0.6 (0.01-0.26)
<b>Religion</b>			
Hindu	33.6		
Christian	21.9		0.6 (0.26-1.42)
No Religion /Sarna	27.8		0.6 (0.26-1.39)
<b>Wealth Index</b>			
Poor	28		
Middle	28.6		0.8 (0.40-2.01)
Non Poor	30.6		1.2 (0.53-2.88)
<b>Total</b>	<b>29.0</b>	<b>221.697</b>	<b>218.89</b>

**Figure 3. Attitudes towards Extra Marital among Santhal Men.**

The above table 2 categorizes various background characteristics of the respondent and observes the respondents childhood exposure to violence. Of respondents between the age 15 to 24, 46 percent of the respondents said that they were exposed, while respondents in the age of 24 to 34 and 35 and above respectively received the same answer from 22 percent for the former and 23 percent for the latter age group. On being grouped based on educational backgrounds, respondents who had no education, 15 percent had only attended below primary school, 27 percent had attended middle school and 30 percent attended high school and above. Around 35 percent of the non- educated category responded said that they were abused in their childhood; while 15 percent of those who studied below primary school answered saying that they were abused, while similar answer was given by 27 percent of those who attended till middle school and more than 30 percent of those who studied high school and above. It was further categorized based on exposure to the

mass media among men who had no exposure around 77 percent were exposed while around 82 percent of those who had full exposure to media were not exposed to violence at their childhood and 77 percent of those who were partially exposed were also not exposed to violence during childhood. When it was categorized based on occupation, around 90 percent with government occupation were not exposed and a similar story was seen in the case of those in informal/unorganized and those with business who showed results for the same question 75 and 78 percent respectively it was seen that 41 percent with no occupation said that they were exposed to violence during their childhood. When they were categorized based on wealth index 72 percent of the 75 respondents who identified themselves as poor were not exposed, those categorized under the middle and the non-poor showed 71 percent and 69 percent respectively responded in the same manner.

Table 3 observes the respondents in household activities based on various background characteristics and have been categorized as 'Low, 'Medium' and 'High'. Among the respondents in the age group of 15 to 25, it was seen that around 42 percent had low involvement while around 35 percent had 'medium' involvement and the rest were highly involved in the household chores and activities which came to around 23 percent. In the age group between 25 and 34, it was seen that around 47 percent were highly involved while only 31 and 22 percent of the respondents answered in the When the respondents were categorized based on their educational qualification it was seen that of the 69 who had no education 71 percent had low involvement while only around 16 percent came in the high category and 13 percent in the medium category.

**Table 3. Percentage of Men involved in Household Chore and Justified wife beating by Background Characteristics.**

Background Characteristics	Household work participation			Justify wife beating
	Low	Medium	High	
Age				
15 to 24	41.5	35.1	23.4	86.2
25-34	22.3	31.1	46.6	76.7
35 and Above	39.5	28.4	32.1	76.5
Education				
No Education	71.0	13.0	15.9	91.3
Below Primary	20.0	25.0	55.0	80.0
Middle school	30.6	32.3	37.1	83.9
High School and Above	17.3	42.5	40.2	71.7
Occupation				
No occupation	17.7	38.1	44.2	93.8
Informal/unorganized	45.1	33.0	22.0	79.1
Govt	28.6	26.5	44.9	44.9
Private/business	76.0	8.0	16.0	88.0
Media Exposure				
No exposure	33.1	32.4	34.5	78.4
Partial Exposure	28.4	33.8	37.8	79.7
Full exposure	41.5	27.7	30.8	83.1
Religion				
Hindu	73.7	21.1	5.3	98.2
Christian	19.4	32.0	48.6	75.4
No Religion /Sarna	39.1	43.5	17.4	73.9
Wealth index				
Poor	33.0	36.4	30.7	84.1
Middle	32.7	26.5	40.8	84.7
Non Poor	35.9	32.6	31.5	70.7
Masculinity				
low equity	57.0	43.0	0.0	100.0
Moderate equity	40.2	33.3	26.5	100.0
High equity	0.0	16.9	83.1	32.5
Total	33.8	31.7	34.5	79.9

Of the men who were educated but below primary level the answers came in figures of 20 percent 25 percent and 50 percent in ascending order of their involvement in household chore participation. It was seen in an almost uniform manner in all the three categories of men who studied till middle school, as their answers were 30 percent 32 percent and 37 percent in ascending order in the level of involvement in household chores. Among men who did 'high school and above' it was seen that only around 17 percent was seen to have low involvement in household chores while around 43 percent had medium involvement and 40 percent had high involvement in household chores. The respondents were further categorised based on their media exposure and it was seen that around 74 descending categories (in order). Among men in the age group 35 and above around 40 percent said that they had low involvement while 32 percent had high involvement and the rest answered medium.

percent of those who had no exposure to media of 57 respondents had low involvement at household chores, while 21 percent of the respondents said they only had medium involvement and five percent said that they had high involvement.

Those who had partial exposure, around 49 percent said that they were highly involved while 32 percent and more than 19 percent responded medium and low respectively. Among the men who were fully exposed to media had majority of 44 percent who said they had medium involvement while 39 percent had low involvement and 17 percent had high involvement.

There was further categorization made based on occupation. Of the respondents who had no occupation, involved in household chores in descending order based on the categories of levels of involvement in the following manner; 44 percent 38 percent and 17 percent respectively. Among the respondents who were in informal/ unorganized sectors in the ascending level of involvement the percentage share turned out to be 45 percent, 33 percent and 22 percent. The maximum percent share in the high involvement category was found in the middle wealth index category who had around 41 percent involved while medium level involvement in the same group was seen to be around 26 percent and the low involvement was 33 percent. It was the non-poor group men which saw the highest percentage share in low involvement in household chores which came to 35.9 percent, while 33 percent and 32 percent were the levels of medium and high involvement of the respondents in the same wealth quintile.

#### **Alcohol and Violence**

The considerable research links drinking and alcohol abuse with masculinity and violence, although the adult consumption patterns are likewise associated with other variables related to violence (such as witnessing physical violence in one's home of origin) The relationship of alcohol to intimate partner violence could be spurious, but the relationship of men's drinking to intimate partner violence remains even after statistically controlling for sociodemographic variables, education, occupation, and masculinity which are clearly shown in table 12. Men's drinking patterns,

**Table 4. Prevalence and Odds Ratio of alcohol use among Male.**

Background Characteristics	Alcohol	OR (95%)	
		Model1	Model 2
Age			
15 to 24	61.7		
25-34	64.1	1.3(0.62-2.79)	1.04(0.39-2.74)
35 and Above	74.1	1.2(0.49-3.10)	1.9(0.66-5.99)
Education			
No Education	89.9		
Below Primary	80.0	0.3(0.06-1.30)	1.4(0.27-7.69)
Middle school	74.2	0.3**(0.08-0.89)	0.5(0.13-2.08)
High School and Above	47.2	0.1*** (0.03-0.29)	0.3** (0.078-0.975)
Occupation			
No occupation	61.9		
Informal/unorganized	79.1	1.5(0.64-3.58)	1.6(0.60-4.45)
Govt	42.9	0.3*** (0.11-0.58)	0.4* (0.13-1.10)
Private/business	84.0	0.9(0.23-3.58)	0.2(0.03-2.38)
Media Exposure			
No exposure	78.9		
Partial Exposure	68.0	1.3(0.46-3.75)	4.8** (1.32-17.3)
Full exposure	43.5	0.4* (0.11-1.18)	0.02*** (0.002-0.317)
Religion			
Hindu	63.3		
Christian	70.3		1.4(0.56-3.30)
No Religion /Sarna	67.7		0.9(0.40-2.38)
Wealth index			
Poor	68.2		
Middle	70.4		1.2(0.52-2.84)
Non Poor	59.8		0.5(0.19-1.25)
Masculinity			
low equity	68.8		
Moderate equity	92.2		85.3*** (7.44-978.49)
High equity	31.3		0.1*** (0.50-0.32)
Total	66.2		
-2 log likelihood		286.09	195.01

especially binge drinking, are associated with domestic violence across all ethnic groups and social classes. The relationship of alcohol to violence is a complex one, involving physiological, psychosocial, and sociocultural factors. The exact effects of alcohol on the central nervous system remain in question, but the nonexperimental evidence indicates that alcohol may interact with neurotransmitters, such as serotonin, that have been associated with effects on aggression. In this study, it has been found that the Santhal men use various form of alcohol mainly *Handia*, *Mahua rice beer* etc. the high influence of alcohol is part of Santhal culture.

Table 4 shows that percent distribution of alcohol use among the Santhal male by their background characteristics. The table also presented the results of logistic regression odd ratio of Santhal man who uses alcohol. Almost three-fourth of Santhal men, age group 35 and above are using alcohol followed by men who are in the age group 25 to 34 years (64 %) and 15 to 24 years of age group (62%). Results portray that 90 percent of Santhal men are using alcohol who never went to school and 80 percent male are using alcohol who have completed primary level schooling.

It is quite evident that the male who has done high school and above education are using less alcohol (47%) compared to another educational attainment. The Santhal men who are working in Informal/unorganized sector are using more alcohol (79%) as compared to men who are not working (62%) and who are working in Govt. sector (43%) but surprisingly, it is found that the alcohol use is quite high as 84

percent among people who belong to private/business sector. The Santhal men having no media exposure, almost 79 percent are using alcohol followed by who have partial exposure of media (68%) and who have high media exposure (44%). Results depict that Santhal males who are moderate masculine (92%), are using more alcohol as compared to high masculine male (69%) and low masculine male (31%).

For the results of a logistic regression of alcohol use among Santhal men, two models were applied as Model I & Model II. In Model I, It is found that, taking 15 to 24 years age group as a reference category, 30 percent and 20 percent of are more likely to use alcohol among 25 to 34 age group and 35 & above age group respectively. It is found significantly that 90 percent are less likely to use alcohol among Santhal men who have attained high school and above compared with the men with no education. Likewise, 70 percent are less likely to use alcohol among who have attained middle-level schooling. It is also found that 60 percent are less likely to use alcohol among men who have high media exposure as compared to men who have not any kind of media exposure.

Results from Model II show that 1.9 times more likely to use alcohol among age group 35 & above as compare to 15 to 24 yr. age group.

It is also found that significantly 70 percent are less likely to use alcohol among men who have attained the high school and above as compared men who have no education.

**Table 5. Odds Ratio of act of Violence by male.**

Background Characteristics	Violence	OR (95%)	
		Model1	Model 2
Age			
15 to 24	64.9		
25-34	68.9	2.2**(1.02-4.55)	2.7**(1.06-6.83)
35 and Above	65.4	0.8(0.35-2.03)	0.6(0.22-1.76)
Education			
No Education	88.4		
Below Primary	55.0	0.1***(0.02-0.30)	0.1***(0.01-0.29)
Middle school	74.2	0.3**(0.10-0.94)	0.6(0.18-2.08)
High School and Above	52.8	0.1***(0.04-0.32)	0.3**(0.09-0.86)
Occupation			
No occupation	62.8		
Informal/unorganized	78.0	1.3(0.55-2.90)	1.3(0.48-3.56)
Govt	42.9	0.3***(0.12-0.58)	0.4**(0.14-1.02)
Private/business	88.0	1.6(0.37-6.93)	2.3(0.44-12.58)
Religion			
Hindu	65.5		
Christian	66.2	0.8(0.29-2.11)	0.5(0.14-1.51)
No Religion /Sarna	69.2	1.8(0.57-5.76)	4.5**(1.14-18.08)
Media Exposure			
No exposure	78.9		
Partial Exposure	60.6		0.7(0.29-1.53)
Full exposure	73.9		0.8(0.34-1.93)
Wealth index			
Poor	67.0		
Middle	69.4		1.1(0.46-2.39)
Non Poor	63.0		0.8(0.35-1.99)
Alcohol			
No	28.7		
Yes	85.9		25.9***(11.08-60.99)
Total	66.5	295.705	216.062

Results show that significantly 4.8 times more likely to use alcohol who have partial exposure of media as compared to men who have not any kind of media exposure. It is also evident that significantly 85.3 times are the more likely use of alcohol among moderate masculine male as compared with high masculine

#### **Male perpetuation of Violence against women**

The Cultural male in act of violence, gender scripts and roles, sexual scripts and roles, and male entitlements are represented at the individual level as attitudes and gender schemas. These attitudinal entities are expectancies that give meaning to and may even bias interpretation of ongoing experience, as well as provide a structure for the range of possible responses. Similarly, culturally sanctioned beliefs about the rights and privileges of husbands have historically legitimized a man's domination over his wife and warranted his use of violence to control her. Men, in general, are more accepting of men abusing women, and the most culturally traditional men are the most accepting Batterers' often excuse their violence by pointing to their wives' "unwifely" behavior as their justification for violence in several cases. This study diagnoses the role of Santhal men in perpetuating act of violence against women across background characteristics.

Table 5 shows that percent prevalence of violence among the Santhal male by their background characteristics. Almost 69 percent of Santhal men, age group 25 & 34 found indulged in any form of violence against women as compared to men who are in the age group 35 & above years (65 %) and 15 to 24 years of age group (65%). Results portray that 88 percent of Santhal men indulged in any form of violence against women who never went to school and 55 percent male

indulged in who completed primary level schooling. It is quite evident that the 53 percent of a male who have done the high school and above education were indulged in any form of violence against women compared to another educational attainment. The Santhal men who are working in Informal/unorganized sector have more indulgence in violence against women (79%) as compared to men who are not working (63%) and who are working in Govt. sector (43%) but surprisingly, it is found that the occurrence of violence is quite high as 84 percent among people who belong to private/business sector. The Santhal men having no media exposure, almost 79 percent have indulgence in violence, followed by who have high exposure to media (74%) and who have partial media exposure (61%). Results depict that the Santhal male who are alcoholic have more indulgence in any form of violence against women (86%).

For the results of a logistic regression of violence against the women among Santhal men, two models were applied as Model I & Model II. In Model I, It is found that taking 15 to 24 years age group as a reference category, significantly 2.2 times are more likely to indulge in any form of violence against women among 25 to 34 age group. It is found that significantly 90 percent, 70 percent, and 90 percent are less likely to indulge in any form of violence among Santhal men who attained below the primary level, the middle school level and the high school and above respectively, as compared with the men with no education. Likewise, 70 percent are less likely to indulge in any form of violence among who are in Govt Job as compared to the men with no occupation.

Results from Model II show that significantly, 2.7 times more likely to indulge in any form of violence among age group 25 to 34 as compared to 15 to 24 yr. age group. It is also found that significantly 90 percent are less likely to indulge in any form of violence among men who have attained below the primary level schooling as compared men who have no education and significantly 70 percent are less likely to indulge in any form of violence among men who have attained the high school and above level of schooling. It is also evident that significantly 26 times are more likely indulgence in any form of violence against women among men who are alcoholic.

### Summary of Findings and Conclusions

A vital part of understanding violence as a social problem, and a precursor to preventing it, is an understanding of what causes it has. The research on the causes of violence against women has consisted of two lines of inquiry: examination of the characteristics that influences the behavior of offenders and consideration of whether some men have a heightened masculinity. The research has sought the causal factors at various levels of analysis, including individual, dyadic, institutional, and social. Studies of offending and operation remain conceptually distinct except in sociocultural analysis in which joint consideration is often given to two complementary processes: masculine norms that influence men to be aggressive and channel their expressions of violence towards women and those that position women for receipt of violence and operate to silence them afterwards.

A man is normally understood responsible when he enters the institution of marriage and carries out the societal expectations.

The concept of masculinity emerges as an important aspect of a married man. The masculinity is an overwhelming construct in the minds of men, providing a framework to determine their self-concept and to guide their behaviours. The findings on the constructions of masculinity are presented under two heads, namely, language of masculinity and attributes of masculinity.

Mard is the most frequently used term by the study population to describe masculinity. Asli mard or asli admitemrs are also used to characterize mardanagi. There are six essential constructs of masculinity among married men age 15-49, and these are being responsible towards his family, being breadwinner, being physically and mentally fit, having sexual prowess and ability to produce child, being a man of word and being seen as a man of honour. These indicates that there is awareness of familial role and responsibilities among married men and what is important to be a man in the society.

A considerable proportion of rural men have low support for equitable gender norms which indicate that a certain population in rural setting are not accepting changing social norms. The social factors such as type of family, educational status of the individual and elders' behaviour to control the children in the family emerged as the major factors shaping the attitude of men for supporting equitable gender norms. It confirms that members in the family such as father, mother and grandparents and educational status of a man play significant role in shaping the masculinity. Any behavior is the reflection of thinking and perception of an individual, therefore, links with masculinity with perception about gender based violence has also been explored among the tribal men. The study discusses the masculine attributes into

which men are encultured, and suggests how policy makers might respond. In order to make the results easier to interpret, the respondents were classified into three categories based on their GEM scale scores. Selection cut off for low, moderate and high is based on evidences from other studies conducted in similar socio-cultural settings. The result shows that around 34 percent of men have high support for equitable gender norms, 37 percent have moderate support for equitable gender norms, and 30 percent of men have low support for equitable gender norms like in favor of traditional gender role attitudes.

The study also shows that one-third of men were having childhood exposure to violence. Regarding the men involvement in household work participation it was seen that 34 percent of Santhal men were less involved in household work participation. By analyzing that association between household chore and masculinity it was observed that half of men having least equitable gender norms are involved in low work participation. It was also seen that all men having low level equity justifies wife beating in contrast men with high equitable gender norm i.e. only one-third of them justify wife beating. While analyzing justification of wife beating by age it was found that a majority of men in younger age group justify wife hitting or beating as against older men. Education has a direct role on justification of wife beating as it was seen that among men having no education 91 percent of them supports wife beating or hitting as against their counterparts. In the context of association between alcohol and masculinity it was found that men who have high gender equitable norms, around one-thirds of them use alcohol. As expected the result from this study also shows that there is a significant association between alcohol use and violence against women. The analysis shows that those who consume alcohol are considerably more likely to get involved in violence against the women leading to reproductive health vulnerabilities like STI/RTI outcomes.

The study suggests that better understanding of the causes of violence against women will be useful in designing both prevention programs and interventions with men as center of all the programs. The research has begun to identify childhood exposure, high alcoholism to later high masculinity. The limited research has considered the development of violence against women among tribals and whether pathways to violence against women are similar to the development of other violent behaviours. Identifying men in the role of precursors to violence against women may be important for early intervention and prevention efforts at community level.

Most of the information on violence against women comes from general population surveys like in various rounds of NFHS, Youth in India Survey(2005) etc. The general population surveys most likely not representative of either victims or perpetrators, the numbers of ethnic, racial, cultural, and other subgroups are too small for analysis. The differences among clans in the causes of violence against the women could have important implications for prevention and intervention strategies. Clans about which information is lacking include racial and ethnic minorities mostly tribal sub groups.

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