

CHAPTER V

SEXUAL BEHAVIOUR AND ATTITUDE

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Sexual Behaviour and Attitude

Sexual behaviour is a very broad expression. It covers both common and less common behaviours, and includes a wide range of sexual behaviours from marital relationships to sexual abuse. But in many cases sexual behaviour is directed towards or within a relationship. The desire to have sex is one of the basic drives of human behaviour. Sexual behaviour of people in a society is constructed on the basis of, and determine to a great extent, by the culture and tradition of the society. Every human culture has a range of codes and conducts to regulate the sexual behaviour and sexual activity, which is again a sub-set of sexual behaviour, of its people. Sexual activity in human being is an instinctive form of physical intimacy. It may be performed for the purposes of biological reproduction, expressing affection, and/or for pleasure and enjoyment.

Every society defines sexual activities in its own way. Hence, there is no clear borderline between the sexual and nonsexual enjoyment. For example, holding hands may or may not have a sexual connotation, depending on culture, situation and other factors. Although sexual intercourse is universally regarded as the sexual contact, there is a wide range of other sexual activities that may or may not be socially, legally, or ethically considered as sexual relations. The distinction between the sexual and the nonsexual activities becomes relevant in judging appropriate behaviour of a population group, in a particular social setting.

These societal norms related to sexual activity directly control the behaviour of the individuals. Hence, many studies have revealed that attitudes towards sexual activities are also a by-product of cultural norms, gender ideology and status and relation of particular gender in a society.

However, culture and society changes over time due to external as well as internal causes. The change in culture and society also brings changes in the behaviour and

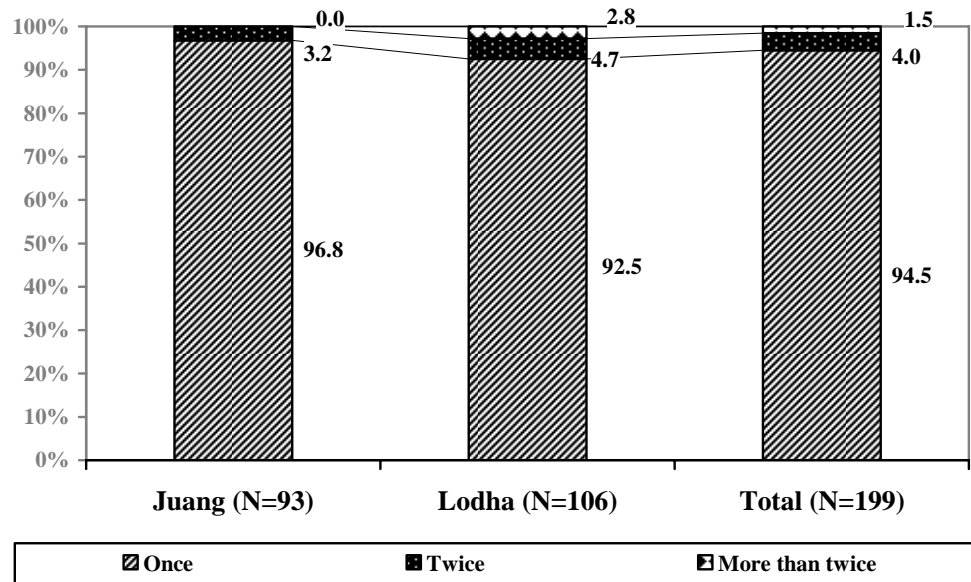
attitude of the people towards sex. In other words, it may be said that sexual behaviour of a population group is dynamic, which changes over time and space.

Broadly the present chapter has been divided into two parts namely, sexual life of married youth and sexual life of unmarried youth. Again the first one has been further divided into four sub sections namely, marital union, description of sexual life, pre-marital sexual relationship, and extra-marital sexual relationship. Similarly the sexual life of unmarried youth has also been divided into two sub-sections namely, first physical contact and description of sexual life. Besides this the chapter also presents the impact of culture and migration on the sexual life of the youth. The following paragraphs will provide the detailed picture of the sexual life of Juang and Lodha youth.

A. SEXUAL LIFE OF MARRIED YOUTH

Chapter III of the present thesis described the marital status of the male youth. Out of 414 youth, 199 (93 among Juang and 106 among Lodha) are found to be married at the time of survey. In this section, the data related to sexual life of married youth is analysed and presented below.

Figure 5.1 Distribution of married youth by number of marriages performed and PTG



The Figure 5.1 shows that more than 90 percent of youth, married only once by the time of survey. About eight percent of the Lodha youth reported to have married more than once by the time of survey, whereas the same value among Juang is only three percent.

5.1 Marital Union

During the survey, details relating to the first marriage were collected from the married youth. Table 5.1 reveals that mean age at marriage is 16.9 years and 16.6 years for Juang and Lodha youth respectively. The lower standard deviation value indicates that most of the youth get married in the age group close to the mean. The mean age of wife at the time of marriage indicates an age gap of only two years between the couples. This seems to be true for both the primitive tribal groups.

Table 5.1 Details of first marriage of married youth by PTG

Indicators	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Age at marriage (Years)						
Less than 15	6	6.5	9	8.5	15	7.5
15-19	76	81.7	90	84.9	166	83.4
More than 19	11	11.8	7	6.6	18	9.0
Mean age at marriage	16.9		16.6		16.7	
Standard Deviation	1.7		1.7		1.7	
Age of wife at the time of marriage (Years)						
Less than 15	36	38.7	24	22.6	60	30.2
15-19	55	59.1	79	74.5	134	67.3
More than 19	2	2.2	3	2.8	5	2.5
Mean age	15.1		15.3		15.2	
Standard Deviation	1.5		1.6		1.6	
Type of marriage						
Arrange marriage	56	60.2	70	66.0	126	63.3
Marriage by exchange	0	0.0	9	8.5	9	4.5
Marriage by elopement	25	26.9	27	25.5	52	26.1
Marriage by capture	12	12.9	0	0.0	12	6.0
Currently the wife stays at						
Respondents house	89	95.7	98	92.5	187	94.0
Elsewhere	4	4.3	8	7.5	12	6.0
Total (N)	93	100.0	106	100.0	199	100.0

The more common form of marriage is ‘arranged marriage’ among both the primitive tribal groups, followed by ‘marriage by elopement’. In case of both the primitive tribal groups, more than three fifth of marriages are ‘arranged marriage’ and one fourth are ‘marriage by elopement’. Besides these two ‘marriage by capture’ (13 percent) is also prevalent among Juang. In this form of marriage, boy marries the girl forcibly by capturing her.

More than 90 percent of married youth have reported that currently they are staying with their spouse. Those married youth whose wife stay some where else gave the reasons for such separation as ‘wife is having second husband’, ‘extra-marital affair of wife’ and wife is infertile’.

Table 5.2 provides findings on age at cohabitation of the youth of primitive tribal groups with their wife and the first sexual experience within the marriage. Mostly among primitive tribal groups, cohabitation commences immediately after the marriage. Hence as the mean age at marriage is low, cohabitation also starts at a lower age both among Juang and Lodha.

Table 5.2 Details of cohabitation with wife and first sexual experience of married youth within marriage by PTG

Indicators	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Age at cohabitation						
Less than 20 years	75	80.6	98	92.5	173	86.9
After 20 years	11	11.8	7	6.6	18	9.0
Cohabitation not yet started	0	0.0	1	0.9	1	0.5
Don't remember	7	7.5	0	0.0	7	3.5
Mean age at cohabitation started	17.1		16.6		16.8	
Standard Deviation	1.7		1.6		1.7	
Total (N)	93	100.0	106	100.0	199	100.0
On whose desire had first sexual intercourse						
Your desire	11	11.8	15	14.3	26	13.1
Her Desire	4	4.3	11	10.5	15	7.6
Desire of both	78	83.9	79	75.2	157	79.3
Consumption of alcohol prior to the first sex						
Yes	39	41.9	57	54.3	96	48.5
No	54	58.1	48	45.7	102	51.5
Total (N)	93	100.0	105	100.0	198	100.0

The mean age at starting of cohabitation for male youth is 17.1 years and 16.6 years for Juang and Lodha respectively. Lodha youth start cohabiting with wife almost half a year early compared to their Juang counterparts.

Those married youth who reported to be cohabitating with wife during the survey were asked on whose desire they had the first sexual intercourse after the marriage. More than four fifth of the Juang had their first sexual intercourse out of mutual desire, whereas three fourth of Lodha youth reported so. More than one tenth of youth had their first sexual intercourse with wife, only because of their own desire. The married youth were also asked about the consumption of alcohol prior to the first sex with their wives. About two fifth of Juang and more than half of the Lodha youth consumed alcohol prior to their first sexual intercourse with wife.

During the survey, the married youth were asked whether they had any relationship with their wife before marriage. Figure 5.2 presents the distribution of youth who had/did not have any relationship with wife before marriage. The combined value for both the tribes together indicates that about two third of youth had relationship with their wife before marriage. The percent of married youth, who had relationship with wife before marriage is almost 12 points more among Lodha as compared to their Juang counterparts.

Figure 5.2 Percentage of male married youth who had any type of relationship with wife before marriage by PTG

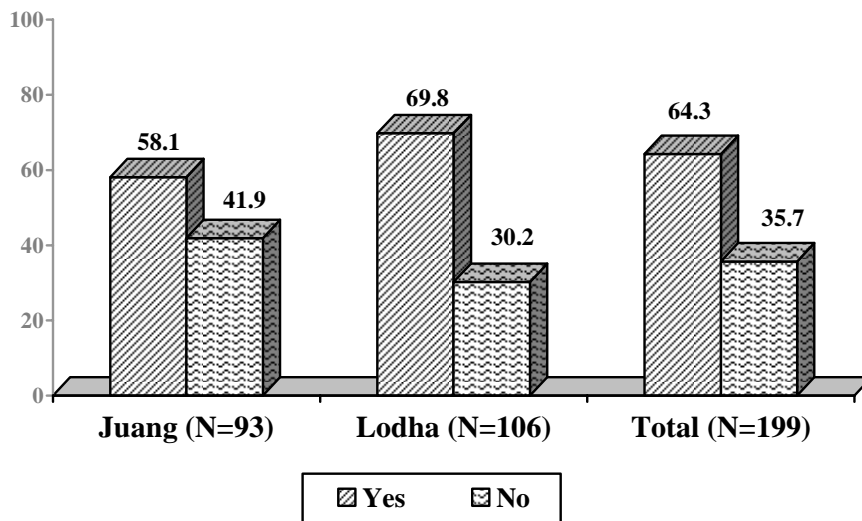


Table 5.3 presents detail of the relationship of married youth with wife before marriage. About two third of married youth who had relationship with wife before marriage reported to, have relationship for about one year before marriage. This is true for both the youth of primitive tribal groups. As the major form of marriage is 'arranged marriage', this finding is expected. But surprisingly one fifth of the Lodha youth reported to have relationship with wife for more than two years before their marriage, as compared to only two percent of Juang. The findings indicate that though the mean age at marriage for the youth of both the tribal groups is almost same, but in case of one fifth of Lodha youth the selection of mate happens in an early age, but gets social recognition at a later stage, as compared to the Juang youth. It may not be wrong to mention here that the primitive tribal culture and its youth maintain a minimum age at marriage, which is not influenced by the early selection of mates.

Of the youth, who had relationship with wife before marriage, two third had sexual intercourse with their wife before marriage. This is true for both the tribes together. The percent of youth who had sexual intercourse with wife before marriage is more among Juang (74 percent) as compared to their Lodha (61 percent) counterparts. The main place where the couple had sex were 'Field/Jungle' and 'in wife's house'. Majority of the Juang youth found 'wife's house' (43 percent) as the most preferred place to have sex, where as Lodha youth found 'Field/Jungle' (76 percent) as the most preferred place to have sex.

During the survey, the youth who had sexual intercourse with wife before marriage were asked whether he was afraid that the partner may get pregnant or he himself would get some infection or disease. Two fifth of the Juang and about half of the Lodha youth were afraid that the partner might get pregnant. Similarly about one fifth of the Juang were also afraid of getting some infection/disease as compared to only four percent of Lodha youth. Of those who reported to be afraid of getting any infection/disease, six youth (3 Juang and 3 Lodha) had taken some herbal medicine as a precautionary measure.

Table 5.3 Details of relationship of married youth with wife before marriage by PTG

Indicators	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Time since know each other before marriage						
1 year before	35	64.8	47	63.5	82	64.1
2 years before	9	16.7	8	10.8	17	13.3
More than 2 years before	1	1.9	15	20.3	16	12.5
Can't Say	9	16.7	4	5.4	13	10.2
Had sexual intercourse before marriage						
Yes	40	74.1	45	60.8	85	66.4
No	14	25.9	29	39.2	43	33.6
Total (N)	54	100.0	74	100.0	128	100.0
Place where had sexual intercourse						
In your house	5	12.5	2	4.4	7	8.2
In her house	17	42.5	9	20.0	26	30.6
At work place	3	7.5	0	0.0	3	3.5
At field/Jungle	15	37.5	34	75.6	49	57.6
Afraid that the partner may get pregnant						
Yes	16	40.0	21	46.7	37	43.5
No	24	60.0	24	53.3	48	56.5
Afraid of getting some infection/disease						
Yes	7	17.5	2	4.4	9	10.6
No	33	82.5	43	95.6	76	89.4
Had precaution before intercourse						
Yes	3	7.5	3	6.7	6	7.1
No	37	92.5	42	93.3	79	92.9
Type of precaution taken						
Herbal medicine	3	7.5	3	6.7	6	7.1
Total (N)	40	100.0	45	100.0	85	100.0

5.2 Description of Sexual Life of Married Youth

For the analysis of data the married youth have been grouped into different categories based on their nature of involvement in different sexual relationships. Table 5.4 presents the percent distribution of married youth under each category. More than two fifth of the married Juang youth neither had pre-marital, nor extra-marital sexual relationships. It means they only had sex with their wife after marriage. The corresponding value for married Lodha youth is slightly more than one fourth (29 percent). The qualitative data also indicates that the Juang youth are

more bound by or gives respect to the traditional cultural norms and values, as compared to the Lodha youth.

More than one third of Juang youth and almost half of the Lodha youth had only pre-marital sex. About one fifth of married youth from both the primitive tribal groups had both pre-marital and extra-marital sex. The analysis also revealed that only one Juang and three Lodha married youth had only extra-marital sex.

Table 5.4 Description of sexual life of married youth by PTG

Sexual life of the respondent	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Neither had pre-marital nor extra-marital sex	40	43.0	31	29.2	71	35.7
Had only pre-marital sex	35	37.6	50	47.2	85	42.7
Had only extra-marital sex	1	1.1	3	2.8	4	2.0
Had both pre-marital and extra-marital sex	17	18.3	22	20.8	39	19.6
Total (N)	93	100.0	106	100.0	199	100.0

5.3 Pre-marital Sexual Relationships

During both quantitative and qualitative phases of survey the information was collected on pre-marital sexual relationship of married youth. This sub section presents the analysis of data and findings pertaining to the married youth who have had pre-marital sexual relationships.

Figure 5.3 shows that about three fifth of the Juang married youth and more than two third of the Lodha married youth had pre-marital sex. Both the primitive tribal groups as a whole indicates, 62 percent of married youth had pre-marital sex. Studies reviewed also revealed the existence of pre-marital sexual relationships among Lodha.

Figure 5.3 Percentage of married youth who had pre-marital sex by PTG

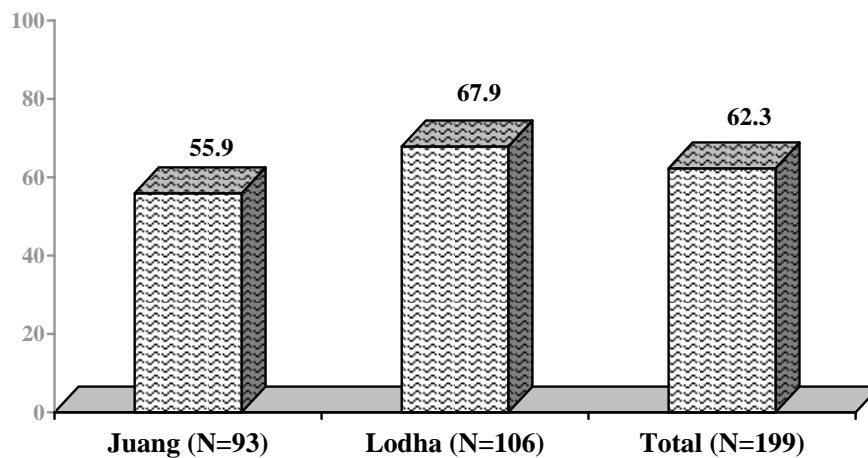


Table 5.5 presents the percentage of married youth who had pre-marital sex by selected background characteristics. Findings reveal that the mean age of the married youth who had pre-marital sex is 21.6 years and 22.3 years for Juang and Lodha respectively. Educational status indicates that more than four fifth of those married Juang youth who had pre-marital sex are illiterate, as compared to half of the Lodha. About 15 percent of Lodha married youth who had pre-marital sex are literate with education at least up to middle school. Another one tenth of Lodha youth had below primary level of education as compared to only two percent of Juang married youth who had pre-marital sex. Distribution of married youth by their occupational status follows the same pattern as of all youth together. Surprisingly 15 percent of the married Juang youth who had pre-marital sex are not working as compared to only one percent of Lodha.

One third of married Juang youth, out of those who had pre-marital sex have exposure to mass media, as compared to one fourth of Lodha youth. Similarly three fifth of Juang and half of the Lodha married youth have exposure to urban life. All the Juang married youth and 86 percent of Lodha youth have the habit of drinking country liquor (Handia). Similarly, about four fifth of all married youth who had pre-marital relationships smoke as well irrespective of the affiliation to tribal group.

Table 5.5 Married youth who had pre-marital sex by background characteristics and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Age (in years)						
15-19	9	17.3	9	12.5	18	14.5
More than 19	43	82.7	63	87.5	106	85.5
Mean Age	21.6		22.3		22.0	
Standard Deviation	2.6		2.2		2.4	
Marital Status						
Currently married	52	100.0	70	97.2	122	98.4
Others	0	0.0	2	2.8	2	1.6
Educational Qualification						
Illiterate	43	82.7	39	54.2	82	66.1
Literate without formal schooling	3	5.8	10	13.9	13	10.5
Below Primary	1	1.9	8	11.1	9	7.3
Primary Completed	2	3.8	4	5.6	6	4.8
Middle Completed	2	3.8	7	9.7	9	7.3
High School and above	1	1.9	4	5.6	5	4.0
Occupational Status						
Collection of Leaf	0	0.0	18	25.0	18	14.5
Cultivation	18	34.6	3	4.2	21	16.9
Daily labourer	17	32.7	28	38.9	45	36.3
Food Gathering	5	9.6	21	29.2	26	21.0
Others*	4	7.7	1	1.4	5	4.0
Not Working	8	15.4	1	1.4	9	7.3
Exposure to mass media						
Having exposure	17	32.7	18	25.0	35	28.2
Exposure to urban area						
Having exposure	32	61.5	36	50.0	68	54.8
Life-style Indicators						
Habit of drinking Country liquor (Handia)	52	100.0	62	86.1	114	91.9
Habit of Smoking	41	78.8	58	80.6	99	79.8
Standard of Living Index (SLI)						
Low SLI	13	25.0	26	36.1	39	31.5
Medium SLI	31	59.6	38	52.8	69	55.6
High SLI	8	15.4	8	11.1	16	12.9
Male Female Interaction Index (MFII)						
Less interactive	8	15.4	18	25.0	26	21.0
Interactive	24	46.2	23	31.9	47	37.9
Highly Interactive	20	38.5	31	43.1	51	41.1
Total (N)	52	100.0	72	100.0	124	100.0

*Agricultural Labourer, Forest Guard, Helper in Tractor, Study, Cow header, Welding, Industrial Labourer

Distribution of youth who had pre-marital sex indicates that more than half of them belong to 'Medium SLI' category irrespective of their affiliation to tribal group. About one third of Juang and one fourth of Lodha married youth belong to 'Low SLI' category. The overall picture again indicates the poor socio-economic condition of Lodha married youth as compared to their Juang counterparts. The distribution by male female interaction index (MFII) indicates that more than two-fifth of married youth is 'highly interactive' in nature, with a varied percentage across the primitive tribal groups.

Table 5.6 presents the detail of the first sexual partner of the married youth and also provides information on the number of sexual partners they had before marriage. Three fourth of the Juang youth have had only one sexual partner before marriage, as compared to half of the married Lodha youth. The mean number of pre-marital sexual partners is more among Lodha youth than Juang. The mean number of partners is 1.5 and 2.3 among Juang and Lodha youth respectively. The analysis of data on age at first sexual intercourse reveals that Lodha married youth have experienced their first sexual intercourse (sexual debut) at a lower age than their Juang counterparts i.e. almost one year before. Similarly, the age of the sexual partners of Lodha youth is lower than the partners of Juang youth. It is a matter of concern to note that both young men and women perform the sexual debut at a very lower age among both the primitive tribal groups.

The table (Table 5.6) also indicates that about two third of the partners were younger to the married youth. This is true for the youth of both the tribal groups. One fifth of all married youth irrespective of the affiliation to the primitive tribal group had sex with partners older to them, while one tenth (13 percent) had sex with a partner of the same age. Sex with older partners was more common among Lodha, whereas sex with partners of the same age was more among Juang. Distribution of partners by their marital status indicates that more than one fifth of the Lodha youth have had pre-marital sex with married women. But still, sex with unmarried partners is more. About 90 percent of partners of Juang youth and four fifth of the partners of Lodha youth are unmarried.

Table 5.6 Details of the first pre-marital sexual partner of married youth by PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Average No. of sexual partners						
1	39	75.0	39	54.2	78	62.9
2	5	9.6	13	18.1	18	14.5
3	5	9.6	8	11.1	13	10.5
More than 3	3	5.8	12	16.7	15	12.1
Mean No. of partners	1.5		2.3		2.0	
Standard Deviation	1.0		2.3		1.9	
Age at sexual intercourse						
Less than 14	4	7.7	14	19.4	18	14.5
14-18	45	86.5	55	76.4	100	80.6
Can't say	3	5.8	3	4.2	6	4.8
Mean Age	15.3		14.5		14.8	
Standard Deviation	1.5		1.5		1.5	
Age of sexual partner						
Less than 13	9	17.3	30	41.7	39	31.5
13-17	38	73.1	32	44.4	70	56.5
More than 17	2	3.8	9	12.5	11	8.9
Can't say	3	5.8	1	1.4	4	3.2
Mean Age	14.6		14.0		14.2	
Standard Deviation	2.5		3.9		3.4	
Age gap with partner**						
Same with the respondent	9	18.4	6	8.8	15	12.8
Younger to the respondent	32	65.3	47	69.1	79	67.5
Older to the respondent	8	16.3	15	22.1	23	19.7
Marital status of the partner						
Unmarried	46	88.5	56	77.8	102	82.3
Currently married	4	7.7	15	20.8	19	15.3
Widow	2	3.8	1	1.4	3	2.4
Relationship with the partner						
Girl friend	38	73.1	53	73.6	91	73.4
Older woman (Relative)	7	13.5	15	20.8	22	17.7
Co-worker	5	9.6	3	4.2	8	6.5
Others	2	3.8	1	1.4	3	2.4
Belongs to own community						
Yes	47	90.4	67	93.1	114	91.9
No	5	9.6	5	6.9	10	8.1
Total (N)	52	100.0	72	100.0	124	100.0

*** Cases where age is not stated are not considered for the variable computation*

During the survey the married youth were also asked about the nature of prior relationship with their first sexual partner. The most dominant category of first sexual partners is 'girl friends' (73 percent each among Juang and Lodha), followed by 'older woman', who are mostly their relatives (14 percent of Juang and 21

percent of Lodha). More than 90 percent of the married youth who had sexual partners before marriage reported that their first sexual partners were from the same community as of their own.

The analysis of qualitative data on pre-marital sex also indicates that the average number of partners of Lodha married youth is more than their Juang counterparts. One of the married Lodha youth aged 17 years added,

“I had physical relationship with two girls before marriage. Out of these two girls one was elder to me in age and was married. The other one was unmarried and contemporary to my age. But I stopped my relationship with them after my marriage.”

The details of pre-marital sexual relationship of married youth indicates that three fourth of the Juang and more than four fifth of the Lodha have had their first sexual intercourse with their partner because of the mutual desire. At the same time more than one fifth of Juang and little less than one tenth of Lodha have had their first sexual intercourse because of their partner’s desire. Consumption of alcohol prior to the first sex plays a major role among Juang youth, as more than half of them have reported that they have consumed alcohol before their first sex. Among Lodha youth the same percent is relatively low. Most of the married youth reported that they have had their first sexual intercourse with their partner at ‘Field/Jungle’ (50 percent of Juang and 65 percent of Lodha). Similarly more than one fourth of the Juang and one tenth Lodha youth have had first sexual intercourse at their ‘partner’s house’.

More than two fifth of the Juang and half of the Lodha youth were afraid that their partner might get pregnant and more than one tenth were afraid of getting any infection/disease during their first sexual intercourse they had. About six percent of the Juang and seven percent of Lodha had taken herbal medicine as a precaution before having their first sexual intercourse to avoid any infection/disease. Two fifth of the youth reported to be continuing their relationship with their first sexual partner, at the time of survey. This was true for both the tribes.

During the survey, effort was also made to collect information from the respondent, on the sexual life of their first pre-marital sexual partner. Analysis of this data reveals that about half of the Juang and three fifth of the Lodha youth do not have any knowledge about the number of partners, with whom their first sexual partner has had sexual relationship at the time of survey. About half of the Juang and one third of the Lodha youth reported the number to be '0' (zero).

Table 5.7 Details of the first sexual intercourse performed by married youth with their first sexual partner by PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
On whose desire had sexual intercourse						
Your desire	2	3.8	7	9.7	9	7.3
Her Desire	11	21.2	5	6.9	16	12.9
Desire of both	39	75.0	60	83.3	99	79.8
Consumption of alcohol prior to sex						
Yes	27	51.9	29	40.3	56	45.2
No	25	48.1	43	59.7	68	54.8
Place where had sexual intercourse						
In your house	4	7.7	9	12.5	13	10.5
In her house	14	26.9	9	12.5	23	18.5
At work place	7	13.5	5	6.9	12	9.7
At field/Jungle	26	50.0	47	65.3	73	58.9
Others	1	1.9	2	2.8	3	2.4
Afraid that the partner may get pregnant						
Yes	23	44.2	37	51.4	60	48.4
No	29	55.8	35	48.6	64	51.6
Afraid of getting some infection/disease						
Yes	8	15.4	8	11.1	16	12.9
No	44	84.6	64	88.9	108	87.1
Had precaution before intercourse						
Yes	3	5.8	5	6.9	8	6.5
No	49	94.2	67	93.1	116	93.5
Type of precaution taken						
Herbal medicine	3	5.8	5	6.9	8	6.5
Still continuing the relationship						
Yes	21	40.4	29	40.3	50	40.3
No	31	59.6	43	59.7	74	59.7
Partner's partner						
0	24	46.2	22	30.6	46	37.1
1	1	1.9	3	4.2	4	3.2
More than 2	2	3.8	4	5.6	6	4.8
Can't say	25	48.1	43	59.7	68	54.8
Total (N)	52	100.0	72	100.0	124	100.0

Describing the pre-marital sexual relationship, a 23 year old married Juang youth revealed that he was in love with a girl from the neighbouring village, whom she used to meet in Jungle. They have had their first sexual intercourse because of the mutual desire. The qualitative data analysis further reveals that most of the first sexual intercourses are unplanned and occur with mutual consent. This is true for the youth of both the primitive tribal groups. In words of a 22 year old married Juang,

“.....That she said no. But after 5-6 days she called me to her house. When I reached there she closed the door and slept on the floor.”*

*(*By sleeping on the floor Juang girls gives consent to their partners for sexual intercourse. They hardly give the verbal consent.)*

Those tribal youth who had pre-marital sex, were asked whether their relationship with the girl/woman was exposed to any body in the village /community. About two fifth each among Juang and Lodha youth reported that their relationship was known in their village/community. Among them more than four fifth did not face any problem from the community while another 16 percent of Juang and 13 percent of Lodha youth were asked to marry the girl.

Table 5.8 Reaction of the community over the first pre-marital sexual relationship of the married youth by PTG

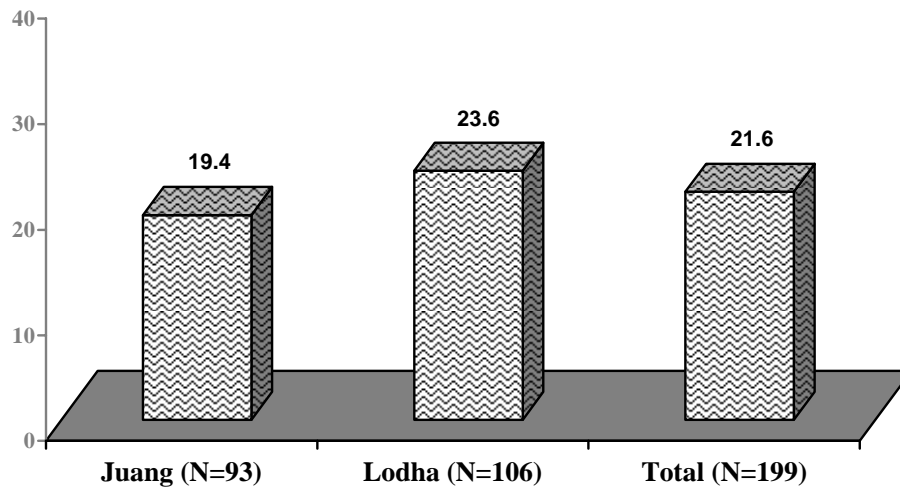
Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Relationship exposed to village/Community						
Yes	19	36.5	31	43.1	50	40.3
No	33	63.5	38	52.8	71	57.3
Don't know	0	0.0	3	4.2	3	2.4
Total (N)	52	100.0	72	100.0	124	100.0
What was their reaction						
No reaction	16	84.2	25	80.6	41	82.0
You were asked to marry her	3	15.8	4	12.9	7	14.0
Others	0	0.0	2	6.5	2	4.0
Total (N)	19	100.0	31	100.0	50	100.0

5.4 Extra-marital Sexual Relationships

This sub section presents the analysis of data pertaining to the married youth who have extra-marital sexual relationships. The findings related to this section are presented in the next four tables (Table 5.9 to 5.12) and Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4 show that about one fifth of the married Juang youth and one fourth of the married Lodha youth had extra-marital sexual relationships at the time of survey. The prevalence of extra-marital relationship was more among Lodha youth. Earlier studies carried out by different researchers among Lodha tribe of West Bengal also revealed that prevalence of extra-marital sexual relationship, poverty and lesser utilisation of contraception, especially condom use and absence of knowledge on different sexually transmitted diseases made Lodha highly susceptible to STDs and HIV which might bring disastrous consequences for the community.

Figure 5.4 Percentage of married youth who had extra-marital sex by PTG



During the in-depth interview with a headman of the Lodha village, the topic of extra-marital sexual relation was also discussed. It emerged from the in-depth interview that having sexual relationship beyond marital union was acceptable in their culture. However, it was neither supported nor objected by the village headman. The village headman accepted the existence of extra-marital sexual relationship in their community. The analysis of in-depth interviews done with the

Lodha youth also reveals this fact. The 56 year old village headman, commenting on the extra-marital sexual relationship within their community said,

“As there (in the village) is nothing (no source of entertainment), at night performing sex is the only enjoyment for both males and females.”

Profile of the married youth who had/have extra-marital sexual relationship is presented in the table below (Table 5.9). The mean age of the youth is 21.6 years and 22.9 years among Juang and Lodha respectively. About one fifth of Juang and more than one third of Lodha youth are literate. Majority of the literates have completed middle school. This is true for both the primitive tribal groups. The occupational distribution follows the same pattern as of the tribal groups as a whole. More than one fifth of the Juang and about one third of the Lodha have exposure to mass media. The analysis by exposure to urban area indicates that about three fifth of the Juang and more than two third of Lodha have exposure to urban life. Similarly life style indicator reveals that almost all the youth are in habit of consuming country liquor (*Handia*) and indulging in smoking by four fifth of them.

Distribution of married youth who have extra-marital sex by standard of life index (SLI) indicates that majority of the Juang youth (61 percent) belong to ‘Medium SLI’ category, whereas majority of the Lodha youth (56 percent) belong to ‘Low SLI’ category. Surprisingly the analysis of data by male female interaction index (MFII) shows that two fifth of Lodha youth, who are ‘less interactive’ in nature have extra-marital sexual relationships. Because, as discussed earlier the youth belong to this category are reserved kind of person and do not have a very big friend circle, especially female friends. The distribution of Juang reveals, about two fifth of youth who have extra-marital sex belong to the ‘highly interactive’ category.

Table 5.9 Married youth who had extra-marital sex by background characteristics and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Age (in years)						
15-19	2	11.1	1	4.0	3	7.0
More than 19	16	88.9	24	96.0	40	93.0
Mean Age	21.6		22.9		22.3	
Standard Deviation	2.1		2.0		2.1	
Marital Status						
Currently married	18	100.0	24	96.0	42	97.7
Others	0	0.0	1	4.0	1	2.3
Educational Qualification						
Illiterate	15	83.3	16	64.0	31	72.1
Literate without formal schooling	1	5.6	1	4.0	2	4.7
Below Primary	0	0.0	1	4.0	1	2.3
Primary Completed	1	5.6	4	16.0	5	11.6
Middle Completed	0	0.0	3	12.0	3	7.0
High School and above	1	5.6	0	0.0	1	2.3
Occupational Status						
Collection of Leaf	0	0.0	7	28.0	7	16.3
Cultivation	7	38.9	1	4.0	8	18.6
Daily labourer	4	22.2	10	40.0	14	32.6
Food Gathering	1	5.6	6	24.0	7	16.3
Others*	2	11.1	0	0.0	2	4.7
Not Working	4	22.2	1	4.0	5	11.6
Exposure to mass media						
Having exposure	4	22.2	8	32.0	12	27.9
Exposure to urban area						
Having exposure	10	55.6	17	68.0	27	62.8
Life-style Indicators						
Habit of drinking Country liquor (Handia)	18	100.0	23	92.0	41	95.3
Habit of Smoking	15	83.3	21	84.0	36	83.7
Standard of Living Index (SLI)						
Low SLI	6	33.3	14	56.0	20	46.5
Medium SLI	11	61.1	9	36.0	20	46.5
High SLI	1	5.6	2	8.0	3	7.0
Male Female Interaction Index (MFII)						
Less interactive	2	11.1	10	40.0	12	27.9
Interactive	9	50.0	8	32.0	17	39.5
Highly Interactive	7	38.9	7	28.0	14	32.6
Total (N)	18	100.0	25	100.0	43	100.0

*Agricultural Labourer, Forest Guard, Helper in Tractor, Study, Cow header, Welding, Industrial Labourer

Table 5.10 presents the profile of the partners of the youth who had extra-marital sexual relationships. The mean number of extra-marital sexual partners is almost same in case of married youths of both the primitive tribal groups, though the number is slightly more in case of Lodha youth. The mean age of the extra-marital sexual partner is 19.8 years. This is true for the youth of both the primitive tribal groups. The analysis also reveals that about one fifth of the partners of Lodha youth are less than 15 years of age.

Table 5.10 Details of the extra-marital sexual partner of married youth by PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Average No. of sexual partners						
1	13	72.2	16	64.0	29	67.4
More than 2	5	27.8	9	36.0	14	32.6
Mean No. of partners	1.3		1.6		1.5	
Standard Deviation	0.6		0.8		0.7	
Age of sexual partner						
Less than 15	1	5.6	5	20.0	6	14.0
15-19	9	50.0	7	28.0	16	37.2
More than 19	8	44.4	12	48.0	20	46.5
Can't say	0	0.0	1	4.0	1	2.3
Mean Age	19.8		19.8		19.8	
Standard Deviation	4.7		5.3		5.0	
Age gap with partner**						
Same with the respondent	3	16.7	0	0.0	3	7.1
Younger to the respondent	12	66.7	17	70.8	29	69.0
Older to the respondent	3	16.7	7	29.2	10	23.8
Marital status of the partner						
Unmarried	5	27.8	8	32.0	13	30.2
Currently married	10	55.6	15	60.0	25	58.1
Widow	3	16.7	2	8.0	5	11.6
Relationship with the partner						
Girl friend	6	33.3	2	8.0	8	18.6
Older woman (Relatives)	8	44.4	19	76.0	27	62.8
Others	4	22.2	4	16.0	8	18.6
Belongs to own village						
Yes	10	55.6	21	84.0	31	72.1
No	8	44.4	4	16.0	12	27.9
Belongs to own community						
Yes	17	94.4	22	88.0	39	90.7
No	1	5.6	3	12.0	4	9.3
Total (N)	18	100.0	25	100.0	43	100.0

** Cases where age is not stated are not considered for the variable computation

The age gap between the married couples and their partners shows that more than two third of the partners are younger to the respondent. The percent older partner is as high as 29 percent among Lodha youth, as compared to 17 percent among Juang.

The marital distribution of partners indicate that about three fifth of the extra-marital sex partners are currently married irrespective of the primitive tribal groups. Another one fourth of partners of the Juang youth and one third of Lodha youth are unmarried. Majority of the extra-marital sexual partners are relatives of the married youth, with a percent as high as 76 percent among Lodha as compared to more than two fifth among Juang. Almost all the partners belong to the same community of the respondent (94 percent among Juang and 88 percent Lodha). More than four fifth of the Lodha partners belong to the same village, as compared to half of the Juang.

Qualitative data analysis also reveals that about half of the married youth who have extra-marital sexual relationships, continues the relationship with their former girl friends/ partners. This is true for the youth of both the primitive tribal groups. As the primitive tribal group is a small one and marriages also take place within the community, it creates an opportunity for the partners to be in touch with each other and continue their relationship even after the marriage. One of the married Lodha youth aged 23 years and educated up to 8th standard, revealed about his extra-marital sexual relationships with his former girl friend/ partner, whom he wanted to marry. The girl was also from the same tribal community. In his words,

“Our relationship continued up to one year, until my marriage. After my marriage she also got married in the neighbouring village. After a gap..... Now also we are in touch with each other but interact very rarely. I had sexual intercourse with her even after her marriage.”

During the survey, married youth who reported to have/had extra-marital sexual relationship were asked about the details of their last sexual intercourse performed with the last partner. The findings related to this are presented in Table 5.11. More than half of the Juang and four fifth of the Lodha youth have had sex with their

partner because of the mutual desire. More than one fourth of the married Juang youth have had sex, only because of their partner's desire, as compared to only eight percent of Lodha. More than half of the Juang youth and two third of the Lodha youth have consumed alcohol prior to the sexual intercourse. This indicates that alcohol plays a quite dominant role at the time of performing extra-marital sex. More than three fifth of the Juang youth had their last sex performed with the extra-marital partner in her house. On the other hand, about two third of Lodha couples had their last sex at 'Field/ Jungle'.

Out of those who have extra-marital sexual relationship, more than four fifth are continuing their relationship with the last sexual partner. During the survey, when the question was asked to collect information on the sexual life of the partners, it was found that majority of the tribal youth did not have any knowledge about the number of persons with whom their last partner might be having sexual relationship (50 percent of Juang and 68 percent of Lodha).

Table 5.11 Details of the last sex performed by married youth with their last sexual partner by PTG

	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
On whose desire had sexual intercourse						
Your desire	3	16.7	3	12.0	6	14.0
Her Desire	5	27.8	2	8.0	7	16.3
Desire of both	10	55.6	20	80.0	30	69.8
Consumption of alcohol prior to sex						
Yes	10	55.6	17	68.0	27	62.8
No	8	44.4	8	32.0	16	37.2
Place where had sexual intercourse						
In your house	0	0.0	1	4.0	1	2.3
In her house	11	61.1	8	32.0	19	44.2
At work place	1	5.6	0	0.0	1	2.3
At field/Jungle	6	33.3	16	64.0	22	51.2
Still continuing the relationship						
Yes	15	83.3	20	80.0	35	81.4
No	3	16.7	5	20.0	8	18.6
Partner's partner						
0	4	22.2	5	20.0	9	20.9
1	5	27.8	3	12.0	8	18.6
Can't say	9	50.0	17	68.0	26	60.5
Total (N)	18	100.0	25	100.0	43	100.0

Those tribal youth who reported to have extra-marital sexual relationship at the time of survey, were asked whether their relationship with the girl/woman was known to any body in the village/community. The extra-marital relationship in case of two fifth of Juang (4 cases) and half of the Lodha (12 cases) was known to the village/community. Though the relationship was known in the village/ community, there was no reaction from the community side.

Table 5.12 Reaction of the community over the last extra-marital sexual relationship of the married youth by PTG

	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Relationship exposed to village/ Community						
Yes	4	22.2	12	48.0	16	37.2
No	13	72.2	12	48.0	25	58.1
Don't know	1	5.6	1	4.0	2	4.7
Total (N)	18	100.0	25	100.0	43	100.0
What was their reaction						
No reaction	4	100.0	11	91.7	15	93.8
Others	0	0.0	1	8.3	1	6.3
Total (N)	4	100.0	12	100.0	16	100.0

During the qualitative phase of data collection, effort was made to understand the reasons/ factors responsible for developing extra-marital sexual relationships. Lodha youth could not give any concrete reasons/factors responsible, whereas three of the married Juang youth listed out some of the reasons for this. In words of a 19 year old, illiterate Juang youth,

“The main reasons for this type of relationships are lack of sexual pleasure in marital life, ugly wife, past love affair and unfaithful wife (in case the wife is having boyfriends).”

B. SEXUAL LIFE OF UNMARRIED YOUTH

As discussed in the previous chapters, out of the total sample of 414 youth, 215 (112 among Juang and 103 among Lodha) were unmarried. In this section, the data related to sexual life of unmarried youth has been analysed and presented below.

5.5 First Physical Contact of Unmarried Youth

As Table 5.13 reveals, more than three fifth of the Juang and about three fourth of the unmarried Lodha youth had experienced any type of physical contact with opposite sex partner at the time of survey. The higher percentage points among Lodha unmarried youth indicates that Lodha youth are sexually more active than their Juang counterparts.

Table 5.13 Unmarried youth who ever had physical contact with females and future intention by PTG

	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Ever had physical contact						
Yes	71	63.4	73	70.9	144	67.0
No	41	36.6	30	29.1	71	33.0
Total (N)	112	100.0	103	100.0	215	100.0
Intended to wait till marriage (for those who did not have any physical contact at the time of survey)						
Yes	10	24.4	2	6.7	12	16.9
No	13	31.7	12	40.0	25	35.2
Don't Know	18	43.9	16	53.3	34	47.9
Total (N)	41	100.0	30	100.0	71	100.0

Those unmarried youth who reported no experience of any type of physical contact, were asked about their future intentions. The table (Table 5.13) reveals that about one fourth of the Juang youth intend to wait till marriage for sexual intercourse/any type of physical contact, as compared to less than one tenth of the Lodha unmarried youth. On the other hand about one third of the Juang and two fifth of the Lodha unmarried male youth do not intend to wait till marriage to experience their first

physical contact (Not necessarily the sexual intercourse). Besides this more than two fifth of the Juang and half of the unmarried Lodha youth are not sure about their future intentions regarding the timing of experiencing the first physical contact.

Those unmarried youth who reported to have physical contact, were asked about the details of physical contacts they had till the date of survey. Table 5.14 presents the analysis of data related to the physical contacts of the unmarried tribal youth.

The mean number of sexual partners is almost same for both the primitive tribal groups. The combined value for both the tribes together indicates that on an average each unmarried youth has two partners. The lower standard deviation value also supports this finding. The lesser mean indicates that the unmarried youth of primitive tribal groups confined their sexual desire to less number of partners and frequently changing of partners is not rampant.

Though the mean number of partners is same in case of youth of both the primitive tribal groups, the mean number of time experiencing physical contact with partners indicates a difference. The mean number of physical contacts with the partner is more among Juang youth as compared to their Lodha counterparts. Among Juang the mean is almost close to nine times, whereas in case of Lodha this is six times. The analysis of data on age of the first sexual partner reveals that physical partners of the Lodha youth are younger in terms of age than the partners of Juang youth. The mean age of the Lodha partner is 13.9 years, as compared to the 15.1 years of Juang partners.

During the survey, information was also collected on the different sexual acts performed by the unmarried youth. About three fifth of the Juang and more than two fifth of the Lodha unmarried youth, performed kissing with their partners. Except kissing in all other sexual acts Lodha indicated predominance over their Juang counterparts in terms of percentage points. More than two fifth of the Juang and about three fourth of the Lodha youth reported 'fondling of breast' as one of the sexual acts performed with their partners. Similarly, about three fifth of the Juang and two third of Lodha unmarried youth reported 'touching of each others private part (genital organ)' as one of the sexual acts they performed.

Besides above discussed sexual acts, Lodha youth also dominated in case of penetrative sex with their partners. The table reveals, more than four fifth of the Lodha unmarried youth had penetrative sex with their partners, as compared to only half of the Juang.

Table 5.14 Details of physical contacts and sexual acts performed by unmarried youth by PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
No. of partners						
1	47	66.2	38	52.1	85	59.0
2	10	14.1	17	23.3	27	18.8
More than 2	14	19.7	18	24.7	32	22.2
Mean No. of partners	2.0		2.2		2.1	
Standard deviation	2.3		2.8		2.5	
No. of times had physical contact						
Once	1	1.4	9	12.3	10	6.9
Twice	12	16.9	8	11.0	20	13.9
3-5 times	9	12.7	18	24.7	27	18.8
More than 5 times	38	53.5	22	30.1	60	41.7
Don't Remember	11	15.5	16	21.9	27	18.8
Mean No. of times	8.6		5.8		7.2	
Standard deviation	5.7		4.9		5.5	
Age at 1st physical contact (in years)						
Less than 13	8	11.3	17	23.3	25	17.4
13-17	50	70.4	55	75.3	105	72.9
More than 17	3	4.2	1	1.4	4	2.8
Don't Remember	10	14.1	0	0.0	10	6.9
Mean age	15.1		13.9		14.5	
Standard deviation	1.6		1.6		1.7	
Type of sexual acts*						
Kissing	39	54.9	33	45.2	72	50.0
Touching each others private part	41	57.7	47	64.4	88	61.1
Fondling breast	30	42.3	53	72.6	83	57.6
Penetrative Sex	36	50.7	60	82.2	96	66.7
Total (N)	71	100.0	73	100.0	144	100.0

* Total exceeds 100 percent due to multiple choice answers

Lodha unmarried youth seems to be fearless as compared to their Juang counterparts in terms of having sexual relationships before marriage. As stated above, the percent Lodha youth who have penetrative sex is more than the Juang youth. Even qualitative data also supports this finding. The data also reveal that none of the

Lodha youth have reported any kind of fear towards community, during their physical contact with any female. On the other hand unmarried Juang youth have expressed fear towards their community and elderly members of the society. While describing the experiences of first physical contact and sexual acts, one illiterate Juang youth of 17 years added,

“I wanted to do ‘orkam’ (sexual intercourse) with her, but could not get the courage. But I kissed her and squeezed her breast many time. I was afraid that if some body catches us then what will happen?”

On the other hand a 18 year old Lodha boy, who studied up to 8th standard, while describing his first physical contact said,

“One day I went to her house in the afternoon. She told me that there is no one in her house. Every body had gone out for work. I grabbed the opportunity and convinced her for sex.”

Almost all the unmarried Juang youth revealed some kind of fear either towards society, culture, parents or elder members of the society, while describing their first physical contact with any female. But, among Lodha unmarried youth, except one, none mentioned about any such fear or anxiety. Rather they considered this as a common phenomenon and told that most of the unmarried boys and girls in their village/ community were sexually active.

Table 5.15 presents the selected background characteristics of those unmarried youth who had experienced any type of physical contact with their opposite sex partner. The analysis of data by age of the unmarried youth who had experienced physical contact with any female reveals that Lodha unmarried youth have experienced their first physical contact almost two year before compared to their Juang counterparts. The mean age at first physical contact is 17.8 years and 16.1 years among Juang and Lodha respectively. More than one third of those Juang and about half of the Lodha unmarried youth are literate. Majority of the unmarried

youth have studied up to primary school. Though literacy rate is more among Lodha, the percent unmarried youth with higher education is relatively more among Juang.

The combined value for both the tribes together indicates that more than one third of the unmarried youth are working as daily labourer (34 percent). This holds good for both the primitive tribal groups separately as well (35 percent among Juang and 33 percent among Lodha). Percent non-worker is again high among Juang unmarried youth. More than two fifth of the unmarried Juang youth who have experienced physical contact are non workers as compared to one fifth of the Lodha. The exposure to mass media among unmarried Juang youth who had experienced physical contact is as high as 63 percent, which is almost double than their Lodha counterparts (33 percent). But in case of exposure to urban area, the percentage is almost same among the youth of both the primitive tribal groups. More than three fourth of the unmarried youth are exposed to urban area.

With regard to the life-style indicators, consumption of country liquor (*Handia*) is more common among Juang youth than among the Lodha. Similarly, more than three fourth of the Juang unmarried youth who had experienced physical contact have the habit of smoking 'bidi/cigarette', whereas among unmarried Lodha youth two third have the habit of smoking.

About two fifth of the unmarried Juang youth and about half of the Lodha youth who had experienced physical contact belong to 'Low SLI' category. And another two fifth in each primitive tribal group belong to the 'Medium SLI' category. Though the distribution of unmarried youth by standard of living index is almost same for both the tribal groups, but the Lodha clearly indicates a relatively poor socio-economic condition. The male female interaction index shows that about four fifth of the unmarried Juang youth who had experienced physical contact belong to 'interactive' or 'highly interactive' category, as compared to two third of the Lodha. It was discussed in earlier chapters that unmarried Juang youth sleeps together at 'youth dormitory' during the night. Hence, it is expected that they will be having a greater friend circle than that of unmarried Lodha youth, which is clear from the male female interaction index.

Table 5.15 Unmarried youth who ever had physical contact with any female by background characteristics and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Age (in years)						
Less than 15	7	9.9	23	31.5	30	20.8
15-19	47	66.2	44	60.3	91	63.2
More than 19	17	23.9	6	8.2	23	16.0
Mean Age	17.8		16.1		16.9	
Standard Deviation	3.0		2.4		2.8	
Educational Qualification						
Illiterate	45	63.4	40	54.8	85	59.0
Literate without formal schooling	4	5.6	7	9.6	11	7.6
Below Primary	6	8.5	7	9.6	13	9.0
Primary Completed	8	11.3	12	16.4	20	13.9
Middle Completed	6	8.5	6	8.2	12	8.3
High School and above	2	2.8	1	1.4	3	2.1
Occupational Status						
Collection of Leaf	0	0.0	24	32.9	24	16.7
Cultivation	12	16.9	0	0.0	12	8.3
Daily labourer	25	35.2	24	32.9	49	34.0
Food Gathering	1	1.4	9	12.3	10	6.9
Others*	4	5.6	2	2.7	6	4.2
Not Working	29	40.8	14	19.2	43	29.9
Exposure to mass media						
Having exposure	45	63.4	24	32.9	69	47.9
Exposure to urban area						
Having exposure	53	74.6	57	78.1	110	76.4
Life-style Indicators						
Habit of drinking Country liquor (Handia)	66	93.0	57	78.1	123	85.4
Habit of Smoking	55	77.5	49	67.1	104	72.2
Standard of Living Index (SLI)						
Low SLI	27	38.0	34	46.6	61	42.4
Medium SLI	30	42.3	28	38.4	58	40.3
High SLI	14	19.7	11	15.1	25	17.4
Male Female Interaction Index (MFII)						
Less interactive	15	21.1	26	35.6	41	28.5
Interactive	27	38.0	31	42.5	58	40.3
Highly Interactive	29	40.8	16	21.9	45	31.3
Total (N)	71	100.0	73	100.0	144	100.0

*Agricultural Labourer, Forest Guard, Helper in Tractor, Study, Cow header, Welding, Industrial Labourer

The following table (Table 5.16) presents the profile of the partners with whom the unmarried youth had experienced their first physical contact. The mean age of the partners is 14.3 years and 13.4 years among Juang and Lodha respectively. More than three fifth of the partners of Juang youth are from the age group 13-17 years. On the other hand about two third of the partners of unmarried Lodha youth are from less than 13 years category. Age gap with the partner indicates that about four fifth of the partners are younger to the respondent. More than one fifth of the partners of Lodha unmarried youth are older to them in terms of age.

Table 5.16 Details of the partner with whom the unmarried youth had the first physical contact by PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Age of partner						
Less than 13	12	16.9	47	64.4	59	41.0
13-17	43	60.6	14	19.2	57	39.6
More than 17	6	8.5	12	16.4	18	12.5
Don't remember	10	14.1	0	0.0	10	6.9
Mean Age	14.3		13.4		13.8	
Standard Deviation	3.5		4.5		4.1	
Age gap with partner**						
Same with the respondent	3	4.9	1	1.4	4	3.0
Younger to the respondent	49	80.3	57	78.1	106	79.1
Older to the respondent	9	14.8	15	20.5	24	17.9
Marital status of the partner						
Unmarried	69	97.2	60	82.2	129	89.6
Currently married	2	2.8	9	12.3	11	7.6
Divorced/Separated/Deserted	0	0.0	4	5.5	4	2.8
Relationship with the partner						
Girl friend	67	94.4	52	71.2	119	82.6
Own relative	3	4.2	18	24.7	21	14.6
Others	1	1.4	3	4.1	4	2.8
Consent taken						
Yes	67	94.4	68	93.2	135	93.8
No	4	5.6	5	6.8	9	6.3
Belongs to own community						
Yes	67	94.4	69	94.5	136	94.4
No	4	5.6	2	2.7	6	4.2
Don't know	0	0.0	2	2.7	2	1.4
Total (N)	71	100.0	73	100.0	144	100.0

** Cases where age is not stated are not considered for the variable computation

Almost all the partners of the unmarried Juang youth are unmarried, whereas about four fifth of the partners of Lodha youth are unmarried. Table 5.16 clearly indicates that more than one tenth of the partners of Lodha youth are currently married and another six percent are divorced/separated/deserted. More than 90 percent of the partners of Juang youth are their girlfriends, whereas little less than three fourth of the partners of Lodha youth are so. It also indicates, about one fourth of the partners of Lodha youth are their relatives. Almost all the partners are from the same primitive tribal community of the respective youth. During the survey, it was also asked whether the consent was taken before having the first physical contact. The table reveals 94 percent of Juang and 93 percent of the Lodha youth have taken consent from the partner before having the physical contact.

5.6 Description of Sexual Life of Unmarried Youth

During the analysis, those unmarried youth who had penetrative sex with their partners were filtered out and analysed further by different background characteristics and other indicators. The data was collected for both first sexual partner and last/most recent sexual partner. As shown in Table 5.14, out of total 215 unmarried youths interviewed, 96 had experienced penetrative sex at the time of survey (36 Juang and 60 Lodha).

As far as number of partners is concerned, more than four fifth of the Juang youth have only one partner, whereas about three fifth of Lodha youth have so. Among Lodha unmarried youth, 43 percent have two or more number of partners as compared to only 17 percent of Juang (Figure 5.5). The analysis of data also reveals that the mean number of partners among Juang and Lodha is 1.3 and 1.6 respectively. It is clear from the findings that Lodha unmarried youth have more intimacy with females as compared to their Juang counterparts.

Figure 5.5 Percent distribution of unmarried youth by number of partners, with whom they had sexual intercourse and PTG

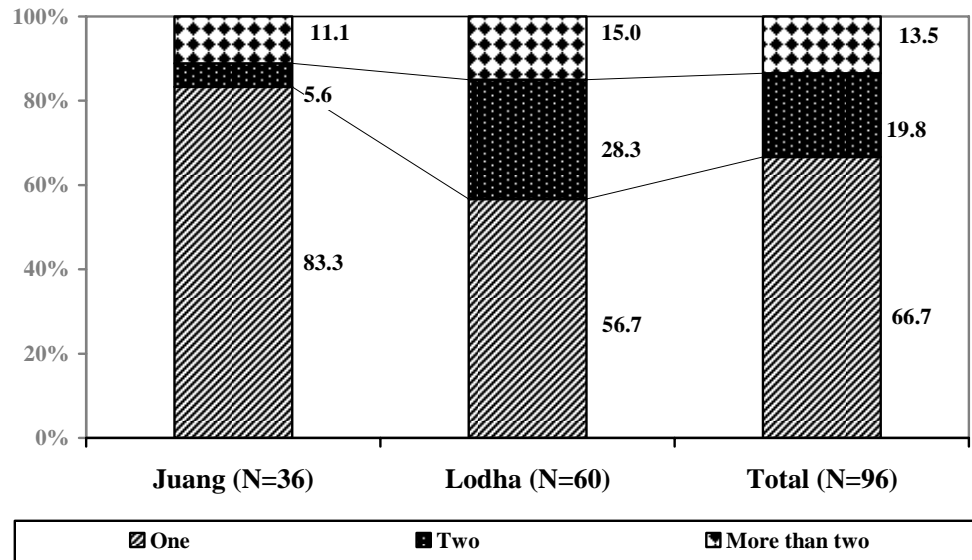


Table 5.17 presents the findings related to age at first sexual intercourse and partners detail by first and last/most recent partner, with whom the unmarried youth had penetrative sex. The mean age at first sexual intercourse with the first partner is 15.8 and 13.9 years among Juang and Lodha youth respectively. The sexual debut among Lodha unmarried youth occurs in a much lower age than their Juang counterparts. Similarly, the mean age at first sexual intercourse with the last/most recent partner is 18.0 and 16.2 years among Juang and Lodha respectively.

The age of the sexual partners indicates that not only the male youth but Lodha females also start having sexual intercourse at a lower age than Juang females. The age difference is almost one and half years. The mean age of the first sexual partner is 14.8 and 13.3 among Juang and Lodha respectively. Most of the partners are younger to the tribal youth. At the same time it can also be seen that more than one fifth of the Lodha partners are older in age (22 percent of first partners and 23 percent of last/most recent partners), whereas the corresponding values among Juang is quite low.

Table 5.17 Age at first sexual intercourse of unmarried youth and partners detail by sequence and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG								Total			
	Juang				Lodha							
	1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner*		1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner		1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Age at sexual intercourse												
Less than 15	5	13.9	1	16.7	45	75.0	9	34.6	50	52.1	10	31.3
15-19	31	86.1	3	50.0	15	25.0	15	57.7	46	47.9	18	56.3
More than 19	0	0.0	2	33.3	0	0.0	2	7.7	0	0.0	4	12.5
Mean Age	15.8		18.0		13.9		16.2		14.6		16.5	
Standard Deviation	1.2		3.3		1.8		2.3		1.8		2.6	
Age of partner												
Less than 13	5	13.9	0	0.0	33	55.0	6	23.1	38	39.6	6	18.8
13-17	28	77.8	2	33.3	19	31.7	15	57.7	47	49.0	17	53.1
More than 17	3	8.3	4	66.7	8	13.3	5	19.2	11	11.5	9	28.1
Mean Age	14.8		17.8		13.3		15.2		13.9		15.7	
Standard Deviation	4.1		2.6		3.5		3.3		3.8		3.3	
Age gap with partner**												
Same with the respondent	3	8.3	0	0.0	6	10.0	1	3.8	9	9.4	1	3.1
Younger to the respondent	30	83.3	3	50.0	41	68.3	19	73.1	71	74.0	22	68.8
Older to the respondent	3	8.3	3	50.0	13	21.7	6	23.1	16	16.7	9	28.1
Marital status of the partner												
Unmarried	30	83.3	6	100	51	85.0	18	69.2	81	84.4	24	75.0
Currently married	4	11.1	0	0.0	7	11.7	7	26.9	11	11.5	7	21.9
Divorced/Separated /Deserted	2	5.6	0	0.0	2	3.3	1	3.8	4	4.2	1	3.1
Relationship with the partner												
Girl friend	35	97.2	6	100	46	76.7	22	84.6	81	84.4	28	87.5
Own relative	1	2.8	0	0.0	7	11.7	1	3.8	8	8.3	1	3.1
Others	0	0.0	0	0.0	7	11.7	3	11.5	7	7.3	3	9.4
Total (N)	36	100	6	100	60	100	26	100	96	100	32	100

*Results needs be interpreted with caution because of the low base

** Cases where age is not stated are not considered for the variable computation

As far as marital status of the partner is concerned, the analysis of quantitative data indicates that unmarried youth of primitive tribal groups prefers their first sexual partner to be unmarried. But the trend differs afterwards across the tribal groups. More than four fifth of the first partners are unmarried. This is true for both the primitive tribal groups. The picture changes dramatically in case of last/more recent

partner. More than one third of the last/most recent partners of Lodha unmarried youth are currently married/ divorced/separated/deserted. During a key informant interview among Lodha, the informant said,

“In our village many unmarried boys (more than half) are sexually active. They are having relationship with both married and unmarried women.”

The table also reveals that almost all the partners, both first and last/most recent partners, are girl friends of the unmarried Juang youth. But the percentage varies among Lodha. More than three fourth of the first partners and four fifth of the last/most recent partners are reported as so.

Table 5.18 presents the details of the sexual intercourse of unmarried youth in the same fashion as in the previous table (Table 5.17).

The percent youth, who had sexual intercourse with ‘desire of both’, was more among Juang, than Lodha. This was true in case of both first and last/most recent partner. About one fifth of the unmarried Lodha youth had sexual intercourse with their partner only because of their own desire. But, it was completely reverse in case of the last/most recent partner of Lodha unmarried youth. About one fifth of the sexual intercourse among Lodha youth resulted only because of their partner’s desire. On the other hand, among Juang the percent youth who had sexual intercourse because of only partner’s desire was almost double in case of last/most recent partner, than the first sexual partner. The finding clearly indicates a difference in the behaviour of Juang and Lodha youth. Juang youth hardly goes for sexual intercourse only because of their own desire. Either it is a desire of the partner or both, whereas among Lodha it is not like that.

As far as consumption of alcohol prior to sex is concerned, it increases drastically among Lodha unmarried youth between the first and last/most recent partners. The percent youth who consumed alcohol rises from a low of 42 percent in case of first sexual partner to a high of 77 percent in case of last/most recent partner. But the

consumption of alcohol among Juang is moderate, as about half of the youth consumed alcohol prior to sex.

Table 5.18 Details of the sexual intercourse of unmarried youth by partners sequence and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG								Total			
	Juang				Lodha				1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner	
	1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner*		1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner		1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
On whose desire had sexual intercourse												
Your desire	1	2.8	0	0.0	10	16.7	2	7.7	11	11.5	2	6.3
Her Desire	3	8.3	1	16.7	4	6.7	5	19.2	7	7.3	6	18.8
Desire of both	32	88.9	5	83.3	46	76.7	19	73.1	78	81.3	24	75.0
Consumption of alcohol prior to sex												
Yes	18	50.0	3	50.0	25	41.7	20	76.9	43	44.8	23	71.9
No	18	50.0	3	50.0	35	58.3	6	23.1	53	55.2	9	28.1
Place where had sexual intercourse												
In your house	1	2.8	0	0.0	3	5.0	1	3.8	4	4.2	1	3.1
In her house	18	50.0	2	33.3	4	6.7	3	11.5	22	22.9	5	15.6
At field/Jungle	15	41.7	2	33.3	51	85.0	18	69.2	66	68.8	20	62.5
Others	2	5.6	2	33.3	2	3.3	4	15.4	4	4.2	6	18.8
Afraid that the partner may get pregnant												
Yes	15	41.7	1	16.7	44	73.3	18	69.2	59	61.5	18	56.3
No	21	58.3	5	83.3	16	26.7	8	30.8	37	38.5	14	43.8
Afraid of getting some infection/disease												
Yes	12	33.3	3	50.0	16	26.7	14	53.8	28	29.2	14	43.8
No	24	66.7	3	50.0	44	73.3	12	46.2	68	70.8	18	56.3
Had precaution before intercourse												
Yes	4	11.1	3	50.0	14	23.3	9	34.6	18	18.8	12	37.5
No	32	88.9	3	50.0	46	76.7	17	65.4	78	81.3	20	62.5
Type of precaution taken												
Condom	2	5.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	2.1	0	0.0
Herbal medicine	2	5.6	1	33.3	7	11.7	4	15.4	9	9.4	5	41.7
Pills	0	0.0	2	66.7	7	11.7	5	19.2	7	7.3	7	58.3
Still continuing the relationship												
Yes	17	47.2	3	50.0	33	55.0	18	69.2	50	52.1	21	65.6
No	19	52.8	3	50.0	27	45.0	8	30.8	46	47.9	11	34.4
Total (N)	36	100	6	100	60	100	26	100	96	100	32	100

**Results needs be interpreted with caution because of the low base*

Field/Jungle is the most preferred place for unmarried Lodha youth irrespective of the partner's sequence. But among Juang, partner's house is preferred to be the most appropriate place to have sexual intercourse, followed by 'field/Jungle'. The table reveals that fear regarding partners pregnancy reduces from first sexual partner to last/most recent sexual partner, whereas the fear of getting some infection/disease, increases from first to last/most recent partner. As a result, percent youth taking precaution before sex also increases in case of the last/most recent partner. This indicates that unmarried youth of primitive tribal groups are gaining more and more knowledge related sex and problems related to sex with the increase in number of sexual partners.

During the survey, the youth were also asked whether they are continuing the relationship with their partners or not. The analysis of data shows that about half of the unmarried youth, irrespective of the tribal group, are continuing their relationship with the first partner. Similarly half of the Juang youth and more than two third of the Lodha are continuing the relationship with their last/most recent partner.

Table 5.19 presents the reaction of community on the relationship of unmarried youth with their partners.

Table 5.19 Reaction of the community over the sexual intercourse of unmarried youth by partners sequence and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG								Total			
	Juang				Lodha				1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner	
	1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner*		1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner		1 st Partner		Last/Most Recent Partner	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Relationship exposed to village/Community												
Yes	13	36.1	0	0.0	31	51.7	15	57.7	44	45.8	15	46.9
No	23	63.9	6	100	28	46.7	9	34.6	51	53.1	15	46.9
Don't know	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	1.7	2	7.7	1	1.0	2	6.3
Total (N)	36	100	6	100	60	100	26	100	96	100	32	100
What was their reaction												
No reaction	13	100.0	0	0.0	30	96.8	15	100.0	43	97.7	15	100.0
Physically tortured	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.2	0	0.0	1	2.3	0	0.0
Total (N)	13	100	0	0.0	31	100	15	100	44	100	15	100

**Results needs be interpreted with caution because of the low base*

Those unmarried tribal youth who had sexual intercourse with their partner/s, were asked during the survey whether their relationship with the girl/woman was known to any body in the village/community. More than one third of the relationships with the first sexual partner among Juang and more than half of relationship with the first partner among Lodha were exposed to the village/community. The same is higher by six percentage points in case of last/most recent partners of Lodha youth. Though relationship was known in the village/community, but there was no reaction from the community side. This was true for both the primitive tribal groups and sequence of partner.

5.7 Culture and Sexual Life of Youth

During the second phase of field work i.e. qualitative phase, cultural values, norms related to sexual life of youth were studied from anthropological point of view. This sub-section presents the changing cultural values and norms related to male female interaction/relationships especially sexual relationships for youth. The analysis was done for both the primitive tribal groups separately to find out the difference in culture among Juang and Lodha.

Past time Vs present time

The analysis of data indicates a clear cut difference in the opinion of married youth and unmarried youth in terms of time, irrespective of the tribal group. Basically it divides the youth into two major groups, i.e. (i) married/aged youth and (ii) unmarried/lower age youth. Further the difference in opinion could also be seen between the primitive tribal groups. Among Juang both the groups feel that modern time is better as compared to the earlier time, but for different reasons. Whereas, among Lodha the first group feels that earlier time was better as compared to the modern time. On the other hand the second group among Lodha feels in the other way.

Almost all the Lodha youth from the first group feel that in earlier time discipline and sense of respect was there, but in modern times no body gives respect to parents,

other elderly members of family, society and culture. One of the married Lodha youth aged 19 years said,

“I feel the earlier time was better. In those days both boys and girls used to give respect to their parents decisions, but now a days it’s not there. Now girls also started selecting their life partners. There is no fixed partner both for boys and girls.”

On the other hand the Juang youth from the same group think in an opposite way. They feel that in earlier days boys used dominate in terms of selection of partner, marriage and sex. Girls did not have any say on these matters. In other words, a culture was prevailing in earlier time where, boys perform sex forcibly with the girl. In words of a 20 year old married Juang, who works as a daily labourer,

“Present time is better. Because, if any couple performs sex then it happens with each others consent. The era of forced sex has gone. In case of marriage also, at least now both boys and girls are consulted before fixing up the marriage.”

Though in the first group of youth the opinion differs widely between the members of two primitive tribal groups, but in case of the second group the opinion between the groups match up to a large extent. It would be appropriate to mention here that the thinking process of the younger youth is more or less similar as compared to the older/aged youth.

One of the Lodha youth, aged 16 years, feels that modern time is better, because it provides freedom to the young boys and girls. He studied up to 4th standard and engaged in leaf plate stitching. He said,

“The present time is good. At least we are getting the scope to interact with other village girls and chose our life partners. Now-a-days every one is going to urban areas, watching cinema together (boys and girls). As an effect

they (the youth) are getting knowledge about the outer world and life.”

The Juang youth from this category also feels in the similar way. One of the 16 year aged, unmarried and illiterate Juang youth opined,

“Relatively, present time is better. At least there is a scope to know the girl, her feelings before marriage, which was not there in earlier days”

The statements quoted above for the second group of youth, indicates that young members of both the primitive tribal communities are slowly moving out of their own culture and prefers to know and interact with their future life partners before marriage. Many cases were cited where the youth are also marrying out side their own tribal community, which is prohibited by their culture.

Changing village environment

In earlier days tribal societies, especially primitive tribes, were proud to be different from other societies in terms of the culture. Even now it is there. But the interaction among young male and female in the primitive tribal societies have gradually started adopting the culture of main stream population. The changes are more among Lodha as compared to the Juang youth. One of the Lodha married man aged 21 years, during a focus group discussion revealed,

“There is nothing new in this. At every place, in every community it’s happening. Young boys and girls keep sexual relationship with each other. Because, it is very difficult to control the couples who are in love.”

Another member in the group aged 18 years said,

“It (sexual desire) is our body’s demand, which needs to be fulfilled and a female can only fulfill that.”

In an in-depth a 18 year old, illiterate, unmarried Lodha youth also presented his views in a similar manner. He has opined,

“Our society does not permit the relationship between unmarried boys and girls. Though we know about all these norms/values, in young age every one gets tempted to establish relationship with females. I also meet my female friends secretly, without any body’s knowledge.”

Besides, the analysis of data collected from Juang youth indicates a mixed opinion on male female relationship in their village and community. But majority of the youth reveal that Juang culture does not permit interaction between male and female before marriage. In focus group discussion, one of the members aged 17 years, who studied up to 5th standard said,

“Our society doesn’t permit this. It is a punishable offence as per our village code of conduct.”

This opinion was supported by almost all the group members of each focus group discussion conducted among Juang youth. During the in-depth interviews also the same was revealed by most of the youth. The analysis indicates that Juang society still controls the movement of young boys and girls and the youth also have a fear towards the society and its norms. One of the Juang youth aged 17 years, studying in 10th standard revealed,

“Unmarried couples, who are in love and meet each other, are also scared of the community and its rule, because, sometimes community leader also gives punishment to the couples, if they caught red-handed while doing something.”

The overall analysis indicates that Lodha society and culture is slowly loosing its ground and youth are getting exposure to the outer world and are inclined towards it, whereas Juang culture is still intact and controls the society in its own traditional ways.

Importance of festival occasions and weekly market days for youth

In case of both the primitive tribal communities, festive occasions and weekly market days play an important role in the process of interaction with opposite sex and mate selection. Usually these occasions provide opportunity for close interaction among male and female which helps them to select each other either for marriage/friendship. In words of a 16 in year old, unmarried Lodha youth,

“The selection of partners happens during festivals like Makara mela, Tusu mela, Kali puja, Raja time. It also happens in weekly markets. Both boys and girls moves in groups during these festivals and select their partners.”

Similarly, a 24 year old married Juang youth said,

“Festival days are the most important time for male female interaction. During these days people used to propose each other. Some married persons also used to propose the females of their liking and establish extra-marital relationships.”

It was also proved from the qualitative data analysis that both the primitive tribal societies permit these interactions. In fact this type of mate selection could also be seen in other tribes as well. Many youth also feel that sexual activity increases in these days, due the free interactions between the males and females. Some other also opined that the young people take an undue advantage of the freedom given by the society during such occasions. One of the Juang *sardar* (head man), describing their culture said,

“In festival occasions boys and girls are allowed to interact with each other. The festivals like ‘Nua khai’, ‘Makara’, ‘Raja’, Barenni, Usha Jatra etc., are very popular. People of different villages come together and meet in one place.”

Describing the activities of young male and females during the festivals he further opined,

“In festive days the sexual activities increase, as girls get the freedom on that day to meet with boys and chat with them.”

The above discussion reveals that both the primitive tribal culture is in a transitional phase. The shifting is taking place from traditional culture to modern culture. Traditional cultural values and norms regarding interaction as well as sexual relation among male and female are changing in both the cultures, with a varied proportion.

5.8 Migration and Sexual Life of Youth

This section presents the sexual life of youth according to their migration status. During the survey information was collected on the migration status of the youth. The information was collected on whether the youth ever stayed outside the home for at least one month at a time in last one year prior to the survey. All of these migrations were work related and to earn livelihood. Table 5.20 presents the findings on this indicator by marital status and sexual life of the youth of primitive tribal groups.

The analysis on migration status of those married youth who had pre-marital sex indicated that one third of them stayed outside their home for more than one month during the reference period. This was true for both the tribes together. The percentage was higher by seven points among Lodha as compared to their Juang counterparts. The difference in percentage points increased in case of those who had extra-marital sexual relationships. About two third of the Lodha married youth who had extra-marital sexual relationships, stayed out side their home for at least one month at a time during the reference period, as compared to two fifth of the Juang. Work related migrations among Lodha married youth had some sort of influence on their sexual life. Similar findings came out during the analysis of the key informant interview and the interviews conducted with village head men among Lodha. In words of a 20 year old married Lodha youth,

“Those people who, works outside the village are more engaged in pre-marital and extra-marital affairs. Because as they go to cities without their families, no one restricts them from doing any thing.”

Besides Lodha tribal group, the in-depth interviews conducted among Juang key informants and village head men also proved the above said fact. One of the Juang village head man opined,

“The people, who are going out for work, are keeping relationship with ‘deha bebasais’ (commercial sex workers) and with other women as well. Because, they are going alone, without their wife, they are enjoying their life in their own style.”

Table 5.20 also reveals that more than one fifth of the Juang and one fourth of the unmarried Lodha youth, who had penetrative sex, also have stayed outside their home for at least one month at a time during the reference period.

Table 5.20 Youth who stayed outside home for more than one month at a time by marital status, sexual life and PTG

Indicator	Name of the PTG				Total	
	Juang		Lodha		n	%
	n	%	n	%		
Married						
Had pre-marital sexual relationships						
Stayed outside home	15	28.8	26	36.1	41	33.1
Did not stay out side home	37	71.2	46	63.9	83	66.9
Total (N)	52	100.0	72	100.0	124	100.0
Had extra-marital sexual relationships						
Stayed outside home	7	38.9	16	64.0	23	53.5
Did not stay out side home	11	61.1	9	36.0	20	46.5
Total (N)	18	100.0	25	100.0	43	100.0
Unmarried						
Had penetrative sex						
Stayed outside home	8	22.2	15	25.0	23	24.0
Did not stay out side home	28	77.8	45	75.0	73	76.0
Total (N)	36	100.0	60	100.0	96	100.0

The analysis of qualitative data also indicates the same. The youth of primitive tribal groups who are exposed to urban life are more likely to indulge in sex with females at work place either with their co-workers or with other women. Some of the youth among primitive tribal groups, especially among Lodha, visit urban places either to arrange their livelihood or just to enjoy the beauty of city life. While describing the pre-marital sexual affair one of the 16 year married Lodha youth said,

“After that girl got married (His first love, who was also from his own village), I went to Bhadrak (a neighbouring district of Mayurbhanj) in search of work. I got a job in a hotel. There I fell in love with a girl. She was working as a maid in one person’s house. Thrice I had complete sex (Penetrative sex) with her.”

Another 18 year old unmarried Lodha boy, who studied up to 8th standard while describing his visit to urban area and sexual relationship with commercial sex workers said,

“When I was at Chennai, I used to visit red light area, with one of my friend from Balasore district (A neighbouring district of Mayurbhanj). He was from scheduled caste category. I had penetrative sex with two women on different occasions. For each time I paid Rs.50 after having sex.”

Not only the youth who are going to urban areas in search of work are getting indulge in sex with other women, but the students who are studying in urban schools/college are also on a high demand among the girls in their respective village and community. One of the 18 year old Juang youth of Kendujhar district, studying in 10th standard feels that his schooling status in urban area helps him in attracting girls for marriage. In his words,

“As I am studying in town, many girls of our village get impressed and want to make friendship with me. Some of them are also interested to marry me. In fact I am in an advantageous position.”

The above discussion clearly indicates that migration does have some sort of impact on the sexual life of the youth of primitive tribal groups. Moreover the youth going out side the village, especially to big urban cities also gets involved in sex with sex workers.