State of the Urban Youth, India 2012

Employment, Livelihoods, Skills

IRIS Knowledge Foundation

UN HABITAT
Global Urban Youth Research Network

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Acknowledgement

Where The Mind is Without Fear

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father,
Let my country awake.

- Rabindranath Tagore

Table of Contents

Youth population in India

Jammu & Kashmir **42.53%**

Himachal Pradesh **42.36%**

Punjab **42.67%**

Uttaranchal **40.83%**

Haryana **42.83%**

Rajasthan **39.29%**

Uttar Pradesh **38.34%**

Sikkim **35.20%**

Arunachal Pradesh **41.03%**

Bihar **37.00%**

Assam **42.57%**

Nagaland **45.68%**

Meghalaya **40.99%**

Manipur **44.38%**

Gujarat **42.93%**

Madhya Pradesh **40.09%**

Jharkhand **39.06%**

West Bengal **42.42%**

Tripura **43.57%**

Mizoram **43.99%**

Chattisgarh **39.62%**

Orrisa **41.59%**

Maharashtra **42.68%**

Goa **45.44%**

Andhra Pradesh **42.98%**

Andaman & Nicobar Islands **47.05%**

Karnataka **43.35%**

Lakshadweep **42.25%**

Kerala **41.47%**

Tamil Nadu **42.93%**

Section I

> " Be the change that you wish to see in the world. "
>
> - Mahatma Gandhi

Towards a Youth Agenda in Policy and Practice

Padma Prakash

Young people are ubiquitous in the urban space the world over, especially so in the developing world.

In Asia every third person you meet in an Indian city today is a youth. In about seven years the median age in India will be 29 years, very likely a city-dweller, making it the youngest country in the world. Over the last two Census decades, when today's 'twenties were growing up, India has firmly inserted itself into the world economy. This world they inhabit will have, say global economists, seen a geopolitical shift with Asia as the fulcrum of economic growth.

As a category Indian youth is ill defined. There is no agreement on how and why a particular age group may be defined as youth. But the importance of youth, across definition cannot be denied. There are 430 million young people in the age group 15 – 34 years. The demographic bulge and how India may reap the demographic dividend are important points of reference everywhere today.

The demographic dividend is all about the large numbers; the working population between the ages of 15-59 that will be generating incomes sufficient to share the state's burden in supporting those that cannot yet do so. With falling mortality due to development, and falling fertility the proportion of workers to non workers rises enabling a rise in per capita income. With this is assumed to come a rise in savings that leads to greater investment in the economy. Indian planners' golden hope lies in the fact that every Asian country in this phase of demographic change has seen accelerated growth.

Policy makers appear to be viewing the demographic dividend as the spring board that is needed to thrust India into a high growth era [GoI 2013]. A recent IMF paper [Aiyar and Mody 2012] points to the huge demographic

advantage that some of the poorer, heavily populated states in the country will see. In 1991- 2001 the high growth states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Gujarat had a dependency ratio of 8.7 much lower than that of the Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. In the coming decade, it is these latter states that will reap the demographic dividend. Finally, it appears, the long promised population advantage is being realised.

Aiyar and Mody (2011) also point out that the difference in the growth rates of the two groups of states is only 1.5 per centage points that in the coming decade will be bridgeable. Yet, that can only happen if India can reap the demographic advantage. That advantage is to be seen in the huge numbers of young workers spilling into the streets, especially in cities and towns. The simple formula is that if these young people become productive members of society, then the double advantage will set in---higher growth will promote lower fertility impacting the dependency ratio in the country as a whole.

The troubling concern is that the young are seen only if they are troublesome or if they are of use. Today, if the chance of exploiting the demographic dividend charges policy makers, political leaders want a way to and harness them to the tasks of nation building. This applies with even more specificity to youth in urban areas.

The challenge is this: Can India come up with an innovative approach that puts the concerns of young people at the centre of policy? Can India show the world that in recognising young people as "valid social agents and competent urban actor" [Skelton and Gough 2013], especially in the growing cities, a sustainable development is possible?

I

The sociology and the geography of youth in India describe the contours of a changing and modernising society. If in the 1950s the residual fervour of a newborn nation translated into idealism and a spirit of nationalism, the 1960s saw a disillusionment and dissipation and changing geographies that saw a nation debating the

impact of educated brain drain to western countries, the loss of a country's social capital, its future leaders and mentors. Cinema of the day portrayed well the plight of the educated unemployed youth. But the wide recognition of the phenomenon did not yield any remedies to arrest the weakening economic scenario.

The 1970s geopolitical conditions slowed down the outmigration of the qualified and educated. The shrinking of opportunities within the country and the failure both to generate adequate growth and ensure distributive justice, saw the upsurge of people's movements and the realisation of revolutionary potential of the young. The state responded to the rise of extreme left movements weakly, in policy and brutally, in reality.

In 1972 a long drought and the rising food prices prompted a state-wide student agitation in Gujarat that brought down the government and challenged a system. The following year in Bihar the student movement against corruption under Jayaprakash Narayan transformed into a people's movement that eventually led to the promulgation of the Emergency in 1975 with the suspension of all civil rights. These almost entirely youth actions inspired large sections of the educated to recognise the widening gap between the rich, mostly urban India and the poor, largely rural India. Many gave up the promise of lucrative jobs to trek to the villages, set up service institutions delivering desperately needed medicare and other services. The Medico Friend Circle, one such youth-led organisation begun by medical students then has, over the years, quietly but substantially influenced health care policy. This was also the time of the Assam student's movement asserting regional identity that eventually challenged and brought down a government becoming itself a political party.

In growing alarm the state began to address the issue of educated unemployment among largely urban youth. An ambitious youth policy was published. In 1998 as a follow up of the Youth Policy 1980 a review of the available data base on employment and the policy initiatives thus far was undertaken to "Help formulate a comprehensive

approach to the problems of youth and to evolve the necessary measures to mitigate youth unemployment," (Visaria 1998). The review confirmed a much higher unemployment rate among youth than among older age groups. It also showed that a majority of the urban unemployed were first time job seekers. Since employers sought experienced workers there resulted a large population of the young and unemployed. Moreover, the rate of rise in the educated did not match the jobs being created. The problem was compounded by the rising population growth since the 1950s and the fall in mortality rates. The paper concluded somewhat ominously:

> The high rates of youth unemployment need serious attention by the policy makers not only to mitigate the frustrations faced by the new entrants into the workforce but also to minimise the likely alienation And widespread evidence of deviant behaviour of the youth throughout the country.(Visaria 1998)

With the liberalisation of the economy and globalisation India's youth once again began to emerge from the undergrounds, in large numbers eager to participate in the modernising economy, moving in droves to centres of finance, industry and opportunity, The City. In the dying years of the late century the rise of the 'new middle class' in post-liberalisation India, especially the youth who found their feet in that time and place, was a phenomenon. Raised as they were in a techno-world without shortages and rationing they redefined the mores and manners of a generation, especially their new-found consumer identities. [Fernandes 2006]. Not only did they represent the potential for realising the outcomes of liberalisation, they were also the purveyors of the products of liberalisation, without whom the burgeoning new economy would cease to grow.

However, the process of liberalisation and the move away from a socialist-inspired policy outlook without adequate social safety nets served to widen economic gaps. Against this came the communal conflagration in Gujarat in 2002 that led to the destruction of the social fabric not only in that state but elsewhere and arguably, put a longer pause to the realisation of aspirations.

II

India's development policy has always acknowledged youth. But policy has always been *for* youth and not *about* them. Without a youth agency or a youth constituency, policy makers have largely confined themselves to pronouncements and tokenism. On the other hand, it may well be argued that since youth comprise a substantial proportion of the population, all policies will anyway benefit them the most. Why must youth be a particular concern? After all, employment and labour policies that promote job creation affect youth the most, inevitably. Similarly programmes to expand education inevitably target the young. So why should there be a particular youth focus?

The flaw in this argument lies in the conceptualisation of youth. It matters how and where youth are placed in policy and programmes for that determines the direction and control over those programmes. When policies and programmes view youth as producers who may use their skills to enhance the nation's productivity, then providing them employment is an instrumental exercise. It dehumanises youth, inevitably stripping them of their rights, and acknowledging them only for their output .

This is also true when the market regards them only as favoured consumers. The young are prolific buyers and as any marketing agency will know, they are willing to try anything new and can be product promoters. Creating young buyers is an aim in itself that in turn benefits industry and so the economy.

Creating jobs for youth and ensuring that they have adequate skills for these jobs benefits the economy. Which, of course, it will. But does it empower youth? Will it allow young people to take charge of the way their work and lives are managed? Will their voices be heard? These are not rhetorical questions.

In the decades past when women suddenly became a category of interest to policy makers, that movement too had posed similar questions. Without women's agency, economic policies attempting to gain by their productivity

fail. Today, as the chapters in this volume show, the situation of women in the work world is abysmal. Masses of them are still in the lowest paid and lowliest of occupations, and their participation in the labour force has not only been static, but is showing signs of decline.

At another level job creation has historically been seen as a panacea for youth in revolt. Wherever there is turmoil and conflict programmes for the creation of employment, regardless of the nature of employment, are rolled out to draw youth away from violence. Unfortunately the fact that often, youth take to violence and protest only when their questions go unanswered and when systems fail to bring about change is quite forgotten. These are band-aid solutions because they do not remedy the issue that has turned into the sore: the lack of attention to the people who comprise the category 'youth'.

An extension of this worldview is seen in the 'development for youth' formula where youth are seen as in need of reform, viz criminals, addicts, etc or in need of a counterweight against their tendency to engage in socially undesirable activities. Such development programmes also engage youth providing them with a reason to 'benefit society' While the idea of contributing to social development is commendable, it will remain distant from the interests of youth if society and state do not allow for a youth-centric perspective.

A survey of young people who had applied for the UN-HABITAT's youth-led fund discovered how youth see these approaches:

> Much of the research on youth—in both 'developed' and 'developing' countries focuses on the developmental needs of young people (that is, the process of supporting young people in developing into capable, contributing adults), rather than on focusing on the resources and assets that youth bring into a community development context.

'Youth' is often seen as an issue to be addressed, rather than an asset to be included in the process of creating solutions for the issues facing communities. Language

such as 'youth bulge' or 'youth at risk' focus on the deficits of young people.

This is a devastating summation from a category of the population that is not recognised by policymakers as being capable of seriously understanding development concerns. In sum, conceptually there has been poor recognition of the agency of youth, or of this time in their lives as a time for learning lifeskills, finding about themselves, not just job-oriented training or using development tools.

II

In every sphere --- education, work and play --- there is a mix of disenchantment, resentment and hope. With growth has not come equity. The cost of urbanisation is beginning to tell in a way that if left unattended could plunge society into fragments The social fabric has been stretched and stained, and the patterns are altering. Society's cultural modernisation, entirely in the hands of youth, is glitzy, kitschy, but often cacophonic even to the young. But if *kolaveri di* is going viral, classical art forms are finding new young aficionados who are turning it on its head.

This is the vibrancy of urban India, underlying which is an anger. We do not know much about this India that the young inhabit. We do not know why the simplest of situations---traffic misdemeanours, cutting queues, short-changing---can cause seriously violent outcomes, even death. We do not know why a 17year old migrant boy feels angered enough coincidentally, to brutally rape and beat her up. by young physiotherapist, also a rural migrant. Neither can we comprehend why this act and no other earlier , brought out young people in their thousands in protests strong enough for their voices to be heard in Parliament. Nor why young women can find the courage to start 'pink chaddi'* campaigns to challenge the gender-biased morality brigades dictating behavioural norms.

While the demographers and economists have worked to draw a picture of youth, what has been largely missing is

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*The campaign launched by young women in 2009 protesting tight wing attacks on women going to pubs. Women were urged to send pink underwear to the shorts wearing right wing groups.

their social constructs. Today's youth, especially in our cities, is in transition---not just in the geographical space but in the economy and society. In most developing countries of the world, and especially in India, tremendous change has taken place in the course of a single generation. The speed and complexity of change has impacted on a number of societal institutions, class, family, community, workplace, political institution, financial structure and government [See Gale and Fahey 2005].

More than any time before, this generation of youth in India have seen a transformation of their environment. They have scrambled out of communal violence and terror strikes. They have also lived through nearly-cataclysmic natural disasters ---- earthquakes and tsunamis---and manmade ones. How have they grown through all this? How does this impact on their social behaviour and on their interactions with social institutions? What role does religion play in their lives and how do they negotiate modernity? How does this impact on their economic behaviour?

What, in fact are the challenges that young people see? The introduction to a conference volume on Youth in Transition in Asia summarises them for Asia (Gale and Fahey 2005). Young people today are marrying later, having fewer children; but their mobility has meant a gradual erosion of family support leading to a 'me' generation. While there is a promise of better jobs and more comfortable lifestyles, the wherewithal to achieve them is still too scarce. More of less this is true for India. The 'new middle class' that Fernandes (2006) wrote about has been joined by millions more that are joining their ranks and sharpening the competition.

Serious Indian literature on these aspects has been thin. Nor is it very evident worldwide. Some time back a review of literature on Young People, Participaton and Sustainable Development in Urbanising World (Abebe and Trine 2011) could access no worthwhile literature on the subject in India and many other developing countries. This, in part, has led to the formation of UN-HABITAT's global urban youth research network specifically focusing

on developing the conceptualisation of youth as designers as well as participants of a policy for change.

As Gale and Fahey (2005) record, most research on youth has been conducted by older academics. The tendency is for it to be "impressionistic, confined to disciplinary boundaries and lacking insight into the issues that confront youth". Skelton and Gough (2013; 458)) analysing contributions to Urban Studies from 1990 to 2013 found out of 2992 papers only 1 per cent focussed on young people. There is a clear case for encouraging and training young people to undertake research on youth and their world with a view to understanding what they may bring to the development agenda.

This Report attempts to take a closer look at this mass of young people, especially in urban areas knocking on the doors of schools, government and industry and its culture halls and social arenas. The urban focus is easily explained. The expansion of urban India is made up of the influx of the young. The proportion of young in urban areas is likely to rise quicker than ever before. The Report's core concern is employment and livelihoods. What patterns are emerging in the labour market? What are the opportunities being created? What set of basic skills, training and education are young people bringing to the labour market? In what way are young people benefiting from the country's growing investment, albeit still insufficient, in education? Are young women participating equally in the labour market?

However, this Report is not only about what the young can deliver but about who they are, what they may gain and how their lives, in this critical period of their growth are transforming. This is by way of a preliminary report. The chief difficulty in writing the report was the fact that youth data is hard to obtain in any sector. In many cases such data only comes from small surveys or collation of anecdotal occurrences over a period. While this is not a substitute for reliable data, it does offer a glimpse of issues.

The first section sets the stage describing as it does the structural policy features that will determine development.

The second section is the report of a three-city youth survey that bears out the fact that young people are not only perceptive of development needs but can also diagnose the ills and define the remedies. Section III is the core of the Report and describes the youth labour market, migration and the gender health dimension within an overview of the systemic inequalities. Section IV attempts to pull the different threads of the report to draft a discussion text towards a youth agenda.

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Cyrus Katrak

CHAPTER 2

A Demographic Overview

Anuja Jayaraman

In Brief

- Since the 1980s India's growth of about 2 per cent per annum can be attributed to the growing working age population .

- The youth population in the age- group 15-34 years is expected to increase from 353 million in 2001 to 430 million in 2011 and then continue to increase to 464 million in 2021 and finally to decline to 458 million in 2026.

- India is undergoing demographic transition and it is gaining economically from the changing age structure with southern and western states being first to experience this gain and the lagging states are soon going to catch up.

- Youth population (15-32 years) comprises 35 per cent of the urban population and 32 per cent of the rural population.

- In urban areas, youth belonging to the Others category are the most numerous followed by Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Caste across age groups. In rural areas the highest proportion are from those of Other Backward Class (ranging between 41-42 percent) followed by Others (ranging between 24-25 per cent) and Scheduled Caste (ranging between 22-23 per cent).

- Overall three-fourths of young urban men and women are educated upto middle and secondary levels of schooling, though there are variations across states.

- India could take advantage of the 'demographic dividend' resulting from this demographic transition over this decade where the large working age population could potentially contribute to economic growth.

The population of developing countries can, in general, be described as young. In the less developed countries 29 percent of the population is under age 15 and 18 percent is between 15 and 24 years old. In the least developed countries, 40 percent of the population is younger than 15 years and 20 percent is between 15-24 years [United Nations 2011]. Addressing the needs of the youth is important for greater economic and social development of these countries.

Young people today are undergoing several transformations and studies have found that today's youth have earlier and healthier entry into adolescence, spend longer duration in school, enter labour market late and delay marriage and childbearing [Lloyd 2005]. As young people transition to adulthood, they take on various new roles and responsibilities. One of the most important transitions is to become productive members of society is being employed (Lloyd, Lam and Behrman 2005: chapter 5). Globalisation seems to play an important role in this transition process. In many developing countries globalization along with changing demographic profiles is one of the most important factors affecting transition to adulthood which not only creates new markets and brings in new technology but also influences norms and values of the society [Lloyd 2005].

In the first half of 2012, growth has slowed down in developing Asia to 7 percent and the real GDP in the second half of 2012 is expected to accelerate to just 7.25 percent owing to activities in China and India

Table 1: Selected Asian economies: Real GDP (annual percentage change)

	Projections		
	2011	2012	2013
Asia	5.8	5.4	5.8
Advanced Asia	1.3	2.3	2.3
Japan	–0.8	2.2	1.2
Australia	2.1	3.3	3.0
New Zealand	1.3	2.2	3.1
Newly Industrialized Asian Economies	4.0	2.1	3.6
Korea	3.6	2.7	3.6
Taiwan Province of China	4.0	1.3	3.9
Hong Kong SAR	5.0	1.8	3.5
Singapore	4.9	2.1	2.9
Developing Asia	7.8	6.7	7.2
China	9.2	7.8	8.2
India	6.8	4.9	6.0

Source: IMF WEO http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/02/pdf/text.pdf

[International Monetary Fund 2012]. There is widespread acknowledgement of the weakening of the global growth process. However, growth rates for China and India are higher than those projected for other advanced Asian countries. Table 1 indicates that real GDP for Asia is 5.8 percent for 2011 and projected to be 5.4 and 5.8 percent for 2012 and 2013, respectively. For India, real GDP falls from 6.8 percent in 2011 to 4.9 in 2012 (projected) and is however expected to go up to 6 percent in 2013.

The report on Global Employment Trends for Youth (2012) calls attention to a major youth employment crisis that is mainly a result of worldwide economic crisis and recommends that high priority be given to youth employment policies. The report states that global unemployment rates will range between 5.4 percent and 6.1 percent in 2007 - 2012 (projected) respectively. Within this, youth unemployment rate, which is more than double the adult unemployment rate, will range between 11.6 percent and 12.7 percent in 2007 and 2012 (projected), respectively. The youth unemployment rate remains at 12.6-12.7 percent after 2009.

Figure 1: Global unemployment rates, youth (15–24), adult (25+) and total (15+), 2007 to 2012

Source: http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/02/pdf/text.pdf

A closer look by regions 2000 and 2016 (projected) also shows that youth unemployment rates will not fall any time soon (Figure 2). Between 2000 and 2016, the projected youth unemployment rates will range between 13.5 percent and 16 percent for developed economies and the European Union. In East Asia, South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa there will not be much change (9.3 percent in 2000 and 9.8 percent in 2016 (projected) for East Asia,

10.1 percent in 2000 and 9.8 percent in 2016 (projected) for South Asia and 12.9 percent in 2000 and 11.4 percent in 2016 (projected) for sub-Saharan Africa).

Even in India, unemployment rates are rising. This can largely be attributed to a failure of the agriculture sector that forces workers to migrate and be part of the unorganized sector. Nor are employment opportunities in the manufacturing and service sectors growing [Government of India 2008]. In India, young people are withdrawing from the labour force for the sake of education [Rangarajan 2011].

Figure 2: Youth unemployment rates 2000 and 2007–2016, by select region (%)

Source: http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2012/02/pdf/text.pdf
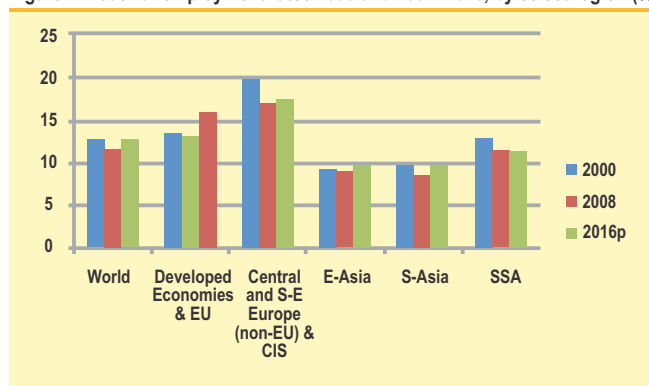
Population dynamics

 The three most populous countries in the world are China, India and the US. India accounts for 17.5 percent of total global population [Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner 2011]. India is currently experiencing a major demographic transition. Since the 1980s India has benefited from the changing age structure and growth of about 2 percent per annum can be attributed to the growing working age population [Aiyar and Mody 2012]. The population growth rate that was 1.6 percent in 2001-2005 is expected to decline to 0.9 in 2021-2025. At the same time the total fertility rate is also expected to decline from 2.9 to 2.0 between 2001-2005 and 2021-2025 (Office of Registrar General, 2006). The declining population growth rate and fertility rate in India has led to the reduction in the proportion of population below age 15 and increased the share of working age group (15-59 years). India could take advantage of the

'demographic dividend' resulting from this demographic transition where the large working age population could potentially bring economic growth [Parasuraman et al 2009]. Youth population is an important segment of this working age population. Livelihoods, employment and skills of the youth are bound to play a critical role in the growth process.

Simultaneously, for the first time between 2001 and 2011 fewer people have been added to the total population compared with previous decades. That is, the net addition to the population is declining since 1961 [Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner 2011]. In terms of numbers, the overall population in India between 2001 and 2026 is expected to increase from 1029 million to 1400 million (Office of Registrar General, 2006). Provisional estimates of the 2011 Census show that there are 158.8 million children between the age 0-6 years and this number has fallen from 163.8 million in 2001 [Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner a 2011[a]].

 The population projections from 2001 census show that between 2001 and 2026 population of those between 0-14 is going to fall from 35 percent to 23 percent, those between 15-59 is going to increase from 58 percent to 64 percent and those over 60 are also going to increase from 7 percent to 12 percent (Table 2). The working age population forms a substantial and crucial proportion of the total population but in the next 14 years it can be expected that this population increases by only 1.7 percent (62.6 percent in 2011 to 64.3 percent in 2026). Fewer children between 0-6 years and 0-14 years indicate that the window of opportunity for India to benefit from the 'youth bulge' may be fast shrinking.

Table 2: Projected population (proportions) as on 1st March: 2001-2026 (%)

Age group	2001	2006	2011	2016	2021	2026
0-14	35.4	32.1	29.1	26.8	25.1	23.4
15-59	57.7	60.4	62.6	63.9	64.2	64.3
60+	6.9	7.5	8.3	9.3	10.7	12.4

Source: Office of Registrar General, 2006

The youth population in the age-group 15-34 years is expected to increase from 353 million in 2001 to 430

million in 2011 and then continue to increase to 464 million in 2021 and finally to decline to 458 million in 2026. [Office of Registrar General and Census Commissioner 2006]. A disaggregation of the youth population (15-34) also shows a similar trend. Overall, the percentage distribution of those in the youth category increases between 2001 and 2011 and there is a gradual fall by 2026. Figure 3 shows that the percentage distribution of the projected population between 2001 and 2026. In this period the proportions of those aged 15-19 are projected to fall from 10 percent to 8 percent and of those aged 20-24 to fall from 9 percent to 8 percent.

Figure 3: Percentage distribution of projected population by age group as on 1st March: 2001-2026
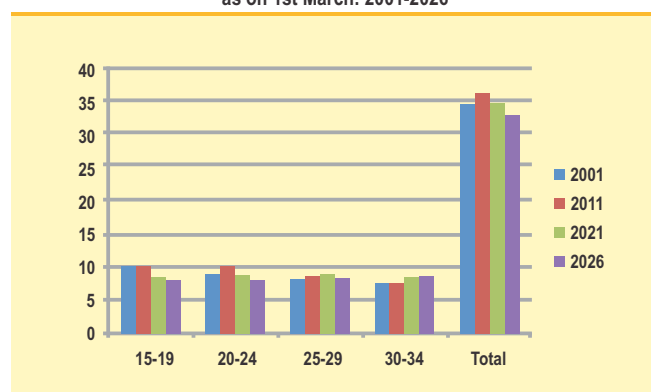
Source: Office of Registrar General, 2006

It is also observed that the median age of the population of the world and India is increasing over time. It is projected that between 1950 and 2100 the median age of the population will increase from 23.9 to 41.9 and 21.3 to 45.8 for the world and India, respectively [United Nations 2011]. At the same time the life expectancy at birth is also expected to increase. By 2095-2100 the combined life expectancy at birth will be 81.1 and 79.5 for the world and India, respectively [United Nations 2011]. This

Figure 4: Projected population pyramid: India 2001
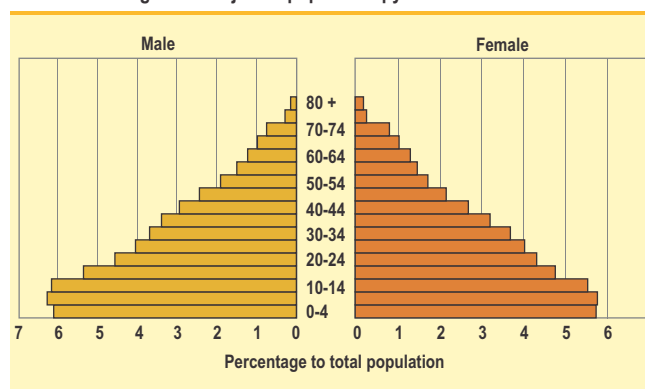
Source: Office of Registrar General, 2006

Figure 5: Projected population pyramid: India 2026
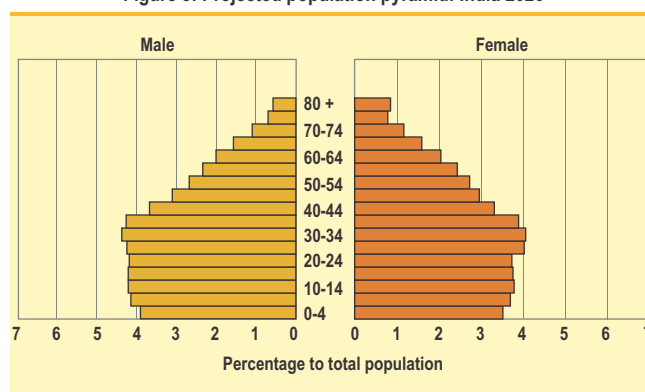
Source: Office of Registrar General, 2006

indicates that the population is aging and the window of opportunity to benefit from the population dividend is fast shrinking.

The shrinking population dividend is further evident from the population pyramid for the year 2001 and 2026 for India (Figures 4 and 5). The base of the population pyramid in 2001 is broad and it narrows with increase in age. This indicates higher proportion of young population. By 2026 with the fall in fertility rate the base of the pyramid narrows and the proportion of the population in the working age group increases.

Table 3: Selected Asian economies: Real GDP (annual percentage change)

	0-14		15-24		25-59		60+	
	2011	2050	2011	2050	2011	2050	2011	2050
World	27	20	17	13	45	44	11	22
Africa	40	31	20	18	34	42	6	10
Asia	26	17	18	12	46	46	10	24
Europe	15	16	12	10	50	40	22	34
Latin America and the Caribbean	27	17	18	12	44	45	10	25
North America	20	19	14	12	48	42	19	27
Oceania	24	20	15	13	45	43	15	24

Source: World Population Prospects: 2010, Volume II: Demographic Profiles, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, United Nations,

World patterns also convey that the largest proportion of the population lie in age group 15-59 (working age group). The proportions falling between 0-14 are declining due to falling fertility rates and those of 60 and above are increasing because of increased life expectancy (Table 3). Between 2011 and 2050, in Africa and Asia the percentage of the population aged 0-14 years is falling from 40 percent to 31 percent in Africa and from 26 percent to 17 percent in Asia. In Africa, the working age population (15-59 years) is projected to increase from 54 percent in 2011 to 60 percent in 2050 and in Asia this population is projected to decrease from 64 percent in 2011 to 58 percent in 2050.

The definition of youth varies across agencies. The United Nations considers those aged 15-24 as youth [United Nations 2009]. The draft National Youth Policy of 2012 defines youth population as those in the age group 16-30 years [Government of India 2012]. The youth policy recognizes the heterogeneity of the youth within this population. That is, it recognises the fact that those aged 16-20 have adolescent needs, those aged 21-25 strive to attain education and enter the labor force and those aged 26-30 aim to establish a professional and perhaps personal life (marriage). Here in this report, the youth population is defined in accordance with the UN-HABITAT definition. That is, youth are those in the age bracket of 15-32 years.

Profile of youth

We use the National Sample Survey Organisation's (NSSO) survey on employment and unemployment conducted in 2009-10 to study the characteristic of the youth in India and provide a brief description of how youth are distributed across place of residence, social groups, household types, marital status and level of education.

By place of residence, youth population (15-32 years) comprises 35 percent of the urban population and 32 percent of the rural population (Table 4). There are greater rural-urban differences among those between ages 0-14. This youngest age cohort makes up 32 percent of the rural and 26 percent of the urban population. Table 5 presents

youth population characteristics by social groups and divides the youth group in to three categories (15-17, 18-24 and 25-32). In urban areas, 40- 43.7 per cent of youth belong to the Others category followed by Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Caste across age groups. In rural areas, the highest proportion are from those belonging to Other Backward Class (ranging between 41-42 percent) followed by Others (ranging between 24-25 percent) and Scheduled Caste (ranging between 22-23 percent).

Table 4: Population characteristics by place of residence, 2009-2010

Age (Years)	Rural	Urban	Total
0-14	239,365,549	73,310,248	312,675,797
%	76.6	23.5	100.0
%	32.3	26.3	30.6
15-32	236,305,517	98,778,831	335,084,348
%	70.5	29.5	100.0
%	31.9	35.4	32.83
33 and above	266,067,561	106,693,739	372,761,300
%	71.4	28.6	100.0
%	35.9	38.3	36.5
Total	741,738,627	278,782,818	1,020,521,445
%	72.7	27.3	100.0
%	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS 66th round

Table 5: Youth population characteristics by social group, 2009-2010

	Age Categories					
	15-17		18-24		25-32	
Social Group	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Scheduled Tribe	10.5	3.6	10.8	3.1	11.9	2.7
Scheduled Caste	23.2	15.4	22.5	15.4	22.0	14.6
Other Backward Class	40.8	40.4	41.5	39.1	41.6	39.1
Others	25.5	40.5	25.2	42.5	24.4	43.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS 66th round

The NSSO data (66th Round) characterises households based on means of livelihood of a household during the 365 days preceding the survey for which net household income from economic activities is taken in to account (NSSO 2011). In urban areas households could be self-employed, regular wage / salary earning, casual labour and others. In rural areas households could be self-employed in non-agriculture, agricultural labour, other labour, self-employed in agriculture and others. (For further details on the procedure for determining household type refer to NSS 66th round report).

Figures 6 and 7 present the distribution of the population by household type for rural and urban areas, respectively. In urban areas, 40 percent of those in the age group aged 15-32 belong to self-employed and regular wage / salary

A Demographic Overview / Anuja Jayaraman

earning households, respectively. Fourteen percent and 6 percent belong to households characterised as casual labour and other, respectively. In rural areas the highest proportions (35 percent) belong to households that are self-employed in agriculture. Close to 25 percent are from agricultural labour household, 15 percent are other labour households and 17 percent belong to be self-employed in non-agriculture household. This pattern matches closely with the overall pattern in both rural and urban areas.

Figure 6: Population characteristics by household type and place of residence (rural areas), 2009-2010
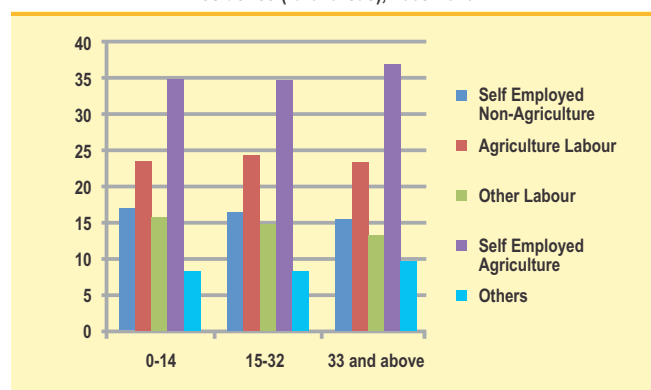
Source: NSS 66th round

Figure 7: Population characteristics by household type and place of residence (urban areas), 2009-2010
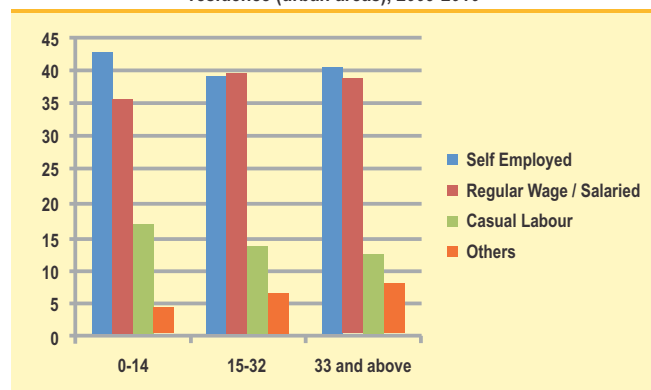
Source: NSS 66th round

The data also shows that overall in urban areas 99 percent of the youth aged 15-17 are not married, close to 75% are not married between age 18-24 and 20 percent are not married between age 25-32 (Table 6). As expected there are gender differentials with 41 percent of the female population married versus 10 percent of male population married between ages 18-24 in urban areas. Between ages 25-32 the majority of men (68 percent) and women (90 percent) are married. Table 6 shows a similar pattern for rural locations with the only difference being that compared with urban locations more individuals are married between ages 18-24. Some 20 percent of men and 62 percent of women are married between ages 18-24 in rural areas.

Tables 7 and 8 present educational levels of the youth population by different categories and place of residence. In urban areas, among those aged 15-17, 4 percent of the males and 5 percent of the females are not literate and those with middle and secondary level of education comprise 74 percent men 74 percent women. As compared to rural areas, urban areas have fewer individuals who are not literate.

Table 7 shows that among those who are between ages 15-17, 6 percent men and 10 percent women are not literate. Illiteracy increases across age cohorts and especially steep for women. As in case of rural areas the proportion of those with middle and secondary level of education is highest for those who are between the ages 15-17 years. Higher proportions are not literate and lower proportions have middle and secondary level education among 18-24 and 25-32 age groups in rural areas (Table 7). For example

Table 6: Population characteristics by marital status, age group and place of residence, 2009-2010

| | | Age Category | | | | | | | | |
| | | 15-17 | | | 18-24 | | | 25-32 | | |
Marital Status		Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Never Married	Rural	99.5	96.4	98.1	79.6	37.7	59.2	17.5	3.4	10.2
	Urban	99.6	98.6	99.2	89.2	57.8	74.5	31.4	8.4	20.1
Currently Married	Rural	0.5	3.6	1.9	20.1	61.9	40.5	81.5	94.2	88.1
	Urban	0.4	1.4	0.8	10.7	41.7	25.2	68.1	90.0	78.9
Widowed	Rural	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.7	1.6	1.2
	Urban	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.3	1.2	0.7
Divorced/Separated	Rural	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.6
	Urban	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.3
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS 66th round

74 percent of the women in urban areas aged 15-17 have attained middle and secondary level of education. More residents of urban areas have higher secondary education

Table 7: Population characteristics by education (rural area), 2009-2010

	15-17		18-24		25-32	
Rural	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not literate	5.9	10.0	10.5	25.5	18.8	41.6
Literate without formal schooling: EGS/	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.4
Literate without formal schooling: TLC	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Literate without formal schooling: other	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2
Literate: below primary	6.0	6.0	6.3	7.7	9.3	10.7
Primary	15.4	18.9	13.4	15.3	16.8	14.3
Middle	41.8	37.3	22.2	19.1	23.2	14.7
Secondary	27.7	23.8	20.3	13.9	14.6	9.2
Higher secondary	2.9	3.5	20.0	13.0	8.6	4.6
Diploma/certificate course	0.2	0.2	1.8	0.8	1.2	0.5
Graduate	0.0	0.1	5.0	3.6	5.6	2.9
Postgraduate and above	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.6	1.5	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS 66th Round

Table 8: Population characteristics by education (urban area), 2009-2010

	15-17		18-24		25-32	
Urban	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Not literate	4.1	5.7	5.4	9.0	7.8	17.4
Literate without formal schooling: EGS/	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Literate without formal schooling: TLC	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Literate without formal schooling: other	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Literate: below primary	3.4	2.1	3.8	3.4	4.2	5.4
Primary	12.2	9.7	9.0	7.7	10.5	11.3
Middle	35.5	33.1	16.0	14.1	18.2	14.8
Secondary	38.4	40.8	18.4	17.8	17.6	14.6
Higher secondary	5.9	7.8	29.5	27.6	11.9	11.6
Diploma/certificate course	0.4	0.6	3.7	2.4	3.3	1.5
Graduate	0.0	0.0	12.8	15.3	19.0	15.7
Postgraduate and above	0.0	0.0	1.3	2.3	7.2	7.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: NSS 66th Round

compared with rural areas.

In decades ahead the demographic profile of India will be changing. India is undergoing demographic transition and it is gaining economically from the changing age structure with southern and western states being first to experience this gain and the lagging states are soon going to catch up (Aiyar and Mody 2012). India now and for the next few decades is going to have a healthy working age population and age structure favouring the youth. Further unemployment rates are increasing for the organized sector despite a healthy GDP which means the educated youth are finding it difficult to get jobs (Government of India 2008) [cf CHARU, PAUL]. Youth are also found to be attaining higher levels of education and delaying marriage.

It becomes ever so important for policy makers to ensure than that policies have a youth focus and employment opportunities are made available to this group. The Eleventh Five Year Plan aims to increase productivity of the agricultural sector, increase non-farm employment and encourage private sector to create jobs in the organized sector especially for the educated youth [Government of India 2008]. In addition, investments in schooling, health and other infrastructure should be determined by the age structure of the population. Such investments have implications for the ability to reap the demographic dividend [Aiyar and Mody 2012].

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Urban Youth in Health and Illness
A Rights Perspective

Siddarth David

In Brief

- The health and well being of youth is important for itself and not only because the country needs to realise benefits from the youth dividend. This section of the population is diverse with health needs that have not even been recognised adequately.
- Young people have a right to health and access to adequate, appropriate and sympathetic health care.
- The social determinants of health of the young include a wide range of factors including their childhood situations and environments, availability of food and nutrition, shelter, quality of work, availability of educational and financial resources.
- The median age of childbearing is around 20. Maternal mortality is the top cause of death among young women. More than half of young urban women are anaemic pointing to inadequate food.
- Health policies and health programmes that are ostensibly directed at youth are focused on their sexual and reproductive health. Despite this focus, they are not youth-oriented so that young people seeking sexual and reproductive health care rarely seek public health services. Not surprisingly, however reproductive and sexual health needs of sexual minorities remain unrecognised.
- Most health policies and programmes lack a comprehensive perception of the health of young people.
- .• Young people by their life circumstances are particularly vulnerable to certain diseases such as tuberculosis. This is especially evident in urban poor locations. Care and preventive services for these diseases must be particularly tailored to the young.

- The so-called older age group diseases are today appearing among younger age groups. For example cardiovascular diseases and diabetes. These and cancers are lifestyle diseases whose progressions are affected by early habits and environments of childhood.
- More than half the disabled in India are under 30 years. There are more young disabled in urban than rural areas.
- Focused research on the health concerns of youth in both urban and rural areas needs to be conducted in order to evolve appropriate well-targeted programmes.

The UN defines 'youth' as people who fall in the age group of 15-24 years that, comprising more than a quarter of the world's population, is the largest demographic group in history [WHO 2011]. Therefore, the health of this cohort is an important area for research, policy and action. One in every fifth person in the country is a youth. This statistic is expected to grow to one quarter of the population in the current decade. Of this, more than a third lives in urban areas and among them, more than half are men, an indication of the dynamics of migration in the country [NFHS-III]. The median age in India is around 25 years, which means that a large chunk of the population is young. This is less than the world average of 29.9 [UN 2010]. Thus they constitute a huge demographic whose needs have to be kept in mind while determining policy or planning action.

Youth is the phase in life, which plays a crucial role in future patterns of adult health. However, the dominant discourse on the health of youth, which is also the basis for most policies related to health, is a utilitarian view. Since youth constitutes a major portion of the country's working group population, its good health is seen to enhance the human resources and social capital to improve the political, economic and social well-being of a country as a "demographic dividend" [Morell et al 1998, World Bank 2007, IMF 2012]. This perspective restricts the concept of health of youth only to achieving targets such as in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) without looking at young people as a group with special needs.

Good Health as a Right

A more holistic perspective would be to look at the health for the youth as a universal human right to good health and well-being as enshrined in Article 25 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Such an approach focuses on addressing the special needs and unique health risks faced by young people as a basic entitlement. However, the health needs of the youth have only recently been recognized by policy-makers [WHO 2011]. Health does not occur in isolation and is dependent on a number of underlying factors required for good health such as adequate food, essential education, clean water, good sanitation, safe environment and full social and political participation. Good health and well-being can only come in conjunction with achieving basic human rights. Health as a right lays emphasis on equal access to health services that address the distinct needs of the youth so that they are empowered to enjoy good health. It is by gaining access to relevant information, skills and opportunities that they would be able to adopt measures and remove barriers to realising their health rights. Adequate laws and policies to achieve social, economic and political rights will facilitate the youth to enjoy the highest attainable standards of physical and mental health. In consequence, health as right can only be achieved in conjunction with other social, economic and political rights.

Reflecting the global trends the picture of Indian youth with respect to health is rapidly changing especially in the last few years. Along with infectious diseases, maternal mortality and HIV/AIDS, suicides and motor accidents are slowly becoming serious concerns among the youth [Blum 2009]. Specifically in the context of urban India, the rise in the age of marriage, rising education levels, exposure to media, increased migration, rapid urbanisation and globalisation together with changing life-styles have affected mortality and morbidity trends [IIPS

2010]. Compared to previous generations, youth are no doubt healthier and more educated; nonetheless, there are many obstacles that inhibit young people from making an informed choice on their health and well being.

The public health agenda especially the goals aimed at reducing child and maternal mortality, HIV/AIDS and more recently on mental health, injuries, and non-communicable diseases need to focus on adolescents. Greater attention to youth as a group is needed within each of these public health domains for the success of those programmes. Strategies that place the youth as centre stage, rather than focusing only on specific health agendas provide an important opportunity to improve health, both in youth and later in life [Sawyer et al 2012].

Determinants of Health

Health is influenced by many socio-economic factors that affect young people's autonomy in decision-making and access to health services [Viner et al 2012]. For example greater education levels have a positive impact on reducing morbidity and mortality due to acute and chronic diseases, reducing incidence of substance abuse, improving health outcomes and increasing life-expectancy [NPC 2007]. Nearly 86 percent urban women and 91 percent men are literate but only around half the youth have completed more than 10 years of education with social factors such as marriage continuing to impact educational attainment [NFHS-III].

Poverty is another factor that determines access to health-care, informed choices, adequate nourishment, safe water and sanitation all of which influence health outcomes. With one-fifth of Indian urban population living under a dollar a day [World Bank 2010] the access and choices to achieving good health and well being is limited for a large section of the youth. Apart from education and literacy, income, gender, availability of health-care services, risk-perception, social networks, cultural practices and physical environments all affect the overall health status.

Livelihood plays a key role in determining the health outcomes as it directly connected with many of the socio-

economic determinants of health like education and poverty. It provides the resources necessary for getting timely and good quality health-care services. Delay in appropriate care and hospitalization is the cause of preventable deaths that account for more than two-thirds of the mortality in low-income groups [WHO 2002]. Livelihoods also affect factors such as education (leading to knowledge of healthy practices and recognition of risks), nutritious food, safe sanitation, immunization and a good living-environment all of which contribute to good health outcomes [Gruskin and Braveman 2008]. The nature of employment can also directly affect health as many low-income jobs involve exposure to toxic substances and unsafe-working conditions [cf…JAGDISH]. Conversely, livelihoods are also dependent on the health of an individual acting as an economic asset that would provide for conditions to maintain good-health and well being [OECD 2003].

A useful framework to begin looking at health in the context of the livelihoods is the Health Access Livelihood Framework **(Figure 1).** Started as a strategy to effectively

Figure 1: Health access Model
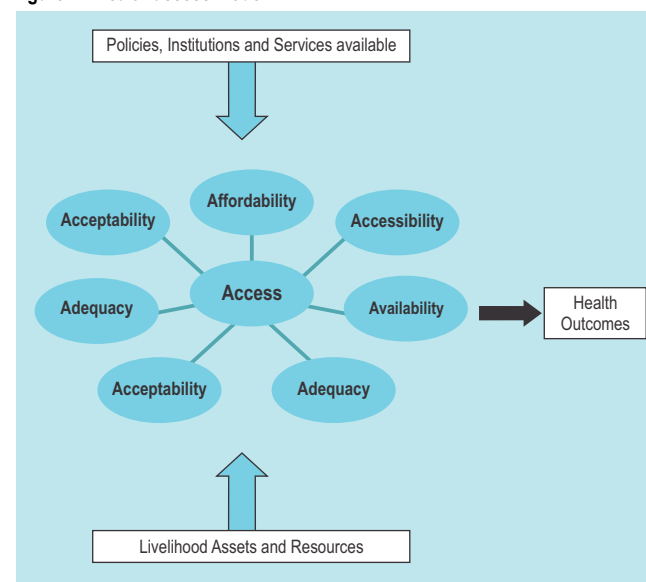
Source: Adapted version form Obrist et al 2007

combat malaria in Tanzania, the framework places health outcomes at the interface between health-services and the health-seeking ability of the person [Obrist et al 2007]. Health-services reflect government policies and actions

while the health-seeking ability of a person depends on his or her social capital, physical capacities and economic resources. Accessing health-care is the consequence of the interaction between these two factors and reflects the health outcome. Five factors determine access to health care:

→ **Availability** the type and nature of services available, the skill of the health-care provider, resources available to meet health needs.

→ **Accessibility** the distance to the hospital/clinic, mode of transport, time taken to reach it.

→ **Affordability** the costs of taking treatment, price of other commodities like medications, cost of travel.

→ **Adequacy** the ability of the health-care service to give quality care, suit the requirements of the patient (budget, time, etc.).

→ **Acceptability** the patient feeling non-discriminated, welcome and trusts the health-care provider.

Positive health outcomes depend on how well the health system fares with respect to these five aspects. Sustainability of such positive outcomes are dependent on policies and laws that create services which can be accessed by people and at the same time build an environment where people can satisfy their socio-economic needs without social biases and discrimination.

Youth Health in Policies and Laws

Policies and laws have a critical role in realizing the health rights of the nation as it responds to the health needs, determines the focus areas, enables provision of good-quality services and facilitates equitable access to services. In India, the National Population Policy 2000 for the first time recognised that youth constitute an under-served group with special sexual and reproductive health needs and further advocated special attention to them [MoHFW 2000]. Subsequently various other policies began increasingly recognising and identifying the youth as a group with special and distinct needs that have to be

addressed [MoWCD 2001; NACO 2002]. For instance, the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women identified adolescents and young women as a vulnerable group; the National AIDS Prevention and Control Policy noted the need to promote a better understanding among the highly vulnerable population of the youth and the 11th Five-Year Plan (2007–12) underscored the importance of investing in the youth. Recently the government has drafted a 2010 National Youth Policy drawing attention to the multiple needs of the young and the need for holistic and multi-pronged action set-up a special body the "Rajiv Gandhi National Institute for Youth Development" for this purpose [MoYAS 2010] [Cf YOUTH POLICY CH..].

Meanwhile laws related to health and well being mainly address young people's sexual and reproductive health. For example, the Prohibition of Child Marriage Act 2006 puts severe strictures on underage marriage; the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 includes physical, sexual and economic violence under its purview; and the Medical Termination of Pregnancy Act (MTP) 1971 with its 2002 amendment. The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 and the upcoming the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Bill 2011 mainly looks at the health and health-related issues concerning youth. This shows that the key focus on youth appears to be their sexual and reproductive health. Apart from the obvious challenges of enforcement, the laws mainly serve as a punitive measure not fully able to bring about societal change among young people and the wider community on these issues and the choices they have as individuals [IIPS 2010, Jejeebhoy and Santhya 2011].

A glance at the schemes and programmes for the youth also reveal the underlying emphasis on reproductive and sexual health. Be it the Adolescence Education Programme (AEP), the Janani Shishub Suraksha Karyakram (JSSK), the School Health programme [NACO 2005, MoHFW 2006; 2008, MoSPI 2012]. There has also been focus on nutrition of youth with schemes like the Kishori Shakti Yojana and the recent 'SABLA'

programme. (MoWCD 2010; Patnaik 2011). Apart from these national level programmes some states have different programmes for youth mainly on reproductive health. Again as with the laws the implementation of these programmes remains uneven and far from satisfactory coupled with inadequate human power and resources. Consequently many young people lack access, in practice, to such services [Santhya et al 2011]. Most of the schemes primarily look at sexual and more specifically reproductive health needs with an overwhelmingly utilitarian lens and do not see overall health as a right. In the changing profile of the country's urban youth mental health and substance abuse among other issues are key causes of morbidity and mortality.

Another concern in policy is the lack of comprehensive data on the health status of the youth as studies are mostly based on small-scale, issue-based and often unrepresentative samples [IIPS 2010; Jejeebhoy et al 2011; Santhya et al 2011]. Moreover most of the schemes are appropriate for rural areas leaving out the urban youth affecting the large numbers of urban poor. Measures are required to ensure that programmes are accessible to young people in urban areas by expanding and modifying the scope and content of programmes to suit the context.

Food and Nutrition

Under nourishment in India is highest among the youth with urban areas having nearly half of young men and women who are abnormally thin [NFHS-III]. Poor nutrition is related to income; one-fifth of urban India lives in poverty (World Bank 2010). Within cities, slum populations have slightly higher incidence of abnormally thin youth in comparison with non-slum population especially in bigger cities like Mumbai and Delhi [NFHS-III] underlining the extremes of wealth and disparity in larger cities as compared to smaller ones.

Another indicator of nutrition is anaemia, which is a marker for inadequate diet. Nearly half the urban female youth suffer from some form of anaemia while only a fifth of male youth suffer from anaemia. These are shockingly some of the highest rates in the world and the highest in

South Asia [Ramachandran 2008]. While urban populations have lower rates of anaemia than rural populations there is no stark difference between slum and non-slum populations [NFHS-III]. The stark gender difference, with women having considerably higher levels of anaemia, is symptomatic of the bias against women in society. Another trend is that married women have higher levels of anaemia than unmarried women while the reverse is true for men, pointing to how women within marriage may have the least claim and access to nutritious food. High levels of anaemia combined with poor nutrition among women can be crucial factors in maternal mortality and poor health of children with studies pointing to at least two-fifths of deaths directly or indirectly associated with anaemia [Dutta 2004]. The prevalence of anaemia is associated with lower age of childbirth, inadequate spacing and lower education [Gautam et al 2010]. Thus underscoring the importance of and the social acceptance of equal status to women, which can alone address these issues concurrently the existing programmes like the KSY and SABLA need to be more streamlined to target adolescent girls and young mothers in cities keeping in mind the different marginalized groups and social biases to reduce the high prevalence of anaemia in the country.

Sexual and Reproductive Health

Nearly one-tenth of young men and 0.4 percent of young women in urban India have engaged in sex before the age

of 15. Among youth, a quarter of men and 0.4 percent women have had multiple partners while only one-third of such women and around half of such men reported using any protection [NFHS-III]. This highlights the need to have sex education and awareness building among the youth at an early age. With the stigma and culture of silence associated with discussion of sex it would be difficult for the youth to make safe-sex choices and become vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, sexual violence and STIs.

Though 90 percent of urban youth have heard about HIV/AIDS, less than half of them have comprehensive knowledge of the conditions, routes of transmission and prevention of the infection [NFHS-III]. On the other hand, nearly two-fifths of new infections are reported

among people below 25 years of age and one in every 1000 HIV positive person is a youth [NACO 2011]. Prevalence of HIV/AIDS among youth in urban India is almost twice as high as youth in rural areas; the prevalence rates are higher among young urban men than they are among women. Within cities, that slum populations have only slightly more prevalence and slightly less awareness of HIV/AIDS compared to non-slum populations [NFHS-III]. The gender gap is underscored by the fact that married women are eight times more susceptible than unmarried women indicating that most women contract HIV/AIDS from their spouses. The vulnerability of women is further highlighted by the fact that the prevalence rate across demographics is highest (1.9 percent) among young women who are divorced, separated, or widowed. This underscores how the burden of discrimination, blame and care of HIV/AIDS falls heavily on women who are often refused shelter, access to treatment and care denied a share of household property, or blamed for a husband's HIV diagnosis [Bharat 2001]. Also around one-tenth of urban youth have reported STIs other than HIV/AIDS that is higher than among rural youth. Access to safe sex choices is dependent on a number of social factors, which given that the veil of secrecy that exists around the topic is never really addressed except at health centres.

Around one in every 25 urban youth reported sexual assault. This is nearly twice higher than among rural youth. Around 8 percent reported sexual violence by spouses, higher than in other age groups [NFHS-III]. This draws attention to an urgent need to address the sexual issues and concerns of youth, especially through reducing young women's vulnerabilities. As comprehensive knowledge of safe sex is strongly associated with education and exposure to media, raising awareness and minimising social stigma on the issue is necessary for containing the sexually transmitted diseases. Moreover these efforts should be combined with advocating consensual sex and breaking the culture of silence associated with sexual violence through more sensitive medical and criminal-justice systems in order to address the serious problem of sexual violence in the country.

Victims of aversion, discrimination and abuse by society and criminalization and violence by law are sexual minorities including transgender and homosexuals who have only recently been reluctantly recognized and counted as 'normal citizens' both by law and in the census [PUCL 2001; CREA 2011]. There are no clear numbers available of sexual minorities among the youth let alone in urban areas (some figures estimate transgenders to constitute 500,000 and homosexuals to be around 5 million) but it is fair to assume that they may constitute a significant proportion of them come under the those categories [Agoramurthy and Hsu 2007]. Ostracisation over the decades has led to the neglect of the health and sexual needs among this section, which requires special attention. Social biases prevent them from accessing even basic health care. Criminalisation and stigma attached to different sexual minorities obstructs their access to healthcare services and negotiating safe sex practices making them more vulnerable to HIV/AIDS and other STIs. The continuing violence and stigma besides physical injuries has also led to range of mental health problems like depression, suicidal tendencies and substance abuse [Nirantar 2005; CREA 2008]. There is a need to recognize and address the needs sexual minorities whose access to health care is curtailed by law and society.

The youth years are also the peak of childbearing years accounting for nearly half of the country's fertility. Attitudes and practices related to reproductive health and other health outcomes, as well as the ability to make or influence decisions that will affect health, depends greatly on the age at which people marry. Half of the young women and 1/5 of the young men are married by 25; moreover, 14 percent urban women in the 15-17 year bracket are married. A considerable proportion of urban women still marry below the legal minimum age at marriage. Age of marriage is strongly linked with the level of education as there is a seven-year difference in the age at marriage between women with no education and women with at least 12 years of education. On average urban women marry more than two years later than do rural

Table 1: Age wise percentage of women aged 15-24 who have begun childbearing by residence and city

	15-19			20-24		
City	Slum	Non-Slum	Total	Slum	Non-slum	Total
Delhi	11.8	3.1	4.9	52.2	39.8	42.3
Meerut	9.2	2.0	5.6	53.3	44.6	48.5
Kolkata	8.7	6.9	7.7	39.4	35.0	36.4
Indore	6.2	7.7	7.3	55.1	51.4	52.2
Mumbai	9.8	2.9	6.7	49.5	34.6	41.8
Nagpur	7.0	3.6	5.0	45.5	38.6	41.5
Hyderabad	7.4	5.6	5.9	50.4	41.9	43.3
Chennai	12.6	4.3	5.9	52.0	38.5	41.3

Source: NFHS III

Figure 2: Age of mother at child mortality among urban women
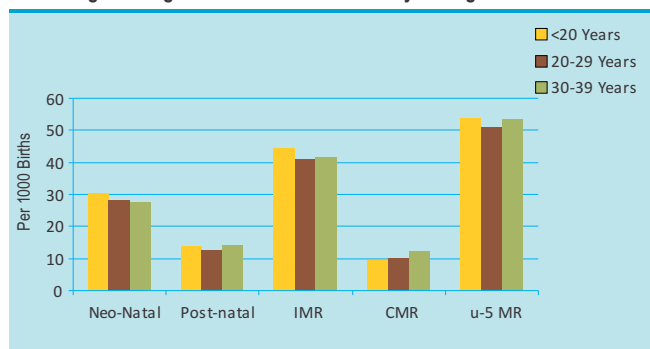
Source: NFHS 3

women. Significantly, educational attainment among married persons is much lower than that among never married persons showing how early marriage impacts education. Girls who enter early marriage and become mothers have inadequate information about reproductive and sexual heath issues, which severely impact their access, decision-making in reproductive and sexual health services critically affecting maternal and child health [ICRW 2007]. Considering the role, that men also play in the reproductive and sexual health choices it is essential that they are also educated and aware of such issues, which suggest that an older age for marriage is key to improve health outcomes [Mathur et al 2003].

In India maternal mortality is the leading cause of death among young women [Patel et al 2012] making it a critical health-issue among the youth. Maternal mortality is linked very closely with low age of childbirth, low fertility levels and large birth intervals and enabling such conditions are necessary to lower the mortality levels. The maternal mortality rate is 77/1000 for teenage pregnancies compared to 55/1000 furthermore it is also connected to child and infant mortality and post partum complications

[NHFS-III]. The median age for childbearing is around 20 but $1/6^{th}$ of teenagers are pregnant with 12 percent already having had a child. Though also teenage child-bearing is twice as high among rural than urban women it is nine times as high with no education in general [NFHS-III]. The number of teenage pregnancies is three times higher in slum populations than in non-slum areas. Teenage pregnancies are less likely to be institutional deliveries and nor are they likely to have accessed pre-natal and ante-natal care [NFHS-III]. Thus in urban India around one-third of youth use some form of contraception including sterilization, pills, condoms and natural methods like withdrawal but at the same time the need for contraception of nearly half the youth is unmet [NFHS-III]. Nearly two-thirds of mothers with only sons opted for contraception as against less than one-third of mothers with only daughters [NFHS-III].

The most prevalent method and the one with widespread knowledge among the youth is female sterilization with 1 in 10 women having undergone the process. More seriously around 1 percent of adolescent girls have reported having undergone sterilisation procedures [NFHS-III] - an indicator, some scholars see as evidence of how the "culture of sterilization" the corner-stone of family-planning has been promoted fanatically by the government [Saavla 1999]. But the quality of these services is abysmally poor [Malvankar and Sharma 2000] and is often driven by lack of other forms of

contraception, providing incentives, coercion of poor couples and the provider's need to achieve targets [Srinivasan 1998] rather than a pragmatic approach to reproductive health [Basu 2005]. Around a fifth of young women and a tenth of young men had not had any exposure to contraception messages [NFHS-III]. Use of contraception is lowest among young men as opposed to older men [NFSH-III]. Consequently the burden of contraception falls on women to whom the only accessible method available is sterilization.

Abortion has become an extension of contraception, as non-use of other forms of contraception as opposed to failure of contraception is the chief reason for medical

termination of pregnancies [Ramanthan and Sharma 2004]. Since population control is the underlying focus of contraception services, they are not offered to unmarried youth. This leads to unwanted pregnancies and illegal unsafe abortions [Ramani 2003]. The nation was collectively shocked last year when a young Indian woman in Ireland who was refused abortion because of Irish religious principles died but there is not enough outcry about the thousands of women in India who die for want of access to abortion services [AAPI 2004, NDTV 2012, Times of India 2012]. While putting in place checks and balances to prevent sex-selective abortions the public health system also needs to provide safe services to those who require termination of pregnancies without discrimination.

Disability

Both the 2011 Census and the 2002 NSSO report around 2 percent of the population as disabled. This appears to be an under-estimation attributable perhaps to reporting of mainly physical than cognitive disabilities and stigma attached to India [Singal 2008]. More than half of the disabled persons in India are under the age of 30. While rural India has more cases of disability than urban, among youth it is the reverse [MoSPI 2011]. The enrolment of the disabled sections in education is abysmal with just 2 percent of the disabled persons having attended schools and 1.2 percent of disabled youth in tertiary education. Work participation rates are also grim with around 3.6 percent disabled in employment in urban areas [NCPEDP 2004; Singal 2008]. Societal discrimination, neglect and

Figure 3: Estimated total number of disabled persons in each age group

Source: NFHS 3

abuse among disabled populations are compounded for women by their social and family situations [CREA 2011]. The linkages between poor nutrition and preventable infections with disability on one side and the lack of opportunities due to inability to access formal education and social limitations severely inhibit their access to healthcare.

Mental Health

There has been a slow acceptance of psychological problems because of the stigma attached to it as a public health concern. In India mental health needs are largely unmet [Murthy 2011]. This has resulted in poorer clinical outcome and longer duration of illness where the burden falls squarely on the family leading to fewer help-seeking instances [Farooq et al 2009]. The Ministry of Family and Health Services (MoFHS) in a study in six states points out that nearly 10 percent of the urban youth displayed symptoms such as severe stress, depression and anxiety

which are indicative of mental disorder [IIPS 2010].

A key indicator of the mental health status is the number of suicides in the country among the youth. About 40 percent suicide deaths in men and about 56 per cent of suicide deaths in women occurred in individuals aged 15–29 years [Patel et al 2012]. Lower educational achievements, substance abuse, violence, and poor reproductive and sexual health were some of the reasons pushing youth into depression and suicide [Pillai et al 2009]. Suicide was the second leading cause of death in both sexes. This may be an underestimation as suicide is often underreported in India. But even with the current circumstances of reporting, suicide is the cause of about twice as many deaths as is HIV/AIDS and about the same number as maternal causes of death in young women which is the leading causing of death among young women. Among men, it is as high as mortality in motor accidents, which is the leading cause of death among young men [Patel et al 2012]. However, it attracts little attention in policy and action posing a huge health challenge.
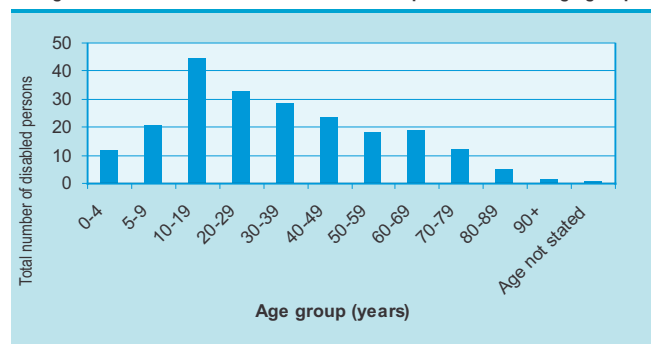
A study of 53 cities in India has showed a rising trend of suicides with domestic problems, illness and unrequited love being the main reasons for attempting suicides [NCRB 2011]. The study shows that smaller cities such as Kollam, Rajkot and Durg have the highest rates of suicides in the country as opposed to metros like Mumbai and Delhi. With the steady decrease in maternal mortality, suicide will probably become the leading cause of death in young women in urban India in the next few years. Therefore providing counselling and adequate mental health services that focus on the youth that address structural determinants of poor mental health such as gender disadvantage, the individual experiences of depression, etc. should be part of the health policy.

Linked to mental health is dependence on substances like tobacco products and alcohol. In 2011, substance-abuse control was identified as the "most urgent and immediate priority" intervention to reduce non-communicable diseases responsible for nearly five million deaths in the world annually [Beaglehole, Bonitaand Horton 2011]. NFHS-III reports that 35 percent men and 3 percent women among the urban youth consume tobacco with chewing tobacco and oral consumption the dominant methods which slightly better than rural consumption. Among urban youth smokers in India, nearly three-fourths of both the sexes smoke regularly.

Also NHFS-III shows that nearly one-fifth of men and around half a percent of women consume alcohol with more than a quarter of the men and half of women who drink regularly (at least once a week) which has been an increasing trend along the years. The consumption of alcohol and tobacco increases with age and reduces with greater wealth, better exposure to media and higher education in the youth. What is striking is that among urban young men consumption is particularly high even at age 15 with 16 percent using tobacco and 6 percent drinking alcohol. The linkages between drinking and accidents and accidental injuries, violence, safe sex, as well as along with long-term implications on the liver, brain and mental health have been clearly documented in India

Table 2: Suicide mortality in India

Age	Estimated death per 100,000	
	Male	Female
15-19	1.19	1.68
20-24	25.5	24.9
25-29	27.4	15.9

Source: Patel et.al. 2012

[Chandra et al 2003; Gururaj 2004].

Disease Profile

With the highest burden tuberculosis in the world, containing and preventing the disease which claims more than 3 lakh lives every year in India is a major health challenge [Behera 2012]. However, the country's health system is yet to effectively control this epidemic, which is further exacerbated by co-infection with HIV and drug-resistant forms of TB. TB affects 3 in 1000 youth, which is only slightly less than the prevalence among adults in India (5/1000) [NFHS-III]. However, the comprehensive knowledge of TB is lowest among youth [NFHS-III]. This is a matter of concern considering that these rates are almost comparable with those in sub-Saharan Africa.

This accounts for more than a quarter of the world's burden of disease [Dye 2006; The Hindu 2012] making it a critical area for public health-intervention. More than half the deaths in India are due to causes such as cardiovascular diseases, cancer, diabetes and asthma [Reddy et al 2005]. Although these are cast as problems afflicting an 'older' age group most of the causal factors lie in life-style and health and hygiene practices shaped in youth [Murthy and Matthew 2004]. Moreover, these diseases seem to be affecting increasingly young adults in cities.

Cardio-vascular diseases affect nearly one-tenth of urban India which has increased six-times in the last 40 years. Diabetes levels have quadrupled in urban India with young adults becoming more susceptible [Reddy et al 2005; Ramachandran 2005]. NFHS-III states that 14/1000 adults have diabetic conditions while 2/1000 youth have the same condition, which is significant; developed countries like the US have rates 1.8/1000 cases among the youth [Liese et al 2006]. As youth grow older, the risk of heart disease and complications from diabetes would be a

significant health burden. Public health campaigns, combined with targeted interventions are desperately needed for diabetes prevention and treatment of such diseases in which substance abuse; lifestyle changes and socio-economic conditions have a role to play.

Tobacco-related cancers account for two-fifths of liver and stomach cancers comprising one-fifth of all the cases [Dixit et al 2012] Tobacco and alcohol usage are interestingly around two-fifths and one-fifth, respectively, among the male youth. Similarly, the risk of cervical cancer the most common among Indian women [Dixit et al 2012] is related to hygiene and early-child birth [Satija 2009]. Early-detection and treatment is crucial for preventing mortalities due to cancer but nearly 75 percent of cancers are recognised only in advanced stages in India [Varghese 2003]. Making the role of public health systems in raising awareness, screening and treating is critical in addressing the issue which has significant socio-economic consequences. The National Cancer Control Programme (NCCP) which has contributed substantially to bringing the issue into the

forefront needs to link up with other health programmes and expand on its programmes and coverage to involve youth to deal with this critical health concern.

Violence and Health

Violence has detrimental impact on the health of individuals with not only physical and psychological impacts but also wide-range of reproductive and demographic health outcomes and is directly related to unnatural deaths like burns and injury by weapons [WHO 2002]. Consequently addressing violence has become an important aspect in studying health.

More than one-fifth of urban women reported violence and more than a one-fourth reported domestic violence is the most pervasive form of gender violence including emotion and physical which is lower than rural areas [NFHS-III]. But it is still a significant proportion considering that many such instances remain unreported in a pervasive culture of silence. Apart from physical and emotional injuries, studies have shown a linkage between domestic violence and maternal and infant mortality, HIV/AIDS prevalence and severe mental trauma like depression and suicidal tendency [DILASA 2008].

A key indicator of domestic violence is burns and fire-related deaths where the all-India figures show that 65 percent are women of which 57 percent are of women in the age group 15-34 [Saghavi et al 2009]. With such high rates among women, it is imperative to deal with domestic violence as a critical health issue among young women. Increasing the sensitivity and approachability of health services as well as law enforcement bodies to deal with this social malaise is essential.

Conflict related violence whether it is due to insurgency and separatist movements in areas like Jammu and Kashmir, the North-Eastern States and Central India or communal and ethnic violence or state-led violence leads to high mortality and morbidity especially among youth , the main demographic affected by this violence [PUCL 2008; IDSA 2010]. For example in Manipur more than half the injuries and mortalities of the injuries due to

violence was among men below the age of 30 especially in urban areas [SATP, Sinha and Roy 2010]. Similarly, the severe psychological impact of conflict has been well documented among young adults in Kashmir [Jong et al 2008]. Extensive research is needed to help unravel the true extent of the burden of conflict-violence and its socio-economic outcomes on public health.

Another category that is seldom discussed in India is mortality due to transport accidents, building collapses, fires, industrial mishaps and occupational hazards but contributes to significant (one-fifth according to National Crimes Records Bureau in 2011) mortality and morbidity in urban India. There are few studies on demographic and regional variations.. According to the National Crimes Records Bureau (NCRB) the highest mortality is among youth accounting for one-third of the fatalities especially in urban areas [NCRB 2011]. The NCRB records show that smaller cities record drastically higher levels of fatalities due to such causes than do larger cities

[NCRB 2011].

Health-Seeking Behaviour

Seeking health-care services and information on health among adolescents as in other groups are dependent on their definition of needs, perception and biases along with external factors like social contexts like gender, marital status, class and availability of services [WHO 2007]. The IIPS Report (2010) states that while most youth who experienced poor-health symptoms such as high fever sought help, more men (95 percent) than women (90 percent) seek health-services. In the case of physical injuries, only half the young women sought health-care as opposed to more than three-quarters of young men, which could be due to social acceptance of violence against women and stigma attached to it and risk-perception of injuries in women. Further, more unmarried young women (62 percent) than married (51 percent) sought medical health-care showing how marriage can affect health-seeking behaviour. Nearly two-thirds of youth go to a private clinic, which is the general trend in India where nearly 80 percent of the medical expenses are

in the private sector [Gangolli et al 2005] With most of the expenses being out-of-pocket fewer economically backward people can access healthcare.

Another factor in seeking health services is also trust rather than need among youth in case of health concerns are related to sexual and psychological issues [WHO 2007]. These factors are an important determinant in accessing health services especially with regard to reproductive and mental health with particular stigma attached to them. According to the IIPS Report (2010) only half of the youth who had symptoms of sexual or reproductive health problems sought health-care and more married than unmarried youth accessed health services which results in many such ailments going untreated.

While today's urban youth are healthier and better educated than earlier generations, social and economic vulnerabilities that affect their health outcomes persist. Despite the increased access to health information and

services, young people still face significant risks related to health and many lack the knowledge and power to make informed positive health choices. Policies and programmes for the youth generally fail to recognise the different social, economic and spatial variations that determine their access to health services, choices for good health and participation in the health system. Understanding the diversity within the group would necessitate more research of the youth population which would enable policy-makers to modify health programmes to meet the requirements of different groups according to their health needs.

The major thrust on sexual health with the prism of population control and prevention of infections has to change with a more pragmatic approach of promoting safe choices with informed decision-making and creating an environment for discussion. Information dissemination, service provision and health programmes should include unmarried youth and sexual minorities being both non-judgemental and unbiased. Similarly reproductive health should involve the entire process from conception to post-natal care keeping in mind social

contexts, gender-bias, power-imbalances, limited knowledge of risks, lack of access to health-care facilities, shortage of trained persons and poor nutrition intake to come up with context-specific programmes.

Mental health is still to receive adequate attention even with high numbers of youth reporting symptoms of mental health disorders. Policies and programmes need to be planned and implemented to detect and provide appropriate and accessible care to address this critical health-problem. Substance abuse is another area that is a concern that has to be addressed both at the level of prevention and care.

The biggest challenge in writing this chapter was the lack of data on the subject, making it difficult to bring out the complexities of the health characteristics of the urban youth. Available data categorises the youth as a monolith, leaving behind several vulnerable groups like low-income groups, the disabled, migrants and sexual minorities.

This in itself highlights the pressing need for more studies focusing on the health of the youth both spatially and temporally.

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The state of science : A personal view

Science education in India today is in a plateau of disillusionment. A couple of decades ago we were on the ascending slope of the Hype curve with the technology trigger. The trajectories of science careers did not fare well pitted against IT engineers, M.Ch-D.M doctors and Finance MBAs.

In the 1950s and 1960s science literacy campaigns and popularization endeavours across the country, albeit well intentioned, created a shallow view of sober science with science as fun paradigm. With the deeply ingrained myth that we are the inheritors of an ancient Eldorado of sciences and titillated by technology triumphs of peaceful nuclear devices and home assemblies of globally purchasable subsystems, we have come to believe that all is well with Indian science. The complaisance may not be entirely misplaced.

According to the India Science Report: Science Education, Human Resources and Public Attitude towards Science and Technology (National Council for Applied Economic Research 2005) India has a stock of 40.2 million graduates, post graduates and diploma holders in science and technology (human resources in science and technology-HRSTE) The number of HRSTE grew by 7.9 per cent annually between 1981and 1991 and by slightly less, 6.9 per cent between 1991 and 2000. Core HRST comprise 3.4 per cent of the working population in 2004. Maharashtra has the largest stockpile of all graduates plus of all states.

The tragedy of our triumphs was that India was forced into a technology control regime after 1975. Scientific goods and services freely available to the rest of the world were denied to us. Many a bright mind was engaged in industriously making second and third rate instruments to stay afloat in science. There was a colossal waste of talent. The fashion of publish or perish ran its relentless course and science became the graveyard of abandoned ambitions for our youth.

There is no denying the fact that the Departments of Atomic Energy and Space continued to solicit talented science graduates but most of them went in search of greener pastures leaving the field to the next best.

In striking contrast, Singapore a nano-nation state designed and deployed an energetic science education program and took science seriously to the class room. In the Program for International Student Assessment for science, Singapore consistently scored high along with China. We linger around as laggards somewhere at 73-74 ranks.

The inability to secure a Nobel Science prize to India after Sir C.V. Raman was lamented by none other than the President of India in the last science congress. The disenchantment was patently luminous. Why study science? Why not some other money spinning subject? That is a recurring refrain in the minds of parents and studens.

India had a Science policy resolution of 1958 and Science and Technology policy resolution in 2003. Sensing that something is rotten with science education in India, now we have an STI 2013. We want to position ourselves amongst top five global scientific powers by 2020.

It is nice to label us as an IT superpower but we have failed in mastering the wafer technology. One wonders if we can make ultrapure water for wafer technology without importing membranes for RO units. We are good only as a 'service sector' and lack miserably in hardware development. To put science on its derailed route and project it as the true beacon of hope for personal growth and national development, we must give flesh and blood to our newly conceived STI policy 2013. With a meager 155,000 scientist count, we are far behind 1.42 million of China and 222,000 of Korea and the formidable figures of the developed nations. Should we not study science with passion?

Rahul Manav

CHAPTER 4

Urban Youth and Political Participation

Sanjay Kumar

In Brief

- Anecdotal and survey evidence shows that youth interest in politics is on the rise.
- The interest in politics is confined to young urban men.
- Those who admit to significant exposure to the media show greater interest in politics
- Education is a factor in young people's rising interest in politics.
- Greater participation in election related activities does not translate into larger voter turnout.
- The urban youth is politically oriented, but still not politically very active, and a few steps away from becoming an active political community.

In the recent past protest movements and demonstration in many towns and cities across the country have seen large scale participation of the urban youth. Whether in movements in favour of setting up a strong Lokpal led by Anna Hazare and his team or protests demanding stringent laws ensuring greater safety for women, urban youth have came out in large numbers to protest, to put pressure on government and to make their voice heard by the policy makers/decision makers. The movement against corruption in the political and bureaucratic institutions in India, launched by Anna Hazare in 2011, is one example of the kind in which youth reportedly participated with great enthusiasm to pressurise the government to introduce a stringent anti corruption act that had been in a limbo for several decades.

Anti-corruption activist Anna Hazare's consistent appeal to the youth to join him in his fight against corruption in this country reveals the importance of youth in the political realm of this country. The end of December 2012, was marked by strong protest of common people in various Indian towns and cities against the gruesome crime of gang rape with a young woman in Delhi. Though various sections of people participated in this non-political protest the huge participation of the urban youth across gender and class in this protest movement was very evident and visible.

Clearly the urban youth are now getting more involved in social issues. Increased education level and media exposure might be influential factors for increased involvement of youth in protest and demonstration on social issues. Through the access to media, youth are well aware of political and social issues, are well connected and more opinionated. This encourages them to participate more actively in new social movements and other social and political activities. But does this give us any sense of youths, mainly urban youth's level of participation in politics?

Clearly no. The large scale participation of urban youth in social movements at least during last few years, hardly help us understand urban youth's level of interest and participation in politics. If anything, their participation in these movements provides in fact a negative view since the slogans that were raised by the youth during their participation were mainly against the political class, the politicians, and the anger vented by the people in general and youth in particular was anti-politics. Does this reflect a trend of increasing interest and participation of urban youth in social issues which may be termed as indirect form of political participation, but their declining interest and participation in politics?

It is pertinent to note that 'political participation' is usually taken to mean the conventional forms of political participation i.e. voting in elections, membership of political party/student wing of any political party, participation in election campaign activity, participation in election rallies and meetings, participation in fund collection for political parties or political activities and similar such activities. These are direct form of political participation. There are also indirect forms of political participation like participation in debates on social and political issues, participation in protest and demonstration on issues related to social or political cause. All these activities can be considered as a part of civic political culture which transmits from one generation to another by political socialisation.

Survey results from the Centre for the Study of Developing Society (CSDS) indicate, a trend of consistent increasing political participation over the years, both in urban and rural India[1]. In the 1990s, India witnessed a major participatory upsurge among the socially underprivileged, across caste, economic class, gender or localities. This phenomenon was termed as *the second democratic upsurge* [Yadav 2000] The interest of Indian voters in politics and their participation in election related activities has been consistently rising since 1990s and urban youth is no exception to this trend. Ordinary Indians seem to be undergoing a transformation from being client-recipient-spectators in the political game to being active participants, or at least ringside referees of the game. This major shift can be seen from the perspective of modernization which enabled citizens, mainly urban youth to get more information from various sources and encouraged them to participate actively. One of the characteristic of this modernization is improved level of youth interest and participation in politics and political activities.

Findings of the survey conducted by CSDS indicate, three-quarters of urban youth show varying degrees of interest in politics and only one-quarter have no interest in politics. There were a few who could not express their views on this issue. Though the number of urban youth

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[1]The Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) a Delhi based social science research institute largely looks at youth particiaption in electoral politics during last decade or little more than that filling a significant knowledge gap on youth's electoral participation in India for the period going beyond 1996 General Elections.

who show interest in politics is sizeable (71 percent) a large proportion have only moderate interest in politics and only 11 percent have a great deal of interest in politics. There has been a marginal increase in urban youth's interest in politics in the last couple of years. However, there is only a marginal difference between rural youth and urban youth when it comes to taking an interest in politics.

Figure 1: Interest in politics among urban youth
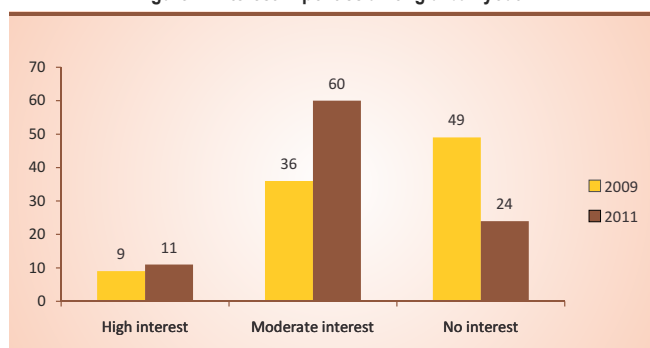
Source: Survey results from Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS)

Figure 2: Interest in politics among urban and rural youth
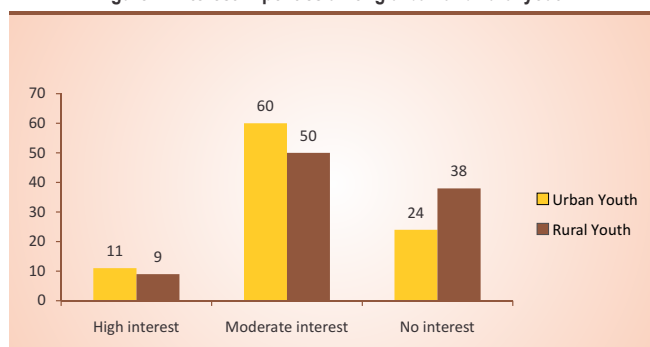
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Undoubtedly, the interest in politics amongst urban youth is on the rise, youth in towns and cities take more interest in politics now compared to the past. Data indicate that while in 1996 only 43 percent of urban youth said that they had an interest in politics, in 2011, this number had risen with

Figure 3: Level of interest in politics among urban youth
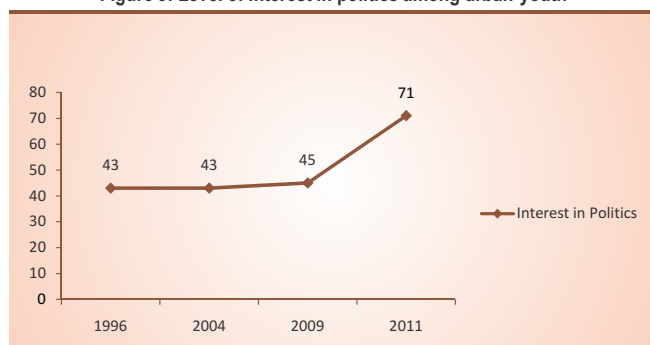
Source: Survey results from CSDS

just a little less than three-quarters of youth (71 percent) admitting to having an interest in politics.

The trend of increasing interest in politics amongst urban youth should not surprise us. While there is no evidence about whether urban youth's interest in politics is on the rise or decline in other countries, studies have at least indicated a shift in youth's (both urban and rural) participation and interest in politics across many countries. For instance, Cliff Zukin (2006) and his colleagues surveyed political action among the young in America and they rejected the general claim of youth disengagement with politics. They instead claimed that the today's youth were more engaged in American politics. On the other hand, the World Development Report 2007 reveals that young people might be growing less interested in politics and more disaffected from mainstream institutions in high-income countries and many middle-income countries, but not so in low income countries where interest in politics and political affair is definitely increasing. Report also reveals that youth interest in politics has been rising in low-income countries like China, India, and Nigeria. The study showed that the proportion of young people in most middle and high income countries who think that politics is important is about half that for older age groups. But in China, India, Nigeria, Vietnam, and Zimbabwe, young people are at least as interested in politics as older people. In Indonesia and the Islamic republic of Iran, interest in politics is highest among the young and steadily declines with age [WDR 2007].

This finding that urban youth's interest in politics is rising does not fully describe urban youth's interest and involvement with politics. Urban youth is not a homogeneous group. Locality, education, gender, economic background, and media exposure are a few of the factors seemingly influencing the attitude of urban youth towards politics. Further, young urban men are more interested in politics than young urban women. About 46 percent of young urban women are interested in politics as compared to 81 percent of young urban men.

Figure 4: Gender wise interest in politics among urban youth

Legend: Urban young men, Urban young women

	2009	2011
Urban young men	55	81
Urban young women	33	56
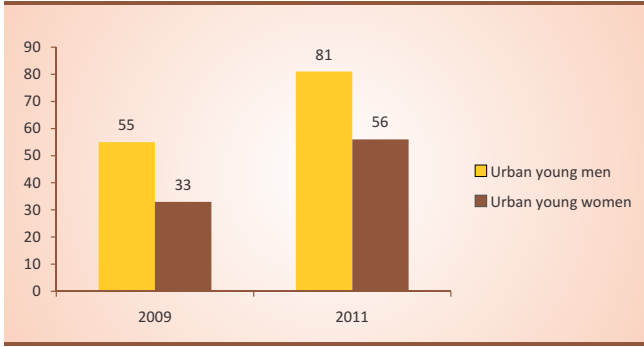
Source: Survey results from CSDS

One might think that greater interest in politics among young urban men compared to young urban women may be related to the different levels of educational attainment. But the story does not seem to be as simple as that. The level of educational attainment does help in bridging this deficit regarding interest in politics between urban young women and urban young men, but this is only amongst the highly educated urban youth. The deficit in interest in politics among urban young women and urban young men is somewhat small amongst the urban uneducated men and women, but it widens between urban young men and women who managed to attain school education.

Overall as education level goes up, the interest in politics and political news also rises. Non literate urban youth are less likely to have interest in politics. The continuum of education level and interest in politics among the urban youth ranges from 23 percent non-literate young urban men to 62 percent of college educated young urban men. Education also does seem to have positive relationship with interest in politics across gender categories. Across all education categories more men are interested in politics than those not interested in politics within the same education level.

Among high school and college educated young women, there is in some sense a reversal of a trend. That is, the women interested in politics among moderately and highly educated exceed women not interested in politics within

Figure 5: Level of political interest among educated urban youth

Young urban women

	2011	2009
College Educated	66	62
High School Pass	57	32
Primary School Pass	44	23
Non Literate	0	19

Young Urban Men

	2011	2009
College Educated	86	62
High School Pass	82	54
Primary School Pass	68	41
Non Literate	0	23
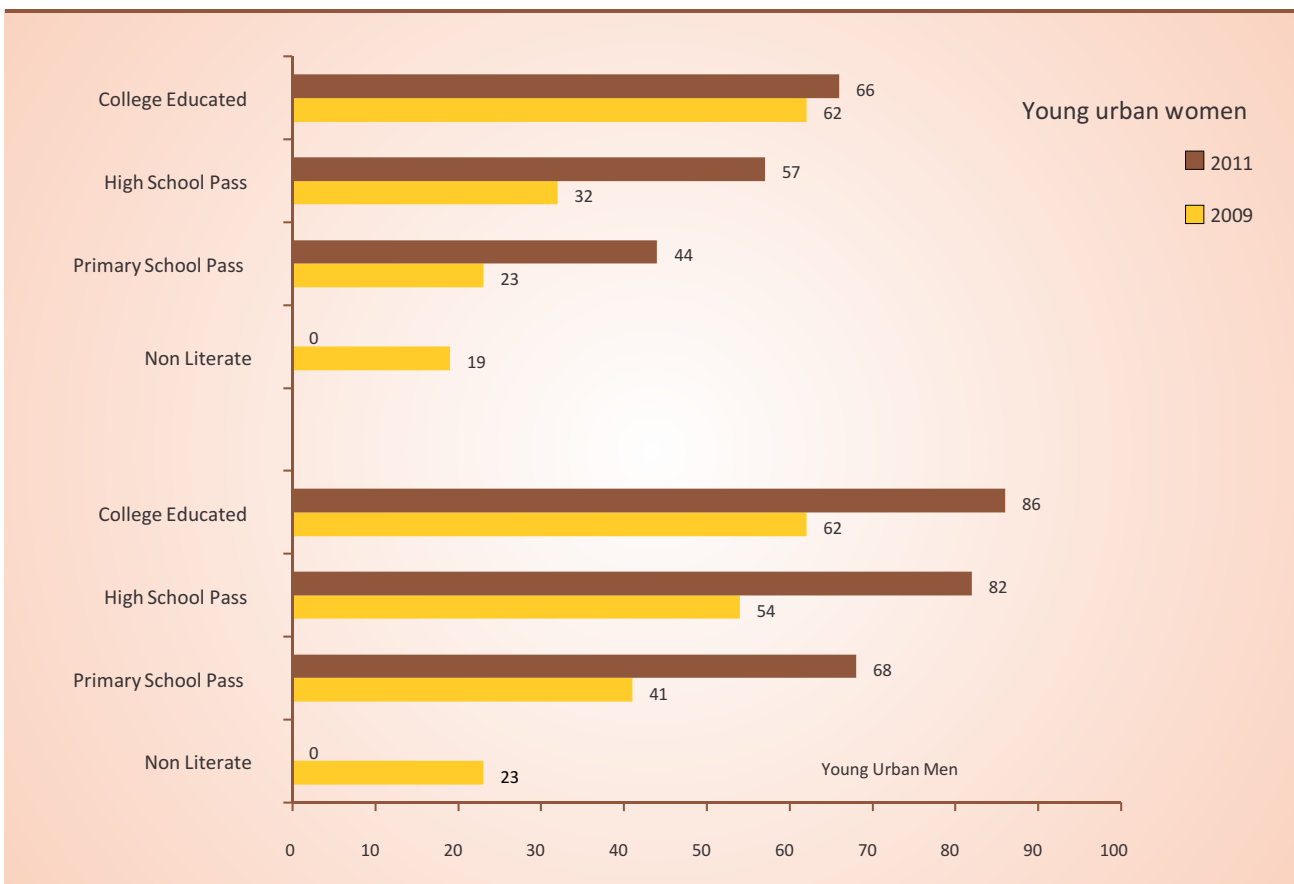
Source: Survey results from CSDS

the same education categories. This is not the case for non-literate and primary pass women. Overall notwithstanding these differences men across all categories are comparatively more interested in politics than women. One of the most interesting finding is that for women "No Opinion" increases with education. The categories among women which report the highest "No Opinion" are the college educated and high school pass women. This is not only in contradiction to men but to the general hypothesis that education makes an individual more likely to have an opinion.

Though there is a gender gap in the levels of educational attainment education generally seems to motivate urban youth to taking greater interest in politics. Educated youth

Figure 6: Level of political interest among college educated youth
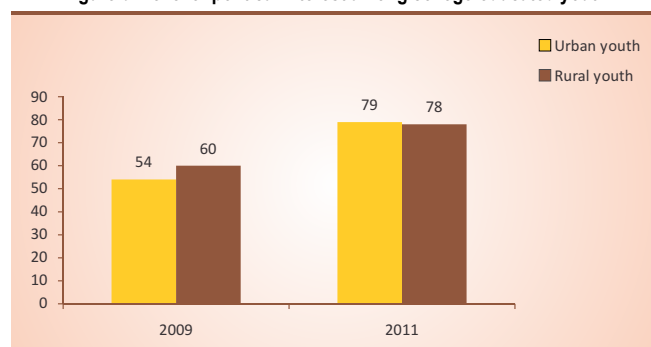
Source: Survey results from CSDS

take greater interest in politics than do the uneducated, higher the level of educational attainment, greater is the interest in politics. This seem to bridge the urban-rural divide as college educated youth both in urban and rural areas take more or less similar level of interest in politics.

More than locality and education, media exposure seems

Figure 7: Media and interest in politics
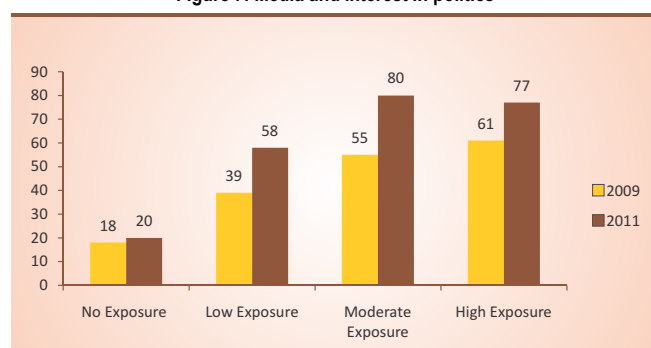
Source: Survey results from CSDS

to have a strong influence on youth's interest in politics. The level of media exposure is directly correlated to the youth's level of interest in politics. Higher the media exposure, greater the level of interest in politics amongst urban youth, a trend which is consistent over a period of time.

Participation in Electoral Activities

The data presented in the first section makes it clear that urban youth are interested in politics and their interest in politics is on rise. But does that have any influence on participation in various electoral activities like election campaign, election rallies, and voting on election day? Electoral participation does not refer to merely the act of voting in elections; rather it is wider in nature and scope. Participation in electoral activities involves participation in collecting funds for the candidate, attending election meetings/rallies, taking part in the election campaign or distributing pamphlets etc. Findings of the studies indicate, there is an increase in participation in such electoral activities over time amongst the urban youth. The active and direct form of political participation is measured by how people are taking part in elections and electoral activities.

Urban youth in India show a reasonable degree of participation in various election related activities like participation in election campaign, participation in election meetings, distributing election leaflets and pamphlets and other related activities. Analysing participation in various election related activities, 11 percent urban youth seemed to be active participant, another 11 percent moderately participated while 9 percent urban youth engaged in low level of electoral participation. A large majority, nearly 70 percent urban youth did not participate in any election related activities. This should not surprise us, since these are not very common activities and only those who are deeply engaged in politics usually participate in such election campaign activities. Important however is the fact that the last two years have witnessed sizeable increase in urban youth's participation in election campaign activities. Compared to

only 14 percent of youth either actively or moderately participating in election campaign activities in 2009, in 2011, nearly 22 percent urban youth said that they participate in various election campaign activities at the time of election.

Figure 8.1: Level of youth participation in electoral activities in 2009
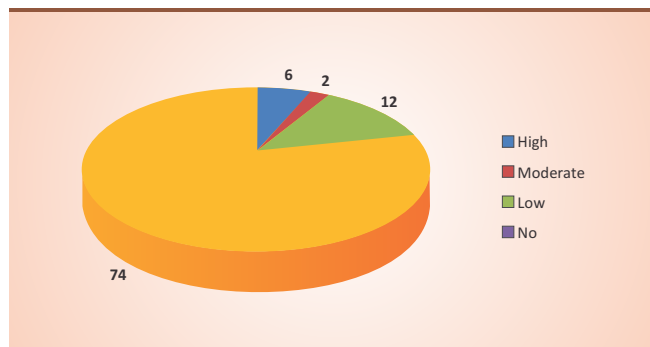
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Figure 8.2: Level of youth participation in electoral activities in 2011
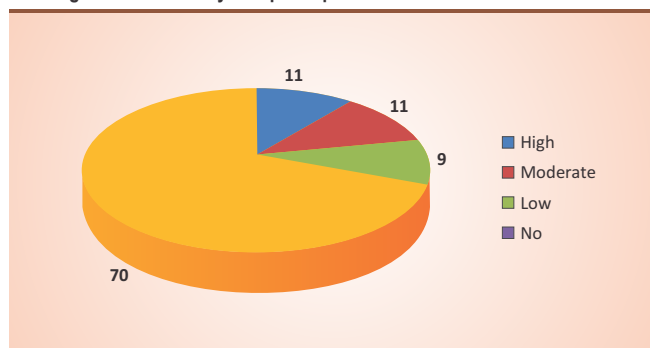
Source: Survey results from CSDS

While the level of electoral participation is on the rise, though marginally, there is hardly any rural urban difference in the level of electoral participation amongst urban youth and rural youth. The findings of the study conducted in 2009 indicate that both urban and the rural youth, participated in electoral activities in more or less similar numbers.

Though there is no difference in levels of electoral participation amongst urban and rural youth, the level of educational attainment has a positive impact on electoral participation. Higher the level of educational attainment, greater is the degree of electoral participation. Amongst uneducated urban youth only 13 percent mentioned participating in some or the other election campaign activities, while amongst those urban youth who managed

Figure 9.1: Level of electoral participation amongst urban youth
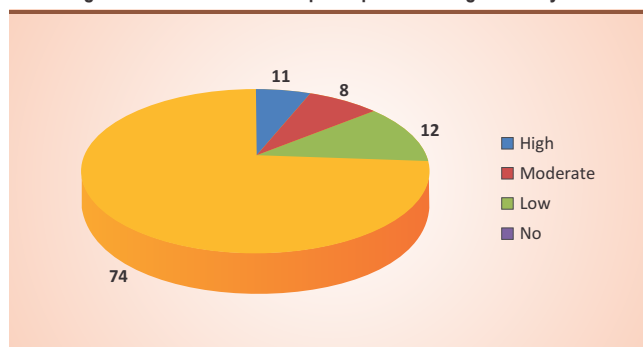
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Figure 9.2: Level of electoral participation amongst rural youth
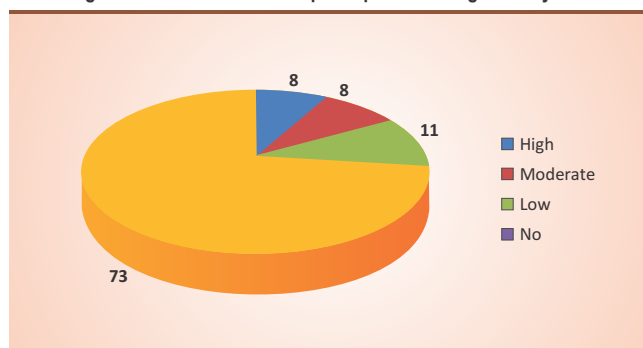
Source: Survey results from CSDS

to complete their middle school education 22 percent mentioned participation in some form of electoral activities. The participation in electoral activities was much higher amongst high school pass urban youth while amongst college educated urban youth 30 percent mentioned that they do participate in election campaign related activities to some degree or the other.

Figure 10: Level of Educated Urban Youth in electoral activities
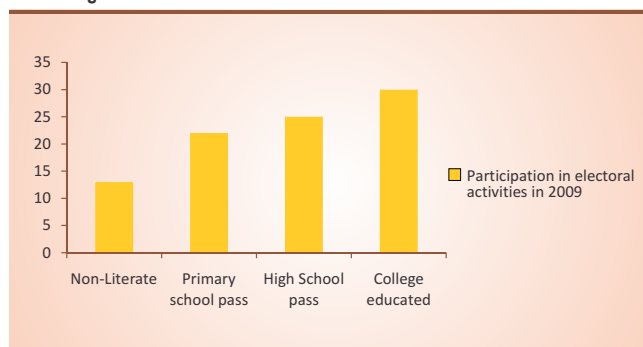
Source: Survey results from CSDS

There seems to be a direct correlation between the level of interest in politics and level of electoral participation. Urban youth who are more interested in politics participate more actively in election campaign activities,

while those urban youth who do not have an interest in politics, hardly participate in election campaign activities. Figures in the table suggests that amongst those urban youth who are deeply interested in politics 33 percent actively participated in electoral activities, 20 percent moderately participated in electoral activities while 4 percent marginally participated in electoral activities. Amongst urban youth who have moderate interest in politics, 6 percent actively participated in electoral activities, 13 percent moderately participated in electoral activities while 7 percent infrequently participated in electoral activities.

Figure 11: Level of interest among urban youth in politics and electoral activities
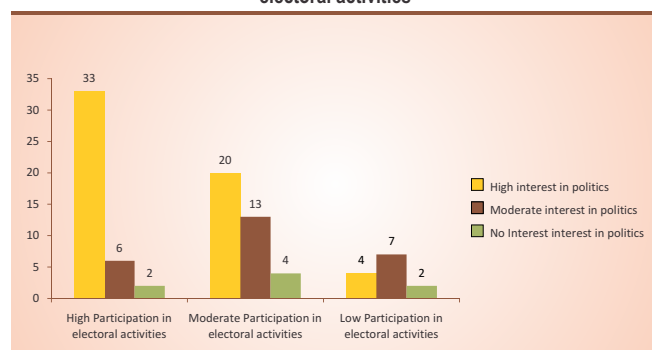
Amongst the youth interested in politics, locality hardly matters. That is, whether they are living in towns or cities or villages, they tend to participate in electoral activities actively in more or less equal proportions. Amongst those youth who are interested in politics and live in urban locations, 45 percent indicated participating in various kinds of election campaign activities, while amongst those youth who are interested in politics but live in

Figure 12: Level of interest among rural and urban youth in politics and electoral activities
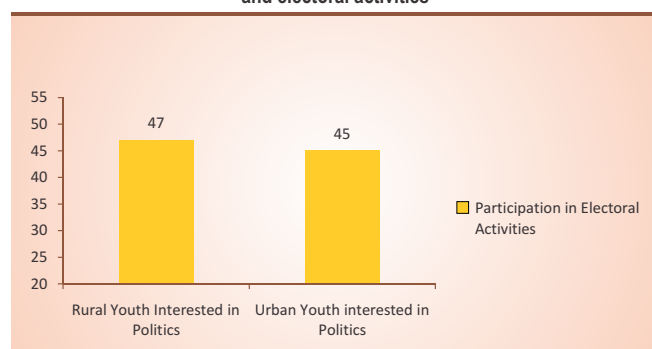
villages, 47 percent mentioned their participation in electoral activities.

Gender matters when it comes to electoral participation. The level of electoral participation is lower amongst urban young women compared to urban young men. The level of interest in politics hardly helps in motivating urban young women to participate actively in election campaign activities. The findings of the survey indicate that amongst the urban young women who are interested in politics, only 25 percent participate in electoral activities while 54 per cent of urban young men interested in politics do so.

Figure 13: Level of interest among urban youth in politics and electoral activities
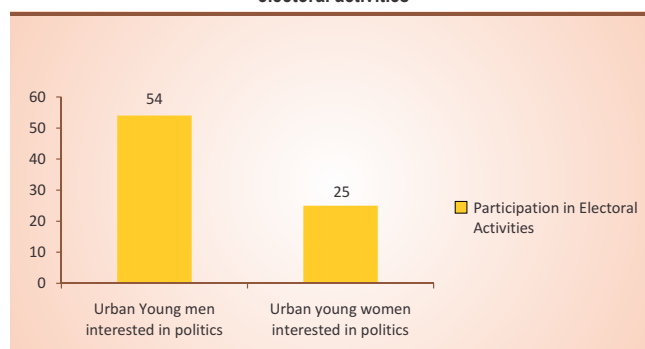
Findings of the survey indicate, the electoral participation is not limited only to upper class urban youth. Participation in electoral actitivity is seen across all economic classes among urban youth though the participation was slightly higher amongst the upper class urban youth than those in

Figure 14: Class wise level of interest among rural and urban youth in politics and electoral activities
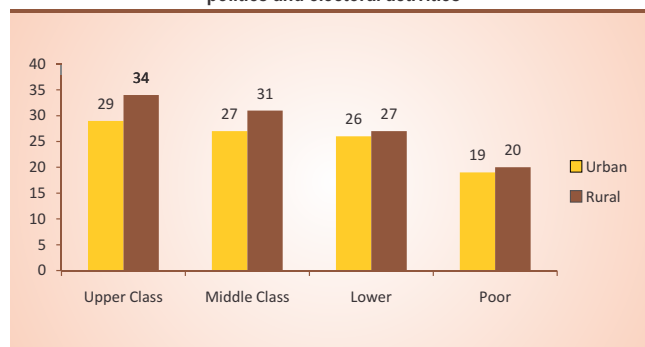
the middle or poor class. But electoral participation is much higher amongst rural youth than urban youth irrespective of the economic class.

Media exposure has a positive impact on the level of electoral participation. Higher the level of media exposure, greater is the involvement of urban youth in election campaign activities. Amongst the urban youth with high media exposure, 35 percent mentioned regular participation in electoral activities, while amongst urban youth with moderate media exposure 31 percent mentioned active electoral participation. Amongst those urban youth who have no media exposure, only 10 percent participate actively in electoral activities.

Figure 15: Media and level of electoral participation
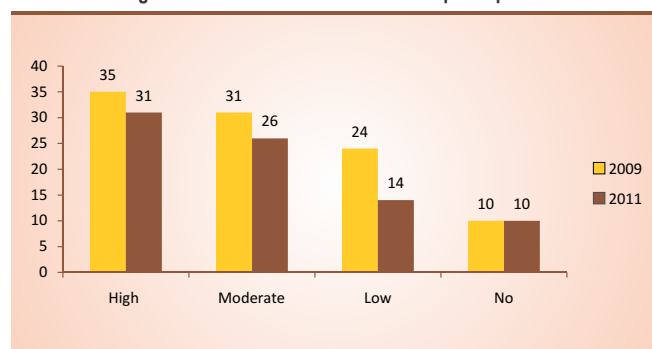
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Voting during Elections

The analysis presented in the previous section, clearly indicates that there is an increase in urban youth's interest in politics. In the last few years, their level of electoral participation has also risen. But does that result in active participation in voting during elections which is referred to as direct political participation? Milbrath (1965: p17) also admits that higher socio-economic status (SES) is positively associated with increased likelihood of participation in many different political acts; higher SES persons are more likely to vote, attend meetings, join a party, and so forth. Young student leader Ragini Nayak, an ex-president Delhi University Student Union (DUSU), once said:

> Youth have limited interest in politics. They are not very aware about political issues. Even in University Elections youth do not discuss national issues rather they are more concerned about their personal problems and discuss those. In broader terms youth are not interested in politics and this leads to low level of political participation…..I don't think youth participate in politics…they are willing to change the society but not through being a part of politics rather through opposing it…

Ragini's observation in some ways reflects the popular opinion depicting the Indian urban youth regarding their interest in politics and their level of political involvement.

India has officially adopted the representative form of democracy. Notwithstanding the fact that over the years there have been people's movements that have defined themselves as only ones practising participatory democracy, on the whole voting at all 3 levels of elections – Lok Sabha election, State Assembly Election and Panchayat/Municipal elections is recognized as one of the direct forms of political participation. What also makes it an ideal measure for assessing political participation is the fact that it is not a localised phenomenon; it is voluntary, and logistical arrangements for this form of participation are ensured by the state, the gravity of this action lying in the fact that it is only through this act that citizens elect their representatives to run their country. Youth have consistently recorded lower voter turnout compared to voters of other age group and participation in voting is even lower amongst the urban youth compared to the rural youth. Also there is no significant increase in the turnout amongst youth over the years. Since the very beginning youth voter turnout is lower compared to the average all India voter's turnout and also compared to voters of other age group.

Figure 16: Age wise voting pattern in Lok Sabha Elections 1996-2009
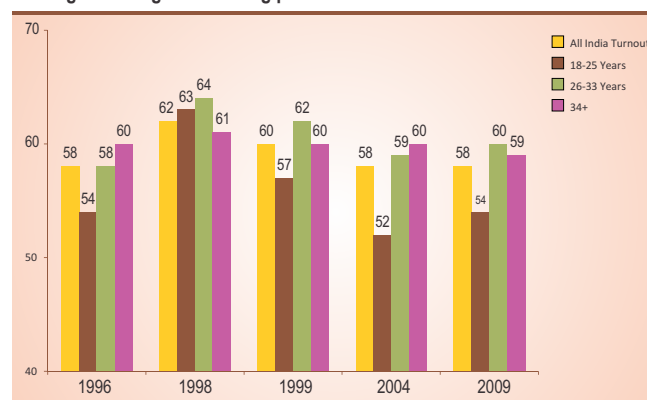
Source: Survey results from CSDS

What is noteworthy here is that even amongst youth, the voting percent is lower amongst the youngest category of youth (18-25 years) compared to the youth of slightly higher age group (26-33 years). At times the relatively senior amongst the youth (26-33 years) have registered slightly higher turnout compared to the average turnout.

Worldwide, many industrialised countries have recorded a decline in voter participation. In France, the voter turnout for parliamentary elections has fallen from nearly 80 percent of registered voters in 1945 to 60 percent in 2005.

Figure 17: Voting pattern among urban and rural youth in Lok Sabha elections 1996-2009
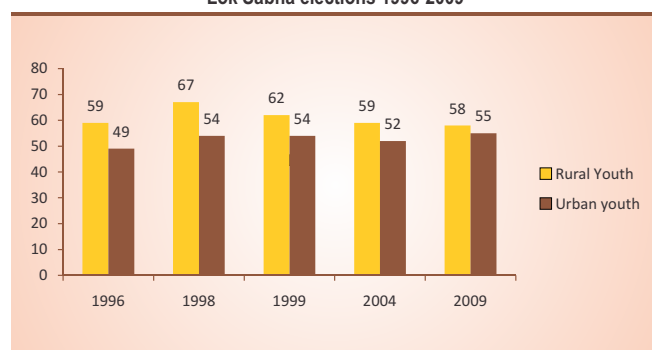
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Voter participation in U.K. parliamentary elections fell from over 70 percent from 1945 to 59.4 percent in 2001. In the United States, voter turnout for the presidential elections fell from 79.9 percent in 1972 to 64 percent in 2008 (Source: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance). The youth vote is also decreasing. The UK Electoral Commission concluded that the low turnout rate in the 2001 election was primarily due to youth not voting.

In the United States however, a rising number of young people appear to be actively participating in elections. While about 40 percent of youth between the ages of 18–29 voted in the 2000 presidential election, in 2008 this proportion had risen to 51 percent[2] . The US unlike other industrialised nations has been witnessing a consistent rise in voter turnout. In fact estimates from the *Census Current Population Survey November Supplement*

suggested that the voter turnout rate among young people in 2008 was one of the highest recorded. The increase is a continuation of the trend observed in the 2004 and 2006 elections. While youth turnout has increased significantly, other voters voted at lower rates than in 2004 and only slightly above their 2000 level.[3] Also, in 1972 general election men and women were equally likely to go to the polls in the US, however, over the past 30 years the gap between male and female turnout in presidential elections has widened. By 1992, 54 percent of women aged 18-29 voted while only 50 percent of men did so. In 2008, this difference continued to widen to nearly eight percentage points, although both genders marked significant gains in turnout over the 2000 election.

In this global context of democracy and participation in representative democracy, the Indian electorate and youth especially is yet emerging as a political category.

Across different countries urbanisation shares a different relationship with voter turnout. In the west and in India till the 1960s it was assumed that electoral turnout and urbanisation shared a positive relationship [Monroe 1977]. In India this has not only been rejected since then but empirically a complete reversal of this trend has been postulated. People living in towns and cities vote in lesser numbers compared to those living in villages. Youth are no exception. The data suggest that urban youth have consistently registered lower turnout compared to the rural youth, although the last two Lok Sabha elections witnessed more urban youth coming out to cast their vote on election day. The gap between the turnout amongst rural youth and urban youth has considerably declined during the 2004 and 2009 Lok Sabha elections.

Young urban Indian women consistently display lower voter turnout as compared to young Indian urban men. However the difference in turnout between young urban men and young urban women has been fluctuating in various Lok Sabha elections. In 1996 Lok Sabha election

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[2][Online] Available from http://www.mapleleafweb.com/features/voter-turnout-canada [Accessed 17/10/2011]

[3]Source: CPS November. Voting and Registration Supplements, 1972-2008, [Online] Available from http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/FactSheets/FS_youth_Voting_2008_updated_6.25.pdf, [Accessed 18/10/2011]

Urban Youth and Political Participation / Sanjay Kumar

the difference between the turnout of young urban men and young urban women was 20 percent. The next two Lok Sabha elections held in year 1998 and 1999 did not witness any major change in patterns of turnout amongst young urban men and young urban women, but the last few years have witnessed a higher turnout amongst young urban women resulting in the narrowing of the gap in the turnouts of young urban men and young urban women.

Figure 18: Gender wise voting pattern among urban youth in Lok Sabha elections 1996-2009
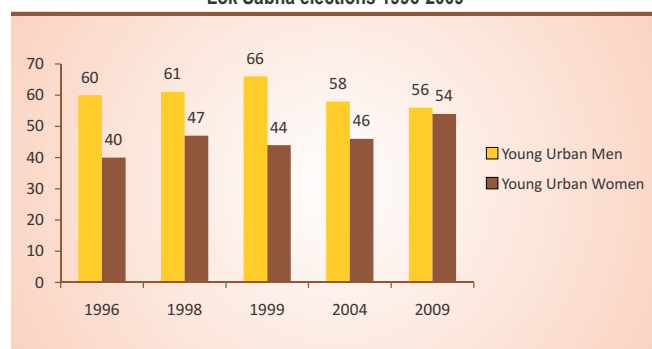
Source: Survey results from CSDS

A study conducted by the Rambhau Mhalgi Prabodhini, a Mumbai-based organisation, in three cities of Pune, Mumbai and Thane revealed about 45 per cent of voters cited mismanagement of the electoral rolls as the reason for not being able to vote. Most voters think that the entire voting system, from registration to actual voting is voter-unfriendly. Very few youth said they had lost faith in the political parties for deciding against voting. According to the report only 15 per cent of the participants had such a view. The survey showed that most of the people, who said they had lost faith in the system, were above 55 years of age. The analysis above partially explains the paradox between political interest and participation of youth. Rather than pointing to some latent political and theoretical explanations for lower voter turnout among 18-25 years old, the empirical data unearth reasons which were rather every day and logistical in nature.

While the study mentioned above was conducted only in three cities, the national level representative sample of urban youth indicate that the reason for not voting amongst the urban youth are no different from voters of other age group. Being out of station on the day of voting is the single most important reason for non-voting

amongst urban youth and not their being disenchanted with politics. Amongst those urban youth who were unable to vote, only 10 percent mentioned that they had no interest in election, 29 percent mentioned that they were out of station, 10 percent amongst urban youth could not vote as they were un well and another 13 percent urban youth could not vote due to lack of identity proof. The reason of non-voting amongst rural youth and urban youth was hardly different.

Figure 19: Reasons for not voting in Lok Sabha elections 2009
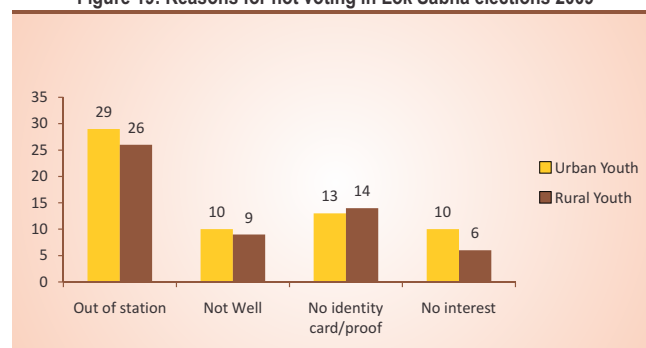
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Protests and demonstrations

Participation in voting and various forms of election campaign activities are considered as conventional form of political participation which happens mostly during the time of elections. Urban youth participate in various kinds of electoral activities ranging from attending election meetings to directly supporting candidates by helping him/her in various campaign related activities. Other than this conventional form of political participation there are other non-conventional forms of political participation, which do not necessarily occur during election times. These activities are public protests and demonstrations which make democracy vibrant. Participation in protests and demonstrations is an important aspect of political or social participation amongst urban youth.

This form of participation has caught the popular and academic attention during last few years. Globally the fight for democracy in a lot of west Asian countries, what has been popularly called the 'Arab spring' and the 'occupy' movement, which began in New York in Wall Street but spread to various other countries are contemporary land

mark examples of movements of these kind. India itself witnessed a similar movement last year in support for the implementation of the anti-corruption bill and more recently the movement for better safety of women, gender equality after the incident of gang rape of a young Delhi woman. What made these protest and demonstration distinct at another level is that all of them are speculated to be largely represented by the urban youth.

The large scale participation of the urban youth in the recent protest and demonstration contribute to a general perception that urban youth participate in protest and demonstration in large numbers. The findings of the CSDS indicate that there is hardly any difference in the level of participation in protest and demonstration amongst urban and rural youth. Nearly 10 percent of the youth both in rural areas and in urban areas mentioned that they participate in protest and demonstration.

Figure 20: Level of participation in protests and demonstrations among urban and rural youth
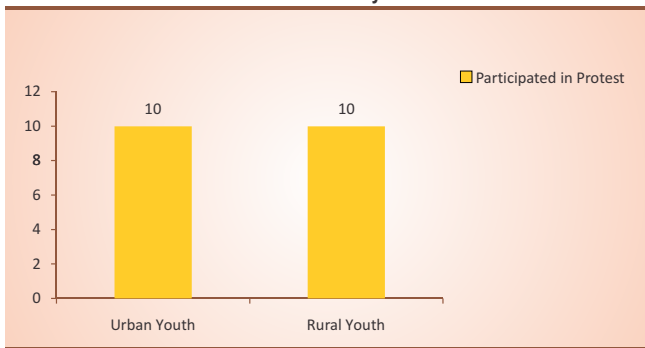
Source: Survey results from CSDS

There is however a difference in level of participation in protest and demonstration amongst urban young men and urban young women. Young men participate in protests and demonstration more actively than young women. The level of participation in protest and demonstration was much lower amongst young urban rural women. Very few young women in rural areas reported participating in protests or demonstrations. Cities/ urban areas seem to provide greater space for young women for extra electoral participation, since more young women in urban areas reported to have been a part of a demonstration or a protest. On the other hand young men in rural areas consistently exceed youth in urban areas in any form of

political participation including this one.

Figure 21: Level of participation in protests among urban youth
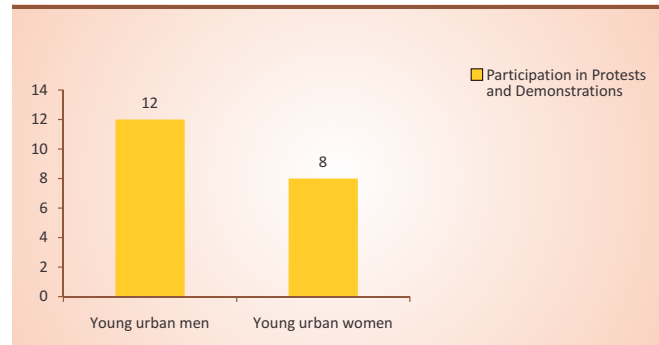
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Media exposure plays an important role in youth participation in protest and demonstration. Higher the level of media exposure greater is the participation of the youth in protest and demonstration. The level of media exposure not only cuts the locality divide when it comes to participation in protest and demonstration, it actually motivates the young rural youth to participate in protest and demonstration in much greater numbers compared to the urban youth. Amongst those youth who are not exposed to media, the level of participation in protest and demonstration is much lower amongst rural youth compared to the urban youth. But amongst those youth who are highly exposed to media, the participation in protest and demonstration is much higher amongst the rural youth compared to the urban youth.

Figure 22: Level of participation in protests and exposure to media
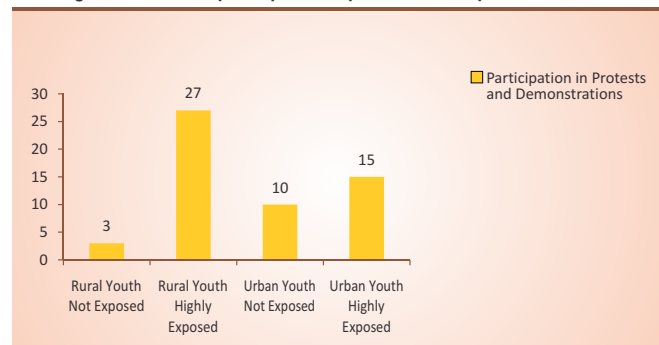
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Indian cities have witnessed sizeable participation of youth in protest and demonstration on social issues. While it is true that the student wing of political parties based in universities and colleges help in mobilising the urban youth for participation the protest and demonstration in

urban India does not remain limited only amongst the urban educated youth. Sizeable proportion of uneducated youth also participate in protest and demonstration. By the simple fact that college and university students form the backbone of many protest and demonstration in urban areas, many such protest and demonstration are dominated by urban youth from middle and upper class families.   It would be incorrect to conclude that the participation in protest and demonstration in cities and demonstration is limited to only urban educated upper class youth. It cuts across youths with various levels of educational attainment and across economic class, though in varying proportions. The level of interest in politics motivates the youth for participation in protest and demonstration. Irrespective of the level of educational attainment, irrespective of economic class, youth who are interested in politics, take active part in protest and demonstration while those youth who are not interested in politics hardly participate in protest and demonstration. Amongst urban youth who are not interested in politics 12 percent participated in protest and demonstration, while amongst those interested in politics, 48 percent mentioned taking part in protest and demonstration. Even among those urban youth who are interested in politics, but only to limited degree, large proportion of youth mentioned participating in protest and demonstration.

Overall it seems 'Interest in Politics' and 'Participation in Political Activities' are conceptually different. One may be interested in politics, but may not participate actively in politics. The category interest in politics covers a much wider canvas and within this, those who participate in politics form a tiny sections. However over the years, on the whole one witnesses an increase both in interest and in participation in certain political activities. Important factors responsible for this increase in interest in politics, electoral participation and non electoral participation are education and media exposure. As literacy rate increases among the youth their participation and interest in politics also increases.

Participation in electoral activities (election campaign

activities) and participation in protest and demonstration seem to be largely overlapping categories. Higher the level of participation in electoral activities greater the level of participation in protest and demonstration amongst urban

Figure 23: Level of interest in politics and participation in protest and demonstration
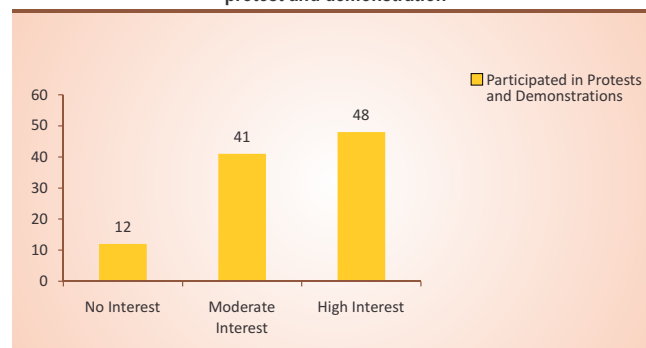
Source: Survey results from CSDS

youth. Amongst the urban youth who participate in electoral activities actively, 39 percent also participated in protest and demonstration, while amongst those urban youth who do not or hardly participate in electoral activities, they hardly (only 4 percent) participated in protest and demonstration.

Figure 24: Level of participation in electoral activities and participation in protests
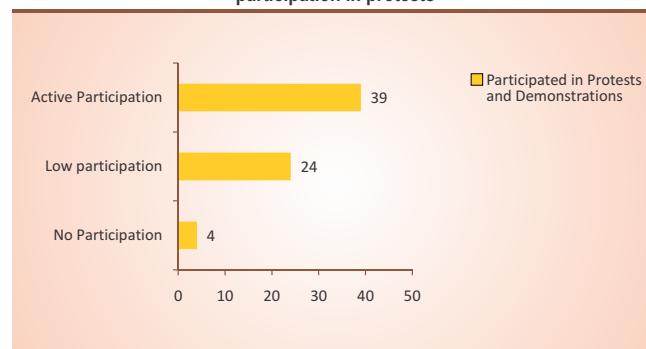
Source: Survey results from CSDS

Membership of party/organisation

We see some division between the rural and the urban youth, with regard to their particiaption in voting and other election related activities, but this divide disappears when we look at pattern of party membership or membership in different organisations. Equal proportion of youth from rural as well as urban localities are members of political parties and other organisations. When it comes to being close to a political party, similar proportion of youth both in rural and urban locations feel colse to one or

the other political party. Not only do we not see any difference between rural and urban youth on the issue of party membership and membership of organisations, there is hardly any difference on this issue between the youngest (18-25 years) and the relatively less younger (26-33years) youth.

Conclusion

It seems the urban youth in India is gradually politically mobilising and socialising. While the recent years have witnessed greater participation of urban youth in protest and demonstration and other electoral activities, it is far from being a large scale mobilisation. We cannot consider

the Indian urban youth as a parochial group isolated from politics and without an interest in politics. There is sufficient evidence that they do take interest in politics and participate in political activities. However from their levels of participation in protests and other activities we cannot place the urban Indian youth in participant group which actively participate in politics and keenly interested in politics. The politicisation of urban youth, recognition of urban youth as a political category is evident but still only an emerging phenomenon. With India's impending demographic bulge and urban youth constituting a large category in the country, this emerging engagement one predicts may have far reaching implications over the next few decades.

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Figure 25.1: Level of proximity to political party and participation in politics

Source: Survey results from (CSDS)

Figure 25.2: Membership with political party and participation in politics

Source: Survey results from (CSDS)

Figure 25.3 Membership of Association and level of political participation

Source: Survey results from (CSDS)

Barbed Wired Campus: Student Agitation for Telangana State

The first thing a visitor to visit Osmania University in Hyderabad notices is the barbed wires and barricades that close both entry and exit points to the campus. These are points of clash and conflict between police/paramilitary and students. Stone pelting, lathi charges, bursting tear gas shells and shooting rubber bullets have been the order of the day here for over three and half years or since November 2009. The barricades put up in November 2009 have never taken down.

The 100-year old Osmania University has been a centre for a number of political movements in and around the region starting from the Independence Movement to the extreme left movements now the movement for a separate state for Telangana. The university which was always home for both urban elite and rural poor has been of late is dominated by students from mostly first generation rural and backward sections thanks to urban elite moving towards more technical and corporate education or central universities and institutions. It is in this context that the students of Osmania have entered and changed the way the movement for separate Telangana conducted.

There have been movements against the merger of the Telangana region with the then existing Andhra state in 1956 and then again in 1969, a movement for a separate state. Both were unceremoniously scuttled after much violence. But the dissenting voices were raised again in 1990s and made inroads into the mainstream politics in new millennium. However, the movement was mostly run by political leadership and in a lobbying mode. However at this time the widespread approval to the demand in the region resulted in a huge unrest across the state.

Over the decades the region has seen poor growth and development. The students hailing from the villages and small towns coming to Osmania for higher education see no future opportunities either in the city or in their home regions that have been devastated by continuous droughts. It is significant that the student movement has taken charge of the Movement for Telanagana only when the political leadership appears to be wavering in its resolve. This is what set the stage for the movement in front of the iconic building on the university Arts College in November 2009.

What followed in the following 100 days changed the course of the movement itself. The university became a battle field since the movement gained huge momentum as people who had lost trust in political leadership supported and rallied behind the students. It is this movement that made political leaders sit up and take note.

The university became the epicenter for both inspiration and repression. Thousands of paramilitary forces deployed on the campus and the university were cordoned off with barbed wires and threads and it became a war zone or restricted area. Hundreds of cases were booked against students who were sent to jails. Students were lathi charged numerous times and many students and media persons injured.

Even as the agitation mounted and a leader was on fast unto death the the then home minister P Chidambaram announced the initiation of the process for forming separate state for Telangana on December 9, 2009. However the government went back on its word and instead set up the Sri Krishna Committee to look into the merits of the demand. The movement took a break when it waited for the Committee's report and is back in swing now with the students again gathering and fighting with police in the closed and barbed wired campus.

- **C. Vanaja**

Rahul Manav

Policy Perspectives

Lakshmi Priya
Aarti Salve Telang

In Brief

- India has a long history of recognizing the potential of youth in nation-building.
- Youth issues have consistently been incorporated in policies. However, programmatic content has been lacking.
- Encouraging volantarism as a means of connecting youth to community development too has been incorporated in several schemes notably the National Service Scheme that has attracted to date over 3.2 million youth to community service and development.
- The evolution of the youth development index is imperative. This will not only enable the monitoring of various programmes and their impact and throw up new directions for youth involvement in development.
- While some states have youth policies, others need to develop and put into action such policies. These will address the state-specific challenges to youth development.
- Such policies are even more necessary in states with lower proportions of youth since it is here that youth issues are most neglected.

Policies not only spell out the intention of the government and the right directions to reach stated goals, but also provide a perspective plan for a government's development agenda. It provides a framework for articulating programmes towards the realisation of a government's agenda.

Youth can play vital role in nation building. Nation building requires the constructive engagement of all the citizens in the development aspects of the country. The strength and energy of youth has to be channelised for productive aspects of the country.

For this enabling opportunities need to be created such that young people may fulfil their particular aspirations even as they contribute meaningfully to nation building. In addition to ensuring the basic needs of food, clothing and shelter, policies that directly impact youth development are in the realm of education and employment. Policies must then ensure the availability of opportunities for youth to pursue individual aspirations, to acquire employable skills. They also need to ensure that there is a sufficient availability of jobs for those who are so trained and educated. Further, India being such a vast and diverse country, issues and challenges of each state and each community have to be considered before forming policies. For this it is necessary to involve youth in policymaking and the implementation and governance of programmes derived from the policy.

A youth policy is a statement of purpose and intention. It sets in place the broad contours of how the country views youth and their place in society and what needs to be done to enable that worldview. Youth policies serve to assure the youth of the country that their interests and their participation in nation building is being addressed by policy makers.

A top down approach to such policy formation will prove counter productive. Young people need to be involved in the creation of such policies. Public discussion in relevant forums is imperative.

Youth Policies in Asian Countries

Skill development and vocational training are the highlights of **Pakistan's Youth Policy**. The policy promises to formulate special policies to encourage young entrepreneurs and assures adequate programmes for providing finance through micro finance and expand and improve national internship programme. The policy also promises to institute schemes of scholarships to carry out studies at higher secondary, under graduate and graduate levels in country. Youth will be encouraged to take up social volunteerism [Pakistan Youth Policy, 2008].

The Nepal Youth Policy too focuses on the promise of developing programmes to encourage entrepreneurship among youth. It also sets out a plan to establish technical schools and make higher education widely available [Nepal National Youth Policy, 2010].

The Afghanistan Youth Policy focuses on improving the quality and spread of education, both formal and non-formal as well as opportunities for skill development. It also recognizes the importance of youth volunteerism and makes assurances to promote the same.

The Bhutan Youth Policy gives considerable importance to youth civic participation. Strategies to improve the vocational skills and entrepreneurship abilities of the youth are highlighted in the policy. Interestingly, it also says that youth should consider farming as a self-employment [Bhutan National Youth Policy, 2010].

Japan's Youth Policy offers various means of supporting unemployed youth, including those who in the current environment have lost the confidence to work. Cconsistent, one-on-one, fine-tuned job support will be implemented from job-search activities to settlement in the workplace. On the basis of the Employment Countermeasures Law and the Guidelines for Employers to Respond Appropriately with regard to ensuring of employment opportunities for young people, support,

such as counseling and advice, will be provided for employers, etc. who make efforts toward the expansion of job-application opportunities for young people.

There are policies to give skill development training to young disabled people according to their disability in familiar environments. The policy has also schemes to expand job opportunities in agriculture, forestry, fisheries, manufacture and public sector. In addition, the policy states that youth-oriented information will be made available.

Policy Initiatives Addressing Youth in India

As early as the Second Five Year Plan (1956-1961) planners, inspired no doubt by the Soviet celebration of youth and Jawaharlal Nehru's own conviction that children and youth must be viewed as future leaders of the nation, introduced a National Discipline Scheme for youth. Among others, a talent search and scholarship programme was begun to find talented student to train for work on nuclear power under the newly formed Atomic Energy Commission .

In 1960s on the back of a growing unrest among the student community the Government of India started to think about some programmes to integrate youth in many programmes. A working group was appointed in 1966 to specify the objectives of a comprehensive National Plan for Youth. The Ministry of Education was registered as the Ministry of Education and Youth Services and a conference was convened with representatives from youth organizations, youth services agencies, youth leaders in 1969. As an outcome, the National Youth Board was set up with the Union Minister for Education and Youth Services as Chairman. International agencies such as ESCAP, UNESCO, UN Development Decade, International Labour Organization (ILO), and FAO gave an impetus to the initiative.

Third Five Year Plan (1961-1966) continued the National Discipline Scheme. **The Fourth Five Year Plan** gave special emphasis to the needs of the youth and training for youth leadership. Support was provided to

voluntary organizations to participate in youth development programmes. Community Service was developed as an integral part of the curriculum for

education, instruction and training of all students enrolled in educational institutions.

The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MoYAS) was set up in 1980. In 1982, the Department of Sports was set up in the context of hosting of 9th Asian Games in New Delhi in 1982. This was followed by the creation of a Department of Youth Affairs and Sports in the Ministry of Human Resource Development, when the United Nations declared 1985 as the International Year of Youth (IYY) with the banner theme "participation, development and peace". On May 17, 2000, the department was upgraded as a full-fledged Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports with a Cabinet Minister in charge of the Ministry. Its roles and responsibilities were not yet clearly enunciated. Youth was now recognised as a separate segment by the government [Casimir, 2011].

National Youth Policy, 1988- 1992

In 1985, the international year of the youth, the Department of Youth Affairs and Sports, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India, initiated a proposal to formulate a National Youth Policy. The National Youth Policy was tabled in the two houses of Parliament in late 1988. It has recognised that "the most important component of the youth programme" has to be the "removal of unemployment, rural and urban, educated and non-educated.

The policy of 1988 formulated that youth in the country must have access to full education and training. The policy stated that the youth should get "their due share". But the policy did not have a programmatic structure. Nor did it designate an authority to oversee its implementation. The policy was all but forgotten with a few of the programmes such as the India youth hostels and the National Social Service continuing to run, but desultorily.

Under the **Seventh Five Year Plan** as per the requirements of the National Youth Policy, a Plan of

Action was formulated in 1992. The main schemes in the Seventh Plan for student youth related to Bharat Scouts and Guides, National Service Scheme and National

Service Volunteer Scheme (NSVS). At the end of the Seventh Plan, enrolment in these schemes was: NSS - 10 lakh, Scouts and Guides - 22 lakh and NSVS - 3000. Considering the large number of school and college students this coverage was inadequate. During the plan, non-student youth schemes such as Nehru Yuva Kendras and Youth Clubs were formed.

Many youth programmes were continued in the **Eight Five Year Plan** also. NYKS also took up `Youth Against AIDS' campaign in several districts in addition to `Mass Awareness Generation Campaign on GATT'. Watershed Management and Wasteland Development Programmes were integrated into NSS programmes under "Youth for Sustainable Development". Public trusts and NGOs provided vocational training programmes to promote self-employment for youth.

> "For your country,
> If you plan for a year – sow paddy
> If you plan for a decade – plant trees
> If you plan for a future – nurture youth"
> [National Youth Policy of India, 1992]

National Policy, 2003

The less known National Youth Policy 1998 was replaced by a New National Youth Policy-2003 with four thrust areas, viz. (i) Youth Empowerment; (ii) Gender Justice; (iii) Intersectoral Approach; and (iv) Information and Research Network. There were programmes each with targets for physical achievement.

For the first time this policy clearly defined 'youth' as being those in the age group 13 -35. The policy breaks down the age group into 13 to 19 years and 20 to 35 years. One of the main objectives of the policy is to ensure education and employment opportunities to the youth. It also aimed to give entrepreneurial guidance and financial credit. It is a commendable fact that volunteerism is included in the policy. Among many other thrust areas, the policy gives importance to

1) Youth empowerment, attainment of higher educational levels, youth leadership.

2) Establishment of adequate information and research network. The Rajiv Gandhi National Institute of Youth Development (RGNIYD) was set up to serve as the apex Information and Research Centre on youth development issues. At the micro levels there were to be Youth Development Centres and NYKs.

The policy aimed to accord priority to the following groups: Rural and Tribal Youth; Out-of-school Youth; Adolescents particularly female adolescents. Twelve schemes and programmes were implemented for the development of youth and adolescents. A budget of Rs 300 crore was spent annually and ministries were instructed to allocate budgets for youth targets.

For the first time the policy also describes the responsibilities of the youth, not just their rights. In the key sectors of concern for the youth, education, employment, science and technology were prominent. Policy showed concern that youth were "prone to high risk behaviour".

Education in the secondary level and above has to focus on vocationalisation so that the youth will acquire skills and can acquire better jobs. The National Policy has also rightly recognized that there has to be a link between educational system and prospective employers.

The Policy also recognized that there was a mismatch between skill requirement and employment opportunities. To reduce this several measures were taken such as forming a network of youth skill training centres, on-the-job training for youth, and creation of a data bank for employment opportunities.

The policy gives importance to scientists and recognizes that young scientists and technologists should be given adequate facilities and the private sector should contribute here. Accordingly it gave high importance to science and technology, review of school curricula, use of information and communications technology, as well as all forms of media, including the electronic media, for youth development.

The **Ninth Five Year Plan** (2002-07) proposed the formation of the National Reconstruction Corps (NRC) to encourage youth entrepreneurship. It was to train young people in relevant skills to launch self-employment ventures. The Plan for almost the first time critically looked at the various programmes under the ministry of youth affairs and sports and attempted to revitalize them by dre-drawing some programmes.

The **Tenth Five Plan** (2007-12) commented on the poor implementation of programmes. It made general recommendations such as the formation of teen clubs in all blocks but not attempted to link them to any other programme or initiative. This plan document seems to have ignored the various programmes developed as part of the Youth Policy of 2003, a clear indication that these were no more than statements on paper.

National Youth Policy 2010

Under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi, youth played a major role in the formation of United Progressive Alliance (UPA) government following elections in 2009. The Youth Congress made an effort to include young people through programmes such as Aam Aadmi ke Sipahi (Soldiers of Ordinary men) to be sent to villages to work for underprivileged. As a result, more young people were included in the decision-making processes of some programmes.

For the first time a process was initiated for the formulation of a new youth policy. The Rajiv Gandhi National Institute of Youth Development (RGNIYD) was mandated to review the existing Youth Policy (NYP 2003) by way of detailed consultations, both in-house as well as at regional levels across the country. RGNIYD evolved a base policy paper titled draft NYP 2010.

Eleven thrust areas were identified, viz (i) promotional of national values, social harmony and national unity; (ii) Empowering youth through employment and entrepreneurship opportunities; (iii) Education – formal, non-formal and continuing learning; (iv) Health and

healthy lifestyle; (v) Sports and recreational facilities; (vi) Promoting gender justice and equality; (vii) Participation in community service; (viii) Preparing adolescents for facing challenges of life; (ix) Social justice and action against unhealthy social practices; (x) Issues related to environment, its conservation and preservation; (ix) Youth and local governance, including support to state-sponsored programmes and schemes.

The policy aimed to accord priority to the following groups: Student youth; Urban youth in slums, migrant youth; Rural youth, Tribal youth; Youth at risk- substance abuse, human trafficking, working in hazardous occupations, bonded labour; Youth in violent conflict – participants or victims; out of school or drop outs from formal educational mainstream; groups that suffer from social or moral stigma – transgender, gays and lesbians, those affected with HIV/AIDS; youth in observation homes, orphanages or prisons. The priority groups are young women; Youth belonging to socially and economically disadvantaged communities and groups; differently-abled youth.

The target group of NYP 2010 were student youth, urban youth in slums; migrant youth, rural youth, tribal youth, youth at risk - substance abuse, human trafficking, working in hazardous occupations, bonded labour, youth in violent conflicts – participants or victims, out-of-school or drop-outs from formal educational mainstream, groups that suffer from social or moral stigma - transgender, gays and lesbians, those afflicted with HIV/AIDS, youth in observation homes, orphanages or prisons. Youth belonging to socially and economically disadvantaged communities and groups, differently-abled youth were also given priority. Eleven programmes and activities will be undertaken in each thrust areas.

Sadly, the policy formulation discussions of NYP 2010 attracted only about 1200 young people out of a youth population of more than 50 million [Casimir Raj, 2011]. The point however is that an attempt was made to involve youth in the process of policy making.

The **Eleventh Five Year Plan** (2007-2012) had an emphatic focus on higher education including vocationalization, and distance education. A large-scale expansion in university education was initiated during the Eleventh Five Year Plan like setting up of new educational institutions comprising 30 central universities, 8 new Indian new National Institutes of Technology (NITs), 20 new Indian Institutes of information Technology (IIITs), 3 new Indian Institutes of Science education and Research (IISERs), 2 new Schools of Planning and Architecture (SPAs), 374 model colleges, and 1000 polytechnics. Other important initiatives included upgradation of state engineering institutions, expansion of research fellowships. To address the increasing skill challenges of the Indian IT industry, the government approved the setting up of 20 new IIITs as public-private partnerships. A substantial allocation was proposed for setting up ICT infrastructures in schools.

The Plan specifically proposed new youth programmes or reviving old ones. The Rajiv Gandhi National Institute of Youth Development (RGNIYD) was proposed to be developed as the apex institution with the status of Deemed National Youth University in the country establishing linkages with other national, state and regional level institutions, including the Indira Gandhi Open University (IGNOU).

Draft National Youth Policy 2012

The Draft National Policy 2012 proposes to change the target age group from the existing 13-35 years to 16-30 years. The Draft Policy not only spells out the objectives but also elaborates the details of the policy interventions required and identified partners responsible for achieving the objectives.

The Draft Youth policy, for the first time, has also been underpinned by the guiding principle of providing targeted employable skills to different youth segments in line with Prime Minister's Skill Development Mission, apart from identifying various segments based on socio-economic, gender and geographical parameters as specific targets. The draft policy of 2012 specifies the same the target groups of youth as in the earlier policy.

The Draft National Youth Policy 2012 emphatically gives importance to employment and skill development of young people. The two thrust areas are: 1) Empowering youth through employment and entrepreneurship opportunities, and 2) Providing education – formal, non-formal and continuing learning.

The needs of young women are also accorded priority in this policy. It proposes the development of a Youth Development Index that will include other indices via, the Youth Health Index, Youth Education Index, Youth Work Index, Youth Amenities Index, Youth Participation Index. The YDI can be taken as a baseline for evaluators and policy makers. The Draft NYP 2012 proposes monitorable indicators using the YDI.

In sum, India has recognized the need for a policy on youth for over 25 years. Each new policy has been more elaborate and to an extent implementable. Some of the policy goals have been echoed in the various Five Year Plans and have even received financial support. However, largely, the youth policies have remained in black and white with no plans or resources for their implementation. However, the 2012 Policy with the proposal to develop a Youth Development Index moves substantially towards setting monitorable goals for youth development and youth participation in nation building, a long stated goal.

The Twelfth Plan, among other things, focused specifically on improving the employability of today's youth. It proposed the idea of forming large education hubs anchored by large public sector enterprises (with help from private enterprises) funded by their corporate social responsibility initiatives. The Planning Commission appointed a steering Committee for Youth Affairs and Sports with 41 members. It also constituted a 38 member Working Group (WG) on Adolescent and Youth Development. Of note is the fact that of the 79 members of these two committees none 'young', and not one youth organization had been nominated to be a part of the deliberation. The Planning Commission has no Youth Wing (Youth for Policy Dialogue, 2012).

Key Programmes

National Service Schemes (NSS)

It has been termed the largest social service organization in the world. Launched on September 24, 1969, during the Gandhi Centenary Year, under the Union Education Minister Dr. V.K.R.V. Rao, the National Service Schemes (NSS) programmes in 37 universities and all their affiliated colleges across the country. Covering over 40,000 students at that time today over 3.2 million college students have been NSS volunteers. NSS was a mandatory optional in the first decades when students had to choose between the joining the National Cadet Corps that offered semi-military training and the NSS. The primary focus of NSS is the development of student personality through community service.

The cardinal principle of the programme was that the programmes under NSS were all youth-led; they were organized by the students themselves and both students and teachers through their combined participation in social service get a sense of involvement in the tasks of national development. In the years since then thousands of community service projects have been organized by college students mentored by teachers.

NSS volunteers devoted 120 hours per year for two consecutive years, and covered a wide range of community related work such as adoption of villages for development activities, construction and repair of roads, afforestation, conducting literacy classes, water shed project and plastic eradication, discrimination against women, eradication of polio and health awareness particularly in recent years, HIV AIDS. They have also been at the forefront of emergency services during national disasters as well as major events.

Over the 40-odd years of its continuous existence, albeit with changes in its structure and functioning, thousands of students have been exposed not only to community development activities but also to the fact of initiating and conducting projects for the community addressing issues of relevance to the community. Today when youth-led development is being proposed as an answer to the combined problem of youth unemployment and social development needs, the long experience of the NSS might be useful. Unfortunately no comprehensive analysis of the programme is readily available.

Some analysis does show that the students enrolled under NSS have shown better understanding of social issues and have exhibited volunteerism at times of need [Ramadorai, 2011. A study done by Youth Policy and Dialogue suggests that because there are no incentives for volunteering and nor is it prioritized and accorded value students tend to be more interested in their own skill development and entrepreneurship training than with enhancing community development during NSS hours (YPD). The report calls for a change in the perception of voluntarism in universities and colleges and a revamping of the programme to better suit the needs of today's youth and the community.

National Programme for Youth and Adolescent Development (NPYAD)

National Programme for Youth and Adolescent Development (NPYAD) had been formulated by the merger of four 100 per cent central sector grants-in-aid schemes of the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports during 10th Plan, namely, Promotion of Youth Activities and Training, Promotion of National Integration, Promotion of Adventure and Development and Empowerment of Adolescents, with a view to reducing multiplicity of schemes with similar objectives. In other words, the expression 'youth' would cover persons belonging to the age group of 13 to 35 years and 'adolescent' would cover persons in the age group of 10-19 years under the scheme. The targeted beneficiaries of the programmes include members of the youth clubs affiliated to the Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan, National Service Scheme, and State Government Youth Organisations, Bharat Scouts & Guides or student youth in Schools, Colleges and Universities. The policy aimed at the over all development of the young people.

Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG)

The Ministry of Women and Child Development, Government of India, in 2000 came up with scheme called "Kishori Shakti Yojna"(KSY) using the infrastructure of Integrated Child Development Services (ICDS). The objectives of the Scheme were to improve the nutritional and health status of girls in the age group of 11-18 years as well as to equip them to improve and upgrade their home-based and vocational skills; and to promote their overall development including awareness about their health,

personal hygiene, nutrition, family welfare and management. Thereafter, Nutrition Programme for Adolescent Girls (NPAG) was initiated as a pilot project in 2002-03 in 51 identified districts across the country to address the problem of under-nutrition among adolescent girls.

The above two schemes have influenced the lives of adolescent girls (AGs) to some extent, but have not shown the desired impact. Moreover, the above two schemes had limited financial assistance, their coverage besides having similar interventions catered to more or less the same target groups. A new comprehensive scheme with richer content was developed merging the two schemes to address the multi-dimensional problems. This Scheme was called Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG) or 'SABLA'. RGSEAG replaced KSY and NPAG in 200 selected districts. Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls - SABLA – is implemented using the platform of the ICDS Scheme through Anganwadi Centres (AWCs). Among the many objectives of this scheme, the one which is relevant here is the vocational training given to adolescent girls which is linked to similar programme objectives of NSDP. SABLA has benefitted around 47 lakh adolescent girls [Social and Development News in India, 201 2].

Employment Generation Initiatives

In the 1990s Self-Employment Scheme for Educated Unemployed Youth (SEEUY) was designed to provide support to the educated unemployed youths in setting up self-employment ventures under any of permissible industry, service sector or business trades. This scheme has mainly targeted school/college dropouts. [MSME, 2013]. Follow up and evaluation studies show that the scheme has reduced poverty but not unemployment. More than 70 per cent of the units that were opened under the SEEUY schemes became sick and the scheme had to be closed down [Singh Baldev 1996].

The Prime Minister's Rozgar Yojana (PMRY) was launched on 2nd October 1993 on the birth anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. Initially the scheme was aimed at providing self-employment to one million educated unemployed youth in the country by setting up 7 lakh micro enterprises through inducting service and business ventures over a period of 2 ½ years. The target of the Yojana for 2007-08 was setting up 2.75 lakh units thus generating an estimated 4.125 lakh additional employment opportunities. A study by MSME in 2010 shows that employment generation was higher in the first round at 2.5 per unit. In the second and third rounds, it was only around 1.95 per functioning unit. It was also found that the rural beneficiaries also came down. According to the findings of the evaluation studies of PMRY, the ratio of applications received to the targets was low owing to inadequate publicity of the scheme. [MSME, 2010].

State Policies

India's diversity means that a single policy may not be operable across the country. This is especially true in the case of policies that deal with human resources. In the case of youth policies, the challenges that youth face in each state are very different requiring a range of strategies. Some states like Chandigarh, Delhi, Sikkim, Nagaland, Goa, union territories like Daman and Diu, Dadra Haveli, Andaman and Nicobar Islands are states with high youth proportions, that is, with more than 45per cent of young

Table 1: States with high youth population

State	Total population	Youth population	Proportion of Youth Population (as a proportion of total population)
Chandigarh	900635	425099	47.19
Delhi	13850507	6398304	46.19
Sikkim	540851	244467	45.2
Nagaland	1990036	909099	45.68
Daman & Diu	158204	85366	53.95
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	220490	103971	47.15
Goa	1347668	612451	45.44
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	356152	167600	47.05

Source: Census 2001

population [Table 1]. States like Bihar, Nagaland, West Bengal, and Andhra Pradesh have more than 23 per cent of their youth as illiterates. Union territories like Daman and Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli also have 25 and 28 percent of illiterate youth [Table 2].

Table 3 shows that unemployment rate among educated youth in Goa, Assam, Bihar, Nagaland, Orissa is high. However, these states, strangely, do not have youth policies.

There appears to be no single definition of what 'youth' constitutes. The age group of youth ranges from 10-35 years to 13 – 30 years. Some include even those as young as 10 years in the purview of policies [Table 4]. Some others have taken 13, 15 and 16 as their minimum age for youth. The National Youth Policy takes the age group as

Table 2: States and Union Territories (UTs) with illiterate youth

| State/UT | Illiterate Youth | | | | | Total Illiterate |
| | Percentage to Total Population of the Age-group | | | | | All Ages |
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	15-34	%
Bihar	23.54	24.71	25.56	26.19	23.34	11.09
Nagaland	29.69	27.53	23.71	19.07	23.72	0.18
West Bengal	20.52	23.58	28.03	27.87	23.4	7.05
Daman & Diu	18.12	29.68	27.99	24.22	24.96	0.01
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	20.66	27.23	27.38	24.73	27.74	0.02
Andhra Pradesh	19.05	23.25	29.29	28.42	24.96	7.75

Source: Census 2001

Table 3: Unemployment rate among educated youth

| State/Union Territory | Proportion of Unemployed Urban Youth |
	Urban
Andhra Pradesh	6.9
Assam	14.1
Bihar	13.2
Goa	25.1
Himachal Pradesh	9.6
Jammu & Kashmir	7.6
Manipur	11
Mizoram	6.2
Nagaland	14.3
Orissa	15.3
Sikkim	12.1
Tamil Nadu	6.6
Tripura	7.8
Uttar Pradesh	7.3
West Bengal	11.2
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	12
Chandigarh	6.3
Lakshadweep	13.4
Pondicherry	7.1

Source: NSSO 1999-2000

13-35. None of these definitions of youth are grounded more in convenience than in facts. There is for instance no reason why a 10 year old should not be treated as a youth, just the same as a 15 year old. It would obviously be more efficient for all states to use the same definition of youth so that it might match the national definition of youth.

Since there has been no mandate from the centre to the states to evolve a youth policy, each has followed different processes for the evolution of policy. In doing so some

Table 4: Age group and states

States	Age group
Jharkhand	10 - 35
Haryana	13-35
Maharashtra	13-35
Meghalaya	13-30
Karnataka	16-30
Kerala	10-35

Source: Respective state policies

have provided for the larges interactions among youth, others have adopted the top down approach.

What follows is a brief note on how these state policies have evolved and highlights of the policy. It is noteworthy that many of these initiatives have come from youth groups or other civil society organizations working on youth issues.

Maharashtra State Youth Policy

Maharashtra is one of the most industrialized and urbanized states in the country. It also has the largest slum population. It has a large youth, mobile youth population that is generally educated.

The Navmaharashtra Yuva Abhiyan, Mumbai that has been working with youth of Maharashtra for last 20 years initiated early discussion on a specific policy for youth in the state. The Abhiyan put out a primary draft of youth policy for public discussion that elicited wide-ranging comment. Over 30 experts then prepared a draft. This draft was discussed in 22 workshops held across the state. In this process, 3,000 youth have expressed their views. Telephone, mobile, Internet, post and courier were also the important mediums used to connect to youth from remote places. According to Supriya Sule, a core team of 10 people, working in the field of youth development and research with experience of working with youth, have compiled all these to form a holistic working draft of the state youth policy. Youth from diverse communities were

contacted. The process went beyond having direct contact with youth. Many youth organizations, NGOs, Youth groups studied the draft carefully and forwarded their comments to Navmaharshtra Yuva Abhiyan. The

team of youth had meeting with 110 MLAs about the first draft and positive responses of MLAs from all parties; especially young MLAs motivated the youth team. The state government has taken proactive steps in the direction by starting discussions at the Secretary level and forming a committee to further develop the structure of Youth Policy.

The Maharashtra State Youth Policy recognizes youth as a distinct phase requiring special attention. Some of the highlights of the state policy are to create a separate department for youth affairs, map youth mobility in and out of the state, and the passing of legislation to protect youth from all forms of abuse at work places.

Kerala Youth Policy

Kerala has very high unemployment rates. In addition, it has the highest literacy rates. A secondary effect of migration is that educated youth are unwilling to take up low paid jobs or those meant for the unskilled.

The Kerala State Youth Welfare Board organized the Kerala Youth Forum in 2008 where it was decided to begin work on formulating a state youth policy [The Hindu 2008]. The draft youth policy was published on the Board website and others and 16 discussion workshops were organized by youth forums where over 1500 stakeholders participated. The draft has been prepared as per the discussions and debates with the leaders and organizations working in this field [Sivaram R Krishnan, 2008].

Among other things, the policy calls for ensuring quality and social justice in higher education sector, checking unemployment by encouraging entrepreneurs. It lays great emphasis on involving the youth in conservation of the environment. The policy gives priority to young women, unemployed youth, those who did not get school education. This policy gives emphasis to giving statutory powers to the State Youth Welfare Board, constituting

Youth Commission and earmarking budgetary amount to youth welfare in each government department.

Karnataka Youth Policy

Karnataka has a youth population of 1.86 crore (34.6 per

cent of total population, age 15-30). By 2020, a majority of the working population of Karnataka will be the Youth. Close to one-fourth of the youth, population remains illiterate two-thirds of this group being women. Almost half the youth population is not able to access education beyond the tenth standard.

The Karnataka Knowledge Commission conducted a study on 'Perceptions, Aspirations, Expectations and Attitudes of the Youth of Karnataka', which throws light on how youth perceive family, society, economy and governance.

This was the first study of its kind by the government on youth and which was systematically conducted systematically on a large scale (9000 sample youth).

The main outcome of the study was that young people in the state share the vision for Karnataka to be in the forefront of creating a "knowledge society". One of the main recommendations of the study was that a youth policy needs to be evolved for the state.

The Karnataka Youth Policy was evolved after consulting youth from different segments and organizations working with youth. Responses were collected from social media networking sites. To motivate youth to contribute to the policy, a direct message from the Chief Minister of Karnataka, a sound byte was played on mobiles. This had a huge response.

The Draft Youth Policy was submitted to the Steering Committee on August 7, 2012. This policy has given importance to skill development and ICT. Other recommendations include the setting up of learning academies and talent development centers in ICT and Electronics System Design Manufacturing (ESDM) areas across the state to train thousands of youth in developing skills required by the sector.

Jharkhand State Youth Policy

Jharkhand is a relatively young state with a relatively small youth population. Illiteracy is high. The need for 'initiating the process of State Youth Policy Formulation' led to a first meeting with the Population Foundation India (PFI)

that took place on 21 April 2006 in the state capital, Ranchi. Apart from members of the PFI, the state invited other (non-state) 'key stakeholders' to 'ensure an inclusive policy' (Jharkhand Youth Policy Formulation 2006). Preliminary consultative meeting were held to identify the 'key areas to be addressed in the policy'. In this sub-groups of experts/ institutions were identified and enlisted, 'to prepare status papers on the identified areas which were taken as inputs for a larger and definitive consultation on the Youth Policy'. The final meeting took place on 30 July 2007, when the Youth Department disseminated its Draft Jharkhand Youth Policy in Hindi and English.

The Jharkhand government decided to set up a Youth Commission, which was empowered to prepare youth policy and ensure their all round development is achieved in best possible way. According to the Cabinet Secretary Amarendra Pratap Singh the Commission would comprise a Chairman and two members who should be residents of Jharkhand. The tenure of each member would be of three years and none of them would be over 40 years old. The Youth Commission would be on the lines of the National Commission for Backward Castes.

The Jharkhand State Youth Commission (JSYC) was constituted on January 8, 2013 by the State department of art, culture, sports and youth affairs.

Draft Haryana Youth Policy 2012

The principal constituents of the policy are: Preamble, mission statement, objectives, action plans, implementation and evaluation and review. The idea is to factor in youthfulness of state's population in affairs of governance and set priorities that accords issues concerning youth importance they deserve. The policy will be finalized after taking into consideration opinions of the young people of the state. This website is the interactive forum. Social media and networking sites are used for the getting opinion from the youth. The policy includes assurances that the concerns of youth would be taken into account in all areas of Government policy and decision-making.

Odhisa Youth Policy

Odhisa has a very high youth population. More than 40 per cent of the population is youth [Orissa State Youth Policy, Frame work, 2013]. It means that 1.6 crore are in the age group of 15-35. The state had formulated a youth policy in 2003. The youth policy 2012, aims to take into consideration the changing the scenario of the state due to globalization and technological advancement. The policy is on Facebook and youth are being encouraged to engage in a discussion on the policy on Facebook, by email, Solution Exchange etc. They have also been urged to send comments by post card, etc.

The policy has given considerable stress on higher education, which it believes should lead to entrepreneurship. A particular mention is made about imparting soft skills to young people to be fit for the growing service sector jobs. To provide employment to all the young people in the state, the policy plans to open employment offices and skill development centres, especially for migrants. Youth will be encouraged to be entrepreneurs and a resource center at the block level for business opportunity guidance and handholding the first generation entrepreneurs is envisaged.

Policy Recommendations

- The evolution of the youth development index is imperative. This will not only enable the monitoring of various programmes and their impact but also throw up new directions for youth involvement in development.

- Each state needs to develop and put into action a youth policy. These will address the state-specific challenges to youth development.

- Such policies are even more necessary in states with lower proportions of youth since it is here that youth issues are most neglected.

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CHAPTER 6

Youth Rights, Law and Governance

Asha Bajpai

In Brief

- There are many laws that impact on youth. However, youth participation and perspective is lacking in the laws and policies relating to them. There is lack of awareness and a failure in implementing the laws and policies relating to youth, in letter and spirit.

- All policies of any Government are ultimately interrelated with one another and with the constitutional rights, duties and directives. Convergence between various legislations is necessary.

- India's resurgence potential as an economic and a socially responsible power rests on the Indian youth who must be aware of their rights, laws and policies and help in implementing them. They must become agents of law reform campaigns and movements for social change.

The Indian Constitution, which is the basic legal document, has certain articles with the primary objective of safeguarding the basic rights of youth. Some of these safeguards and guarantees are built into the Fundamental Rights and directive principles of State Policy.[1] Several of these relate to youth as do a number of laws, policies, rules, schemes and regulations.

There are special provisions in the Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code in relation to the juvenile offenders providing for their special treatment. The age of criminal responsibility is seven years (Indian Penal Code, 1860, Section 82).

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[1] Article 14(equality), Article 15 (no discrimination), Article 15(3) (special provisions for women and children), Articles 39 (e) and (f) (childhood and youth to be protected) Article 21 (Right to life and liberty), Article 21A (right to education for all children between 6 to 14 years. Article 24 prohibiting employment of children below 14 in any hazardous occupation or industry.

In India, the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2000 (JJAct) deals with both children in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection aged 0 to 18.[2] The rapid growth of the information highway has also led to new forms of crime online - also termed as 'cybercrime'. The Indian government is considering a graded response to cyber crimes involving teens and first-time Internet offenders, under the Information Technology Act, 2000 (IT Act).

The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE), 2009, has raised hopes for the universalisation of primary education. Another issue of concern for the youth is the Foreign Universities Bill, the Private Universities Bill, the Educational Tribunals Bill, etc. It needs to be determined whether this expansion and foreign collaboration plan take into consideration the way in which it might prevent meritorious but poor students from accessing the benefits of elite foreign education even within their own country. A successful transition into the labour market is critical for the successful transition into adulthood. Right to employment is not a fundamental right in India but the NREGA law has put forth a model of creating employment. This paper deals with certain contemporary issues and concerns relating to youth and their legal rights and points out areas for law reform in the interest of youth.

Youth and Crime

Youth crime has always been an area of concern in society across the world and through history. Charles Dickens shocked readers with his description in Oliver Twist of the Artful dodger and trained gang of pickpockets. It got people thinking about youth perpetrated crimes. Nevertheless, the overall opinion was that punishment was needed. It is believed that anti-social behaviour among children and young people has reached a historic high. Newspapers constantly highlight serious crimes by youth. The following are some recent headlines relating to crime in which youth have been involved.

- Rave Party raids by police and consequences of arrests on youth.[3]

- Drink and Drive Offences by youth - Alistair Pereira,[4] Nooriya Haveliwala[5] case, Palm Beach Road Accident[6]

- Jessica Lal murder case – influence of alcohol, power and money.[7]

- Gopal Kanda- job, promotion, sexual assault [8]

- The vicious gang-rape of a 23-year-old Delhi physical therapy student — in which a 17-year-old boy is alleged to have taken part   has received global attention.[9]

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[2] Juvenile Justice Framework based on the overarching philosophy of child rights, addressing vulnerabilities of children, and rehabilitation of children below 18 years of age. There are two significant groups of vulnerable children: children in need of care and protection (CNCP) and children who allegedly commit crimes or offences (CICL). There are mandated separate and independent mechanisms and procedures to address their issues. Juvenile Justice Boards (JJBs) for CICL and Child Welfare Committees for CNCP.

[3] In the Rave Parties young men and women assemble in cottages and resort in the outskirts of the cities and indulge in consuming alcohol and taking injurious drugs.

[4] In Nov 2006, Alistair Pereira's Toyota Corolla runs over 15 laborers on Carter Road Mumbai leaving seven dead, eight injured.
[5] On January 30, 2010, Norcia, driving under the influence of alcohol and drugs, allegedly rammed her SUV into a police check post at Marine Lines in south Mumbai, killing a traffic policeman and a motorcyclist.

[6] Four youths were killed in the Nerul section of Palm Beach Road, Mumbai when their car hit a tree at high velocity. They were headed from a lounge bar.

[7] In April 1999, Jessica Lall was shot dead by Manu Sharma at a jam-packed Tamarind Court bar and restaurant in south Delhi in front of a clutch of witnesses.http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/Jessica+Lall+murder+case:+Timeline/1/93555.html.

[8] Geetika, 23, a former air hostess in the defunct MDLR airlines belonging to a Haryana Minister Kanda, had committed suicide on the intervening night of Aug 4-5, 2012 by hanging herself from a ceiling fan at her house. She had also left two suicide notes naming Kanda and Chaddha for harassing her and driving her to suicide. Charges of criminal intimidation and abetment to suicide were slapped on Kanda and Chaddha after Geetika's suicide.

[9] The **2012 Delhi Gang Rape Case** involves a rape and murder that occurred on 16 December 2012 in Munirka, a neighbourhood located in the southern part of New Delhi, when a 23-year-old female physiotherapy intern[2] was beaten and gang raped in a bus in which she was travelling with her male companion. There were only six others in the bus, including the driver, all of whom raped the woman. The woman died from her injuries thirteen days later while undergoing emergency treatment in Singapore

In India, youth below 18 years of age are dealt with under the Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act 2000.[10] All above 18 years are dealt under the adult Penal system, that is, the India Penal Code, the Criminal Procedure Code the Indian Evidence Act.

There are far more liberal provisions for young offenders than those applicable under the CrPC. A study in Maharashtra has revealed that the majority of the JICL are between 16 and 18 years. The predominant offence charge was related to 'theft', followed by 'assault'. Juveniles in conflict with law were largely from low income working families. They are generally single earning members, having a family size of between five and seven members, holding skilled or semi skilled jobs, school *drop out* of juvenile [Mukundan 2008].

It is no more of the boring saas-bahu sagas. Youngsters are now getting hooked to action-packed serials and movies filled with suspense and crime thriller serials which showcase anger, jealousy, greed, revenge, peer pressure, etc. This together with, poverty, illiteracy, crisis in the family, and environment, informal settlement slums, poor quality education and persistent unemployment have helped prompt a rise in juvenile crime., Juvenile delinquency under both IPC and special laws (SLL) has increased by 10.5 per cent and 10.9 per cent, respectively during the year 2011 over 2010. Nearly 64 per cent of juveniles apprehended under IPC were in the age group of 16-18 years during 2011 [NCRBB 2011]. Juvenile crime rose by 40 per cent between 2001 and 2010, according to India's National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB). The spike in violence and crimes against women by young offenders has been even more dramatic. Rapes by juveniles have more than doubled in the same period, murder is up by a third and kidnappings of women and girls have grown nearly five times [NRCB 2011]. The increase in violence and crimes against women by young offenders has been even more dramatic. The grim picture

is a reflection of the failure of juvenile justice system to reform and rehabilitate JICL.

The recent serious crime figures and the gang-rape in New Delhi in which a 17-year-old boy is alleged to have taken part, drew global attention to India's rising juvenile crime rates. A furious campaign is now underway to allow Indian courts to try young offenders as adults and to give trial judges the discretion to try juveniles as adults, or to define youths over 16 years old as adults when it comes to serious crimes. Supreme Court has recently admitted a plea arguing that the mental age rather than physical age of the juvenile suspect in the gang rape case should be used to determine whether or not to try him as an adult gang rape case should be used to determine whether or not to try him as an adult. This is a knee jerk reaction that contravenes the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which sets the age at 18 and which India has ratified. Besides, a single case of aberration cannot prompt changes in law. Research shows that stricter punishment fails to deter youth crime in general or reduce the likelihood that juveniles sentenced as adults will commit crimes in the future. They are worse when they come out of adult prison.

Every JICL is a child who needs care and protection. Many Juvenile Justice Boards regard juveniles as children in need of care and protection and send them for counseling, vocational training and rehabilitation. Many JJBs and CWCs as in Mumbai and Delhi have worked successfully in this initiative. There have been some attempts innovative interventions by the Juvenile Justice Boards in some states to deal with JICL. This is a unique order to most JJ system. [11]

There is a thin line between juveniles in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection. All juveniles in conflict with law are actually children in need of care and protection. The following case study reflects that almost

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[10] The Juvenile Justice system in India is based on the principle of promotion, protecting and safeguarding the rights of children up to age 18 years. The Juvenile Justice Act has been broadly divided into three parts (1) Juvenile in conflict with law (2) Child in need of care and protection, (3) Rehabilitation and social reintegration. There are three institutions that come under Juvenile in conflict with law. They are Juvenile Justice Board (JJB), Observation Homes and the Special Homes. The basic aim of the Act is to adopt a child-friendly approach in the settlement and disposition of matter in the best interest of children and arrange ways for their ultimate rehabilitation through various established institution under this Acts.

[11] Tthe Board shall transfer to the Committee, matters concerning juveniles clearly stated to be in need of care and protection in the police report submitted to the Board at the time of production of the juvenile; Rule 13 JJAct 2000

all children in conflict with law are children in need of care and protection and need rehabilitation.

Case Study

In this case, all the four juveniles were charged for rape under section 376 of IPC. All of them were studying and staying at a school in Mumbai. All of them distinctively agreed that they had raped the juvenile girl who was seven years old. The four juveniles also shared and revealed certain important details about the behavior of the staff working in the institution there. They particularly spoke about a tutor whom they had seen misbehaving with female staffs and fooling around with them. They said one of the staff telecasted blue films in English. Both of them are care takers.

The elder boys in the boarding house taught smaller boys to have sex. If these kids did not do as they were told, they were beaten up. They also named other boys who normally indulged in sexual activities. They said it was a normal occurrence and several times such instances happened without the knowledge of the head of institution and they would all get away easily without any punishment. They also revealed names of other juvenile girls abused in the past. They used words like sex, rape, sperms, etc very casually. They also described their act very casually. They did not know the gravity of each word, but used each word as though it was part of their daily colloquial language. They also very casually said that they would end up suffering from AIDS if they indulged in such activities.

It is also important to state that these children are also victims of abuse by bigger boys and are now circumstantial juveniles in conflict with law (JICL). They themselves are victims of sexual abuse and they in turn victimized some other child. Hence, long term counselling along with education was required. The JJB wanted to change the environment of children and also help them forget the abuse they have gone through. It regarded them as victims of sexual abuse who in turn victimised some other child. They were convicted but the order included long term counselling along with education. They were sent for rehabilitation and the case was followed up through regular quarterly reports about the welfare/status of the boys. These children have come on holidays and gone back again to the institution for studies. They are doing well in studies, sports and at times committed petty theft like stealing mobile but have said sorry and returned back to their normal lives. There has been a drastic change in behaviour.

In many cases children in conflict with law are actually children in need of care and protection, who have been denied their right to education, care, health, shelter, care and protection for some reason. The lack of education is an important factor with over 55 per cent juvenile criminals being illiterate or with limited to primary education [NCRB 2011]. The role of education is very important in reducing vulnerabilities.

There is a need for the Juvenile Justice system to be reviewed as child neglect and delinquency are linked with the larger societal issues of neglect and marginalisation of children and later to youth crimes. They must link with NGOs and academic institutions for rehabilitation. A Juvenile Procedure Code must be developed as the Criminal Procedure Code, which is now in operation, is and adult code and the CrPC ideology is punitive whereas JJA is rehabilitation.

The Right to Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act (RTE), 2009 provides for free and compulsory education to all children aged 6 to 14 years. All JICL have a right to education. This legislation also envisages that 25 per cent of seats in every private school should be allocated for children from disadvantaged groups including differently able children. Education schemes must be extended to institutions of JICL. Training should be market oriented. It is necessary to provide good quality education to both CNCP and CICL . Probation orders should be more than merely pro forma monthly status checks, and could be used more creatively to engage children in structured activities.

Age of consent and marriage

The age of consent, also known as the 'age of protection', refers to the age at which a young person can legally consent to sexual activity. All sexual activity without consent, regardless of age, is a criminal offence in India.

Recently India passed the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 (POCSO)[12] which is a special law for protection of children from sexual abuse and exploitation[13] that included a controversial provision setting the age of sexual consent at 18. It is largely recognized that a girl is capable of giving consent to sexual relations at the age of 16. Raising it to 18, however, will only enable more parents to bring charges of rape when they disapprove of the person, with whom sex has taken place, making it a matter of "honor" for the family.

This law does not address marital rape,[14] rape committed by the armed forces or rape against men. Reformers argue that the law, which was passed in a hurried response to public anger over the fatal mid-December rape of a 23-year old physiotherapy student, should set the age at 16 to prevent wrongful arrests in a changing society. The higher age opens the way for abuses in a society where parents frequently file rape and kidnapping charges against boys who have consensual sex with their daughters, often leading to jail time for the boys or quickly arranged marriages for the girls to 'protect their honor'. However, conservatives prevailed as they were concerned that a lower age would encourage premarital sex and undermine Indian morality. Almost half, 47 per cent of Indian women marry younger than 18, according to a 2012 UN report, more frequently than in Afghanistan or Sudan. However, in spite of this marital rape has still not been recognized. Marriage must not be an agreement that gives the husband the right to make his wife willfully bow to his need and desire.

The deciding the age of marriage is generally done on the basis of the right to health, to avoid early pregnancies, to ensure a degree of maturity at the age of marriage and the ability to protect oneself against exploitation and rape within marriage or marital rape which is not an offence in India. Personal laws are religion based. In India, there is often a disconnect between law and practice. The legal marriage age is 21 for men and 18 for women. But, the age of Marriage under the Muslim Law is still based on the age of puberty. Caste and religion seem to be the considering factors for deciding the marriageable age of a woman, rather than her constitutional right to self-determination (See Indira Jaising).

A Delhi High Court ruling recently upheld the marriage of a 15-year-old Muslim girl, is an example of religious considerations influencing court judgments. Another example of gender insensitivity is the newly enacted Compulsory Registration of Marriages Act, 2009 that requires the consent of the parents to register a marriage, if the girl is below 21 years of age. This means that though a girl may marry without parental consent after 18, she will not be able to register the marriage until she reaches the age of 21. The object here perhaps is to prevent inter-caste marriages and give parents an opportunity to oppose the marriage when a girl marries outside of caste (Indira Jaising, at http://feministsindia.com/women-married-to-personal-laws). The Rajasthan High Court also issued a judgment that Arya Samaj marriages could not take place without parental consent.[15]

We need to recognise marital rape. We also need to alter

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[12] The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Bill, 2011 which was passed in the Rajya Sabha on 10 May 2012 and in the Lok Sabha on 22 May 2012 received the assent of the President of India on 20 June 2012. It is now known as the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 and is the law of the land. This is a piece of landmark legislation. For the first time a special law has been passed to address the issue of sexual violence against children. It seeks to protect all children below the age of 18 from sexual assault, sexual harassment and pornography. These offences are clearly defined for the first time in Indian penal law. The Act provides for stringent punishment to the offenders. Aggravated Penetrative Sexual Assault, for example, carries an imprisonment of no less than 10 years, which can be extended to imprisonment for life. The Act has some remarkable positive features. It provides for the setting up of Special Juvenile Courts and appointment of Special Public Prosecutors for the speedy trial of the accused. The evidence of the child is to be recorded within 30 days and the trial to be completed, as far as possible, within a year. It provides a number of child friendly measures relating to reporting, recording of evidence, investigation and trial of offence.

[13] This is a gender neutral law. The offender could be male or female and the child could be male or female. Statutory age has been increased from 16 years to 18 years.

[14] Marital rape is a non-consensual act of coitus where the wife is subjugated to physical and sexual abuse in order to fulfill the carnal desire of a pervert husband. According to the UN reported statistics, around two-thirds of the women population in India between the ages of 15 to 50 has endured the pains of getting beaten up, raped or physically abused by male members of the family.

[15] Arya Samaj is a Hindu reform movement founded by Swami Dayananda on 7 April 1875 He was a sannyasi who believed in the infallible authority of the Vedas. The movement did not believe inn caste hierarchies.

our laws relating to "kidnapping from lawful guardianship" which enable parents to file complaints of kidnapping when a daughter marries outside the caste, while they do not object to getting 15-year-olds married within caste(Flavia Agnes at

http ://feministsindia.com/women-married-to-personal-laws).

Definition of adolescent/child in Indian laws

India has ratified the U.N Convention on Child Rights in 1991 and also amended the Juvenile Justice Act, 2000 in order to match the definition of child as a person under the age of eighteen. However, not all the other laws have been so amended. As a result, in Indian law the definition of an adolescent varies with the particular legislation.

The Child Labour Prohibition Act, 1986 defines child as the person who has not completed fourteen years of age.

The Minimum Wages Act, 1948, defines a child as the person who has not completed fourteen years of age; and adolescent means a person who has completed his fourteenth year of age but has not completed his eighteenth year.

The Factories Act, 1948 defines a child as the person who has not completed his fifteenth year of age; and adolescent means a person who has completed his fifteenth year of age but has not completed his eighteenth year.

The Juvenile Justice Act, 2000 has no definition of adolescents. Children are below 18 years.

The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929 sets the minimum age of marriage at 21 for boys and 18 for girls.

One of the most important ingredients of the 1983 amendment to the criminal laws after the Mathura rape case was the clause regarding minimum punishment of 10 years in cases of custodial rape and child rape. But in many cases, the courts have shown leniency to the youth offenders and reduced their sentences. A study of rape law sentencing in the 1970s and 1980s revealed that in many cases the judiciary viewed rape as an offence of

man's uncontrollable lust rather than as an act of sexual violence against women.

The Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill, 2013 was passed by the Lok Sabha on 19 March 2013, and by the Rajya Sabha on 21 March 2013. It provides for amendment of Indian Penal Code, Indian Evidence Act, and Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 on laws related to sexual offences. It also makes stalking, voyeurism, acid attacks and forcibly disrobing a woman explicit crimes for the first time, provides capital punishment for rapes leading to death and raises to 20 years from 10 the minimum sentence for gang rape and rapes committed by a police officer. Certain changes has been introduced in the CrPC and Evidence Act, like the recording of statement of the victim, more friendly and easy, provision of interpreters etc.

Youth and Employment Laws

The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, NREGA[16] provides a legal guarantee for 100 days of employment in every financial year to adult members of any rural household willing to do public work related unskilled manual work at the statutory minimum wage. This model of rural growth   includes principles of Inclusive Growth, right to work and a rational centre-state relationship immaterial of the ruling party. This act was introduced with an aim of improving the purchasing power to the rural people, primarily semi or un-skilled work to people living below poverty line in rural India. Roughly, one-third of the stipulated work force must be women. The work undertaken under NREGA includes watershed management and water NREGA was expected to help the rural youth to get employment. But the scheme must include appropriate jobs like teaching and other white collar jobs for educated unemployed youth and extend to urban areas as well.

Djankov and Ramalho (2009) have reviewed a number of labour studies on developing countries including India. They find, that countries with rigid employment laws have larger informal/unorganized sectors and higher

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[16] NREGA is an Indian legislation enacted on August 25, 2005 and it came into force on February 6, 2006, now covers all of rural India. It is also known as National Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS).

unemployment, especially among young workers. They also report the rigid, inflexible labour laws are strongly related to low per capita income [Poschke 2009].[17] India is considered to be highly regulated and most rigid labour law countries in the world [Economist 2007]. Rigid labour laws in India have been criticised as the cause of low employment growth, large unorganized sector, underground economy, use of casual labor and low per capita income [Djankov and Ramalho 2009]. There is a need for law reform for labor flexibility in India.

The Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Bill, 2007

The Maternity Benefit (Amendment) Bill, 2007 was introduced in the Rajya Sabha on May 14, 2007. It was referred to the Standing Committee of labour on May 17, 2007, which then submitted its report on August 16, 2007.

The bill seeks to amend the Maternity Benefit Act, 1961. The Principal Act regulates the maternity benefits available to women in factories, mines, the circus industry, plantations and shops or establishments employing 10 or more persons. It does not cover employees who are covered under the Employees' State Insurance (ESI) for certain periods before and after child-birth. Women are entitled to maternity benefit are also entitled to receive a medical bonus of Rs 250 from their employer, if no pre-natal confinement and post-natal care is provided by the employer free of charge. The Bill raises the amount of maternity bonus from Rs 250 to Rs 1000 from the employer, unless pre-natal confinement and post-natal care is provided for by the employer free of charge.

Sexual harassment is a serious problem experienced by working women at workplaces, streets, public transport. Efforts to deal effectively with them have a long history, starting with the Visakha case judgment of the Supreme Court in 1997, which laid down some guidelines. But legislation was needed for the best results and a number of women's organisations and others have worked for this. The law has now seen the light of the day.

The new **Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Bill, 2012** is a welcome step. [18]The bill is comprehensive in its definition of working women, the place of work and the nature of types of harassment, which will attract the provisions of the law. The Bill was passed by the Rajya Sabha on 26 February 2013. Lok Sabha had passed it in September 2012.

Sexual Harassment at workplace is a violation of women's right to gender equality, life and liberty. It creates an insecure and hostile work environment, which discourages women's participation in work, thereby adversely affecting their economic empowerment and the goal of inclusive growth. However, there is no domestic law to address this issue except a few provisions of the Indian Penal Code and the Supreme Court Guidelines that were formulated in the case of Vishaka vs. State of Rajasthan. This Act is a comprehensive legislation focusing on prevention of sexual harassment as well as providing a redressed mechanism be enacted.

The legislation is welcome as a well-intentioned measure to protect women. Uninvited and adverse attention affects the self-respect and dignity of women. They run counter to the principles of gender equality and fairness. There are many women who have had to leave their jobs, work or education because of the harassment they had to face. The law should give all women a sense of safety and protection away from their homes. What is needed is that the enforcement of this law must be done in letter and spirit. There must be large scale awareness created for this law. The women in the unorganized sector must be made aware through mass media and through their micro credit forums and unions.

Youth and Alcohol Consumption Law : The legal drinking ages in India vary between 18-25 years. In India, people are considered mature enough to drive and vote when they turn 18, but the legal drinking age largely varies from state to state. In western state of Maharashtra, a person is legally considered as eligible for having hard core drinks like vodka, rum and whisky until he turns 25,

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[17]MARKUS POSCHKE . "Employment Protection, Firm Selection, and Growth". Journal of Monetary Economics 56 (8): 1074–1085, 2009.

[18]The Lok Sabha had already passed the bill and with the Rajya Sabha's approval and it is now ready for implementation.

whereas he can start with beer at 18. However, the minimum drinking age in Indian states of Haryana and Meghalaya are also the same. In West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, you can are eligible to buy a drink at the age of 21. In Goa, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh and Karnataka, you are eligible to buy a drink at 18 years. This diversity in alcohol laws are largely based on the cultural landscape of the land.

Suicides and Youth

Suicide rates are sharply rising in India, particularly among the educated young, amid a general lack of available mental health facilities. According to a study published by the British Medical Journal *Lancet*, suicide now ranks as the second leading cause of death among Indian youth ([19] Suicide kills nearly as many Indian men aged 15-29 as transportation accidents and nearly as (http://www.ibtimes.com/suicide-rate-soaring-among-indias-young-well-educated-703928 accessed on March 27) many young women as complications from pregnancy and childbirth.

The report also noted that suicide rates are higher among well-educated youth, particularly in the affluent southern states that have undergone a dramatic technological boom in recent years. Young educated Indians from the richer [Southern] states is killing themselves in numbers that are almost the highest in the world. The study reported:

It has to do something with social change, the rapidity of social change and its potential impact on educated young people. Indian women kill themselves at a rate three times higher than in wealthy western countries, particularly married women. ... This is consistent with other research from India that marriage is also a risk factor for depression, which is of course the commonest mental illness associated with suicide.

According to the study, the most plausible explanation is that for many women marriage is not out of choice and they find themselves trapped in very difficult and stressful social circumstance, and, of course, there is the huge issue of domestic violence.

In our country, attempt to suicide is an offence punishable under section 309 of the Indian Penal Code. [20] Article 21 of the Constitution of India enjoins that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. A Division Bench of the Supreme Court in P. Rathinam v.Union of India held that the right to live of which Article 21 speaks of can be said to bring in its trail the right not to live a forced life, and therefore, section 309 violates Article 21 (AIR 1994 SC 1844).

This decision was, however, subsequently overruled in Gian Kaur v. State of Punjab by a Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court, holding that Article 21 cannot be construed to include within it the 'right to die' as a part of the fundamental right guaranteed therein, and therefore, it cannot be said that section 309 is violative of Article 21(AIR 1996 SC 946).

The Law Commission had undertaken revision of the Indian Penal Code as part of its function of revising Central Acts of general application and importance. In its 42nd Report submitted in 1971, the Commission recommended, the repeal of section 309. The Indian Penal Code (Amendment) Bill, 1978, as passed by the Rajya Sabha, accordingly provided for omission of section 309. Unfortunately, before it could be passed by the Lok Sabha, the Lok Sabha was dissolved and the Bill lapsed. The Commission submitted its 156th Report in 1997 after the pronouncement of the judgement in Gian Kaur, recommending retention of section 309.

Section 309 must be repealed as an attempt to suicide may be regarded more as a manifestation of a diseased condition of mind deserving treatment and care rather than an offence to be visited with punishment. In view of the views expressed by the World Health Organization, the International Association for Suicide Prevention, France, decriminalisation of attempted suicide by all countries in Europe and North America, the opinion of the Indian

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[19] http://www.ibtimes.com/suicide-rate-soaring-among-indias-young-well-educated-703928 accessed on March 27 2013.

[20] Section 309 reads thus: Attempt to commit suicide. "Whoever attempts to commit suicide and does any act towards the commission of such offence, shall be punished with simple imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year or with fine, or with both."

Psychiatric Society, and others, it is recommended that the Government must repeal Section 309 IPC because young persons who attempt suicide because he or she is distressed needs emotional support and psychiatric help.

Conclusion

Youth participation and perspective is lacking in the laws and policies relating to them. There is lack of awareness and a failure in implementing the laws and policies relating to youth, in letter and spirit. All policies of any Government are ultimately interrelated with one another and with the constitutional rights, duties and directives .

This chapter advocates for linkages with various Ministries and Government Departments and also convergence between various legislations and further recommends that India's resurgence potential as an economic and a socially responsible power rests on the Indian youth who must be aware of their rights, laws and policies and help in implementing them and become agents of law reform campaigns and movements for social change to bring an end to scams, corruption, employment school drop-out.

made them unite for a cause. The youth, after many years, has taken a stand. The paper strongly advocates their involvement of youth in legal literacy and law reform campaigns. No movement can succeed without the active involvement and participation of the youths. Several measures involving innovative changes in enforcement, legal and judicial systems must be brought into effect. Without sufficient political backing, effective implementation, adequate budgets and robust enforcement, the laws and amendments could remain on the statute book without any impact .

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The 'Facebook' Girls

In November 2012 the police arrested a 21-year-old girl, for her 'Facebook' post questioning the total shutdown in the city for the funeral of Shiv Sena leader Bal Thackeray on her Facebook account. The post further asked, "When (was) the last time … anyone showed some respect or even a two minute silence for Shaheed Bhagat Singh and Azad, Sukhdev or any of the people because of whom we are free living Indians? Respect is earned, given and definitely not forced. Today, Mumbai shuts down due to fear, not due to respect." Her FB friend who had 'liked' the comment was also arrested. Soon however, in the face of public anger at the arrests and with the Supreme Court questioning the legality of the arrests, the state decided to drop the charges.

The 'Facebook' girls were charged under Section 295A of the Indian Penal Code, 1860, but after investigation, the police withdrew Section 295A and booked them under Section 505 (2) of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 and also Section 66A of the Information Technology Act.

Section 66A reads as follows:

Any person who sends, by means of a computer resource or a communication device,

● Any information that is grossly offensive or has menacing character; or ● Any information which he knows to be false, but for the purpose of causing annoyance, inconvenience, danger, obstruction, insult, injury, criminal intimidation, enmity, hatred, or ill-will, persistently makes by making use of such computer resource or a communication device.● Any electronic mail or electronic mail message for the purpose of causing annoyance or inconvenience or to deceive or to mislead the addressee or recipient about the origin of such messages shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years and with fine.

Sensitive to any sign of curtailing freedoms in the cyberspace the incident aroused young people to protest over what was seen as a misuse of Section 66A. A section of youth, particularly young women, however held that the Section also provided much needed protection against the misuse of technology to violate private space. In response to this ---and other cases of misuse ---, the government has modified rules under the controversial Section 66(A)

Section II

CHAPTER 7

In Search of Jobs and Education[1]
A Three-City Youth Survey

Padma Prakash
with Lakshmi Priya

In Brief

- Education is of paramount importance. Opportunities for skill development are desperately needed in all cities. The educated have the most access to resources.

- Access to the internet and technology appears to be more important in smaller emerging cities than in the larger ones. Public transportation is not a worry, perhaps because young people are tending to own cheaper vehicles.

- While cities are tolerant of migrant's biases in terms of language, region, gender and community are showing up. Cities are only moderately safe say young people.

- Availability of employment, a knowledge and research environment, presence of MNCs is what enables youth to prosper. But corruption combined with inefficient systems, poor governance negatively affect are factors that inhibit the job market.

From development of youth to youth-centred development to youth-led development is a long and bumpy road with dead end branches and insurmountable obstacles. The question that is emerging is how do we measure whether a given path of development is indeed youth friendly or youth centred? While programmes and policies specifically tailored for

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[1] The Survey team was led by Bino Paul and Ashutosh Murti. The field team comprised Trupti Shah (Vadodara), Pratibha Kamble (Latur), Anita Srinivasan and Abhijit Surya (Mumbai).

youth may be evaluated in terms of their outcomes and their 'target' reach, others cannot be so measured.

How youth friendly are our cities? Do young people believe that cities offer them the best set of structures and tools for acquiring a job, a livelihood and the opportunities for fulfilling their aspirations and in contributing to sustainable urban development? What does the prosperity of a city mean to youth? What do they see as the main drivers of urban growth? How do they perceive the opportunities available to them? These and other branching questions may well tell us what programme evaluations may not: how young perceive the urban world they inhabit, and what conditions do they believe are critical to their well-being? Such surveys combined with critical assessment of policies and programmes may assist in the evolution of youth-centred urban growth and development.

This chapter is based on the findings of a small sample three-city youth survey. The survey results are not likely to allow us to make valid assumptions on perceptions and opinions of a large population, but they act as good indicators that provide useful pointers that may allow us to discover information that may not have been available otherwise.

Most importantly, this youth survey is designed to provide a glimpse of how young people see the city, its infrastructure, its composition and its institutions. This bottoms-up approach is or should be the starting point for designing programmes and policies that are youth friendly. Such surveys, more extensively conducted with the participation of youth from the design of the survey to its analysis and interpretation of results should become de rigueur for all policy and programme development.

Youth in three cities Mumbai, Vadodara and Latur were canvassed for their perceptions and opinions on various issues relating to youth access to resources and the degree of youth friendliness.

The three cities were chosen largely for convenience because we happened to have young scholars who were willing to undertake these city surveys. However they do represent in some measure three different types of cities in India.

Mumbai (population 18,414,288) is the biggest metropolitan urban agglomeration in India. It has a shockingly poor sex ratio, the worst of the three cities, 861 Females for every 1000 Males. Mumbai is a middleclass city with a high migrant inflow that accounts for more than half the population of the city. Migrants flock to the city for work but also for education from the surrounding region as well as from distant places in India. It is also the financial capital; till recently an industrial city, and the home of the glamourous and glitzy Hindi filmworld and the entertainment industry. To a large section of the young it is the city of dreams.

Vadodara (population 1,817,191) is a city with a princely past ruled at one time by the more progressive rulers who invested in education and health. It is the third largest city in Gujarat and is situated in the middle of the most developing industrial belt from Vapi to Mahesana, known as 'The Golden Corridor' of Gujarat It is made up of some of the dirtiest and most polluting industries in the small scale and large influential corporates and megaindustries with global markets. The official death rate in the city has actually gone up over the decade. It houses one of India's older and once prestigious universities, and is suffering from policy neglect. Vadodara was in the thick of the Gujarat riots of 2002 that all but destroyed its social fabric. As part of a resilient Gujarat it is getting considerable attention.

Latur is a small city (population 625,458) with big ambitions. It is the headquarters of the district of the same name in northern Maharashtra bordering Karnataka. The city is growing rapidly with a current population density of 343 people per square km. Latur came into the limelight some years back as the region that was the home of toppers in school level public exams. It's a city in an area that was devastated by a major earthquake in September 1993 killing 8000 people and decimating

The Sample

  The sample of youth between the ages of 15 and 32 was drawn generally from three locales: the school/university; the workplace; the community. Of the total of 687 respondents, 307 were from Vadodara, 244 from Latur and 139 from Mumbai.

While the general instruction was to keep the sample evenly spread over what they saw as distinct groups, it turned out to be slightly higher numbers from the lower half of the age group (15 – 21) at 60 per cent.

Close to 43 per cent were from nuclear families. The majority of the sample hailed from households of 4 to 6 members. About 18 per cent of the fathers and 28 per cent of mothers had studied up to primary school level or less. Of this 13 per cent fathers and 14 per cent mothers were illiterate. But beyond primary education fathers and mothers education in the sample were more or less similar. Some 37 per cent of the fathers and 36 per cent of mothers had higher secondary education; 17 per cent of fathers and 14 per cent of mothers were

Figure 1: City-wise age distribution of sample
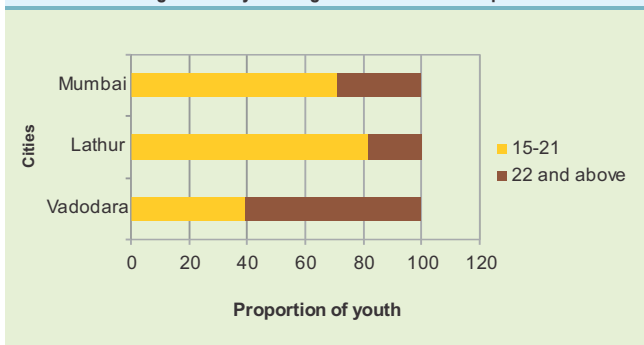
Figure 3: City-wise employment status of sample
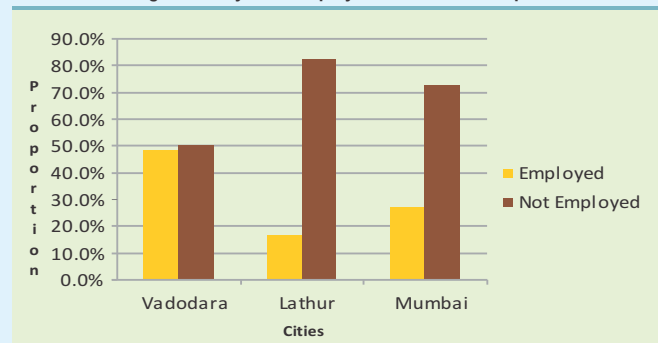
Figure 2: City-wise gender distribution
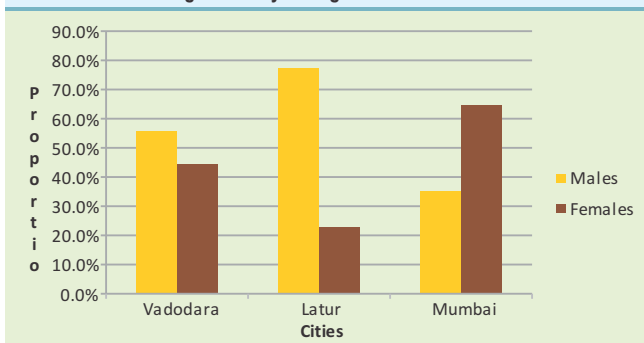
Figure 4: City-wise type of employment of sample
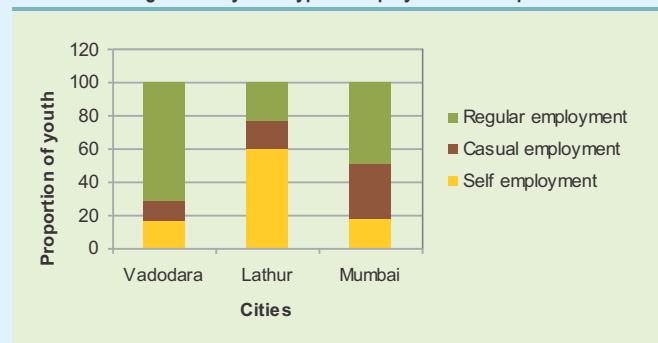
graduates. Only about 3 per cent of fathers had technical or vocational education and these numbers were miniscule in the case of women.

With regard to household employment status, about 6 per cent of the sample was self-employed in agriculture. Over 27 per cent were in regular employment and 14 per cent were self employed. The sample also had 6 per cent casual labourers.

Most, 78 per cent were Hindus, 9 per cent Muslims and 5 per cent Christians and a sprinkling of other religions. In terms of social groups 62 per cent were did not belong to OBC, SC or ST).

villages. The district and the city have seen a number of government assisted rehabilitation programmes that have become models in rehabilitation work.

The three cities although they are all situated in western India are dissimilar and yield a range of youth perceptions.

The survey was conceptualised, the tools designed with the full participation of the youthful survey team. They also tested the questionnaire that led to many changes they insisted upon.

Importance of Education

Education is of paramount importance. Across cities and across age groups, young people in Vadodara (30 per cent), Latur (52 per cent), Mumbai (49 per cent) feel that good quality of education is the most important element that contributes the achievement of a prosperous lifestyle.

If indeed education is an important element how do these cities fare in delivering education? Surprisingly only about 82 per cent of all respondents say that affordable opportunities for all in primary education is available to all. This should be an eye-opener given the country's huge thrust in this area. More than half the respondents feel that affordable university education is available to all. City-wise, 60 per cent of youth in Vadodara assert that university education is available to all including poor and marginalised communities. This is interesting because Vadodara has a long tradition of public education. While this structure may have deteriorated somewhat, there is still a perception that university education is available to all. The situation is a little different in Latur where more then 56 per cent of youth feel that the university education is not accessible to everybody in the city.

Nearly 70 per cent of the youth in Mumbai say that their city provides them opportunities to upgrade their skills. This is not true for the other cities. This perception needs to be checked against the opportunities available in these cities. If indeed programmes under the National Policy on Skill Development that aims to train 500 million people by 2022 in marketable skills are in place in these cities, then why is it that young people do not know about it? If on the other hand, there are no long term plans in these cities for expanding skill upgradation and skill acquisition opportunities, then there is an urgent need for doing so. In support of this perception, in response to a question elsewhere in the survey, young people also feel that the programmes to provide vocational education opportunities are important initiative that makes cities more equitable to youth.

Infrastructure and community life

Connectivity to and communication infrastructure are important factors to creating avenues for realising social aspirations. Is access to the internet a strong factor in feeling a sense of wellbeing and prosperity? In Mumbai this is not a significant factor. But in Latur access to the internet is an important factor (36 per cent). In larger cities like Mumbai where, in a sense, the world is at your doorstep the Net as a means of connecting to the world may not be important. But in a relatively small and growing city like Latur it is a major factor. This must also be read with the later finding that a miniscule 5 per cent of those employed among the respondents found their jobs through the internet.

Youth in general do not think that participation in community affairs contributes to a desirable lifestyle. This is even more evident in Mumbai where a large proportion of respondents assigned it a low place. While this data will not permit conclusions to be drawn, it is pointer to the individualising tendencies and a growing self-centredness typical in cities. Those who can access education and other urban resources, even if hailing from sections that did not hitherto have this access, are moving upward in society and may not believe that it is necessary for them to engage with their communities, be they their birth communities or their living or working space. The lack of a sense of community that this may indicate is not a desirable trend, both socially and politically, indicative of urban alienation.

Availability of public transportation does not appear to be

an important enough factor for achieving desirable lifestyles and prosperity, even in Mumbai that has a well-developed public transport system This needs to be seen in association with the expanding market for personal vehicles, especially two wheelers that are ubiquitous in cities like Vadodara and are making rapid inroads into the lifestyle of the young middle class Mumbaikars as well. This is not to say that the young do not use public transportation but may not quite see its lack as a cause for concern.

The questions on social support system and its importance in achieving prosperity appear to have floored the respondents. This may be because young people do not understand what is meant by social support systems or because they do not see any. Young people are not really certain if the city is creating social support systems for young people. A third of the respondents in Latur said that the city had indeed established social support structures. But an equal third said that this is not the case. More than half of the respondents in Mumbai said that the city had not put in place any social support systems for youth. The perception is more evident among the educated (80.4 per cent) and those from wealthy homes.

Discrimination and social inclusion

How accommodating are these cities to migrants? Both Mumbai and Vadodara are 'migrant cities' attracting migrants from the surrounding regions and from the rest of India both for education and for employment. Expectedly, more than 61 per cent of respondents in Vadodara and Mumbai assert that their cities are hospitable to migrant youth (61 per cent). This response is true for all classes and categories of youth in the two cities, whether educated or not.

Have cities initiated programmes to reduce social disparity and marginalisation (for instance poverty reduction programmes or social safety nets)? Do young people know about these initiatives? Overall the response was unremarkable. But large proportions of educated youth do believe that there are such programmes in the city.

Achieving social inclusion means that initiatives to reduce social, economic and religious discrimination should be in place. Do youth perceive discrimination of any kind---gender, religion, caste, mother tongue or place of origin? Overall caste and religious discrimination score relatively higher than even gender. Discrimination by religion is most evidently perceived in Vadodara and Mumbai. In part, this is not surprising. Vadodara was at the centre of communal violence a decade back disintegrating social norms and practices from which it is even now recovering. While things may have changed, it is not easy for young people not to perceive discrimination. However that this is so is an interesting and disturbing observation in Mumbai. Significantly, the issue of discrimination by religion came up in the earlier survey too, conducted in 2009 [see http://www.esocialsciences.org/Articles/showArticle.aspx?acat=Recent+Articles&aid=4573], and there were sharply divergent views on this. This is not a good sign in a high growth city that is already sees a wide economic and social gap.

A large proportion of respondents in Mumbai perceive gender and caste discrimination to be fairly common. Curiously a third of the respondents perceive discrimination on the basis of mother tongue and place of origin. Taken with the fact that respondents believe that the city is accommodating of migrants one can only see it to mean that while migrants are tolerated, they still face discrimination.

Urban safety and security

Overall 60 per cent of women and 51 per cent of men felt that a sense of security and an environment to work and live free of fear was an important contributor to a sense of prosperity. Surprisingly, respondents in Mumbai only felt that the city was only somewhat safe not entirely so. Respondents of Latur however were overwhelmingly

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[2]The listed factors include employment opportunities, laws and regulations, transport and mobility, policies and practices that promote participation of civil society, equal opportunities, access to basic services.

[3]Factors listed: committed leader, presence of institutions that perform efficiently, development of corporate culture, creation of a new policy to generate employment, presence of multinationals, technological and industrial development.

agreed on the fact that their city was safe.

However in all three cities work environment are perceived safe with more then 62 per cent of youth in Mumbai and Vadodara attesting to this. More women (59 per cent) than men reported work places to be safe. Similarly in all three cities men and women felt that educational institutions to be entirely safe.

Urban prosperity and youth employment

Urban prosperity is both a contributing and an enabling factor in youth wellbeing. A sustainable efficient city can accommodate the young providing them with opportunities to contribute to its growth and to their success in achieving their life goals. Policies and programmes need to be tailored around the needs of all and especially the young.

What factors[2] do youth perceive as contributing to creating an environment that enables youth prosperity?

The availability of employment is the number condition for achieving prosperity. However, 45 per cent also felt that a level playing field was important in providing equal opportunity for all. Young people do not appear to consider the role of policies and practices as important in the achievement of their life goals. It could be also that they do not understand the role of policies in the creation of an enabling environment.

When asked specifically what factors helped them find employment[3] respondents said placed a high value o technological and industrial development (47 percent). However, they also thought that the presence of MNCs and new policies to generate employment were also necessary to creating employment.

In order to gain a more realistic idea of how young people regarded the different factors that influence employment opportunities, they were asked to rate selected factors[4].

Interestingly, those in the age interval 15 - 21, place a higher value on knowledge and research for the creation

Figure 5: How did you find your present job?

- Advertisement
- State Emplt ex.
- Private agencies
- Famil/Relatives
- Personal contacts/friends
- Directly to the company
- Technology/internet /phone
- Others

10.90% 13%
5% 3.10%
14.50% 7.80%
29% 15.50%
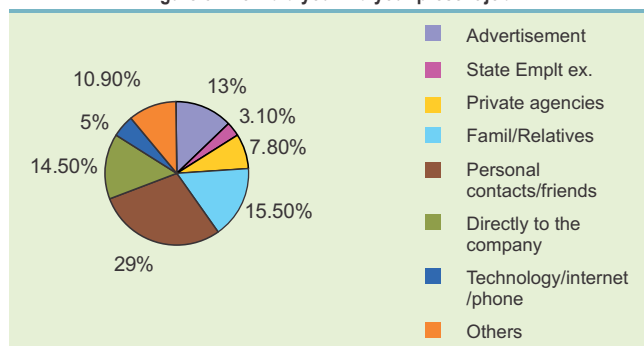
of a better employment environment than do those older.

Younger women (in the interval 15-21) place a higher reliance on knowledge and research as a key factor in influencing employment opportunities than do men.

Interestingly, women in both age groups also value an environment that promotes art and culture as a factor in creating an environment for employment opportunities. Perhaps indicative of young people's negative perception of political institutions, all respondents overwhelmingly said that new social and political set ups were negative factors.

Curiously new entrepreneurial capacities and the emergence of industries were not considered as factors that can influence the employment market or environment.

To the question what prevented youth from becoming employed[5], lack of appropriate infrastructure and the high cost of doing business and the prevalence of poverty (and slums) were the factors identified by the largest number of respondents.

The above perceptions form a context for how young people who are employed did find their current job. It would appear that at least in this small differentiated sample that the marketplace for jobs is fairly unregulated.

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[4]Factors listed: knowledge and research, science and technology university; emergence of industries; good urban management; new entrepreneurial capacities of the city; efficient, adaptable and table institution, new social and political regime; promotion of art and culture.

[5]Factors listed: lack of appropriate infrastructure; high incidence of slums and poverty; lack of social networking; poor governance and weak institutions; high levels of crime; high cost of doing business.

The largest number found their current jobs either through personal contacts or the good offices or family and relatives. It is also surprising that so few of them (5 per cent) used the internet or telephone to land a job.

To further understand their perceptions of what lead to a good environment for jobs and for achieving success and prosperity, the survey asked the respondents to name and rank the various larger factors in a city that are regarded as conducive to achieving a good lifestyle and prosperity.

Men in the younger group had two distinct views: a quarter of the respondents said that meaningful employment and decent income were not at all an important factor for achieving a good lifestyle; and another quarter that it was the most important. One-fourth of the young women do think that meaningful employment is an important factor for prosperity. Both men and women in the older group thought that these were of some importance but were not the most critical factors. On the other hand, while youth in Mumbai (40 per cent) feel that employment and decent income are a must for achieving a good lifestyle, they come low in the list of priorities in Latur and Vadodara.

Economic productivity and youth employment

What hampers economic productivity? Does the cost of doing business effect urban productivity? Is corruption a factor? Is economic growth generating youth employment?

The two major factors that have high scores is the cost of conducting business and corruption/ poor governance. The three factors together, that is, corruption, cost of conducting business and poor governance and weak institutions overwhelmingly mitigate the chances of generating healthy employment opportunities.

Young people seem to recognise corruption as a systemic phenomenon, rather than a matter of petty bribes and a superficial occurrence. This would mean that they also see

as endemic to the system.

Those who have said that access to information and lack of appropriate infrastructure can prevent youth from getting employed are 67.6 per cent. This is the factor which is responded by the highest number of young people. More than 60 per cent (60.5) of them also believe that lack of information on opportunities and high cost of doing business can hamper them from getting employed. More than half of the respondents (54.3) believed that lack of information about opportunities and incidence of slums and poverty can prevent them from getting employed. Very few people believed that lack of information about opportunities and lack of social networking can prevent them from getting employment (46 percent). 53.7 per cent also believed that poor access to information and poor governance can prevent employment.

Highest proportion of youth (60.8 per cent) believed that lack of corruption and lack of appropriate infrastructure reduce the chances of getting employed. High cost of doing business combined, poor governance and weak institutions combined with corruption can reduce the chances of getting employed. Less than 40 percent of young people thought that high incidence of crime; lack of social networking combined with corruption can reduce their employment opportunities.

More than 61 per cent said that economic growth generated youth employment. But while 83 per cent in Mumbai asserted this, only less than half said this was the case in Latur.

If indeed youth employment is being generated, were there specific programmes that address the issue? Almost 70 per cent did not think so. Most respondents were not sure if infrastructural growth supported productive activities.

On a further probe about what extent listed[6] infrastructural development was contributing to youth

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[6] The list comprised the following: Supporting economic growth; improving slum conditions and reducing poverty; improving quality of life (e.g. sanitation); facilitating mobility; improving environmental quality; guiding and directing urban growth; reducing disparities between rich and poor; improving access to education and health.

[7] The listed elements were: urban transport infrastructure, water, electricity, sanitation, telecommunication infrastructure, infrastructure for recreation, education and health

prosperity through employment, improving access to education and health and facilitating mobility had the most votes. The next most popular were guiding and directing urban growth and improving quality of life and the quality of the environment. Less than half felt that improving slum conditions contributed to youth employment.

These responses provide an interesting well grounded picture of what promotes youth employment from a section of youth who are able to recognise the particular inputs needed to expand youth employment. They recognise too that while slum improvements may lead to better welfare of residents, it is less likely to contribute to youth employment, with less than half scoring it as 'perhaps likely' to 'most likely'.

To get a better grip on their perception of urban facilities and infrastructure, they were asked to rank access to various elements[7] of infrastructure. Over 80 per cent said that they had access moderate to very good access to health care, telecom infrastructure and electricity. Some 70 per cent said they had moderate to very good access to recreational facilities, transport and education. Just about 65 said they had access to very good sanitation. This about sums up the availability of infrastructure in most cities in India, though it might vary considerably for health care.

Probes on the extent to which urban infrastructure provided for women, the response was mixed, perhaps reflecting the different experience of men and women. City wise more than 77 per cent of respondents in Mumbai said that women's needs had been taken into consideration in the development of infrastructure but more than half in Latur did not think this was the case. More than half the respondents (55 per cent) also felt that cities were not doing enough to remove gender disparities to access to different opportunities.

Does the city provide child care support? An overwhelming majority in Mumbai aid that this was the case. Indeed this is so. Millions of women in this city---themselves, their mothers and sisters more than likely---access some kind of child support, though very little of it

is provided by the state. In all the cities together the positive response was just over 60 per cent.

Equity and prosperity

How well distributed is the access to opportunities and resources across social and economic categories? Nearly 67 per cent said that not everyone had equal access to opportunities.

What sections of the city had such access? The ranking of the yes responses in order were: the educated class youth connected to politicians and decision makers, youth from wealthy homes, urban poor and women and other marginal sections. That the educated and those with connections have the most access to opportunities is a clear perception that in fact reflects reality. In most cities it is the social capital that works. This is again reflected in the fact that to an earlier question, a large proportion of youth in Mumbai said that they had found jobs not through the internet or through advertisements, but through friends and relatives. This also why living in 'good' localities is important. In an earlier survey of youth in Mumbai reported in, *Equity in the Time of Recession: Mumbai Youth Struggle to Bridge Yawning Opportunity Gap* respondents had said that where one lives, the 'address' matters. [See eSS 2011]. However education provides a cutting edge to get through various other disadvantages which is why it is ranked higher than wealth.

What were the factors that limited youth achieving equality? A third of the respondents ranked mother's education as the most important factor to achieving equal status. This again is exactly the response of not only the earlier set of responses in the earlier Mumbai survey, but is also evident in the international five city survey that forms the core of UN-HABITAT's first *State of the World' Urban Youth Report*. Mother's education was not only perceived by youth as being an important factor in gaining status, but was also computed to be the single most important factor in young people achieving prosperity and success.

Over a quarter also ranked father's education and father's occupation highly, although mother's occupation was deemed only moderately important.

More than a quarter of the respondents also said that public institutions run by ruling elites/classes also controlled the playing field making it uneven. Caste and religion were considered only marginally important factors in achieving equity.

Of policies and programmes being implemented that make cities more equitable for youth are vocational programmes are the most important with over half the respondents marking them as such. Only 20 per cent felt that easier access to employment opportunities made the city more equitable. This is a clear recognition of what it takes to get jobs and rise up the ladder. Better access to job opportunity would be useless if they could not acquire the right skills.

Interestingly, only 10 per cent said programmes such as direct transfers to support disadvantaged contributed to making cities more equitable. Since few of the respondents would have been among those targeted in such programmes it is reasonable to think that they would not value such transfers. On the other hand, the response may well be indicating the fact that handouts are looked upon with disfavour.

Asked to rate policies and practices addressing youth equity, more than half the respondents said that policies that improved access to education were clear winners.

Less than 10 per cent said that access to housing made for youth equity. This is surprising since cities typically are facing a huge housing shortage and the lack of housing is considered to be a factor in the growth of informal settlements that in turn make access to other resources difficult making for inequity. But it is also possible that access to education is such an overwhelming factor that everything else is disregarded. Improved access to health, sanitation, electricity is not factors considered important.

What were the factors[8] restricting the introduction of financial incentives (like scholarships) to youth? Nearly half put this down a failure on the part of policymakers. But 45 per cent of respondents also pointed to the inefficient performance of institutions managing these incentives.

What emerges is a very realistic and discerning perception of the urban environment in which young people live. Here are the elements of what young people consider an enabling environment. Consistently, elements that matter to achieving a good lifestyle have to do with institutions and infrastructure of some kind whether it is education, transport, investment in industry, information access and availability of resources for up scaling education and skills.

It is noteworthy that opportunities for skill upgrading were seen to be more important than availability of job opportunities. Youth are also well able to recognise what deters the development of a positive and sustainable urban environment: corruption, but not only by itself but in relation to weak and inefficient institutions and lack of political will and lack of financial incentives, that is, systemic corruption. Nor it would appear do young people want a dole, if the fact that they did not favour direct money transfers and such other poverty alleviation programmes is an indirect, perhaps, weak indicator.

If anything the survey shows the need for further exploration of some of these findings in order to either validate or to discard them. Such surveys could also contribute to the evolution of specific policies in order to ensure that they are youth-oriented. This is the way towards youth participation in policy making and governance that is even more critical than their presence in political and democratic institutions.

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[8] The list included Lack of political will; institutions not performing efficiently and not stable; lack of human resource to implement programmes; lack of participation from the city residents, lack of adequate funding.

Section III

Xavier Grousson

CHAPTER 8

Urbanisation, Inequality and Youth

Poornima Dore

In Brief

- Top 10 cities contribute to 80 per cent of growth in India.
- Sprawl and glaring inequality characterise cities in India as they do in any developing country.
- To the mass of young people living in cities the inequality is palpable, visible everyday and affects their life choices.
- The aspiration-reality mismatch makes for two outcomes: it may engender violence; or, it may produce an entrepreneurial flowering. The second more favourable outcome can be encouraged with the availability of resources, support and opportunities for skill development.

Over 32 percent of India's population lives in cities (Census, 2011). By 2040, the overall urbanization rate will go up to 43.3 percent (UNPD, 2010). Nearly 40 percent of the overall population likely to fall into the category of youth (as defined by the age group of 15-30) lives in urban areas. This adds up to about 1.4 billion youth in urban India by 2040 (Economic Survey 2005-6). In other words, there will be an unprecedented mass of youth living in cities in the coming decades.

The three components of urban growth are: natural growth of population, rural to urban migration and reclassification of rural areas to urban [Kundu, 2011]. Given this, it is possible to broadly categorise the youth bulge into two segments:

1. Domicile: The general rate of population growth and demographic trends as is reflected by the youth born and brought up in cities.

2. Migrants: As urban India is also characterized by a high level of permanent as well as seasonal migration, this segment consists of youth who come to the city in search of a living or for other reasons.

Similar segmentations can be done in terms of employed and unemployed, above or below the poverty line etc. Since a large proportion of youth today are unemployed, and of those who do have jobs, 90 per cent are in the informal sector, we will focus on youth who face an employment crisis and who would largely have access to informal sector jobs. This represents the majority of youth in cities today, and unless there is a serious shift in gears at a policy level, this trend is likely to continue.

What characterises our cities? Sprawl and glaring inequality. With a few exceptions, there is little evidence of a planned approach towards getting India's cities geared up for this demographic onslaught. The Jawaharlal Nehru Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) of course, plans for world class infrastructure coupled with basic services for the urban poor, but the fact remains that our cities are not geared to handle the existing load, leave alone the projected numbers. Admittedly there are more jobs and higher salary levels than over the last 10 years. But with the top 10 cities contributing to 80 percent of GDP, it is evident that this growth is concentrated in pockets. Better business does lead to growth of the local economy, but the increase in incomes of people like taxi drivers, vendors, etc. is unable to keep pace with growing rental costs, higher inflation, etc. So while income levels in cities may appear to be higher, the expenditure is also high and may not enable growth in savings, or access to better health, education etc. The issue is not with urbanization itself, but due to the inequalities that it seems to accentuate.

These inequalities are stark and visible in the urban setting. Today, with better connectivity, youth across the country have more access to media and seek a lifestyle in sync with what they are exposed to via the media. In cities this is even more real - with gated communities rubbing shoulders with slum settlements, it is almost as if you can see a different world right at your doorstep, but you are denied the license to enter. There are obvious differences in the quality of life experienced in high-rise buildings and the adjoining slums. This phenomenon is not restricted to the large metropolises like Mumbai and Delhi; other cities like Bhubaneshwar, Ranchi, Jaipur are also experiencing this. The constant mushrooming of squatter settlements and their eviction is something that has engaged the attention of city planners. For new urban settlements the problem is worse - slums are formed, but as these spaces have not been recognized as 'urban' they are automatically excluded from the planning process.

Availability of employment and access to services is also not commensurate to the number of people demanding them. A related issue is that of information asymmetry regarding jobs. Young people are advised to pursue education towards white-collar jobs. However, a large portion of real job creation is in the informal sector. The youth are neither prepared for it, nor is it a sector that is considered aspirational. The aspiration-reality mismatch is a very real problem, which needs to be addressed.

Putting together all of the above, we are faced with a picture of unplanned cities, obvious disparities, and a youth segment which has a high global awareness and tuned in but unable to find avenues in tandem with its aspirations. The demand for employment is the single biggest requirement, coupled with the need for counseling, knowing what to expect in a changing economy and being equipped to meet these requirements. Most of the discourse on the youth as a 'demographic dividend' looks at them as productive employable resources. It is important to also see them as thinking-feeling individuals with their own set of experiences, aspirations and goals: whose physical and psychological well being will determine the shape of things to come. There is the need for a support system in the city to fulfill other socio-economic needs like having a peer group,

access to health services, credit which enables them to realize their potential and so on. Without clear plans on the above, we are left with a set of young people who may be willing to aim high, but the system or the planning process is not geared to provide for it.

> Poverty in India is increasingly becoming urbanized according to the UNDP's India: Urban Poverty Report 2009. While rural poverty remain higher than in urban areas, the gap is shrinking. Urban poverty is over 25 percent; over 81 million people in urban areas live on incomes that are below the poverty line.

How do Young People Respond to Growing Inequality?

It is not clear whether we fully recognize how the lack of city planning and the resultant disparities can play on the minds of the young. Prima facie this can kindle either a spirit of violence or a spirit of enterprise.

Spirit of Violence: If we consider the link between market wages and crime, data suggests that "wages represent the opportunity cost of committing a crime and rise steeply with age during the earlier part of one's career." [Grogger, 1998]. In other words, it implies that lower real wages increase the chances of committing a crime and this is more so in case of youth, who due to lack of experience, would in any case be receiving low real wages. In the absence of proper remunerative employment, crime can be seen as a lucrative option. If a young person is gainfully engaged, either in education or employment, he or she is less likely to turn to crime. For instance, street children are easy victims and are drawn into drug trafficking and other gangs as opposed to children in schools.

Further, studies suggest that locations with high unemployment rates and income inequalities tend to have a higher crime rate. It is found that there is a moderate positive relationship between unemployment and homicide rates, while the variable of inequality is strongly related with property crime and total crime rates (Krohn, 1976). Hence it is not just about unemployment. Inequality accentuates the problem – the visible difference in lifestyles underscore the feeling of not

having been given one's due. Those at the margins also have to contend with having to scrounge to make both ends meet. The perceived unfairness of it all can play a critical role in making a young person turn to crime as a way of correcting the balance. Violence against women is another case of easy targeting: an expression of power over one who seems weaker, an outlet for misplaced anger or frustration.

If the spirit of violence is encouraged (or not curbed) by elders, drug lords, political groups and others, it can manifest itself by way of increased incidence street fights, burglary, rape, murder and organized crime. This is enhanced at times of communal riots, elections and other occasions where interest groups profit through building up youth cadres to inflict violence.

Spirit of Enterprise: While urbanization is a challenge, it is also an opportunity and can be viewed as such. Agglomeration economies from urbanization can deliver substantial benefits. For instance the presence of a gamut of trades and services creates additional scope for employment, especially in the informal sector. The cross cultural milieu of certain cities also creates demand for unique services like catering, trade, etc that may not have been earlier in vogue. Infrastructure developments, evolving technology, financial and other services bring with them a new set of opportunities. It is important for youth to recognize these opportunities and be equipped to make the best of them.

The spirit of enterprise can exhibit itself in multiple ways. Mumbai's dabba service is a prime example of this. The provision of food in this crowded, vertical city has been institutionalized by a group of service providers, who cook in bulk primarily in the suburbs, pack the food in tiffin boxes, have the same transported by train and delivered to customers who require wholesome meals at reasonable prices. This demand supply gap has been met by an enterprising group that converted a problem into a business opportunity. Similarly there are waste picker groups who have joined hands to take contracts from the municipalities and engaged in sorting and vermin composting for higher margins.

Enterprising spirit can also be in the form of one individual being engaged in home based work. This spirit can also be visible in the formation of youth clubs and groups that organize joint celebrations of festivals and launch campaigns on issues they feel strongly about. It is about thinking of ways to either eliminate or address the problem through alternative solutions and action, instead of only questioning the status quo.

For youth to be enterprising there needs to be various enabling factors to help them make this choice. Having better outcomes at the primary and secondary education level is necessary, to ensure that youth who pass through the school system are actually empowered. Counseling on future prospects and access to employment at decent wage levels is also critical. With the large emerging gap in the need for technically skilled persons, ensuring that the youth is equipped with the requisite technical skills is of immediate importance. Since there are limits to wage employment, self employment and enterprise development must also be supported through mentoring as well as easier access to finance.

Along with this life skills must be equally emphasized. This not only includes aspects of self discipline, punctuality, and work-readiness, but also values of honesty, respect, unselfishness and brotherhood. Youth must have visible role models who stand for these values and make them aspire for a broader definition of success. As compared to villages, there is a greater need for youth in cities to have social support groups that meet and share experiences, while also thinking of ways to address common problems.

To conclude, there needs to be specific planning to cater to the growing number of urban youth. Support mechanisms are required to ensure that from the individuals' perspective, the benefits of enterprise outweigh the returns from violence. This is essential for the youth to value enterprise over violence and become agents of value creation, as opposed to value erosion.

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Jitu Mohan

CHAPTER 9

Internal Migration for Education and Employment Among Youth

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In Brief

- More than 110 million youth, men and women in equal numbers, in the age group 15-32 migrate from their places of origin for a number of reasons.

- A majority of migration takes place within a state. 84 per cent of all rural urban migration is either within a district or among the districts of the state.

- Some 17 per cent of migration for education is across states. Typically, Delhi, Maharashtra, Karnataka are the top states attracting migrants from other states, whereas Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Rajasthan are the main source states of migrants. Karnataka attracts a sizable proportion of migrants who have completed higher secondary and diploma or graduate and above while the states of Punjab and Haryana attracts those who have not completed primary school. In large measure, this indicates the relative development of educational opportunities in these states.

- Unlike the case of migration for education which was primarily an intra-state phenomenon, 45.6 percent of individuals migrate to work in other states. Moreover, 72.9 per cent of these migrant workers moved from rural areas.

- Delhi, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka receive 64 per cent of the intra state migrant workers in the age group 15-32 years. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh account for 59 per cent of migrant workers.

- Young people migrating in search of work usually do find jobs;, less than 1 per cent of migrants fail to find employment. The largest proportions of migrants who move in search of work move from agriculture to construction or trade and hotels or other services.

- Migration for reasons of marriage accounts for over 70 per cent of all internal migration.

Progressions through successive level of schooling (primary, middle, secondary, tertiary) and the ability to seamlessly transition from school to the labour market are important determinants of productivity of those entering the workforce. The twin aspects of progression and transition will determine whether India manages to harness the human capital potential of those entering the workforce every year.

There are two main impediments in harnessing the potential human capital in India: first, is lack of a good education system (at both secondary and higher education level) and second is the uneven distribution of existing and new jobs across the country.

This chapter sets out to understand these two issues from the perspective of the youth. The objective is to understand the pattern of youth migrating for education and employment. In the literature and popular discourse, the focus has been more on migrating for work rather than migrating for education. The latter phenomenon is equally important given the regional imbalances in access to institutes of higher education. If individuals migrate out in search of higher education and do not return then the destination regions benefit at the expense of the source

destination. This can perpetuate regional imbalances. These imbalances may be observed in terms of where additional employment opportunities will be generated and in turn, institutes of higher learning will be established closer to where jobs are being created.

To put things in perspective, consider what is revealed by the education indicators in India. It is well known that there are marked differences at the levels of primary and higher education. The perceived failure of India's education policy to arrest dropout rates and deliver quality learning along the various stages of education ladder is an empirical fact. While India has steadily moved towards universal primary education, the age specific attendance ratios need to be improved[1]. In fact in 2007-08, the age specific attendance ratios were as follows: 6-10 years - 88 percent, 11-13 years - 86 percent, 14-17 years - 64 percent, 18-24 years – 18 percent and 25-29 years - 1 percent [Government of India 2010a].

There are also considerable variations in the age specific attendance ratios across the states of India. Figure 1 provides a comparison in the age-specific attendance ratio in 1995-96 and 2007-08. The least gains have been recorded among those in the age group 18-24 years – from

Table 1: Net attendance ratio by broad class group (all India)

Class Group	Rural			Urban			Rural +Urban		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
I-V	83	86	84	84	86	85	83	86	84
VI-VIII	54	59	57	64	67	65	56	61	59
IX-X	35	40	38	51	52	51	39	43	41
XI-XII (general education)	19	25	22	39	39	39	25	29	27
XI-XII *(all education)	20	25	23	39	40	40	25	29	27
Post higher secondary (general education)	5	8	6	14	13	14	7	9	8
Post higher secondary (all education)	6	10	8	21	20	21	10	13	12

* includes diploma with minimum requirements below higher secondary Education is categorized in three classes in the survey: (i) general education, (ii) technical and professional education and (iii) vocational education. All education includes (i) (ii) and (iii)
Source: : Government of India (2010a)

[1]The age specific attendance ratio is calculated by dividing the number of persons in a particular age-group currently attending educational institutions by the estimated population in the age-group 6-10 years and then multiplying the resultant number by 100.

10 to 15 percent in rural India and from 23 to 27 percent in urban India. In contrast to the age specific attendance ratios where we do not take into account which class or grade the individual is attending, the net attendance ratio is defined as the ratio of the number of persons in the official age-group attending a particular class-group to the total number of persons in the age-group. The net attendance ratio drops sharply after class V and is only 8 percent among those pursuing post higher secondary education (Table 1).

A scenario where the net attendance ratio at higher levels of education can be doubled would augur well for India's youth and hence for the prospects of the economy. The fact that the East Asian countries managed to achieve a sustained high growth rate beginning with the decade of

Figure 1: Age specific attendance ratio in rural and urban India in 1995-96 and 2007-08

Source: Government of India 2010a

1960s is often attributed to their singular focus on three outcomes, viz. improving educational attainment, increasing workforce participation rate and stepping up the higher investment rate.

While India has a healthy savings rate of 34 percent and an investment rate of 36 percent [Government of India 2011a] it still lags in improving the quality of human capital and increasing the workforce participation rate, and in particular that of women. There is evidence to suggest that educating and skilling India's youth by improving access to tertiary education and increasing the completion rates have significant implications for the economy. Castelló-Climent and Mukhopadhyay (2010) conclude

…if one percent of the adult population were to complete tertiary education instead of completing only

primary school, the annual growth rate could increase by about 4 percentage points (p 4).

They also find that a 1 percent change in tertiary education has the same effect on growth as a 13 percent decrease in illiteracy.

There is substantial scope for improving the net attendance ratio in India by focusing on the issue of dropout. Reasons given for discontinuation of studies include financial constraints, lack of interest in studies, 'unable to cope or failure in studies', and 'completed desired level or class' [Government of India 2010]. Now consider a scenario where the reasons given for discontinuation can be addressed and individuals do not drop out and they go on to get a college degree. The question that arises is whether under this scenario India has sufficient number of seats in colleges and universities. The answer is no. Not surprisingly, many students are going abroad in pursuit of higher education following which they do not necessarily return to India.

The impact of brain drain on the growth prospects of the country loosing human capital is well documented. Unlike international brain drain, the phenomenon of internal movement of human capital in search of education is not that well analysed although there is a large literature on internal migration in search of employment. The youth are likely to be attracted to Indian states or cities with high wages and a strong labour market. Institutes for higher education are likely to be present in locations with high human capital and well functioning labour markets. Such effects are reinforced when individuals with higher level of education move into these locations.

Akin to the effects of international brain drain, when youth migrate internally in search of education and employment there are winners and losers among the states and cities of India. This chapter describes the phenomenon of migration by youth, i.e. those in the age group 15-32 years, in search of education and employment.

In India, there are two major sources of data on migration: Census of India and surveys of National Sample Survey

Organisation (NSSO). Migration statistics based on Census of India 2011 have not been released yet. The most recent information on migration comes from NSSO's survey on employment and unemployment, and migration conducted over July 2007-June 2008. This nationally representative survey covered 79,091 rural and 46,487 urban households (Government of India 2010b). A total of 374,294 individuals in rural and 197,960 individuals in urban areas were surveyed. Information is available on households that moved their place of

Table 2: Distribution of internal migrants by last usual place of residence for each component of rural-urban migration streams

Migration streams	Intra district	Inter district	Intrastate (Intra district+ Inter district)	Interstate	All (intrastate+ Interstate)
55th round (1999-2000)					
Rural-to-rural	75.3	20.1	95.4	4.6	100
Rural-to-urban	43.8	36.5	80.3	19.6	100
Urban-to-rural	46.5	33.5	80.0	20.0	100
Urban-to-urban	36.6	43.5	80.1	19.9	100
64th round (2007-08)					
Rural-to-rural	72.4	23.2	95.6	4.4	100
Rural-to-urban	41.2	33.6	74.8	25.2	100
Urban-to-rural	48.8	33.8	82.6	17.5	100
Urban-to-urban	27.9	49.2	77.1	22.9	100

Source: NSSO (2010) Report on Migration in India

residence in the 365 days preceding the survey and individuals who migrated. Individual migrants are those whose last usual place of residence was different from the present place of enumeration. The usual place of residence is the village or town where the individual stayed continuously for a period of six months or more. Specifically certain rates of migrations can be computed: out-migration, short term or seasonal migration, and return migration. Broadly the reasons for migration can be grouped into the following heads: employment related, studies, forced migration, marriage and others.

Migration Patterns in India

There are four migration streams: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban. Further, the stream can be

intra-district, intra-state and inter-state. As is evident from Table 2 the majority of migrants move within the state, i.e. move within the same districts or move to other districts of the same state. This is particularly true in the case of the rural-rural migration stream. Nearly 96 percent of rural-rural migrants, 81 percent of rural-urban migrants, 80 percent of urban-rural migrants and 80 percent of urban-urban migrants move within the same state. Figure 2 gives the distribution of migrants by age group. There is no apparent difference in the proportion of male and female migrants in the age group 15-32 years. Of the 110 million individuals aged 15-32 years, over 70 percent of them, i.e. 77.5 million report moving on account of marriage (Table 3). Across all the four streams of migration, moving because of marriage accounts for the bulk of the migrants. The next important reason is

Figure 2: Proportion of migrants by age group and gender
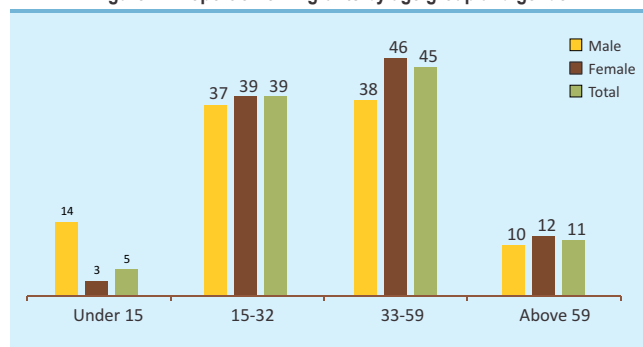
Source: Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

moving with parent or earning member of the family followed by moving in search of employment. Overall, while nearly 10 percent report moving in search of employment, 3.5 percent report move on account of education.

Migration for Education

States like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, which have a large concentration of poor, have historically had higher levels of fertility and low

Table 3: Number of migrants by reason for migration (15-32 years)

	Migration Streams				
	Rural-Rural	Rural-Urban	Urban-Rural	Urban-Urban	Total
In search of employment	1,810,512	5,707,409	590,054	2,353,658	10,461,633
Education	708,610	1,617,152	604,671	915,401	3,845,834
Marriage	60,048,081	8,070,261	3,812,910	5,619,806	77,551,058
With parent/earning member of family	3,267,400	5,482,397	883,167	4,354,838	13,987,802
Others	2,120,095	686,414	648,865	758,396	4,213,770
Total	67,954,698	21,563,633	6,539,667	14,002,099	110,060,097

Source: Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

Table 4: Migration for education by current and Last Usual Place of Residence (15-32)

Destination State / Current Place of Residence	Last Usual Place of Residence								
	Same District		Other District		Same State		Other State		
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Total
	1	2	3	4	5(1+3)	6(2+4)	7	8	5+6+7+8
Jammu & Kashmir	32	0	53.9	0.7	85.9	0.7	13.4	0	100
Himachal Pradesh	38.6	14.5	19.9	8.5	58.5	23	0	18.5	100
Punjab	14.3	3.1	12.4	70.3	26.7	73.4	0	0	100
Uttaranchal	44	3.2	3.9	7.3	47.9	10.5	27.5	14.1	100
Haryana	21.8	0	13.8	2.7	35.6	2.7	54.8	6.9	100
Delhi	0	0	2.3	0	2.3	0	66	31.7	100
Rajasthan	61.1	2.6	21.8	7.8	82.9	10.4	1.5	5.2	100
Uttar Pradesh	27.7	0.8	17.4	47.3	45.1	48.1	2.8	4.1	100
Bihar	56.6	0	25.3	14.8	81.9	14.8	0	3.2	100
NE States	14.6	11.5	34.4	24.9	49	36.4	0.8	13.9	100
Assam	26.2	1	55.7	16.3	81.9	17.3	0	0.8	100
West Bengal	26.9	0.5	34.2	26.4	61.1	26.9	2.1	10	100
Jharkhand	59.3	1.6	20.3	3.1	79.6	4.7	12.2	3.4	100
Orissa	26.6	18.5	16.6	32.6	43.2	51.1	1.2	4.4	100
Chattisgarh	81.9	0	17.7	0.4	99.6	0.4	0	0	100
Madhya Pradesh	45.5	4.7	21.3	25.5	66.8	30.2	2.1	1	100
Gujarat	65.7	9.1	9.3	12.4	75	21.5	0.5	3	100
UTs except Delhi	2.7	0.5	2.5	1.2	5.2	1.7	34.4	58.7	100
Maharashtra	38.6	4.5	26.9	13.8	65.5	18.3	5.6	10.5	100
Andhra Pradesh	48	6.7	23.6	14.7	71.6	21.4	3	3.9	100
Karnataka	14.5	0.9	7.9	45.2	22.4	46.1	5.2	26.4	100
Goa	24.5	75.2	0	0.3	24.5	75.5	0	0	100
Kerala	20.3	7.5	50.9	21.3	71.2	28.8	0	0.1	100
Tamil Nadu	21.7	1.1	30.6	28.6	52.3	29.7	1.7	16.3	100
Total	34.1	3.9	20.5	24.6	54.6	28.5	5.9	11	100

Source: : Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

Figure 3: Inter-state migration for education
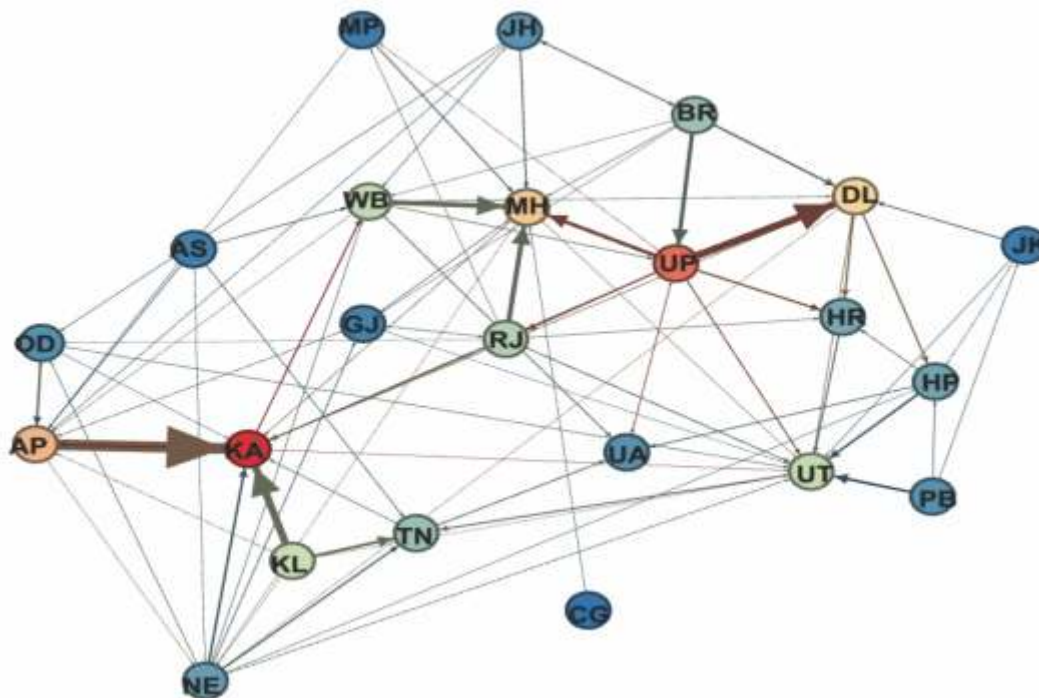
Note: We consider the major states and have aggregated the North East states and union territories. The nodes are states and edges between them depict migration flows. Directions of edges between nodes show the migration of individuals for education across states.

Legend: Andhra Pradesh (AP), Arunachal Pradesh (AR), Assam (AS), Bihar (BR), Chhattisgarh (CG), Delhi (DL), Goa (GA), Gujarat (GJ), Haryana (HR), Himachal Pradesh (HP), Jammu and Kashmir (JK), Jharkhand (JH), Karnataka (KA), Kerala (KL), Madhya Pradesh (MP), Maharashtra (MH), North Eastern States (NE), Odisha (OD), Punjab (PB), Rajasthan (RJ), Tamil Nadu (TN), Union Territories (UT), Uttar Pradesh (UP), Uttarakhand (UA), West Bengal (WB)

Source: Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

Table 5: Share of migrant population by states and educational attainment in last 10 years (age group 15-32 years)

Destination State / Current Place of Residence	Education level						
	Illiterate	Below Primary	Primary/Middle	Secondary	Higher Secondary	Diploma Graduate and above	Total
Jammu & Kashmir	0.3	0	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
Himachal Pradesh	0.9	0.5	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.6
Punjab	7.8	10	5.6	4.2	3.9	3.9	5.7
Uttaranchal	3.6	2.3	2.7	2.8	2.3	2.4	2.8
Haryana	7	5.9	6	7.4	5.5	5.4	6.3
Delhi	14.1	10.8	17.1	19.4	14.8	15.8	16
Rajasthan	9.3	7.4	4.3	3	5.2	3	5.3
Uttar Pradesh	13	11.5	4.9	7.9	6.3	11.1	8.4
Bihar	2.7	3.1	1.1	1.6	1.1	1.1	1.6
NE States	0.4	0.8	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.5
Assam	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0	0.1	0.2
West Bengal	6.1	3.6	3.8	3	0.8	3.9	3.8
Jharkhand	0.6	1.9	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.7	0.8
Orissa	1.1	2.4	1.2	1	1.5	1	1.2
Chattisgarh	1.5	1.3	1.8	0.7	1.5	0.6	1.4
Madhya Pradesh	4.4	5.4	3.1	2.1	2.4	2.4	3.2
Gujarat	5.2	9.9	11.5	7.9	4.9	4	7.8
UTs except Delhi	1.8	1.8	1.7	2.9	4.7	3.5	2.5
Maharashtra	12.6	11.8	19.5	19.5	16.9	14.7	16.6
Andhra Pradesh	2.8	3	2.7	3.4	3.3	3	3
Karnataka	3.1	2.7	5	5.7	14.9	14.1	6.9
Goa	0.2	1.4	0.5	0.9	1	1.5	0.8
Kerala	0.4	0.6	1.8	1.3	2.3	2	1.4
Tamil Nadu	1.1	1.6	3	3.3	5.3	4.6	3.1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: : Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

levels of literacy. These states also account for a large proportion of India's population. Given that access to quality primary and secondary schools in these states is a problem it is not surprising that these states also have a shortage of institutes of higher learning[2]. This leads to an out flow of human capital to other states/regions. However, it should also be noted that there is considerable intra-state movement in all the states. Only 16.9 percent of migration for education is inter-state while 45 percent of migration is across districts of the same state (Table 4). This is understandable since within each state there are cities with institutes of higher learning. The proportion of youth who migrated on account of education and residing in the states of Uttaranchal, Haryana, Delhi and Karnataka is higher than the national average (16.9 percent) of inter-state migrants. For example, among youth who migrated for education and living in Karnataka 31.6 percent came from other states.

We can pictorially depict inter-state migration flows for education among those aged 15-32 years based on data from NSSO's 2007-08 survey on migration and employment. We consider the major states and have aggregated the North East states and union territories. The nodes are states and edges between them depict migration flows. Directions of edges between nodes show the migration of individuals for education across states. From Figure 3 although all the relations between the different states are not clear, we can clearly see that some of the directed flows are denser as compared to the others. These are the main streams of migration for education. The most important states from the perspective of migration for education are Delhi, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, West Bengal and Rajasthan. Of these states, Delhi, Maharashtra, Karnataka are the main destinations (i.e. attracting migrants from other states), whereas Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh,

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[2]This issue has been highlighted in official statistics and also reports published to analyze states performance in secondary and higher education in India (Government of India 2011c, NUEPA 2012). These reports show that number of schools availability decrease at high rate as education level increases (pyramid structure. This makes the access to higher education in some states very limited, and only option left with the individuals is to migrate for education.

West Bengal and Rajasthan are the main source states of migrants (Figure 3).

In the context of balanced regional development in India, the issue of human capital flows across the country becomes important. Which are the states that gain by attracting more educated migrants? We can glean insights by examining the distribution of educational attainment of inter-state migrants across Indian states (Table 5). We present the distribution of migrants across states for every level of education. Delhi, Gujarat and Maharashtra attract migrants with varied educational attainment. In contrast, Karnataka attracts a sizable proportion of migrants who have completed higher secondary and diploma or graduate and above while the states of Punjab and Haryana attracts those who have not completed primary school.

Due to data limitations we are not able to address whether individuals who migrated to another state for the purpose of education return to the original place of residence. In addition to ramping up access to educational institutions along the breadth and width of the country it is also important that state governments act to retain skilled labour force. Here the experience of the US might be pertinent where state governments have formulated "several types of policies related to the finance and production of undergraduate education within a state, including expansions in degree production and scholarships to encourage attendance at in-state colleges. The evidence suggests that these policies can affect the stock of college-educated labor within a state, but that effect is limited by the mobility of college graduates across state boundaries" [Groen 2011]. Among the options discussed by Groen include "location-contingent financial aid, adjustments to the composition of enrollment by residency or by field of study, and internships with state-based employers."

Migration for Employment

In 2009-10, the distribution of workers by sector was as follows: agricultural sector: 53.2 percent, secondary sector: 21.5 percent and tertiary sector: 25.3 percent.

Given that India does not have a strong manufacturing base (manufacturing accounts for 27 percent of India's GDP) there has been no evident shift of workers from agriculture to manufacturing i.e. the secondary sector. Nor has India's economic growth translated to higher employment since the employment elasticity is negative in agriculture and manufacturing (Figure 4). (The employment elasticity by sector for each state

Figure 4: Estimates of employment elasticity
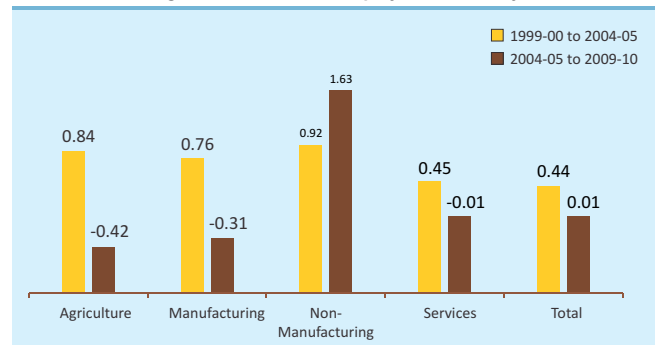
Source: Government of India (2011b)

is available in Government of India 2011b Table A.15 p. 133).

The story that emanates from examination of the estimates of employment elasticity is borne out in the pattern of change in the absolute employment over the period 2004-10. While India's GDP has increased there has been a loss of 23.33 million jobs in agriculture and 4.02 million jobs in manufacturing. This has been offset by an increase in 25.89 million jobs in non-manufacturing and 2.7 million jobs in services. In effect, during 2004-10 absolute employment increased by 1.74 million. The seven states, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Gujarat, Jharkhand, Karnataka, Rajasthan, and Uttar Pradesh accounted for nearly 95 percent of the job lost in agriculture.

Unlike the case of migration for education which was primarily an intra-state phenomenon, 45.6 percent of individuals migrate to work in other states where 54.4 percent work in the same state (Table 6). Moreover, 72.9 percent of these migrant workers moved from rural areas. For example, among youth who migrated for education and living in Punjab and Haryana, 75.1 percent and 56.3 percent respectively came from rural areas of other states.

Table 6: Migration for employment by current state and location of last usual place of residence (age group 15-32 years)

Destination State / Current Place of Residence	Last Usual Place of Residence								
	Same District		Other District		Same State		Other State		
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Total
	1	2	3	4	5(1+3)	6(2+4)	7	8	5+6+7+8
Jammu & Kashmir	11.7	20.8	15.8	17.2	27.5	38	28.8	5.8	100
Himachal Pradesh	30.5	8.2	18.2	6.9	48.7	15.1	21.7	14.5	100
Punjab	6.1	0.9	5.8	3.4	11.9	4.3	75.1	8.6	100
Uttaranchal	11.5	3.6	9.6	8.9	21.1	12.5	46.8	19.7	100
Haryana	4.1	3.5	12.2	3.3	16.3	6.8	56.3	20.5	100
Delhi	0.6	1	0.9	2.9	1.5	3.9	73	21.6	100
Rajasthan	43.3	3.4	19.3	9.1	62.6	12.5	16.1	8.8	100
Uttar Pradesh	12.6	6.7	34.6	18.6	47.2	25.3	15.5	12	100
Bihar	33.6	4	34.8	7.6	68.4	11.6	8.5	11.5	100
NE States	26.2	7.3	15.2	13.4	41.4	20.7	28.8	9.1	100
Assam	29.4	2.3	42.1	14.6	71.5	16.9	9	2.7	100
West Bengal	20.5	4.8	19.4	12.1	39.9	16.9	32.3	10.8	100
Jharkhand	33.9	1.4	47.1	5.1	81	6.5	2.5	10	100
Orissa	30.4	4.9	40.5	8	70.9	12.9	10.4	5.8	100
Chattisgarh	38.4	2.7	14.4	12.2	52.8	14.9	13.5	18.8	100
Madhya Pradesh	24.7	13.5	24.9	12.5	49.6	26	17.5	6.8	100
Gujarat	13.8	3.5	9.3	7.2	23.1	10.7	61.3	4.8	100
UTs except Delhi	5.3	2.1	1.3	0.9	6.6	3	68.3	22.1	100
Maharashtra	11.3	4.4	19.8	14.6	31.1	19	42.3	7.6	100
Andhra Pradesh	37	3.4	28.5	20.2	65.5	23.6	5	5.9	100
Karnataka	11.4	2.2	26.2	23	37.6	25.2	18.3	18.9	100
Goa	3.4	0.4	0	1.6	3.4	2	53	41.6	100
Kerala	22.4	2	40.2	14.5	62.6	16.5	15.1	5.9	100
Tamil Nadu	14.8	9.5	29.2	27.5	44	37	10.6	8.5	100
Total	17.1	4.1	19.9	13.3	37	17.4	34.9	10.7	100

Source: : Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

Figure 5: Inter-state migration for employment
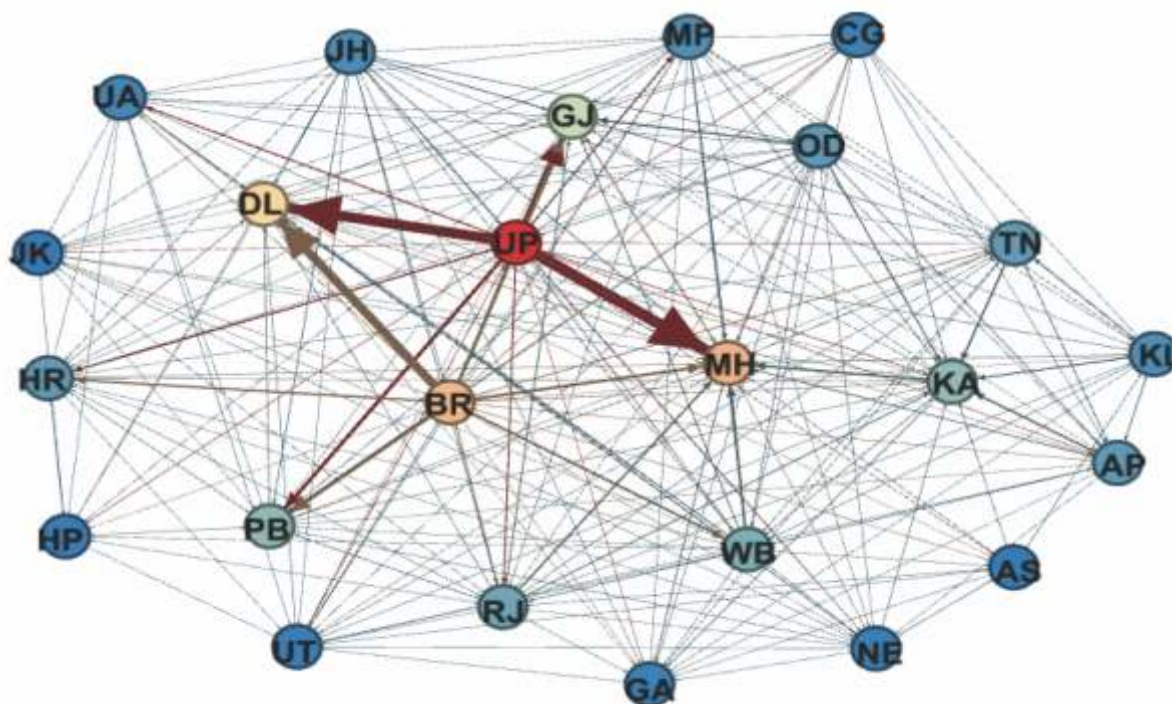
Legend: Andhra Pradesh (AP), Arunachal Pradesh (AR), Assam (AS), Bihar (BR), Chhattisgarh (CG), Delhi (DL), Goa (GA), Gujarat (GJ), Haryana (HR), Himachal Pradesh (HP), Jammu and Kashmir (JK), Jharkhand (JH), Karnataka (KA), Kerala (KL), Madhya Pradesh (MP), Maharashtra (MH), North Eastern States (NE), Odisha (OD), Punjab (PB), Rajasthan (RJ), Tamil Nadu (TN), Union Territories (UT), Uttar Pradesh (UP), Uttarakhand (UA), West Bengal (WB)

Source: Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

Delhi, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka receive 64.1 percent of the intra state migrant workers in the age group 15-32 years. Bihar and Uttar Pradesh account for 59 percent of migrant workers who leave their place of usual residence. We can pictorially depict inter-state level migration flows for work among those aged 15-32 years based on data from NSSO's 2007-08 (Figure 5) .

For all migrants who are currently part of the workforce, we examine their usual principal activity status (UPAS) before they migrated. The classification of the UPAS is mentioned at the end of Table 7. We are not including migrants who are currently out of the workforce. Table 7

Table 7: Transition matrix before and after migration based on Usual Principal Activity Status (UPAS) (age group 15-32)

UPAS at Origin	UPAS at Destination for only those who are Part of Work Force						
	11	12	21	31	41	51	81
11	2.71	0.07	0.24	0.79	0.00	0.27	0.05
12	0.03	0.06	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00
21	1.11	0.07	7.79	1.57	0.00	1.93	0.01
31	0.48	0.08	0.15	5.35	0.00	0.19	0.22
41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	0.00	0.00
51	1.40	0.03	2.26	2.87	0.05	15.29	0.13
81	1.12	0.05	0.19	4.50	0.06	1.28	0.97
91	1.94	0.20	1.99	5.88	0.00	1.67	1.51
92	2.36	0.07	8.19	2.32	0.04	7.21	0.28
93	0.90	0.02	3.41	0.53	0.01	3.72	0.07
94	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
95	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
97	0.73	0.03	0.54	1.41	0.01	1.04	0.42

Notes: Worked in h.h. enterprise (self-employed): own account worker -11, employer-12, worked as helper in h.h. enterprise (unpaid family worker) -21; worked as regular salaried/ wage employee -31, worked as casual wage labour: in public works -41, in other types of work -51; did not work but was seeking and/or available for work -81, attended educational institution -91, attended domestic duties only -92, attended domestic duties and was also engaged in free collection of goods (vegetables, roots, firewood, cattle feed, etc.), sewing, tailoring, weaving, etc. for household use -93, rentiers, pensioners , remittance recipients, etc. -94, not able to work due to disability 95, others (including begging, prostitution, etc.) -97

Source: NSSO (2010) Report on Migration in India

which is based on an estimated number of 39,020,143 migrant workers gives the cell frequencies or percentages with the cells adding up to 100. This is more informative than providing row or column percentages since it helps in understanding transitions. One can infer from this the proportion of migrants in the workforce whose UPAS did not change. For instance UPAS 81 is for individuals who are unemployed and we see that only 0.97 percent of those in the workforce are unemployed following migration. For ease of reading, we have highlighted the cells with a value greater than 2 percent. Transition occurs when the UPAS changes post migration. Transitions are evident when we focus on those whose current UPAS is 31, i.e. working as regular salaried / wage employee. For example, 5.88 percent of migrants who are currently salaried or wage employees were attending educational institutions before they decided to migrate.

Similarly, we can focus on whether individuals transition to work in a different industry group following migration. Table 8 shows that there is not much transition since the diagonal cells account for 76.7 percent of the migrant workers. What is of interest is that 7.3 percent of individuals move from agriculture to manufacturing, 2.7 percent of individuals move from agriculture to construction, and 6.3 percent of individuals move from agriculture to other sectors (trade and hotels, transport, other services).

Addressing Internal Brain Drain

From a policy perspective India needs to address the issue of provision of higher education. This is important in order to ensure that the youth are skilled and get remunerative jobs when they transition to the labour force. What will be the extent to which the central and state governments invest in higher education facilities or will fresh investments be driven primarily by the private sector? This issue is by no stretch of imagination a new one since way back in April 1893, Pherozeshah Merwanji Mehta commented on the policy of the Government to withdraw

Table 8: Transition across broad industry groups after migration (age group 15-32)

Industry of Work at Origin	Industry of Work Post Migration					
	Agriculture and Mining	Manufacturing	Construction	Trade and Hotels	Transport	Other Services
Agriculture and Mining	50.9	7.3	2.7	2.7	1.6	2.0
Manufacturing	0.7	8.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.3
Construction	0.8	0.7	3.7	0.2	0.3	0.1
Trade and Hotels	0.3	0.7	0.1	5.1	0.1	0.5
Transport	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	2.1	0.1
Other Services	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	6.9

Source: Calculation from NSSO Unit Level Data

from "direct provision, control and management of higher education." He was speaking at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Bombay Graduates' Association. He said,

> Educational problems are increasing in number and complexity, and it is of the highest importance that we should recognize it as our duty to organize ourselves and watch the development of the educational policy of Government, and to lend all such help as our knowledge and experience may enable us to render, in the proper solution of educational questions. … … .. it was high time that public opinion should express itself, in no uncertain voice, with regard to the grave perils threatened our educational interests [Batabyal 2007:722-23].

Post independence, there was a debate on who should be responsible for financing higher education: the centre or the state? It was widely believed that having higher education in the concurrent list under the Indian Constitution would alleviate some of the financing problems. Yet, over a century later, India is grappling with similar set of issues highlighted over a century ago, viz. the failure of the state to provide higher education facilities, the privatization of education, steep increase in costs of higher education, and large variations in access to educational infrastructure and quality of education across the states of India. It might be pertinent here to note the comments made by eminent scientist Meghnad Saha in his address to the Indian Parliament on 13 June 1952:

> All your thoughts of reconstruction in this country without highly trained personnel would be idle daydreams. We found that for this purpose, the Universities were grossly underfinanced, and the State Governments had absolutely no money with which they could come to the help of the Universities … [Batabyal 2007:754].

Recognizing the shortage of institutions for higher learning the Government of India drafted the Foreign Educational Institutions Bill, 2010. This bill is yet to be passed by the Indian Parliament. It is uncertain which income segments of the population would benefit from this move. It is likely that youth from upper middle class will gain since foreign universities are likely to charge higher fees. Hence it is not surprising that the issue of opening up of the sector is contentious and hence heavily debated [Altbach 2010, Gurukkal 2011, Tilak, 2010]. However the bottom-line is that the entry of these universities cannot be at the expense of existing Indian institutes of higher learning some of which are already facing funding shortages.

Looking ahead, on the not so unrealistic assumption that India manages to maintain a healthy savings and investment rate and invests in higher education it is likely to translate into higher growth rate. This was the recipe that East Asian countries followed. For example, policy makers in Singapore, which managed to grow at 8.5 percent over the period 1966-1990, made the right choices. In 1966, over 50 percent of workers did not have formal education while in 1990 over 66 percent of the workers had completed secondary education. The share of working population increased from 27 to 51 percent. Concomitantly the ratio of investment to gross domestic product increased 11 to over 40 percent [Krugman 1994]. The moot point is whether India can achieve similar progress in a short span of time.

It is only in the last decade that India passed the Right to Education Bill and made it a law. Simultaneously the government is investing in revitalizing the vocational education system and investing in skill development. During India's X Five Year Plan (2002-07) allocations were made for 'Vocationalisation of Secondary Education', a centrally-sponsored scheme. The objective is to link education with work place skills. Individuals in grades VIII to XII could be trained in different trades. The training is provided by Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) and Industrial Training Centres (ITCs) and polytechnics. In the XI Five Year Plan (2007-12) a 'Skill Development Mission' was launched. The formation of the National Skill Development Corporation was announced as part of the announcements made in the Union Budget for 2008-09.

The objective of NSDC is "to contribute significantly (about 30 per cent) to the overall target of skilling / upskilling 500 million people in India by 2022, mainly by fostering private sector initiatives in skill development programmes and providing funding". It will be a matter of time before these initiatives translate the power of the youth into higher economic growth and improved development outcomes. For this to happen, it is important that there is synergy between the policies of the central and state governments.

At the outset we mentioned that the issue of internal brain drain on account of migration of the youth has not received adequate attention. In terms of movement driven by education, we find that Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala are some of the major origin states whereas Maharashtra, Delhi, Karnataka and to some extent Uttar Pradesh (intra-state) are the prime destinations. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar along with Andhra Pradesh and Kerala are facing brain drain based on both aspects of human capital i.e. education and skill level. Delhi, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh are gaining at their expense. When examined from the perspective of some of the states these movements can affect their growth trajectories and potential development. This aspect needs to be highlighted in the discussions on inclusive growth and development.

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Slums: Youth Hubs of a Sort

The National Definition of 'slum areas' was first formulated by the Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act of 1956. The Census of India, 2001 for the first time, separately collected the slum population data from cities and towns having population of 50,000 and more in 1991. Of a total of 743 cities and towns in that category 640 reported slums. The 2001 Census puts the slum population at 42.6 million which forms 15 per cent of the country's total urban population and 23.1 per cent of population of cities and towns reporting slums. Slums are largely confined to big-town and cities: 41.6 per cent of the total slum population resides in cities with over one-million population. Informal settlements occupy one-third of the large city spaces: 34.5 per cent of the population of Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata, and Chennai live in slum settlements. However, The Census 2011 records that slums are growing more rapidly in the smaller cities than the big metros.

The social composition of slums is predominantly made up of not just the economically disadvantaged, but also the socially vulnerable. Slum settlements have a higher proportion (17.4 per cent) of scheduled castes compared to non-slum settlements. While no data is available for the proportion of youth 15-32 years living in slums , small studies have recorded high proportions of youth. Typically, slums have poor basic services even if they are formally recognized by city corporations.

Notwithstanding these conditions slums contribute significantly to the economy of cities by being "a source of affordable labour supply for production both in the formal and informal sectors of the economy". For instance, the annual economic output in Dharavi, Mumbai, among the largest slum settlements in the country, is estimated to be anywhere between $600 million to more than $1 billion (http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/29/world/asia/in-indian-slum-misery-work-politics-and-hope.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0),

The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission was set up with the specific objective of addressing the issue of uneven development of urban areas and has had some significant successes. But it is too small an initiative for the huge task on hand. Of the 558 projects commissioned under the Mission only 128 have been completed at the latest count .

Slum population as proportion of total urban population, select states,2001
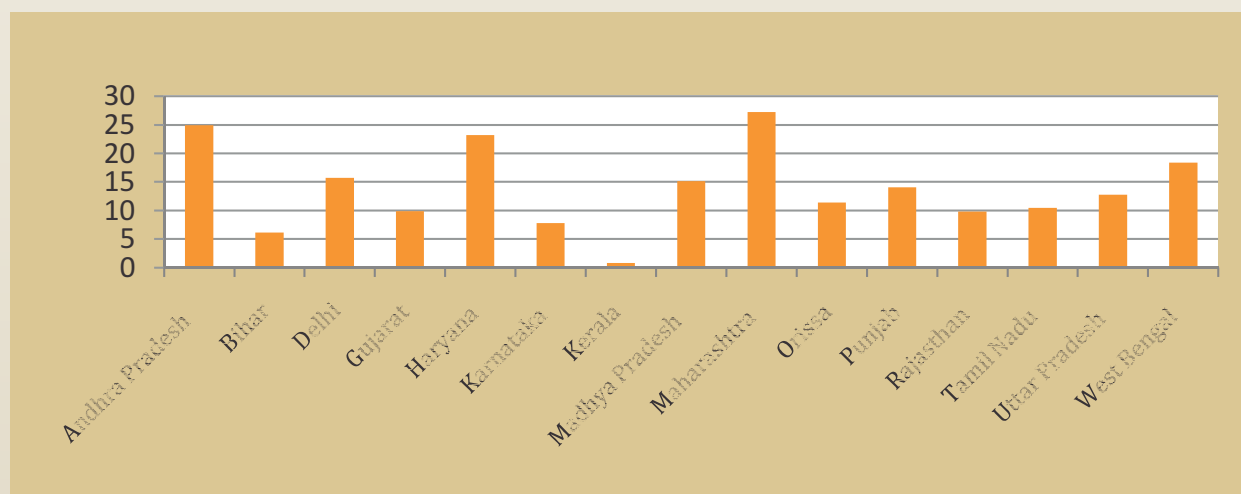
Source: Report of the Committee on Slum Statistics / Census - http://mhupa.gov.in/W_new/Slum_Report_NBO.pdf

Jini Nikita

Women in the Workforce
Where are they?

Vibhuti Patel
Nandita Mondal

In Brief

- India has an adverse sex ratio that has not shown much improvement. It is still a worrying 914 women to 1000 men. Urban sex ratios are no better.

- This disadvantage at birth is aggravated with social bias and neglect. Fewer girls are sent to school than boys. The dropout rate of girls at middle and high school is higher than for boys. Girls who drop out have poorer options than boys, with fewer vocational courses available to them.

- Women are very visible in the lowest paying, low skill jobs that are also often tedious, risky and hazardous. Women are forced into domestic labour and sex work due to an absence of other opportunities.

- Safety and security are important issues in assuring women opportunities for work. New regulations such as the setting up of mechanisms to arrest sexual harassment at work are important radical initiatives.

- Women's issues have received considerable attention at policy and programme levels as seen by a number of women-sensitive initiatives.

- The way forward lies in ensuring that these programmes and policies do not merely remain on paper.

In November 2012 the assault and rape of a young girl on a bus in Delhi brought civil society on to the streets in their thousands all over the country. The mass protests not only pushed the police into action but also had a larger impact in sensitising policy makers too. But the question still remains: Why did this happen?

Why are girls in urban India unsafe on the road? Why is it such a struggle for women to even get to and from workspots, colleges and schools? Why have we failed to bring about a change in the perceptions and attitudes of young men in all these decades of planning and the apparent attention to women's well-being? Why did this violent episode---and several others less publicly acknowledged-ever occur?

The answer lies in the manner the state and society have addressed women's issues and indeed have viewed women. Within this broad perspective we look at substantive issues in the realm of education and work that have an impact on the lives and livelihoods of young women, focusing on the areas least addressed.

Right to Life

For women the right to life begins in the womb. The 2011 Census shows that the child sex ratio[1] registered an all time low by clocking only 914 girls against 1000 boys. Census in 2001 had recorded 927 girls against 1000 boys. This is not only a rural phenomenon. Mumbai recorded the lowest child sex ratio in Maharashtra with 883 females per 1000 males. The child sex ratio in Delhi is 866 girls per 1000

boys in 2011, whereas it was 942 in 2001. The child sex ratio of Silicon Valley of India, Bengaluru was computed as 940.

Some of the important reasons for the decline in sex ratio may be the neglect of the girl child; sex selective female abortion and female infanticide. There has been much debate among demographers and other social scientists on the contribution of sex-selective abortion to the sex ratios. Whatever the underlying reasons, the fact is that sex ratios have declined (Table 1).

Youth and Gendered Education

There has been a long history of social movements addressing the issue of girls' education. And yet, the progress in achieving full coverage of education for girls has been slow . The Gross enrolment ratio (GER) of boys is 44.26 per cent as against 35.05 per cent for girls with a difference of 9.2 percentage points. The GER for students belonging to SC is 34.55 per cent and that belonging to ST is even lower 27.68 per cent; the lowest GER being for ST girls at 21.95 per cent.

As per the Planning Commission report of Working Group on Secondary and Vocational Education for Eleventh Five Year Plan, the Gross Enrolment Ratio for classes IX –XII in 2004-05 was 39.91 per cent. The figure for classes IX and X was 51.65 per cent whereas that for classes XI-XII was 27.82 per cent. (Table 2).

Table 2: Gross Enrolment Ratios in Different Classes

Classes	Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER)
IX-X	51.65
XI-XII	27.82

Source: Selected Educational Statistics (2004-05)- provisional data

A sample study in the Delhi region conducted by National University of Educational Planning and Administration revealed that 57.6 per cent children in the sample dropped out at the onset of Class IX are girls [Chugh 2011].

The survey was done in 33 Municipal Corporation Schools in the Delhi region. The reasons that have been attributed to such drop outs are as follow:

Table 1: Sex Ratio in India, 1901 to 2011

Year	Sex ratio
1901	972
1911	964
1921	955
1931	950
1941	945
1951	946
1961	941
1971	930
1981	934
1991	927
2001	933
2011	940

Source: Census of India, 2011

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[1] Sex ratio is generally the number of males per 1000 females. In India it is the number of females to 1000 males.

I) Household with many children prefer to send boys over girls to continue education

ii) Girls on attaining puberty.

iii) Girls at early marriage.

iv) Presence of exclusively Male teachers at school.

v) Distance from home.

vi) Not so safe road to school.

vii) No separate toilet for girls in school.

The report shows that while there is some success in retaining girls in the education system at the primary levels, they continue to drop out of school at a most vulnerable time in their development and life. The Working Group on Education in the Planning Commission has pointed out that since it is the rigour of Secondary and Higher Secondary stage that enables Indian students to compete successfully in education and jobs globally it is absolutely essential to strengthen this stage by providing greater access and equity and also by improving quality of higher and skill based education in significant way. However, recent reports on quality of education have all highlighted the generally poor quality of education available to most youth.

A University Grants Commission report on *Higher Education in India Issues related to Expansion, Inclusiveness, Quality and Finance* (2008) shows that while enrolment rate in higher education of youth aged between 18 -23 years is 11 per cent, there is significant inter group disparities in access to higher education.

The NSS data for 2004-05 (latest year for which the NSS data are available) indicates significant rural and urban disparities- enrolment rate being 6.73 percent and 19.80 per cent for the rural and the urban areas respectively – the GER in the urban areas being three times higher compared to rural areas. However, inter-caste/tribe disparities are the most prominent. In 2004-05, the GER was about 11 per cent at overall levels. The GER among the SCs (6.30 per cent), the STs (6.33 per cent), and the OBCs (8.50 per cent) was much lower compared with the others (16.60 percent).

Thus, the GER for the SC/STs was three times and that of the OBCs about two times less compared with the others. Between the SC/STs and the OBCs, however, the GER was lower among the former by about two percentage points.

Vocational Education

A most challenging issue is the drop out of adolescent girls from school due to the inability to pass in Mathematics, Science and English. This means that girls often miss out on opportunities for vocational training that would give them the skills for industrial employment. There is an urgent need for bridge courses, remedial education, distance and IT enabled courses, vocational training to be made available to girls especially from the marginalized sections. It is possible that ITIs do not respond to women's training needs as much as they should and focus on training in conventionally female vocations such as beautician courses, secretarial practice, stenography, COPA and tailoring.

In the intra-household distribution of labour, girls shoulder the major burden of economic, procreative and family responsibilities. NSSO, 1991 revealed that nearly 10 per cent of girls were never enrolled in schools due to paid and unpaid work they had to do in homes, fields, factories, plantations and in the informal sector [NSSO 1991: Table 21,22].

Sexual abuse at the work place is a hidden burden that a girl worker endures. Child labour policies, however, do not spell out anything specific to protect girl child workers. There is no implementation of prohibition of girls working in hazardous occupations in the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986. About 6 per cent of the boys and girls in rural areas and about 3 per cent males and 2 per cent girls in age group 5-14 years in urban areas were found to be working during 1993-94 [Jawa 2002].

Nature of Women's Work

Women in developing countries are a 'flexible' labour force. Their cheap labour forms the basis for the induction of women into export industries such as electronics,

garments, sports goods, food processing, toys, agro-industries, etc. They are forced to work uncomplainingly at any allotted task, however dull, laborious, physically harmful or badly paid it may be. A large number of poor adolescent girls looking for work within the narrow confines of a socially imposed, inequitable demand for labour have become ideal workers in the international division of labour.

The relationship between the formal sector and the decentralised sector is a dependent relationship. The formal sector has control over capital and markets, and the 'informal' sector works as an ancillary. In India, more than 90 per cent of girls and women work in the decentralised sector, which has a high degree of labour redundancy and obsolescence. They have almost no control over their work and no chance for upward mobility because of the temporary and repetitive nature of the work. Another dead-end occupation that has absorbed the highest number of adolescent girls is domestic work in an extremely vulnerable, precarious and hazardous condition reminding us of wage-slavery.

The shift from a stable/organised labour force to a flexible workforce has meant hiring women part-time, and the substitution of better-paid male labour by cheap female labour. The new economic policies provide State support to corporate houses that are closing down their big city units and using ancillaries that employ women and girls on a piece-rate basis. Home-based work by women and girls gets legitimised in the context of increasing insecurity in the community due to a growth in crime, riots, displacement and relocation. Sub-contracting, home-based production, the family labour system, all have become the norm. This is being called an increase in 'efficiency' and 'productivity'. The casual employment of urban working class girls and women in the manufacturing industry has forced thousands of women to eke out subsistence through parallel petty trading activities (known as 'informal' sector occupations). Adolescent working class girls are multi-tasking.

> Young men and women today build the foundations for the economies and societies of today and tomorrow.

They bring energy, talent and creativity to economies and make important contributions as productive workers, entrepreneurs, consumers, agents of change and as members of civil society. There is no doubt that what young people strive for is the chance of a decent and productive job from which to build a better future. Take away that hope and you are left with a disillusioned youth trapped in a cycle of working poverty or in danger of detaching from the labour market altogether – thus representing a vast waste of economic potential [ILO 2010: 2].

The above quote provides the rationale for examining and addressing the challenges faced by youth at work. The underlying patriarchal attitudes and practices, situated in the context of increasing capitalism and economic globalization (which is largely exploitative), provide further reasons for examining, understanding and addressing adolescent girls and their right to work, as well as rights in work (conditions of work).

Case Study 1: Stree Mukti Sanghatana

Stree Mukti Sanghatana or Women's Liberation Organisation *(SMS)* established in 1975 has directed its efforts towards the uplift of women irrespective of caste, class, creed, religion, language and nationality; primarily by creating awareness in the society about women's issues and the issues related to equality, peace and development. For the last 28 years SMS has been working to achieve equal status for women in all spheres of life, i.e. political, economic, social, cultural and psychological fields. It is an apolitical, autonomous, voluntary organisation.

SMS started *Parisar Bhagini* women's programme in 1998. The Parisar Vikas programme aims at addressing the problems of rag picking women, engaged in the 'menial' tasks of 'cleaning the waste' and also the problem of waste management, engulfing the urban existence. SMS demands that the Municipal Authorities should issue identity cards to waste pickers authorizing them and granting them permission to collect scrap for recycling. While out sourcing door to door collection of waste even private contractors, should be asked to employ waste pickers on first priority basis.

Mass migration to Mumbai of the displaced rural poor produces waste managers who eke out a living on the margins of India's over-crowded cities. Rag picking is a caste and gender based activity. Rag pickers comprise the poorest of the poor dwelling in shanties, mainly women and children who collect garbage - plastic, paper, metal, etc., usually from municipal dustbins, landfills and garbage dumps for recycling. They work seven days a week, earning on average less than Rs. 60 / 70 a day. Of 7000 metric tons (600 truckloads) of garbage produced every day in Mumbai, around 7 to 8 per cent is collected by rag pickers through salvage. Rag pickers are highly vulnerable because they have few assets and few alternative livelihood options. Because of their hazardous working conditions the rag pickers suffer many more illnesses and injuries than the general population. Illiteracy among rag pickers and their children is high, and access to formal training or employment is non-existent. Many rag pickers have limited knowledge of their rights as citizens, including basic rights like access to free primary education [Mhapsekar 2006].

National Domestic Workers Movement

The National Domestic Workers' Movement (NDWM), India's first national movement to bring visibility to the plight of domestic workers, particularly young girls was set up by Sister Jeanne Devos. In India domestic workers often live in harsh, abusive conditions and are generally not considered 'real' workers with rights to adequate pay and legal protections. Because they toil behind their employers' closed doors, cases of victimisation rarely come to light. By organising and empowering domestic workers, influencing public opinion and lobbying the government, NDWM is improving the lives of an overlooked and exploited group, both in India and internationally.

Devos kick-started the movement in 1985 in Mumbai by bringing workers together to demand improved treatment and wages. Since then, the movement has expanded to offer new approaches to identifying and intervening in abusive domestic labour situations and human rights training for migrant domestic workers. NDWM's lobbying has led several Indian state governments to adopt reforms like mainstreaming domestic labour into the informal sector or setting up a code of conduct for employers of domestic workers.

Domestic Work

A large majority of young girls in the age group of 14-30 work as household workers in urban centres.

Adolescent girls are also considered one of the most vulnerable groups for exploitation at work, due to the process of socialisation. They are conditioned to be more docile, timid, non- compliant, loyal and responsible. They are seen to have less addictions or vices, and more hardworking and obedient than boys. Significant characteristics of the girl child labourer include:

- invisible work which is not recognized as an economic activity and which is not under the purview of law;

- no identifiable employer;

- home-based work;

- long working hours;

- poor conditions that prevent them from attending school;

- no skill formation;

- low pay and low status; and

- physical abuse and sexual harassment [Bajpai 2003]

Sex Work

In the urban centre of India, trafficked young women are forced into prostitution. Extreme poverty makes recruiting in villages easy and profitable. Hundreds of thousands, and probably more than a million women and children are employed in Indian brothels. Many are victims of the increasingly widespread practice of trafficking in persons across international borders. In India, a large percentage of the victims are women and girls from Nepal.

In India, police and local officials patronise brothels and protect brothel owners and traffickers. Brothel owners pay protection money and bribes to the police to prevent raids and to bail out under-age girls who are arrested. Police who frequent brothels as clients sometimes seek out under-age girls and return later to arrest them -- a way of extorting

bigger bribes. Girls and women who complain to the police about rape or abduction, or those who are arrested in raids or for vagrancy, are held in "protective custody" -- a form of detention. Corrupt authorities reportedly allow brothel owners to buy back detainees [CWDS, 2007].

Case Study 2: Prerana, Battling Prostitution

Prerana is battling prostitution in Mumbai through an aggressive multi-pronged attack that combines service provision, policy advocacy, and legal activism directed at cutting off supply. Prerana works with those in the trade to provide them with life choices enabling them to quit. It also challenges the inevitability of generational prostitution by enabling the children of prostitutes to opt for other professions. By engaging an ever-expanding circle of national-level stakeholders, Prerana is placing formidable obstacles to trafficking operations. This concerted blitzing of supply points is designed to deal a body blow to a lucrative trade. BMC has provided all facilities to Prerana in terms of administrative support and huge space to run school, counselling centre and shelter to BMC for effective functioning.

To counter sex trafficking, Prerana works on several fronts with multiple partners including CSOs, lawyers, and women and child welfare state agencies, focusing on rescue and rehabilitation of trafficked victims and sensitization workshops for lawyers and public officials. Successful results of Prerana-instigated class action suits include crucial clarification of laws meant to protect minors. Most recently, Prerana has been campaigning against beer bars to expose how these legal enterprises are a venue for solicitation. Prerana's efforts have put trafficking on funding agency agendas and its approach has gained government recognition.

Bonded Labour

Bonded labour is a system of forced, or partially forced, labour under which the debtor enters into an oral / written agreement with the creditor. In consideration of the interest on such an advance, the debtor agrees to render, by himself or through any member of his family, labour for the creditor for a specified / unspecified period of time either without wages or for nominal wages. Through this agreement, the debtor is deprived of freedom of employment, freedom to sell at market value any product of the debtor's or his / her family members' labour and the right to move freely throughout India. The system is known by different names in different parts of the country, including *begar, sagri / hali and jeetham.* The causes of bonded labour include poverty, unemployment/under-employment, inequitable distribution of land and assets, low wages, distress migration and social customs. The system draws heavily upon traditional feudal social relations, the caste system, social hierarchy and discriminatory practices that are prevalent in society. Such systems thrive in agriculture but also in urban workplaces such as brick kilns, stone quarries, crushers and mines, power looms and cotton handlooms, as well as in construction and other industries.

People considered 'untouchables', *adivasis,* women and children are among the main victims of the bonded labour system, as they have a lower social ascription and fewer perceived rights. In addition to other forms of exploitation and abuse, female bonded labourers are vulnerable to wage discrimination, physical abuse and sexual exploitation by the creditor and his family members / relatives. The malnutrition-related death of Katraju Lakshmi, a Chenchu tribal woman from Andhra Pradesh, who worked as a bonded labourer on construction sites in Meghalaya, is a case in point.[2] Hard physical labour at construction sites, combined with denial and discrimination in wages and lack of food, caused Lakshmi's death in 2006.

Legal and Policy Response: The Constitution, in the chapter on fundamental rights, prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour.[3] The Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976 was enacted to abolish the bonded

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[2] For more details, see http://www.fian.org/cases/letter-campaigns/india-failure-of-state-social-programmes-leads-to-bonded-labour-of-600-chenchu-tribals-and-the-death-of-a-chenchu-woman. accessed 4 December 2009.

[3] Article 23 of the Indian Constitution

labour system, as it is exploitative, violative of human dignity and is contrary to basic human values.[4]   The law unilaterally frees all bonded labourers from debt bondage, with simultaneous liquidation of their debts. The law lays down monitoring, enforcement and implementation modalities, which mainly rest on state governments. A series of progressive judgments of the Supreme Court has attempted to monitor the implementation of the law. Pursuant to a 1997 directive of the Supreme Court, the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) has been vested with the responsibility of monitoring the implementation of the law and making reports to the Court from time to time.[5]

In *Bandhua Mukti Morcha vs. Union of India* Case, the Supreme Court dealt with the release of bonded labourers from stone quarries in Haryana.[6] Despite a formal abolition of the system by law and some positive judgments, it continues to exist in practice. An example of the manner in which the bonded labour system works, in particular relevance to adolescent girls, is the *Sumangali scheme* in Tamil Nadu.

Case study 3: Sumangali scheme in Tamil Nadu[7]

 In February 2006, the State Textile Workers Federation made a representation through the Centre of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), to the Government of Tamil Nadu, alleging that the textile mills in Tamil Nadu were indulging in an exploitative practice of engaging adolescent girls under a scheme known as *Thirumagal Thirumana Thittam* (marriage assistance scheme for adolescent girls) and that the same amounted in fact, to forced labour. In January 2007, a notification was issued by the government of Tamil Nadu, including the employment in textile and spinning mills within Part I of the Schedule to the Minimum Wages Act.

Following this, the Chief Inspector of Factories submitted a report to the state government, confirming that girls above the age of 15 were employed in spinning mills for three-year apprenticeship, and that after completion, the girls were paid Rs. 30,000 – Rs. 50,000 as a lump sum amount to meet their marriage expenses. The report also contained the total number of mills and girls who were employed - 7810 in Erode, 21599 in Coimbatore and 9052 in Dindigul–a total of 38,461 girls employed in 406 mills. The report further said that there had been some incidents of sexual harassment. The report recommended that since it might be impossible to abolish the system all of a sudden, it would be better to appoint monitoring committees at the district level.

The state government appointed district monitoring committees in the three districts Erode, Coimbatore and Dindigul.[8] At about the same time, a civil society organization – Society for Community Organization (SOCO) Trust complained to the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC), alleging that thousands of girls in the age group of 15 to 20 were employed as bonded labourers by certain textile mills, under some dubious schemes known as *Sumangali Marriage Thittam and Thirumagal Thirumana Thittam.* Based on directions from the NHRC, the state government began identifying mills where young girls were employed as apprentices, examining their working conditions and advising the measures to be taken for prevention of exploitation of young girls in the guise of apprentices.

The Sumangali scheme, which is a form of forced labour in India, is said to have started in 1989. The word 'Sumangali' in Tamil means an unmarried girl becoming a respectable woman by entering into marriage. Under this scheme, girls' parents, usually poor and from the lower castes, are persuaded by brokers to sign up their

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[4] The words of the Supreme Court in the Asiad Workers case - People's Union for Democratic Rights vs. Union of India AIR 1982 SC 1473

[5] Order dated 11 November 1997 in *PUCL vs. State of Tamil Nadu and others*

[6] AIR 1984 SC 802

[7] For more details, see India Committee of the Netherlands (ICN) and the Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) (2011); Solidaridad-South and South East Asia (2012)

[8] G.O.Ms.No.62, Labour and Employment department, dated 30-3-2007

daughter(s). The scheme promises a bulk of money after completion of a three-year contract working in the factory. The scheme, prevalent largely in the spinning mills of Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, supposedly meets the need of poor families and provides stable workforce to factories. The scheme is clearly exploitative in nature, as it provided the girls an approximate daily wage of Rs. 50 a day, three times less than the legal minimum wage in Coimbatore in 2008. Once the contract is signed, young girls are under the control of the factory or the broker. It is often reported that the girls lived in captivity for a long period. Some factories are reported to fire the girls or make them resign shortly before they finish the three-year contract so as to avoid paying the marriage assistance fund, ranging from Rs. 30,000 to Rs. 50,000 [Menon 2012].

In November 2008, the state government, through a government order, fixed minimum wages of Rs. 110/ per day apart from dearness allowance as detailed in the order, to apprentices engaged in employment in textile mills.[9] This order was challenged through many writ petitions in the Madras High Court before a single judge, where they were all dismissed, and the government order upheld.[10] On appeal before a division bench of the Madras High Court, the court affirmed the single judge's order.[11] In 2009, a public hearing on the issue was organised by the Tamil Nadu State Commission for Women, which recommended cash compensation.

In 2010, it was reported that a 17 year old girl escaped from a private mill in Coimbatore, where she had been trapped for five years [Srividya 2012]. In July 2012, civil society renewed its demand for monitoring of companies implementing the Sumangali scheme.[12] Despite the various interventions of the state government, NHRC, the judiciary and civil society organizations, exploitation in the form of bonded and forced labour of adolescent girls reportedly continues in the Tamil Nadu textile and garment industry at present [Kumar 2012].

According to government estimates more than 37,000 adolescent girls are trapped in this system across Tamil Nadu.[13] The Sumangali scheme is a complex issue involving adolescent girls, embedded in and deriving strength from a combination of factors: the Indian context of patriarchy, gender discrimination, low social value for girls, the importance attributed to marriage of girls, the practice of dowry and the perception of girls as a financial burden.

Another study reveals the practice in Andhra Pradesh, where local seed farmers, who cultivate hybrid cottonseed for national and multinational seed companies, secure the labour of young girls by offering loans to their parents in advance of cultivation, compelling the girls to work at terms set by the employer for the entire season, and, in practice, for several years.[14]

Experts say that despite the legal provisions, identification and release of bonded labourers is always challenging, as only a small number are identified, that too with the persistent efforts NGOs, and that the rehabilitation of migrant labourers is often neglected [Srivastava 2005]. Moreover, very few employers got prosecuted and even fewer got convicted. According to the Ministry of Labour's figures, between 2000 and 2002 in all of India, there were only around 1800 bonded labourers being identified and released; and another around 17300 bonded labourers rehabilitated. However, there was no data showing how many child labourers are among those being freed, and how many of them were adolescent girls [Human Rights Watch 2003 :50].

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[9] G.O. (2D) No.61, Labour and Employment (J1) Department of State of Tamil Nadu, dated 7.11.2008

[10] *Tamil Nadu Spinning Mills vs. The State of Tamil Nadu*, judgment dated 30 April 2009

[11] *The Southern India Mills vs. The State of Tamil Nadu*, judgment dated 11 December 2009

[12] 'Monitoring of Companies under the Sumangali Scheme Demanded', *The Hindu*, 18 July 2012

[13] 'Bonded Labour at Mills for Unmarried Girls', http://www.ndtv.com/article/india/bonded-labour-at-mills-for-unmarried-girls-9657, accessed 1 July 2012

[14] 'Girls Fettered: Bonded Labour on AP Farms', Deccan Herald, 17 May 2003; see also data.undp.org.in/childrenandpoverty/ref/Davuluri.htm, accessed 1 July 2012

Young Women with Disability

A research study was conducted in 1998 by the National Centre for Promotion of Employment for Disabled people (NCPEDP), gathering data mostly from non-governmental organizations providing services for persons with disability. The percentage of girls with disabilities going to school (38.34 percent) was found to be much lower than the percentage of boys (61.66 percent) getting an education. In India only 54.16 percent of all women are literate. With such high rate of illiteracy of women in general, the chances of girls with disability getting an education are extremely poor. Thus many women with disabilities spend tedious hours employed in cottage industries in work for which little education is necessary.

The study showed that out of the 5,618 persons with disabilities enrolled in vocational training in one year only 38.85 percent were women. Of all the people with disabilities placed in job in two years, only one-fourth was women.

Many parents even now do not accept the importance of education of disabled girls. The problem is related to a large extent to financial status and educational background of parents, as well as has roots in social and religious beliefs. Also when money is in short supply, then families have to take decisions regarding whom to send to school. Very few girls reach schools and for many a professional qualification is a far-fetched dream [Baquer and Sharma 1997].

Another problem, which arises, is restricted mobility. One of the main reasons for restricted mobility is the environment which is not disabled friendly. The existing housing systems, public places, institutions, transports are not very accessible for persons with disability. The problems of mobility prevent many girls with disability from getting an education. If they do start school, girls and women with disability get less encouragement to go on with their studies.

Sexual Harassment at Workplace

Sexual harassment is an expression of male power over women and girls that sustains patriarchal relations, and is often an extension of violence against women and girls in everyday life, targeting and exploiting their vulnerability at the workplace. It is a manifestation of power relations – women are much more likely to be victims of sexual harassment because they lack power and are in a more vulnerable and insecure position, lack self-confidence, or have been socially conditioned to suffer in silence [ILO 2000: 58]. The right to life ought to include the right to work in an environment that is conducive to human dignity. Sexual harassment at the workplace is not only an issue related to empowerment of women and girls but an issue of occupational safety and health.

Sexual harassment of women at workplace is also a violation of the right to life and personal liberty as mentioned in Article 21 of the Indian Constitution. The right to livelihood is an integral facet of the right to life, and consequently sexual harassment at the workplace is the violation of the right to livelihood, as it deprives the woman and girl of a safe working environment.

In common parlance, there is only a thin line between casual flirting and sexual harassment. The Supreme Court laid down the definition of sexual harassment as

> Any unwelcome sexually determined behaviour such as physical contact, a demand or request for sexual favours, sexually-coloured remarks, showing pornography and any other unwelcome physical, verbal or non-verbal conduct of a sexual nature.

It includes leering, dirty jokes, sexual remarks about a person's body, sexual advances either verbal or through gestures or through the use of sexually suggestive or pornographic material, whistling, sexually slanting and obscene remarks or jokes, comments about physical appearance, demands for sexual favours, threats, avoidable physical contact, touching, patting, pinching, physical assaults and molestation of and towards women workers by their male colleagues or anyone who for the time being is in a position to sexually harass the women under their fold.

The Supreme Court pronounced a landmark judgment on sexual harassment of working women in 1997 in Vishaka and Others vs. State of Rajasthan.[15] In this judgment, the court stated that sexual harassment of working women (including girls) was a form of discrimination against

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[15] *Vishaka& others vs. State of Rajasthan* AIR 1997 SC 3011: (1977) 6 SCC 341

women and violation of the constitutional right to equality. The backdrop to this judgment was the gang rape of a community worker of the Rajasthan State Government's Women Development Department, Bhanwari Devi, in 1992, who was employed in its women's development programme to prevent child marriages. A group of women's organizations came forward to file Public Interest Litigation (PIL) in the Supreme Court, asking for directions and guidelines to ensure the constitutional rights of women to work in a violence-free work environment. The landmark judgment was significant in recognizing sexual harassment at the work place as a violation of the constitutional rights of women and outlining guidelines for the prevention, deterrence and redress of sexual harassment.

In the case of Apparel Export Promotion Council v. A.K. Chopra,[16] the Supreme Court further explained the definition of 'sexual harassment' in Vishaka judgment as follows:

> An analysis of the above definition, shows that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination projected through unwelcome sexual advances, request for sexual favours and other verbal or physical conduct with sexual overtones, whether directly or by implication, particularly when submission to or rejection of such a conduct by the female employee was capable of being used for effecting the employment of the female employee and unreasonably interfering with her work performance and had the effect of creating an intimidating or hostile working environment for her (Para 27).

To sum up

The lack of implementation of laws, lack of awareness of rights enshrined in the laws coupled with a lack of access to justice for adolescent girls, brings to the fore the importance of proactive policies for young girls at work as a complementing strategy.

Kishori Shakti Yojana, an adolescent girl's scheme sponsored by the central and state government of Haryana, is a case in point. Adolescent girls are trained and equipped to improve their home-based and vocational skills. The scheme was commenced with the objective of improving the nutritional and health status of adolescent girls between 11-18 years of age, to train and equip them to improve home-based and vocational skills, to promote awareness of health hygiene, nutrition, home management, child care, and take all measures to facilitate their marriage after attaining the age of 18 years and even later. This scheme is being implemented through anganwadi centres.[17] Such schemes need to be taken up at a larger, nationwide scale to make a meaningful and long-term impact on the economic empowerment of adolescent girls.

Young women face the following challenges in the market / workplace:

- Young women are perceived as the most powerless labour force that is socialised to suffer in silence.

- The 'double burden' that women carry is especially heavy for younger women who have to play multiple roles at home of daughter, sister, wife, daughter-in-law and mother within a patriarchal formation that has seen little change in modern times.

- They predominantly work in the informal, including home-based sector, with poor or no protection through labour laws and increased exploitation.

- They are usually in low skill, labour-intensive jobs.

- The jobs women are involved in offer low mobility vertically or horizontally.

- They work in unsafe work environment, leading to occupational health problems.

- They suffer from often invisible gender-based discrimination: Non-payment of wages, payment of wages below minimum wages, unequal wages for equal work, etc.

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[16]For (1999) 1 SCC 759

[17]For more details of the policy, see http://india.gov.in/citizen/health/viewscheme.php?schemeid=71

Table 3: State obligations related to adolescent girls' right to and in work

Obligation to Respect	Obligation to Fulfill	Obligation to Protect
• State must not destroy or obstruct an adolescent girl's opportunity to earn her living – such as by banning night work or work in certain sectors; • State must not deter adolescent girls by complaining about forms of violence, harassment or exploitation at the workplace - by imposing punitive measures on them if they fail to prove their complaints.	• State must provide the opportunity to adolescent girls to earn their living, commensurate with their age and capacity to work; • Provide vocational training that is affordable, for adolescent girls to upgrade their skills; • Provide on-job training to build the capacities of the girls; • Create awareness through the media and other means, of employers' responsibilities towards adolescent girls; • Establish working women's hostels for adolescent girls and young women; • Provide for work-related benefits to adolescent girls such as gratuity, annuity, medical insurance, provident fund etc.; • Provide access to justice for adolescent girls including creating rights awareness and providing free legal aid; • Create innovative mechanisms for regulating the work environment for adolescent girls in home-based work / work in unorganised sector; • Create safe conditions for night work; • Ensure support systems and services / facilities at workplace and to and from home that are gender-inclusive, and meet the specific needs of adolescent girls, including that of safety and occupational health; • Establishment of crèches and day care centres, and provisions for breaks for nursing adolescent mothers; • Create a regulatory framework for the public sector and Special Economic Zones in order that adolescent girls may exercise their labour rights in these contexts. • Collect empirical data and initiate research studies to fully understand adolescent girls at work in India, a situation analysis of the same, the problems they face, and formulate laws, policies and schemes using such research findings as the basis.	• State must prevent adolescent girls' opportunity to work from being destroyed by third parties; • Prohibit by law all forms of exploitation of adolescent girls at work, both in public and private sectors, including sexual abuse of adolescent girls who are domestic workers;[18] • Strictly enforce and effectively implement criminal and labour laws, including on minimum wages, equal remuneration for work of equal value, maternity benefits, occupational health and safety, and other aspects of rights at work; • Prohibit and provide remedies for sexual harassment at workplace, including by constituting grievance committees with gender-sensitive persons, and by taking strict action against perpetrators; • Encourage adolescent girls to lodge complaints on exploitation at the workplace, including but not limited to sexual harassment; • Release bonded labourers, redress them and prosecute persons responsible; • Eradicate child labour, particularly in hazardous industries, and rehabilitate victims including girls; • Ensure prompt and unconditional payment of wages to adolescent girls; • Effectively implement regulatory framework that protects and promotes adolescent girls' labour rights in the private sector and Special Economic Zones.

Source: Rights of Adolescent Girls in India: A Critical Look at Laws and Policies, By Saumya Uma, Vacha Publications, Mumbai, 2012, pp. 311-312.

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[18] In 2007, the CEDAW Committee expressed its concern about sexual abuse of domestic workers, a majority of who were girls. It called upon the Indian government to enforce provisions of the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 to their benefit, and to devise strategies for their rehabilitation including their inclusion in the formal educational system. CEDAW: India, 2007 at paras 48-49.

- There is a high prevalence of female child labour and bonded labour that has not even been recorded.

- Young women run the risk of exploitation and trafficking.

- Sexual harassment at the workplace is not often recognised despite all the laws and legislations.

With the shrinking of the job market, women run the risk of losing jobs or suffer from job redefinitions that increase their load.

In conclusion, instead of viewing adolescent girls only through the lens of their natal families, they should be seen as individuals in their own right, who require laws and policies for protecting and promoting their rights. Micro-credit facilities and facilities for on-site banking facilities for girls and young women at their place of work are some such strategies. The policies should be geared towards supporting adolescent girls for building skills in order that they can become economically independent. Laws related to the eradication of child labour, bonded labour and protecting girls at the workplace ought to be implemented in a rigorous manner.

Conclusion

The above discussion brings home the point that since birth till the twilight years, a girl has to struggle to simply 'live'. While her birth itself is under the threat rest of her life is full of thorns. The census data on child sex ratio is quite revealing and draws attention to the issue of gender to be taken seriously at every point; be it education, health or work force participation. The governance part of each policy intervention has to be very transparent to cater to young women citizenry and constantly being recipient of criticism since the prevailing social order is dynamic in nature.

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Xavier Grousson

Youth Labour Market in India
Opportunities and Choices

Bino Paul G D
Krishna M

In Brief

- In India, mostly informal jobs, with low pay and no social security, tend to emanate from industries that create more jobs for the youth while those industries offering more formal jobs are less absorptive of growing workforce.

- Only minuscule share of jobs in India that are available to youth are formal, carrying entitlements like social security while a vast majority of opportunities for the youth are informal in nature.

- Indian youth, men and women, are increasingly enrolling in tertiary education, throwing a big challenge for the state and society to provide them decent work options in future. For Indian youth education appears to be pivotal in getting decent job and earning a good pay.

- Most significantly, in India, there is perceptible discrimination against young women in the participation of labour market; a huge proportion of them engage in domestic duties. This should be a serious policy concern.

Composition of Youth Labour Market in India We begin with the super set of population, which is split into two categories: labour force and not in the labour force. While the former covers persons who are in the working age population, excluding persons below 15 years, who are willing to work for a pay, the latter is the pool of persons who are not willing to or available for work for a pay. The category labour force may be further split into employed and unemployed. Persons who are in the category of employed are engaged in paid work, while the latter category consists of person who are willing, either searching or not searching, to be employed but have not been in absorbed in paid work yet. Further, employment is formed by three categories: self-employed, regular wage/salaried employee, and casual labour. It is worth noting that employment, in general, may be decomposed into formal and informal. While the former covers employment that provides social security to workers, the latter includes workers who are not entitled to any social security benefits. Self-employed as a super set subsumes own-account workers, employers and members of family working in enterprises owned by family member/s. The other two forms of employment are wage employment. While the scope of casual labour covers engagement in public works like National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and irregular engagements in paid activities, the category 'regular salaried & wage' comprises those with relatively more regularity in pay and durability of engagement in paid work, both formal and informal employment. The 'not in the labour force' category includes those who are attending educational institutions, those who are engaged in unpaid domestic duties and the free collection of goods for household use and those who are not able to work due to disability, and others.

In 2009-10 Table 1, three-fourths of the young women in rural India were not in the labour force, five-sixths of urban young women do not participate in the labour market, forming a huge pool of those not in the labour force.[3] More specifically, between 2004-05 and 2009-10, the proportion of young women not in the labour force has increased from 67 percent to 75 percent and 81 percent to 84 percent in rural and urban areas, respectively. Although there are many reasons for this quantum leap in those not in the labour force, empirical evidence suggests that there is also in the same period a significant increase in the number of people who attend educational institutions [Rangarajan 2011].

In the same period the share of young men 'not in the labour force' in both rural and urban sectors, has increased. While neither causal labour nor regular salaried categories show any discernible change in this period irrespective of area and gender, the share of self-employed reports a significant decline.

To understand these changes succinctly, we use three indicators: work participation rate (WPR), labour force participation rate (LFPR), and rate of unemployment. Employed and labour force as percentages of population are defined as WPR and LFPR, respectively, while the rate of unemployment refers to unemployed person as a percentage of labour force. As shown in Table A1 (Appendix), in 2004-05 to 2009-10, all three indicators declined, in varying magnitudes, across area and gender. While the decline is relatively steep for rural, the magnitude of decline is less noticeable for urban. The rate of unemployment is highest for urban women: it declined from 17 percent to 15 percent during this period.[4]

This combined pattern (Tables 1 and A1) of a noticeable increase in those not in the labour force, a significant decline in the self-employed and the decline in WPR and LFPR may be reasonably surmised to be related to the increasing participation of youth in tertiary education (assessed more fully later in the chapter).

Employment is disaggregated for social category, that is, Scheduled Tribe (ST), Scheduled Caste (SC), Other

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[3] The recent studies by Rangarajan et al (2011), Jayan Jose Thomas (2012), Kannan KP and G Raveendran (2012), and Indira Hirway (2012) provide a detailed account of the missing women labour force in India.

[4] Youth in India: Situation and Needs 2006-07, a report published by the International Institute for Population Sciences, highlights the magnitude of unemployment problem among Indian Youth. According to the report, the unemployment rate among young women is 16 per cent.

Backward Class (OBC) and others, for the same period, the patterns shown in Tables 1 and A1 are applicable for all these social groups showing perceptible increase in 'not in labour force' and a noticeable drop in self-employed.

Interestingly, we get a similar pattern of drop in the share of self-employed and rise in the share of not in the labour force across religion, with a notable exception of Zoroastrianism (Table A3, Appendix). In 2009-10, those reporting Buddhism as their religion show the highest ratio of casual employment to population i.e. 22 percent. Sikhism and Jainism show highest proportion of 'not in the labour force', hovering around 60 percent of population in 2009-10.

increased from 19 percent to 24 percent, showing a significant change. Interestingly, the share of young women in domestic duties and the free collection of goods for household use dropped from 34 percent to 27 percent during this period, showing a phenomenal change. Reiterating this pattern, as shown in Table 3, the proportion of persons in the age group of 18-23 attending tertiary education across area and sector increased perceptibly during this period. For young women in urban India, this proportion increased from 18 percent to 31 percent, a similar change is seen for other categories too. In other words a large proportion of young women took themselves out of the labour force in order to pursue

Table 1: Labour market composition of Indian youth (usual principal status)

	Labour Market Status	NSS 66th Round (2009-10)			NSS 61st Round (2004-05)		
		Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person
Rural	Self-employed	32.4%	11.3%	22.0%	39.5%	16.6%	28.0%
	Regular Salaried & Wage	6.5%	1.6%	4.1%	7.2%	1.6%	4.4%
	Casual Wage Labour	29.9%	10.4%	20.3%	28.9%	13.0%	20.9%
	Unemployed	3.1%	1.3%	2.2%	3.4%	2.0%	2.7%
	Not in Labour Force	28.2%	75.3%	51.4%	20.9%	66.8%	44.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban	Self-employed	22.1%	4.2%	13.6%	27.2%	6.1%	17.3%
	Regular Salaried & Wage	27.6%	6.7%	17.6%	26.9%	6.9%	17.5%
	Casual Wage Labour	13.0%	2.5%	8.0%	12.4%	2.7%	7.8%
	Unemployed	4.2%	2.3%	3.3%	6.0%	3.3%	4.7%
	Not in Labour Force	33.1%	84.3%	57.5%	27.6%	81.1%	52.7%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural + Urban	Self-employed	29.3%	9.3%	19.5%	35.9%	13.8%	25.0%
	Regular Salaried & Wage	12.8%	3.1%	8.1%	12.9%	3.0%	8.0%
	Casual Wage Labour	24.8%	8.1%	16.7%	24.1%	10.3%	17.3%
	Unemployed	3.4%	1.6%	2.5%	4.2%	2.3%	3.3%
	Not in Labour Force	29.7%	77.9%	53.2%	22.9%	70.6%	46.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Computed by authors using unit level data sourced from Compact Discs of 66th and 61st Round National Sample Survey (NSS) Employment and Unemployment Survey

As discussed previously, drawing cues from Tables 1, A1, A2 & A3, perceptible increase in 'not in the labour force' seems to emanate from discernible increase in proportion of 'not in the labour force' who attended educational

education in this period.

There is a tenacious and embedding type of labour dynamics for Indian youth between type of household and type of employment. As shown in Table 4, there appears to

Table 2: Urban and rural youth who are not in labour force (usual principal status)

Labour Market Status	NSS 66th Round (2009-10)			NSS 61st Round (2004-05)		
	Male	Female	Male + Female	Male	Female	Male + Female
Attended educational institution	92.1%	24.1%	43.5%	90.8%	19.0%	36.9%
Attended domestic duties only	1.6%	47.6%	34.4%	1.2%	45.4%	34.4%
Attended domestic duties and was also engaged in free collection of goods for household use	0.8%	27.1%	19.6%	1.0%	34.0%	25.9%
Others	5.4%	1.2%	2.5%	7.0%	1.6%	2.8%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

institutions in the period 2004-05 to 2009-10 (Table 2). For young women, during this period, the proportion

be a perceptibly strong concordance between these two variables in rural and urban areas. In urban India, going by

Table 3: Proportion of person in the age group of 18-23 attending tertiary education

	Male	Female	Male + Female
NSS 66th Round 2009-10			
Rural	17.8	9.7	13.9
Urban	34.2	30.6	32.5
Rural + Urban	22.8	15.8	19.4
NSS 61st Round 2004-05			
Rural	8.2	4.7	6.4
Urban	21.9	18.3	20.3
Rural + Urban	12.2	8.3	10.3

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

data, youth belonging to regular wage/salary household may join same employment category (as the household), but perhaps in different roles with a different scope.

Table 4: Employment of youth (15-32) according to type of household, 2009-10

	Employment of Members in the Household (Male + female)			
Type of Household (Urban)	Self-employed	Regular/ Salaried Wage	Casual Wage Labour	Total
Self-employed	76.1%	16.3%	7.6%	100.0%
Regular wage/salary earning	7.1%	86.6%	6.3%	100.0%
Casual labour	6.4%	9.0%	84.6%	100.0%
Others	33.6%	45.4%	21.0%	100.0%
Total	34.6%	45.0%	20.4%	100.0%
Type of Household (Rural)				
Self-employed in non-agriculture	82.1%	6.2%	11.8%	100.0%
Agricultural labour	5.5%	3.8%	90.7%	100.0%
Other labour	11.2%	12.7%	76.1%	100.0%
Self-employed in agriculture	88.8%	3.9%	7.3%	100.0%
Others	23.2%	60.9%	16.0%	100.0%
Total	47.5%	8.8%	43.7%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

However, self-employed households in urban areas seem to present an interesting and significant deviation from this pattern. Here one-sixth of youth are employed in the category of regular/salaried wage. This pattern needs to be examined with the help of data on correspondence between occupation of the head of household and occupation of youth from the household, which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Educational Attainment of Employed Youth

There is marked contrast between rural and urban India in the distribution of educational attainment of employed youth in 2009-10 (Table 5). While one third of urban employed youth have at least higher secondary level education, in rural area this proportion is just one tenth. In the period 2004-05 to 2009-10, the percentage of illiterate employed youth decreased significantly from 33 percent to 23 percent, while the share of those having secondary education increased from 9 percent to 14 percent. In the same period, the share of graduates in youth employment in the urban sector increased markedly from 11 percent to 15 percent.

It appears that labour market outcomes vary with respect to educational attainment [Bino et al 2008]. As shown in Table 6, median years of schooling vary across categories of employment and sectors. In rural India, in the period 2004-05 to 2009-10, median years of schooling increased across forms of employment. For self-employed, this indicator increased from 4 years to 7 years. Similar change is tenable for casual employment and regular salaried/wage work too. While this indicator increased from 0 to 4 years for the former, for the latter, the same increased from 7 to 10 years. Compared to urban areas, change was more perceptible in rural India. In sum, the labour force in India is better educated than before with the change more perceptible in rural areas.

Educational attainment, in particular tertiary education, seems to be crucial for achieving formal employment that provides entitlements like social security. Figure 1 delineates that based on pattern generated from NSS 66th round for 2009-10, there is clear contrast between

Table 5: Educational attainment of male and female youth (15-32)

	NSS 66th Round (2009-10)			NSS 61st Round (2004-05)		
Educational Attainment	Rural	Urban	Rural+Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural+Urban
Not Literate	22.6%	10.1%	19.3%	32.8%	13.9%	28.3%
Just Literate	10.5%	5.8%	9.3%	12.2%	8.1%	11.2%
Primary	18.3%	13.0%	16.9%	16.6%	15.5%	16.4%
Middle	23.4%	20.4%	22.6%	20.5%	22.4%	20.9%
Secondary	13.5%	16.7%	14.3%	9.3%	13.9%	10.4%
Higher Secondary/Diploma	7.6%	13.5%	9.1%	5.5%	12.0%	7.0%
Graduate	3.3%	15.2%	6.4%	2.5%	11.0%	4.5%
Post Graduate	0.8%	5.2%	2.0%	0.7%	3.2%	1.3%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Table 6: Employment and years of schooling of youth (15-32)

	Employment	NSS 66th Round (2009-10)		NSS 61st Round (2004-05)	
		Mean	Median	Mean	Median
Rural	Self-employed	5.9	7.0	4.7	4.0
	Regular	8.9	10.0	7.7	7.0
	Casual	3.9	4.0	2.7	0.0
	Total	5.3	4.0	4.2	4.0
Urban	Self-employed	8.1	7.0	7.2	7.0
	Regular	10.2	10.0	8.7	10.0
	Casual	4.9	4.0	4.0	4.0
	Total	8.4	10.0	7.2	7.0
Rural + Urban	Self-employed	6.3	7.0	5.2	4.0
	Regular	9.8	10.0	8.3	7.0
	Casual	4.0	4.0	2.9	0.0
	Total	6.1	7.0	4.9	4.0

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Figure 1: Educational attainment of employed youth (15-32) in informal and formal employment
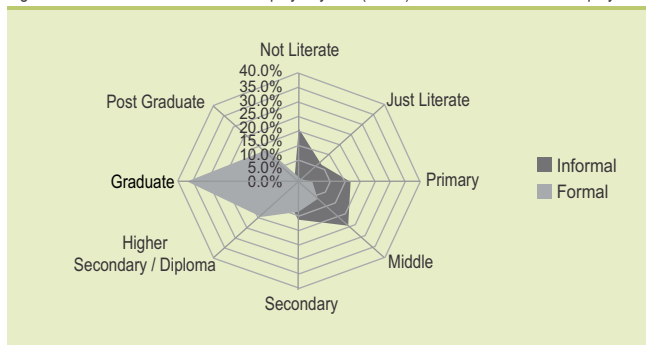
Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Figure 2: Median weekly wage and educational attainment of youth (15-32)
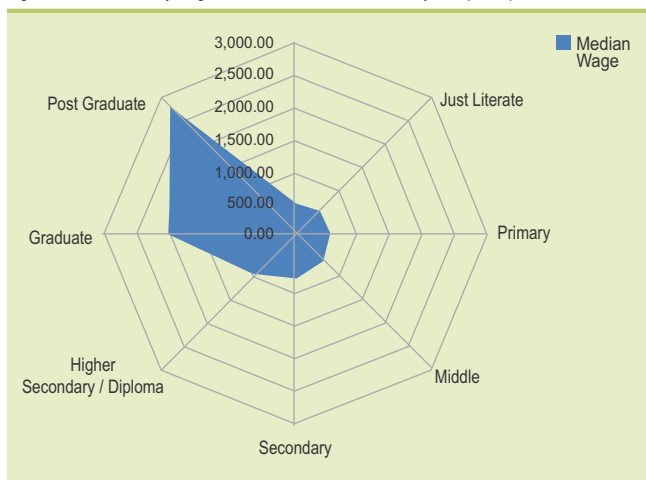
Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

educational attainment of formal and informal workers [Bino et al, 2008]. While persons with at least graduation

form a significant part of formal employment, persons with primary or upper primary education constitute the chunk of informal employment. Interestingly, as depicted in Figure 2, median weekly wage appears to be sensitive to educational attainment. Quite clearly, as shown in the figure,[5] there is a hierarchy of median wages; tertiary education is positioned at the top while illiteracy figures at the bottom of pyramid.

To reiterate, education is a significant factor in kind of employment, median wage increasing with increasing educational attainment.

Youth Employment Across Industry

What is the formal-informal composition of youth employment across industries?[6] An interesting change in the period 2004-05 to 2009-10 is that the share of primary sector in employment decreased from 67 percent to 63 percent, while share of secondary sector increased from 17 percent to 21 percent (Table 7). For young men in rural India, share of secondary sector increased from 19 percent to 23 percent. For rural young women, share of tertiary sector increased from 7 percent to 9 percent. The share of tertiary sector in employment for urban young women increased from 52 percent to 55 percent. It is important to note that there is a discernible contrast between the composition of youth employment in rural and urban sectors. While the agriculture accounts for three fifths of employment in rural area in 2009-10, and construction forming one tenth, employment urban areas is far more diversified (Table A5, Appendix). Interestingly, in urban area, one-sixth of youth employment comes from retail industry and one tenth from construction industry while computer and related activities generated just 3 percent of employment.

In the context of enormity of informal employment in India, we outline formal-informal[7] composition of

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[5] In figures 1 and 2, scale is measured in wage while the area of radar is segmented by categories of educational attainment.

[6] We examine from where does demand for employing youth emanate, outlining share of industries in employment. First, we aggregate different industries to generate three broad categories: Primary, Secondary and Tertiary (Table 7). Second, we disaggregate these sets, as given in Table A5, Appendix, using National Industrial Classification (NIC) 2004.

[7] While formal employment provides social security to workers, workers in the informal category are entitled to such provisions.

National Industrial Classification (NIC) 2 digit industries,[8] covering 58 industries (Table A6, Appendix). Of these in 2009-10, formal employment forms at least 50 percent in just eight industries: mining of coal and lignite, extraction of peat, extraction of crude petroleum and natural gas, service activities, electricity, gas, steam and hot water supply, water transport, air transport, financial intermediation, except insurance and pension funding, computer and related activities, and public administration and defence. It is worth noting that these eight sectors appear to absorb minuscule fraction of labour market while sectors which are quite absorptive such as construction and retail hardly generate perceptible formal employment.

As depicted in Figure 3, the relation between a particular industry's share in youth employment and share of formal employment in particular industry shows that formal employment tends to be generated by sectors which are restricted to certain pools of labour such as workers with specific skills. They do not extend employment opportunities to the whole labour market. A good example of this phenomenon is information technology (IT) industry (a subset of computer and related services). Although this industry has been continually expanding its human resource base since 2000, this industry's labour absorption is almost entirely graduates in engineering and relevant technical education.

An interesting question to posit would be on the nature of formal employment in industries, in particular a comparison between secondary and tertiary sectors. We use occupation as a proxy to capture changes in the nature of formal employment, though this measure might miss vital informational clues on job content, hierarchy and cultural traits. Using the National Classification of Occupation (NCO) 2004 containing close to a thousand occupations, occupations have been classified into higher order occupations and other. The former comprise occupations in science, technology, medical, accounting, economics, social sciences, law and related that show

Table 7: Employment of youth (15-32) in different sectors

		Sex		
		Male	Female	Total
		NSS 66th Round (2009-10)		
Rural	Primary	58.4%	76.0%	62.8%
	Secondary	23.2%	14.8%	21.1%
	Tertiary	18.5%	9.2%	16.2%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban	Primary	4.5%	8.7%	5.2%
	Secondary	40.2%	36.1%	39.6%
	Tertiary	55.3%	55.2%	55.2%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban + Rural	Primary	43.2%	63.3%	47.7%
	Secondary	28.0%	18.8%	25.9%
	Tertiary	28.8%	17.9%	26.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		NSS 61st Round (2004-05)		
Rural	Primary	62.3%	78.7%	67.1%
	Secondary	18.9%	14.0%	17.4%
	Tertiary	18.8%	7.3%	15.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban	Primary	4.4%	12.1%	5.8%
	Secondary	39.5%	35.7%	38.8%
	Tertiary	56.1%	52.2%	55.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban + Rural	Primary	46.9%	68.5%	56.2%
	Secondary	24.4%	17.3%	22.5%
	Tertiary	28.7%	14.2%	24.9%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

higher median years of schooling and have a higher mass of socially advantaged groups. Table 8 shows the proportion of higher order occupation in formal and informal employment across sectors in the period 2009-10 to 2004-05. Interestingly, secondary and tertiary sectors

Figure 3: Share of formal sector in industry
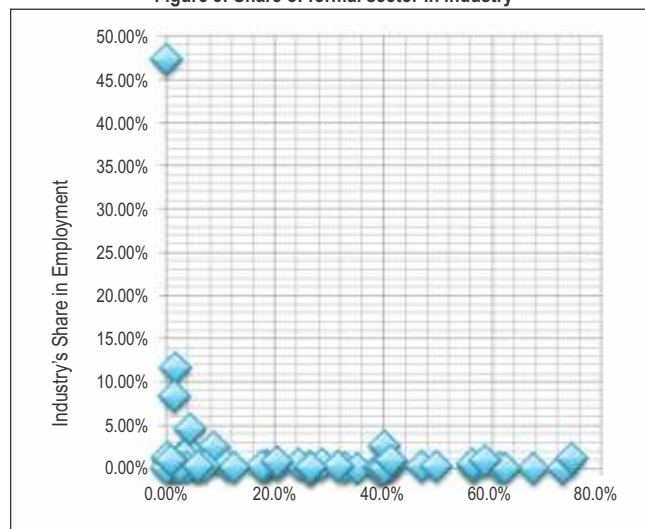
Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

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[8] NIC 2004 is used for aggregating and disaggregating economic activities. While the highest level of aggregation classifies economic activities into three groups, primary, secondary and tertiary, the highest level of disaggregation generates minutest categories of industries.

show divergent trends. While share of higher order occupation in formal employment in secondary sector increased from 13 percent to 19 percent this indicator has decreased from 31 percent to 46 percent in tertiary sector. The share of higher order occupation in informal employment during the period appears to move in same direction in both the sectors. Quite perceptibly, the share of higher order occupation in informal employment in tertiary sector increased from 16 percent to 25 percent. There may be two plausible explanations for this. First, compared to tertiary sector, the secondary sector, in particular a large chunk of manufacturing industries, are tending to employ less labour reflected in the low employment elasticities, primarily influenced by the increasing use of labour saving technologies. Even the existing labour base in this sector is dominated by contract workers. Moreover, higher order occupations in this sector, particularly the managerial profile tends to be more multi-functional, thus showing higher concordance with firms' preference for labour market flexibility [Bino and Krishna 2012]. Cumulatively, these changes might have generated an increasing proportion of higher order occupations in the secondary sector. Second, the tertiary sector, tending to be more labour absorptive than manufacturing, well reflected in relatively higher

employment elasticities, seems to show a proclivity to broaden the human resource pool. A good example is financial intermediation which absorbs graduates with technical and non-technical background. Moreover, to meet the needs of increasing penetration of service sector in small towns and rural areas, presumably the tertiary sector is broadening the labour pool by having more employees in non managerial occupations.

Concluding Remarks

Our exploration through NSS unit level data (66th and 61st Rounds) seems to have unraveled emerging trends in the labour market of Indian youth. Quite importantly, there is a perceptible increase in Indian youth attending educational institutions, particularly rural young women. Between 2004-05 and 2009-10, the proportion of those not in the labour force had increased, irrespective of area and gender. However, a large pool of young women does not participate in the labour market; contrary to this pattern and a negligible share of young men in the category of person attend domestic duties. This indicates strong and tenacious gender discrimination against young women participating in the labour market. It is worth positing whether we will see any meaningful changes to this situation in next five years, viewing that even urban agglomeration spaces in India have not made major breakthroughs in social-public policy towards gender diversity in work, leaving aside exceptions.

Another emerging trend is that as youth become more educated they will be looking for more decent jobs. If the service sector in India broadens its human resource base, we might see a new spiral of youth setting their labour market expectations on the basis of decency of work, not willing to settle for continuing in traditional occupations or settling for lower wage scenarios.

For Appendix Tables A1 to A4 please see p.154.

Table 8: Employment of youth (15-32) according to industry and occupation

Industry	Occupation	Informal	Formal	Informal + Formal
		NSS 66th Round (2009-10)		
Primary	Others	99.0%	100.0%	99.0%
	Higher Order Occupation	1.0%	0.0%	1.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Secondary	Others	91.8%	81.3%	91.1%
	Higher Order Occupation	8.2%	18.7%	8.9%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Tertiary	Others	75.1%	68.6%	74.2%
	Higher Order Occupation	24.9%	31.4%	25.8%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
		NSS 61st Round (2004-05)		
Primary	Others	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	Higher Order Occupation	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Secondary	Others	94.0%	87.3%	93.6%
	Higher Order Occupation	6.0%	12.7%	6.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Tertiary	Others	84.5%	54.5%	81.4%
	Higher Order Occupation	15.5%	45.5%	18.6%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Note: Higher order occupation, following National Classification of Occupation 2004 & 1968, is defined as Science/Technology/Medical/Accounting/Economics/Social Science/Law Related Workers and administrators/Managers/Directors/Executives.

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Notes

Employment Exchanges

An Employment Exchange is an organisation that provides employment assistance on the basis of qualification and experience. The National Employment Service which functions within the framework of the Employment Exchanges (Compulsory Notification of Vacancies) Act, 1959 and 1969 provides registration, placement, vocational guidance and career counseling services to the job seekers and is the joint concern of both the Central and the State Governments.

The Employment Exchanges (Compulsory

employment in agriculture (including horticulture), domestic service, unskilled office work, employment connected with the staff of parliament, and if the total duration of the vacancies are less than three months.

Under the Act, Employment Exchanges have been set up in all the States and Union Territories comprising a network of 969 employment exchanges (2010). This makes for a database of more than 40 million registered jobseekers making the entire organisation among the largest anywhere.

However, the success rate of these exchanges in

Employment exchange statistics - All India

Year	No. of employment exchanges	Live register (in thousands)	Placements (in thousands)
2001	938	41995.9	169.2
2002	939	41171.2	142.6
2003	945	41388.7	154.9
2004	947	40457.6	132.6
2005	947	39347.8	173.2
2006	947	41466.0	177.0
2007	965	39974.0	263.5
2008	968	39114.9	304.9
2009	969	38152.2	261.5
2010	969	38826.9	509.6

Source: http://dget.nic.in/publications/ees/ees2011/6%20List%20of%20Tables.pdf

Notification of Vacancies) Act, 1959 and 1969 provides for compulsory notification of vacancies to the Employment Exchanges and for the rendition of returns relating to Employment situation by the employers. This act first came into force with effect from 1st May, 1960.

All Establishments in Public Sector and such establishments in Private Sector excluding agriculture, where ordinarily 25 or more persons are employed come within the purview of the Act. These establishments are required to notify all vacancies (other than those exempted) to the appropriate Employment Exchange as notified in the Official Gazette by the State Government in the prescribed format. This Act will not apply to vacancies in any

respect of placements is poor, below 0.5 percent. In contrast, a leading online job website, Timesjobs.com, claims to have a database of 6.5 million job seekers with a success rate of 10 – 15 per cent placements in a month. Partly this is because the private sector has kept away from posting job vacancies with Employment Exchanges preferring private agencies that are more reliable and offer more efficient services evidenced by the fact that the total number of vacancies in 2010 was 7.07 lakh.

Interestingly, while the number of EEs has grown from 938 to 969 in a decade, the number of the live register has fallen. Contrarily the no. of placements has risen.

The age-wise break up of job seekers on the live registers of EE in 2005-2009 shows that the largest numbers are in the 20 to 29 years.

The maximum number of job seekers were in West Bengal (6569.2 thousand) followed by Tamil Nadu (6013.9 thousand), Kerala (4366.4 thousand) and Maharashtra (2856.8 thousand). The number of vacancies notified to the Employment Exchanges during the year 2010 were maximum from Gujarat (260.7 thousand) followed by Maharashtra (245.0 thousand), Tamil Nadu (27.2 thousand) and Himachal Pradesh (23.3 thousand). In other States the vacancies notified varied between 0.1 thousand to 20.9 thousands.

If Employment Exchanges are to be surviving in the current age of globalization and to serve the national interest fulfilling the aspiration of both the employers and the job-seekers, restructuring and modernization of Employment Exchanges should be done immediately. All the exchanges should be linked via a web based computer system creating a 'virtual job-market' for employers and job-seekers. The access and use of the portal should be easy and user-friendly. Job-seekers may upload their bio-data in the portal through common service center (CSC) or kiosks. Kiosks may be developed at every technical / professional institute for uploading the bio-data of the pass-outs from that institute. Employers should have easy access in the portal to select the suitable candidates from the data bank with minimum government control.

It is necessary, to set up a accurate, quality labour Market Information system, at district, state and national level to accumulate information regarding unorganized sector labour force linking the training providers and the trainees. A comprehensive data base through the registration of all formal and non-formal training providers in the territory of skill development

of the job-seekers with relevant placement information may be linked with the employment portal. Regulations may be enacted to furnish such information to the national portal mandatory for the training providers.

Employment exchanges may be used to launch some training programmes, in PPP model for skill development of the job-seekers in the field of demand-driven quality skill training.

To provide employment counseling, assessment of capabilities and vocational guidance to the job-seekers a comprehensive scientific system needs to be develop at the employment exchanges with professional career-guide. The national portal will help the counselors and also the job-seekers providing latest information regarding opportunities in the fields of training, employment and self employment.

Recruitment through local employment exchange should be encouraged by way of offering incentives for the employers like tax-exemption for recruitment of son of the soil. This will help to neutralize the current trend of local mass agitation against land acquisition for industrialization.

Sources:

http://wb.gov.in/portal/WBLabour/Employment/WBLCMSPortletLabourWindow
Ministry of Communications & Information Technology, Government of India:
http://deity.gov.in/

-Aarti Salve Telang.

Himanshu

CHAPTER 12

Education and Employment
Bridging the Gap.

Charu Sudan Kasturi

In Brief

- There is a widening gap between skills and job market needs
- Hidden underemployment of educated youth is very evident
- Rising youth disenchantment does not augur well for the country

Entering the final year of his four-year computer engineering undergraduate programme at the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) Roorkee, Saugata Deb was confident he would land a job that would both test his skills and fetch him good pay. But seven months after graduating, Deb, the son of a school teacher and homemaker from Burdwan, Bengal boasts neither the job profile he sought nor the salary he craved, with a major software firm in Bangalore.

Instead, he sits at his desk, his fingers testing software code, his mind scouring for job options elsewhere. "It's disillusioning for people like me, when we don't get jobs even close to what we deserve with our qualifications," Deb says, when asked whether he was over his disappointment. "I will continue to look for better opportunities, but I'm ready to accept that I may need to work here for a while."

It's a reality young Indians across the country are increasingly confronting, as a growing gap between the demands of the job market and the education and skills most universities offer spawns a generation of youth that is apparently

overqualified, but is underemployed and is dissatisfied.

This reality also holds a threat for India – because this is the generation that the country is banking on to spearhead an economic surge riding on the back of an unprecedented demographic advantage.

By 2020, India is set to become the world's youngest country, with an average age of 29, more than 500 million citizens under 25 and 64% of its population in the working age group of 15-59 [GoI 2011]. At a time when the west and even Japan are aging, this demographic potential offers India and its growing economy an unprecedented edge that economists believe could add an additional 2 percent to India's GDP growth rate, already among the highest among major economies [Aiyar and Mody 2011]. For the tens of millions who will each year enter their working life, the world could be on offer, as other countries search for the trained, young professionals they lack. But a growing body of evidence suggests that India may not be ready in time to take advantage of this window of opportunity unless it speeds up.

The National Sample Survey Organization (NSSO) reports show that while a growing industry and service sector is creating jobs, and decreasing unemployment, the gap between the demands of employers and the training of the workforce is leading in fact to increasing underemployment.

NSSO defines employment in four different ways. A 'usual status' of employment calculates the fraction of the labor force that is willing to work but is without work on most days of the year. An 'adjusted usual status' includes those who get part-time work, even though they may not find a full day's work. The 'current weekly status' measures the section of the workforce employed on at least one day of the week during which the survey is conducted, while the 'current daily status' calculates the segment employed for at least one hour of the day when the survey team chooses to measure this parameter.

Most economists and policy planners use the adjusted usual status to evaluate employment, unemployment and underemployment in India. The other three parameters usually follow the same trends as the adjusted usual status for most demographic sections of the population. We use here the adjusted usual status to derive employment data. Between 2004-05 and 2009-10, the unemployment rate (the unemployed per 1000 citizens in the workforce) came down from 69 to 57 for urban women, 38 to 28 for urban men and 18 to 16 for rural women, remaining steady at 16 for rural men say the recent NSSO employment surveys [NSSO 2006: 153; 2010: 153].

As India transitions from a historically agricultural economy to one driven by the services – and to a lesser extent manufacturing – sector, its jobs too are expectedly moving away from the villages to cities. That's why while overall, unemployment has dropped across India, the job market for youth – citizens in the age group of 15-29 – is more complex.

Unemployment rates for rural male youth have risen from 39 to 47 and for rural female youth from 42 to 46 between 2004-05 and 2009-10, pointing to the decline in new jobs rural India is offering youth. Urban India presents a different picture – unemployment for urban male youth has gone down from 88 to 75, and for urban female youth from 149 to 143 over the same period [NSSO 2010: 160].

Slicing the workforce by educational qualifications, the NSSO surveys further confirm that the unemployment rate has dropped for each level of educational attainment [NSSO 2010; 158].Simultaneously, underemployment caused by a mismatch in qualifications and employment is rising.

Top corporate headhunters are increasingly telling MBA graduates from second and third rung business schools that they don't possess the skills required for the jobs they seek. Engineers from top institutions, like Deb from IIT Roorkee, are finding that the brand of their engineering school is no longer sufficient to automatically fetch them the job and pay they feel they deserve.

Mumbai-based Ravinder Singh, an MBA graduate from the Vellore Institute of Technology, is slowly giving up hopes of ever making it to the higher rungs of the corporate ladder. Singh has spent most nights the past six

months applying for consulting jobs at Indian and global companies. "I've only heard a no," Singh, working at his father's export business, said. "I've learned to accept that my MBA doesn't guarantee me a job."

The NSSO refers to those who are employed but are dissatisfied with the quality or quantity of their work and pay and think they deserve better given their educational qualifications, as the 'invisible underemployed.' Between 2004-05 and 2009-10, in a period when India witnessed persistently high economic growth rates and invested heavily in education, the invisible underemployment rate (measured as the number per 1000 members of the workforce) among regular wage earners increased from 59 to 62 for urban men, from 38 to 52 for urban women, from 31 to 80 for rural men and from 31 to 50 for rural women. Simply put, 14 more urban men belonged to this category of underemployed for every 1000 urban men in the workforce, 14 for women in every 1000 urban working women, 49 more men in every 1000 working rural males and 19 more women in every 1000 working rural females in 2009-10 as compared to five years earlier[NSSO 2006: 184; NSSO 2010: 184].

And the gap between educational qualifications and what these should prepare a young man or woman for the job market is alarmingly higher for those who are more educated, than for the illiterate or less educated.

In every NSSO employment survey since 1993-94, the illiterate have recorded the lowest unemployment rate, which goes up with educational qualifications. Those holding an undergraduate or higher degree had an unemployment rate of 63 compared to just 3 for the illiterate in 2009-10. In other words, students with at least one college degree are 21 times likelier to be unemployed than the illiterate. The lower unemployment for the illiterate may be an outcome of lower expectations from a job, translating into the willingness to take up employment requiring fewer skills – and offering poorer pay.

But how does one explain the high unemployment among the educated?

If, as the numbers show, an undergraduate degree holder is likelier to be employed today than in 2004-05, but continues to be less likely to be employed than someone who is illiterate, it points to a persistent gap in the employability of many educated Indians.

"Finding gainful employability for the youth of this country is a priority to prevent them from picking up guns instead," Minister of State for Human Resource Development (HRD) Shashi Tharoor said on his first day in office late November, referring to growing fears that frustrations borne out of the inability of qualified and educated youth to find jobs they believe they deserve could add to the social tensions and civil unrest already simmering in parts of India [Kasturi 2012]. This crisis didn't arrive overnight.

Industry has been warning the government about it for a few years now. Repeated studies by industry chambers have shown that a majority of the country's graduates, including those specializing in engineering and management, are unemployable.

Widening differences between what today's jobs require, and what schools and colleges teach students, are key to fueling underemployment.

"When lots of MBAs come out of graduate school, they may have an understanding of organizational behaviour and management practices learned in class, but they can't actually get work done in the real world," Pooja Gianchandani, director and head of skill development at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) told this writer recently. "That makes them unemployable or forces them to settle for jobs not ideally matching their qualifications on paper," she said.

In the 1960s, under its first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, India started a chain of Industrial Training Institutes (ITIs) to create a cadre of skilled workers ready to work in factories supporting large public sector industries.

Even today, the ITI network represents India's biggest established skills development effort. But with curricula tailored to the needs of declining, manufacturing-based

public sector industries, the ITIs are hopelessly outdated in catering to the requirements of an economy where the private sector and services are the biggest engines of growth.

Schools in India have only recently introduced vocational education programs for secondary school students.

 Closely linked to the gap between curricula and industry needs is another problem India is now grappling with. An explosion of professional schools – mainly engineering and MBA institutions – trying to cash in on India's growth story since 2000 is equally responsible for the underemployment crisis, says Bakul Dholakia, former director of the Indian Institute of Management, Ahmadabad, regularly rated India's best B-school.

All engineering schools together offered 825,791 seats at undergraduate and postgraduate levels in 2007-08. Today, they offer 1,905,802 seats. From about 2000 B-schools – public and private – at the turn of the century, the country today has 3,844 schools offering MBAs or post-graduate diplomas in management (See list of approved engineering institutions, AICTE, 2012-13).

In terms of the number of B-school opportunities available, the increase has been even sharper – an almost three-fold hike from 114,803 seats across undergraduate and postgraduate levels in 2007-08 to 313,920 seats in 2011-12 (See List of approved management institutions AICTE 2012-13).

Many of these B-schools run predominantly with visiting faculties. "These visiting lecturers, typically from industry, basically relate their experiences to students. That's important, but can't substitute for actual B-school case studies," Dholakia told me recently. At least the top 2000 B-schools get "good" students, Dholakia said. "Unlike a BA or BSc, professional schools are all about jobs. If a school offering professional education is unable to get students jobs, it has failed."Over 400 B-schools have shut down over the past two years, according to the All India Council for Technical Education (AICTE), India's apex technical education regulator.

But India will also need to confront, head on, a deeper, cultural challenge. The union labor ministry's latest statistics on community-wise employment and unemployment figures appear to present a happy picture of social inclusion.

In rural India, the unemployment rate for scheduled castes (14), scheduled tribes (11) and other backward classes (15), is much lower than that of the historically more privileged communities captured under the general category (24), according to the labor bureau's study conducted in 2011. [Ministry of Labour 2012:31]12.

And though the numbers are a lot closer in urban India, unemployment rates for scheduled castes (22), scheduled tribes (23) and other backward classes (19) remain lower than that for the general category (25) even here [ibid].

Reaching the marginalized has always proven a major challenge for surveyors, not just in India but across the world, and so a gap in capturing the true state of unemployed scheduled caste, scheduled tribe and other backward class men and women cannot be ruled out. But, as with the low unemployment among the uneducated, here too, community-specific perception biases – and not social inclusion -- may be key driving forces in affecting employment numbers, anecdotal evidence suggests.

Unlike the west, hands-on service sector jobs have traditionally been looked down upon by upper castes in India."There's no social appreciation for skilled labor, like say, a plumber," FICCI's Gianchandani said. "That needs to change, though it will take time."

New York-based Raj Gilda, who with his wife and friends runs a non-profit, Lend-a-Hand-India, that provides vocational training to schools across Maharashtra, found that his biggest challenge was to convince parents."I had to tell them that their kids would eventually become engineers, for parents to agree to have their kids train in welding or carpentry," Gilda said.

Youth from traditionally disadvantaged social groups, with fewer prejudices against hand-on work, may be less averse to taking up such employment than counterparts brought

up in a culture that looks down upon physical work. But while this may contribute to the lower unemployment rates for disadvantaged social groups, there is no evidence to suggest that it affects invisible underemployment patterns for these communities any differently from the trends for other social segments.

The NSSO does not compute employment, unemployment or underemployment for different social communities.

Rajesh Kumar was confident that his economics undergraduate degree from Delhi University's Sri Ram College of Commerce – one of the best commerce schools in India – would offer him a buffet of job opportunities to choose from. But the 23-year-old scheduled caste boy from Darbhanga, Bihar, is working at a call centre in Gurgaon.

His voice rings with the same disappointment that marks Saugata Deb's tone. "I thought I'd be an investment banker or an actuary," Kumar said. "I'm hopeful, but I'm frustrated, like anyone in my place would be."

State-side Solutions

On its part, the Indian government has and is trying to meet this underemployment crisis. In 2005, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh – then in his first term – set up a National Knowledge Commission (NKC) under technocrat and entrepreneur Sam Pitroda, who had led India's initial telecom revolution in the 1980s and early 1990s. The NKC was given a mandate to prepare a blueprint to reform Indian education and help the country utilize its demographic advantage. This was the first official recognition of the need to reform to use a rare demographic opportunity in the history of modern India.

Many of the NKC's recommendations were accepted and are in different stages of implementation. A National Skills Development Mission was set up under the PM with the aim of training 500 million young Indians for service sector jobs by 2020. But bureaucratic wrangles have tied down several initiatives taken by entrepreneurs under the mission, and there is little clarity on its successes. A

proposal to link 3000 colleges and universities on a high-speed information highway through fiber optic cables is being implemented, and several institutions have already benefited.

Yet there is little evidence – statistical or anecdotal – that India's initiatives are enough to help it maximize the advantages its young population offers and like Tharoor,

Figure 1: Rising Invisible Underemployment among regular wage earners

Source: Chapter 7, NSS Report number 515, Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, 2004-05; Page 184
Note: Invisible underemployment is measured as the number of members of the workforce, per 1000 members, who are dissatisfied with the quality or quantity of their work and pay and think they deserve better given their educational qualifications.

Figure 2: Education offering little help in bridging job gap
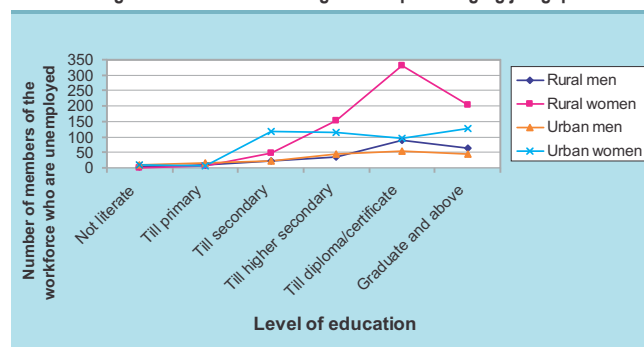
Source: Chapter 6, NSS Report No. 537: Employment and Unemployment Situation in India, 2009-10; Page 158
Note: All figures in Chart 2 are for 2009-10; The adjusted usual unemployment metric of the NSS is used here – calculating the number of members of the workforce, per 1000, who usually don't have employment or even part-time employment.

many government officials fear that failure could leave India with millions of disillusioned youth.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, the architect of India's economic reforms two decades back that opened up new job opportunities for a young generation, today echoes concerns about the persistent gap between skills and jobs that his government has struggled to bridge.

"We must recognize that too many of our higher educational institutions are simply not up to the mark,"

Education and Employment / Charu Sudan Kasturi

Singh said in early February 2013, speaking to a conclave of Vice Chancellors heading 40 of the country's top universities. "Too many of them have simply not kept abreast with the rapid changes that have taken place in the world around us in recent years, still producing graduates in subjects that the job market no longer requires." [Remarks at the Conference of Vice Chancellors of Central Universities, Rashtrapati Bhavan, February 5, 2013.

http://pmindia.nic.in/speechdetails.php?nodeid= 1278].

A 2012 study by the AICTE and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) confirmed that a majority of technical institutions in the country had poor linkages with industry. "India stands at the cusp of a unique demographic dividend," Pitroda had told this writer in 2009, days before the NKC submitted its final recommendations to the PM. "But if we aren't careful, it could equally turn into a demographic nightmare."

A massive and sustained publicity campaign needs to be launched addressing citizens and explaining the demographic reality of the nation, the areas where jobs are opening up and the prospects that the country's youth could aspire to. Cultural attitudes borne out of deep-rooted biases, including a disdain for physical labor among some, will take time to change. But a start needs to be made.

Key recommendations:

• Vocational education streams need to be introduced across school boards in the country in conjunction with industry.

• A National Vocational Education Qualifications Framework that will allow mobility of students between traditional higher education and vocational streams needs to be introduced

• Accreditation rating of higher educational institutions, particularly schools offering professional education, to industry requirement, including the extent to which industry inputs are taken in drafting curricula. Accreditation should be mandatory for all educational institutions as soon as possible.

• The curriculum and the mandate needs to be updated, to focus on the demands of today's industry and the reality of where jobs lie.

• A statutory body modeled on the National Knowledge Commission, needs to be set up with the mandate to regularly research and point out the challenges facing India's push to utilize its demographic potential.

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Jini Nikita

Youth in the Informal Sector

Vaijayanta Anand

In Brief

- More than 90 per cent of the workforce and about 50 per cent of the national products are accounted for by the informal economy.

- High congruence between informal work status and poverty/vulnerability.

- Urban and industrial policies take little note of the needs of the informal sector. For instance, urban planning makes no room for the location of street businesses and hawkers and in consequence they become violators of various kinds of municipal and law enforcement requirements by the simple act of pursuing livelihood activities.

- Only 11.5 per cent had received (or were receiving) any training, whether formal or informal. Only a third of these had received formal training. The largest share of youth with formal skills was in Kerala (15.5 per cent), followed by Maharashtra (8.3 per cent), Tamil Nadu (7.6 per cent), Himachal (5.60 per cent) and Gujarat (4.7 per cent). Among those undergoing training Maharashtra had the highest share, Bihar the lowest.

- The six states of southern and western India, a continuous zone, accounted for 63 per cent of all formally trained people. These are also the states with more industry, higher levels of education, and training opportunities.

- The chances of acquiring training increases disproportionately with location and minimum education. A person in an urban area has 93 per cent greater chance of acquiring training than in the rural areas. A person with a high school degree has a 300 per cent chance of acquiring training than an illiterate person.

India has the distinction of not only being the populous country but also comparatively younger nation. India is also the largest contributor to the global workforce and will remain so for next decade or so. The potential is immense in terms of becoming major production hub as well as large consumer of goods and services.

Youth can become assets to the development process of the country provided they have adequate livelihood and development opportunities. The ILO report on *Global Employment Trends for Youth* states:

> Today's youth represent a group with serious vulnerabilities in the world of work. In recent years with a down turn in the global employment growth and increasing unemployment and underemployment, a disillusionment has hit young people hardest. As a result today's youth are faced with a growing deficit of decent work opportunities and high levels of economic and social uncertainty." (ILO, 2005)

At the International Labour Conference (ILC) 2005, the discussion on youth employment concluded that there were many young workers who did not have access to decent work. A significant number of youth are underemployed, unemployed, seeking employment or between jobs, or working unacceptably long hours under informal, intermittent and insecure work arrangements, without the possibility of personal and professional development; working below their potential in low-paid, low-skilled jobs without prospects for career advancement; trapped in involuntary part-time, temporary, casual or seasonal employment; and frequently under poor and precarious conditions in the informal economy, both in rural and urban areas [ILO 2005a].

Youth around the world are particularly vulnerable to marginalization in the labour market because they lack

skills, work experience, job search abilities and the financial resources to find employment. As a consequence, young people are more likely to be unemployed or employed in the informal economy. Due to their

vulnerable situation, youth were hit harder during the global financial crisis, and subsequently, millions of young people around the world are struggling to gain a foothold in the labour market.

There are several threads which can be deciphered from the above. Youth clearly form an important part of the labour force more so in the urban areas. However, they seem to be absorbed mostly by the informal sector. The exodus of the youth from the villages due to unaviable agricultural based economy to the urban areas does not always result in upward mobility in the lives of the youth. There is even less chance of such upward mobility consequent upon urban migration if they belong to the landless, lower caste and without much educational background. The situation deteriorates if the migrant person is a woman. Women end up contributing to the surplus labour characterised by migrant status, little skills with their supply outracing the demand. Therefore the informal sector though it provides the means to subsist may not in itself provide feasible, profitable opportunity for the livelihood.

This chapter attempts understand the arena of informal sector in terms of the employment opportunities, income generating avenues and the entrepreneurship possibilities for the youth. One of the important parts of this chapter would be the skill formation and skill up gradation processes as existing today in the informal sector and the status of youth in it followed by the government and NGO efforts in this area to vocationalize these skills and increase the possibilities for the youth to acquire skills. The skill development in itself may just alleviate the position of

the youth in the labour market. Therefore another thread which needs to be woven in would be the role of the financial institutions in the lives of these youth.

Defining the 'Informal Sector'

The terms unorganised and organised are used in India to mean informal and formal sector internationally. Unorganised workers consisting of about 92 per cent of

the total workforce of about 457 million (as of 2004-05).

The term 'informal sector' was first used by the ILO to describe the activities of the working class who are poor, unrecognised, unregulated and invisible to the public records.

In India, *The Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of Livelihoods in the Unorganised Sector* [NCEUS 2007] defines unorganised sector this way:

> The unorganised sector consists of all unincorporated private enterprises owned by individuals or households engaged in the sale and production of goods and services operated on a proprietary or partnership basis and with less than ten total workers.

In 1991 at the 78th session of the International Labour Conference there was a discussion on 'Dilemma of the Informal Sector'. The report of this conference emphasized that

> …there can be no question of the ILO helping to 'promote' or 'develop' an informal sector as a convenient, low-cost way of creating employment unless there is at The Report the same time an equal determination to eliminate progressively the worst aspects of exploitation and inhuman working conditions in the sector [ILO 1991].

Today, there is still a dilemma – but one that is much larger in magnitude and more complex. Contrary to earlier predictions, the informal economy has been growing rapidly in almost every corner of the globe, including industrialised countries. It can no longer be considered a temporary or residual phenomenon. The bulk of new employment in recent years, particularly in developing and transition countries, has been in the informal economy.

More and more firms, instead of using a fulltime, regular workforce based in a single, large registered factory or workplace, are decentralising production and reorganising work by forming more flexible and specialised production units, some of which remain unregistered and informal.

A global variation of flexible specialisation is the rapid growth in cross-border commodity and value chains in which the lead firm or large retailer is in an advanced industrialised country and the final producer is an own-account worker in a micro-enterprise or a homeworker in a developing or transition country. As part of cost-cutting measures and efforts to enhance competitiveness, firms are increasingly operating with a small core of wage employees with regular terms and conditions of employment and a growing periphery of 'non-standard' or 'atypical' workers in different types of workplaces scattered over different locations and sometimes in different countries. These measures often include outsourcing or subcontracting arrangements and more flexible and informal employment relationships.

Martha Chen (2005) one of the exponents on informal economy has contributed a lot in bringing forth the subtle dimensions of the hitherto deemed 'complex' phenomenon. Her attempt has been to shift the focus from mere unregulated characteristics of the enterprises to the nature of employment and therefore to the worker. Chen further categorised informal employment as follows:

1. Self-employment in informal enterprises (small unregistered or unincorporated enterprises), and comprising of employers, own account operators, and unpaid family workers in informal enterprises.

2. Wage employment in informal jobs (without secure contracts, worker benefits or social protection for formal or informal enterprises, for households, or with no fixed employer), including employees of informal enterprises, casual or day labourers domestic workers, industrial outworkers (including home-workers), unregistered or undeclared workers and some sub-sets of temporary or part-time workers.

In sum, the informal sector is not homogenous in nature. It is formed of a number of informal activities including small enterprises run in ramshackle sheds in slums and the home based activities and huge sectors like construction industry and others.

India's Informal Sector

The unorganised or informal sector constitutes a significant part of the Indian economy. More than 90 percent of the workforce and about 50 percent of the national products are accounted for by the informal economy. The growth of the Indian economy during the past two decades is matched with growth in the informalisation of the economy.

The interlinkages between the formal and informal sectors is becoming apparent. The unorganised /informal sector and unorganised/employment are two important components of the informal economy and have been defined very well in the *NCEUS* (2007) Report.

At the turn of the last century the macroeconomic perspectives in the context of India indicated a buoyancy and a sense of euphoria. India's real national income grew by 125 per cent during the economic reform period of 1992/93-2005/06 compared to 97 per cent during the previous period of the same duration. However, a majority of the people were far away from this, actually living on the fringes with as less as Rs. 20 a day for consumption.

At the end of 2004-05, about 836 million or 77 per cent of the population were living below Rs.20 per day and constituted most of India's informal economy. About 79 per cent of the informal or unorganised workers belonged to this group. This work force lived an insecure life with no legal protection, worst living and working conditions and not much of social security. They lived in the state of poverty and exclusion without any legal protection of their jobs or humane working conditions or social security [NCEUS 2007].

When 92 per cent of the country's workforce is employed in the informal or unorganised economy which includes the labour in informal employment both in informal /unorganised and formal/organised sector, it is but natural that there is an overlap between the poor and the vulnerable segments of the society. According to the NCEUS, (2007) report 'Extremely Poor' constituted 6.4 per cent, the 'Poor' 15.4 per cent and the 'Marginally Poor' 19.0 per cent of the population. This made up to about 41 per cent of the population. If the 'Vulnerable Poor' are added to this group the total accounts for 77 per cent of the population. One could categorise this 77 per cent, totalling 836 million people, with an income roughly below $2 in PPP terms, as the poor and vulnerable segment of the Indian population as per the 2004-2005 statistics.

It is significant that of the 79 per cent of the informal or unorganised workers, 88 per cent of were scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, 80 per cent of the OBC population and 84 per cent of the Muslim belong to the poor and the vulnerable group (Table 1). Although there have been interchanges within this group the percentage of the

Table 1: Labour market composition of Indian youth (usual principal status)

Sr. No.	Economic Status	ST/SCs	All OBCs except Muslims	All Muslims except ST/SCs	Others (without ST/SCs, OBCs and Muslims)	Percentage of Unorganized workers	illiterates	Primary and below primary
1	Extremely poor	10.9	5.1	82.0	2.1	5.8	8.1	5.0
2	Poor	21.5	15.1	19.1	6.4	15.0	19.0	14.2
3	Marginally poor	22.4	20.4	22.3	11.1	19.6	22.2	19.4
4	Vulnerable	33.0	39.2	34.8	35.2	38.4	36.9	40.0
5	Middle income	11.1	17.8	13.3	34.2	18.7	12.8	18.9
6	High income	1.0	2.4	2.2	11	2.7	1.0	2.5
7	Extremely poor and poor (1+2)	32.4	20.3	27.4	8.5	20.8	27.1	19.2
8	Marginal and vulnerable (3+4)	55.4	59.6	57.1	46.3	57.9	59.1	59.4
9	Poor and vulnerable (7+8)	87.8	79.9	84.5	54.8	78.7	86.2	78.6
	Middle and high income (5+6)	12.2	20.1	15.5	45.2	21.3	13.8	21.4
11	All	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
12	All (million)	302	391	138	258	423	270	164

Note: To calculate this table people who are aged 15 and above are taken
Source: Computed from NSS 61st Round 2004-2005, Employment-Unemployment Survey
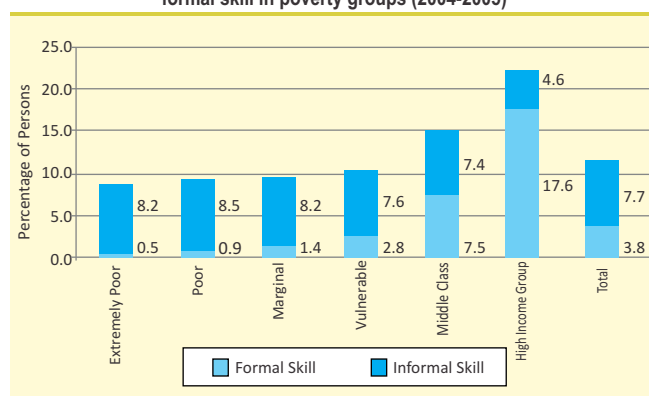
Source: Computed from unit level data of NSS 61st Round 2004 - 2005, Employment-Unemployment Survey.

population suffering from poverty and vulnerability has remained substantial [NCEUS 2007].

As the Report points out, the high congruence between informal work status and poverty/vulnerability becomes almost complete in the case of casual workers, 90 per cent of whom belong to the group of poor and vulnerable. This is the other world which can be characterised as the India of the Common People, constituting more than three-fourths of the population and consisting of all those whom the growth process has, by and large, bypassed.

Informal employment includes the following types of jobs:

• Own-account workers employed in their own informal sector enterprises;

• Employers employed in their own informal sector enterprises;

• Contributing family workers, irrespective of whether they work in formal or informal sector enterprises;

• Members of informal producers' cooperatives;

• Employees holding informal jobs, whether employed by formal sector enterprises, informal sector enterprises, or as domestic workers employed by households; and

• Own-account workers engaged in the production of goods exclusively for own final use by their household.

The Workforce

If one compares the estimates of the 55th Round (1999-2000) with those for 2004-05 one can see that the figure for total employment in the economy has increased from 397 million to 457 million. The change in the organised or formal employment has been nil or marginally negative (i.e. 35 million in both the years). Therefore, the increase in total employment has been of an informal kind i.e. 61 million (from 362 to 423 million) or 17 per cent. However, if one looks at the increase from a sectoral point, employment increased by 8.5 million or 16 per cent (from 54.1 million to 62.6 million) in the organised sector [NCEUS, 2007] (Table 1).

What this means in simple terms is that the entire increase in the employment in the organised sector over this period has been informal in nature i.e. without any job or social security. This constitutes what can be termed as informalisation of the formal sector, where any employment increase consists of regular workers without social security benefits and casual or contract workers again without the benefits that should accrue to formal workers [NCEUS, 2007].

> Looking at the informal economy as an overarching umbrella, the three components which stand out clearly are: The informal sectors; the labour force employed in the informal ways both in the informal sector and the formal sector, and the employment relationships that is not regulated, stable or protected.

Another way of looking at informal workers in India is as classified into three categories:

1. The first category is of the owners of the workshops, self-employed artisans, small traders, and shopkeepers. This category also include the money lender, economic brokers, labour contractors, intermediaries who collect and deliver piece work and home work, rent collection etc. These people earn better and are seen as entrepreneurs. They try to safeguard their autonomy and avoid subordination in general and they prefer not being dependent on wages. These are the

relatively better off among informal workers.

2. The second category forming the largest segment of the informal sector consists of a colourful collection of casual and unskilled workers. These workers circulate relatively quickly from one location to another. This category includes both the labourers in the service of the workshops and the reserve army of labour which is recruited by large scale enterprises according to the need of the moment. This category also include semi-skilled workers who offers their tools and services for hire in the morning at the open labour market. It also includes the day labourers, the vendors and the shoe polishers and the messengers. They differ from the residual category by having, if not permanent, at least a space called home or accommodation. They survive by using labour strategy that is based on a rational choice of options which are time and place bound. This is a category that includes hawkers and street vendors. The number of street vendors alone is estimated to be 10 million. Many of these were once workers in formal employment who lost their jobs due to largescale closures or change in technology, etc. In some cities like Mumbai, Ahmedabad and Kolkata 50 to 30 per cent are former workers, the younger among them taking to vending and hawking.

3. The last category of workforce is the most miserable one. They are the day to day survivors with no scope to go beyond subsistence. They are the homeless and many time single men and women and children with not much of a family living on the fringes of slums and barely surviving.

The above frame provides a way of looking at workers in terms of their quality of worklife and life.

A large part of the urban informal sector workforce is made up of 'outsiders' or urban migrants. There is a preference for the migrant as labour force especially young males. The small scale enterprises dotting the slums absorb a high percentage of young males willing to stay in the workplace and be available for work all the time. The lack of adequate housing and poverty forces many young men married or unmarried to leave their families behind in the village. These single men are either willing to stay in the sheds where they work or in the bachelor pads where they share a space to sleep and eat meals. The outsiders as they are called are pushed into smaller homogenous, socio culturally close knit communities within the slums. Thus the slums with migrant population from diverse socio cultural backgrounds form a unique mosaic with smaller slum pockets within a large slum imitating the socio cultural life of the places from where the migrants originated.

The informal sector seem to be the overreaching arch governing the life of the migrant labour force. The dynamics between the existence of informal sector and the droves of migrant youth labour force working in them is complex. While age-specific rural-urban migration data has not been readily available, Indian data in 1991- 2001 suggests that 29.9 per cent of the total rural-urban migrants are in the 15-24 age-group. Migrant youth are an important factor in shaping cities and towns [cf Chapter on Migration].

The youth labour force migrating for livelihood option for survival as well as betterment in life is not a new phenomenon. However, the migration pattern which needs to be studied in depth is in the context of the informal economy. Migrants come to the city to be absorbed in the informal economy which is most of the time situated in the informal settlements.

The search for survival options, better and more secure livelihood drives many migratory movements according to Nyberg-Sorensen et al (2002). Choosing to migrate and remain mobile for livelihood is many times an attempt to emerge out of their poverty or attempt at redistribution of resources not only across space but also within a family.

Yet, migration choices are not based on evenly distributed factors. The access to migration and the ability to migrate and the opportunities available has an impact on the

outcome which again may not be as envisaged by the migrants. The 'means' which includes assets and resources and the strategies as well as relations of power and inequalities many times determine the benefits to the migrants of the varying shades like the rich or less poor or poor. In fact institutions, both government and political, play a role in determining whether to allow the access to, or exclude people, households or communities from resources like natural, economic, social, political or natural [Whitehead 2002].

Migrant workers, particularly at the lower end, including casual labourers and wage workers in industries and construction sites, face adverse work as well as living conditions. The migrant groups are highly disadvantaged because they are largely engaged in the unorganised sector. The work in the unorganised sector often involves longer working hours, poor living conditions, social isolation and inadequate access to basic amenities. Even though they are a large floating population, their presence is often not acknowledged and their muted voices remain unheard. They are treated as extras and seen as redundant in a labour market that is already flooded with men, women, and children who constitute the reserve footloose army [Breman 2010].

the pace of urban life and work, they were supposed to move up in the labour hierarchy. However, that scenario turned out to have been too optimistic, while rapidly increasing job seekers kept coming; they were only offered casual work rotated around as temporary rather than regular hands. Instead of finalising the migration status of the new arrivals and finding a first niche from which to upgrade them in the urban economy, many of those who entered the city have to leave again. Even if they succeed in extending the duration of their urban stay, in the end, they fail to escape from their membership of a footloose army [Breman 2010].

Breman (2010) has pointed out that migrants in the city tend to settle around the fringes of the city or the mofussil slum pockets prone to endless evictions. They fail to get regular secure jobs in the factories or mills and sometime in the small sweat shops. Instead they get absorbed as a casual labour or waged worker or remain as self-employed worker. They become part of the larger informal economy which is characterised by low wages, job work with lower piecemeal rates, insecurity in the job, erratic and long working hours, and no possibility of any job history since there is absence of any written records of the job done. As per the NCEUS report (2007), migrants are one of the

Saahil has worked for 12 hours continuously on the frame set up for a bridal sari that is being embroidered.   He sits in a 4' x 4' space with a ceiling height of 5 ft. He cannot move his legs nor can the growing young lad stand up to his full height. At 20 he has already worked in this place for 5 years and is considered an expert for certain kinds of work that involves the sowing of minute knots and cutting the tops off to produce a wool effect. This learning that comes with a great deal of effort and many accidents with the needle. Nobody has taught him this; he has in fact innovated this particular effect. He now gets paid a small bonus for a major work like this one.

Saahil in not a migrant; he was born and grew up in this city. His father is plumber of sorts whose ancestral occupation was as a 'darji', a tailor. He came to Mumbai in the 1960s and brought his new wife to the city a decade later. He did not want Saahil to end up in embroidery shop, but since the boy couldn't get through school and was of an artistic bent, he let him take this up. But what started as a stop gap job for Saahil is now more or less his permanent occupation. He dreams of becoming a master that would allow him to interact with clients.

But he is the lucky one. There are hundreds like Saahil who slog over looms and frames, learning the art as they work. Migrants as they are they have no social support system in the city as Saahil does.

The initial understanding was that the informal sector acted as a waiting room for the migrants who had found their way to the urban economy. Growing accustomed to

most vulnerable segments within the informal workforce. Employers appear to use a strategy of hire and fire to keep the workforce floating and in a state of uncertainty.

The employers themselves are seldom unorganised. They set down the unwritten rules and collectively follow these. The strategy involves bringing diverse and heterogeneous groups as migrant labour force which fragments the labour on the basis of region, caste, religion, language spoken and gender. The recruitment and the work pattern are feudal in nature ensuring loyalty to the employer and separation from the other migrant groups. The employers themselves exist in layers functioning as a chain, thus keep the principal employer under wraps for the workers [Breman 2010].

The informal sector is full of paradoxes and ironies. Technology-using fields like the construction industry draws almost its entire labour force from the semi-skilled and unskilled categories (except for supervisory and design categories like engineers, architects and some other professionals).

The construction industry in India is the country's second largest economic activity after agriculture. It spans several sub-sectors such as mining, infrastructure, roads, ports, railways, irrigation, drainage and water supply. In big cities construction labour is sourced through the 'naka market' or streetcorner market where typically workers with diverse skills gather in the morning and contractors come and pick workers for the daily jobs. The naka market has been well studied and scholars have pointed out that the system has the potential to become a regulated labour supply system with appropriate policies [AILS undated].

The foundation of construction industry is almost entirely made up of migrant labour force mostly youth with bare minimum or almost nil formal training in any skills. The pattern of movement of construction labour has been sporadically studied. It is well-recognised that this labour is recruited from single village or cluster through a contractor. Labour contractors play an important role in this section of informal work. This labour is supposed to be governed by the Contract Labour Act, that prescribes minimum conditions of work and welfare. In reality it is the contractor who deals with the builder and negotiates the nature of benefits. Worker deaths and accidents are common and are rarely compensated.

Over the last decade there have been several successful movements and campaigns fighting for the rights of construction labour. Several have developed new models of organisation. Of note here is SEWA Nirman Construction Company [See Box], an offshoot of SEWA's initiative at organising construction workers and also strengthening skills and imparting new ones.

Skill Formation and Skill Up gradation Process in Informal sector

In 2005, recognising the need for expanding the skill base of the economy the government constituted a Task force on Skill Formation in the Unorganised Sector. In its Report Skill Formation and Employment Assurance in the Unorganised Sector it took note of the fact that of the 15-

Table 3: Skills of workers (15 - 29 years) across industries and sectors (2004-2005)

	Unorganised Sector		Organised Sector		All Workers	
	Formal	Any Skill	Formal	Any Skill	Formal	Any Skil
Agriculture	0.8	11	3.5	13.1	0.8	10.9
Mining 0.3	2.1	4.4	19	2.3	10.4	
Manufacturing	3.7	31.4	8.7	26.2	5.1	29.8
Electricity, Gas, Water Supply	0	3.8	20.5	20.8	15.8	16.9
Construction	2.6	14	1.8	8.5	2.4	12.7
Trade 4.2	13.1	14.8	26.1	4.7	13.7	
Hotels and Restaurants	1.7	12.1	8.6	14.8	2.9	12.6
Transport	7.5	22.5	14.1	22.1	8.4	22.5
Finance	18.9	20.6	23.8	26.4	22.3	24.6
Real estate	19	30.6	32.1	34.2	24.2	32.1
Public administration	15.1	15.1	12.1	14.9	12.1	14.8
Education	23.2	28.1	19	22.1	20.9	24.8
Health, Social Work	24.4	42	36.6	40.2	29.9	41.2
Community, Personal, Social Service	2.8	28.2	11.5	22.3	3.5	27.7
Private Households with Employed Persons	5.5	8.9	0	7	5.5	9
Total	2.5	15.1	11.1	21.6	3.5	15.8

Source: NCEUS, Skill Formation and Employment Assurance in the Unorganised Sector, 2009

29 years age-group that comprised 27 per cent of the total population (as on 1st January, 2005) only 11.5 per cent had received (or were receiving) any training, whether formal or informal. Among this group, 33 per cent, or 11 million, have received or were receiving formal training. A significantly lower proportion of women have received any kind of training, formal or informal [Table 3].

The largest share of youth with formal skills was in Kerala (15.5 per cent), followed by Maharashtra (8.3 per cent), Tamil Nadu (7.6 per cent), Himachal (5.60 per cent) and Gujarat (4.7 per cent). Among those undergoing training Maharashtra had the highest share. The lowest incidence of formal training was in Bihar. The southern and western states, a continuous zone, have a relatively high share of population with formal skills. Together the six states accounted for 63 per cent of all formally trained people. These are also the states with more industry, higher levels of education, and training opportunities (computed from NSSO 61st Round, cited in NCEUS Report). Overall only

2.5 per cent of the labour force had any formal training. Of the unemployed the NSSO Survey on Employment and Unemployment (1999-2000) found that only 16.4 per cent of the male unemployed workers and 18.8 per cent of female unemployed workers possessed specific marketable skills. In urban areas alone, while the proportion of unemployed men remained the same, there was a much larger proportion of women unemployed with no skills, viz, 32 per cent.

Among the population with skills, the predominant group was tailors (17.1 per cent), followed by weavers (8.2 per cent). Other skills which share above 5 per cent were motor vehicle drivers, stenographers and bidi makers. Some other skills with a relatively high share of more than 2 per cent of the total were: carpenters, masons, mud house builders/thatchers, fisher men and basket/wick product makers. Significantly the likelihood of getting formal training is 91 percent more if the individual is in an urban area than otherwise. If he has secondary education, the chances

jump to 2500 per cent as compared to someone who is illiterate. Similarly a man has a better chance of getting trained than a woman.

Vocational Education in Indian Planning

In 1947, there were only 46 engineering colleges and 53 polytechnics with an annual intake of 6,240 students. Due to the initiatives taken during successive Plan periods, and particularly because of large-scale private sector participation, the number of All India Council of Technical Education (AICTE) approved technical and management institutions has risen to 4,791 in 2001-02 with an annual intake of 6.7 million students. Almost every Five Year Plan contributed to the strengthening of the vocational education system in the country. The Second Five Year Plan, for example, provided for the establishment of 38 junior technical schools for students in the age-group 14-17 and these numbers kept on increasing in the subsequent years. Vocationalisation of education at the higher secondary stage was one of the important reforms included in the Sixth Plan. Measures were initiated to establish the necessary links combining vocationalisation, skill training, in-plant apprenticeship and placement in gainful employment as composite parts of an integrated effort to raise the level of utility of the programme, and its wider acceptance and success. In the following Plans, facilities for vocational education were diversified into commerce and services. During the 9th Five Year Plan, the scheme for Vocationalisation of Education at 10+2 stage was introduced to regulate admissions at college level. The purpose was to divert at least 25 per cent students of 10+2 stage to self-employment or wage-employment, while providing them with vocational competence in a field of their choice.

The Tenth Five Year Plan has emphasized that vocational system should be a separate stream within the secondary education system, rather than being imparted through separate educational institutions. It should also establish greater linkage with vocational training and academic education to provide for vertical mobility for students aspiring for higher professional programmes in polytechnics, universities and engineering colleges. The Eleventh Five Year Plan has recognised the importance of expansion and strengthening of the system of Vocational Education and Training (VET) in the country. It, inter-alia, provides for expansion of vocational training, modernizing ITIs, adding relevant skills, and public-private partnership model for training. (Extract from the NCEUS *Report on Skill Development p 55*)

The Commission recommended that at least 50 per cent of the labour force must have received some training by 2020. Towards this objective it drew up a range of recommendations.

In general the urban labour force in the informal sector is drawn from the diaspora of various states in India with caste based skill formation patterns. Similarly the garment, food, leather industries which are characterised by the skills involved and the quality of work are again based on the intensive labour put in by the youth who are not formally trained. It's a known fact that several small enterprises function as workshops providing finished goods to the international market.

Workers may come from communities and groups that have artisanal skills, such as pottery, blacksmithy or labour and semi-skilled or even traditionally skilled labour belong to the schedule caste or schedule tribe or the artisan communities. Landlessness, lack of formal education and caste discrimination pushes them to the cities, to the urban areas, to the informal sector. These semi-literate or illiterate youth use their basic skills and upgrade them in the job with no formal training whatsoever. Their skills are undervalued underscored hence they are not seen worthy enough to receive minimum wages. They have no opportunity to acquire new skills either in a formal setting or even informally.

Several workers organisation have taken up the issue of training their constituents. SEWA Nirman for instance has set up a construction workers company that not only organises wokers with skills (See Box).

SEWA Nirman

SEWA is a trade union of poor self employed women, a pioneering women's organisation which has been working towards the full employment and self reliance of the poor in both urban and rural areas. With small beginnings in …. it currently has more than 5.5 lakh members.

 SEWA Nirman came into being after the 2001 earthquake in Gujarat. SEWA took an active role in training a large number of masons to undertake construction work to rehabilitate the displaced workers. The organization realized the need to organize these masons and sustain the skills they have picked up through the training. Only 5 per cent of masons in Gujarat go through any standard training. Recognising the growing demand for skilled masons for the rapidly expanding construction industry SEWA Nirman was setup to organize construction artisans. It imparts training to the workers, provides scientific tools, quality workforce to the construction industry and contract facilitation to the masons and artisans.

SEWA Nirman Construction Workers Company Ltd, established in April 2008 by the members of SEWA. The total shareholder's capital of SEWA Nirman is Rs 5 lacs. This capital is equally distributed among masons and labourers who are the shareholders each having 250 shares of face value Rs 10 each. There are 200 such shareholders. It has the following objectives:

1. To establish and run tools and equipment library for the construction workers engaged in construction work to increase efficiency.

2. To carry out production, distribution and sales of low cost building materials.

3. Provide backward and forward linkages for skilled human resources in construction sector for generating and sustaining livelihood opportunity for poor households

embroidery etc. Informal skill formation and the skill up gradation are quite evident in the informal sector. Specific caste groups or communities from particular regions or tribal communities with specific artisan skills are drawn or rather encouraged to migrate systematically by the recruitments agents and contractors to be absorbed in the above mentioned informal sectors. Most of the unskilled Vocational training as is provided in state-funded institutions is usually accessed by those in an economic class that can afford to put their children, almost always sons, through another two years of training without any earning.

The most sought after field of formal vocational training was computer trades' (nearly 30 per cent). For men the

next most popular trades were electrical and electronics

work place infringing on the privacy of the home and the

Table 2: Percentage of persons in Age-group 15 - 29 years receiving/ received formal vocational training by field of vocational training & sex (2004-2005)

Field of Vocational Training	Population (15-29)			Workers (15-29)		
	Persons	Male	Female	Unorganised	Organised	Total
Mechanical Engineering	7.9	12.3	1	7.5	12.1	9.2
Electrical & Electronic Engineering	12.5	18.2	3.5	12.8	13.8	13.1
Computer Trades	30	29.9	30	23.5	32.3	26.8
Civil engineering and building construction related works	3.3	4.7	1.2	3.9	2.1	3.3
Chemical Engineering	0.3	0.5	0	0.1	0.2	0.1
Leather realted	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.4	0	0.2
Textile related	9.8	1.9	22.2	11.7	4.4	9
Catering, nutrition, hotels and restaurant related work	0.9	1.1	0.6	0.6	0.9	0.8
Artisan/craftsman/ handicraft and cottage based production work	1.9	1.5	2.5	2.8	0.9	2.1
Non-crop based agricultural and other related activities	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.7	0.5	0.6
Health and paramedical services related work	6.4	4.3	9.9	4.9	8.6	6.3
Office and business related work	4.8	4.1	5.8	2.9	4.3	3.4
Driving and motor mechanic work	5.9	9.4	0.5	13	5.6	10.3
Beautician, hairdressing & related work	1.7	0	4.3	1.7	0.2	1.1
Work related to tour operators/ travel managers	0.1	0	0	0	0	0
Photography and related work	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4	0	0.2
Work related to childcare, nutrition, pre-schools and crèche	1	0	2.6	1.3	1.4	1.3
Journalism, mass communication and media related work	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.2
Printing technology related work	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.5	0.7
Other	9.1	7.9	10.9	9.9	10.2	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: NCEUS, Skill Formation and Employment Assurance in the Unorganised Sector, 2009

(18.2 per cent), followed by mechanical engineering (12.3 per cent), driving (9.4 per cent), civil engineering (4.7 per cent), health and paramedical (4.3 per cent) and office and business work (4.1 per cent). Among women there was concentration of vocational training in computers followed by textile related trade (22 per cent). The next

most popular trades among women are in the area of health care.

A special mention needs to be made with regard to women in the youth labour force. The glass ceiling ensures that the women workforce are kept out of the skilled category and are pushed to the lowest rung of the job hierarchy. Women's presence in the small scale enterprises and construction industry is dwindling but the certain sectors of the informal economy see a growth in the number of women work force. The single women migrant labour force is prominently seen among the domestic workers. The home based industry converts every household into a

women [cf. on Women at Work].

There are several other sectors where women seem to be in demand. A cursory glance at these sectors emphasis the feminine nature of the work it encompasses. The problem lies not with the feminine nature of the work but the valuation of the work done in these sectors. The work done in these sectors are rarely well defined leading to arbitrary expansion of work and arbitrary economic valuation of the work. The full time domestic worker remains the most exploited lot isolated and confined to the homes of the employer. The remuneration is dismal as the work remain undefined. The work is so akin to the nature of the women that its separation as skilled work requiring valuations is neglected.

When the home is converted into workplace as in the case of home based food industry, women and the world of work tend to see her work as the extension of her home

makers role. The employer or the middle man providing job work undervalues and pays pittance coaxing her and lulling her to believe that working from home is no work at all. The number of working hours stretch beyond stipulated work hours with added burden of sacrificing the home space for work, spending on electricity and some time on raw material with no compensation.

Issues and Problems

Workers in the informal sector are inevitably at the lowest rungs of the industry because of their poor skills. Stuck in menial jobs they have no opportunity for acquiring new

skills except those on the job. But even here skill formation has been shown to be dependent on social factors like caste, religion and gender. In effect the upward or horizontal mobility of an informal worker is almost impossible.

Since informal work is often in units unregulated by law or escaping the regulatory mechanisms, it is also the riskiest. These are some of the worst workplaces. Without health or safety regulations in place morbidity and work-related injury and death go uncompensated .

One way out of the situation is for young people to start off on their own. But this is impossible without financial assistance. Lack of savings lead to stagnation in exploitative jobs. Financial inclusion policy of banks somehow exclude migrant youth in informal sector/unorganised sector.

Even micro-credit and other financial assistance often available in rural areas is out of reach of the urban poor. This means that these youth have to depend on informal loans paying unreasonable interests from exploitative financial institutions that traps them into a cycle of debt.

Resolving the Issues

The NCEUS Report points out that the challenge of transroming the informal economy is essentially that of development of an unequal society. More sepcifically, it is obvious that making work safe and decent in the informal

sector is closely related to the safety and work security of the workers in all sectors. It is also obvious that the position of the unorganised sector worker is closely related to the position of the worker in society. The socially disadvantaged tend to be the most likely to settle in informal work for one reason or other. Clearly the most important reform has to do with the provision of the basic necessitiess of food, clean water and shelter at the minimum.

Secondly, a blinkered approach to urban development considering only the growth of the city without an adequate attention to the welfare of its citizens causes a fragmetation of the urban space and its incoherence. For

example the move to eliminate street hawking to create better traffic flows and ostensibly a cleaner city also produces unemployment and a sharp increase in populations that have no livelihoods. That the largest numbers of these are youth makes the situation worse.

Thirdly, there is a grave need, especially given the huge expansion of informal employment and employment in the informal unorganised sector, to pass and apply laws that protect the rights and health of the worker.

Fourthly, opportunities to acquire or enhance skills are need to be made available and accessible. The Report on Skill Development examined a number of proposals submitted by government institutions and departments as well as informal sector organisations to point to a major input, that is, enhancing of investment in skill development. It recommended that such investment must come from the private sector which would eventually absorb the workers.

Fifthly, financial inclusion is a must for both skilll development initiatives and for entrepreneurship development. The availability of microcredit has been expanding but too slowly.

Sixth, a social safety net ---insurance schemes of various kinds---need to be introduced to ensure that a larger number will aspire to move out of the informal sector by

acquiring and enhancing skills and are able to take the risks associated with entrepreneurial ventures

Seventh, urban development policies should make room for the functioning of certain kinds of workers in the informal sector such as street vendors since this is creating a huge employment potential. While regulations are needed, several innovative city plans have been developed the world over to accommodate hawkers [Bhowmik 2010].

Finally, it is time to understand that informal employment cannot be a permanent solution to the problem of ensuring livelihoods for the huge population of young low and mid-skilled young people in urban areas. Formal employment as well as an expansion of opportunities for entrepreneurships with safeguards need to expand.

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Case Studies

Empowering urban salt pan workers

The ROSI Foundation is a youth-led, youth-centric organisation that addresses societal issues at the grassroots levels implementing programmes through participatory approaches and sustainable concern. Its project 'The Empowerment of Urban Dali /Saltpan workers: Youth in Livelihoods for Assuring Social and Economical Security' in the municipality of Vedaranyam in the Nagapattinam district, Tamil Nadu won a UN-HABITAT grant.

The two major salt manufacturing facilities in this area are a major source of income for this region. The work environment for these young workers is extremely hazardous. But without other opportunities they continue to toil. This youth organistaion has set up computer training and garment and napkin-making training. This has given the youth an opportunity to move into alternative livelihood occupation in cleaner and safer environments. The Foundation also offers health care facilities and information to raise awareness on diseases.

The ROSI Foundation, much after receiving the one-year UN-HABITAT Urban Youth Fund grant, has persevered and has been recognized as being an agent for change. The ROSI Foundation went on to win the Harish Chopra Social Award for their commitment to young girls and women's welfare.

- **Abhijit Surya**

The UN-HABITAT launched the Urban Youth Fund in 2009. The Fund one of the first of its kind was created to to support youth-led initiatives globally. The case study here and elsewhere are of some of the Indian grantees fund.

Youth against Corruption

The RTI Act was passed in the year 2005 by the parliament of India empowered the civilians to question public authorities on the functioning of governmental department. The Nagaland Information Commission was constituted only in 2006. Till date the implementation of the Act has not been satisfactory. The reason for the ineptness has been due to the ignorance of the people about the Act and also the irregularities from the public authority in responding to the applications of people seeking information.Youth Net was launched in February 2006 by a group of young Naga professionals, educated and trained from schools and colleges across India and abroad, with an objective to create a platform to voice the issues faced by the young population of Nagaland. This project is aimed at empowering youth to become active citizens who would stand up against corruption. The Right to Information Campaign was taken up with the objective to challenge young people to flush out corruption as a youth movement.

Under the programme, Youth Net has checked schools to see if they were offering free lunch, free books and irregularities in teaching; health departments were verified to check that essential facilities with regular doctors and staffs were available; power houses were monitored to ensure that they provided electricity and power connectivity. Many departments were busted for their irregularities at work; the high rate of involved corruption were brought to the limelight

- **Arya Vasudevan**

Information for Empowerment

The slum colony of Jogeshwari has a housing population of 0.7-1 lakh of which a substantial number of residents are Muslims; the Muslim youth feel particularly alienated from governance in a communally charged environment since the riots in 1992. The inaccessibility of vital services and data further marginalise the community making it unsure of its own citizenship.

AAGAAZ, a voluntary youth led group and a youth development centre works in the slum colony of Jogeshwari. The slum has been the site of communal violence in the 1992 riots . AAGAAZ organises organises camps on education, health, employment, personal development and projects around local infrastructures such as water and rationing (PDS).

E-governance (Easy Governance) was an AAGAAZ initiative to educate young people on the working of government offices in Mumbai, to make them aware of various offices procedure of Passport, Voters ID, PAN Card, Ration Card, Gazette etc. The objective was to empower youth and their families, with information and experiential understanding of procedures to access and use various citizenship identification documents and social security services to which they are entitled. Training and design Module was made incorporating all the data on formal procedures and a perspective building on citizen's rights to access services. More than 60 youths were taken to four government offices in order to get a taste of the system. The initiative has been successful in giving the community a measure of confidence in dealing with local offices of government.

- **Arya Vasudevan**

Akshath

Work, Health and Safety

Jagdish Patel

In Brief

- ILO estimates, on an extrapolation of European data, that there are 40 work-related deaths in India. More Indians die from workplace causes than due to any other. These deaths contribute 5 per cent to the mortality burden.

- Reliable data on workplace health, injury and death is available only for workers in registered establishments that accounts for roughly 3 per cent of all workers. Work locations with high risks usually have the largest number of youth, especially low skilled workers.

- Industries like cotton ginning and garment production, chemical, construction industry among the staple industries registering the quickest employment growth are also high-risk environments and are poorly regulated.

- Relatively new occupations that attract young adults, like pizza and other food delivery --- offer little protection to the worker who is pushed to higher output through persuasion and incentives resulting in high risks.

- Food processing, scavenging and cleaning work and recycling that have a large proportions of youth are hazardous and unregulated places of work.

- With the waning of the labour movement, workers have neither voice nor a platform where they may seek redressal. This has resulted in sporadic, spontaneous and violent worker responses to such incidents as deaths that only serve to mitigate chances of long-term reform.

Occupational health and safety is a basic human right recognized by international agencies. The United Nations, in its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, declares that everyone has the right to *"just and favorable conditions of work"*. The UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights proclaims the, " right of every one to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health and the improvement of all aspects of environmental and industrial hygiene; prevention, treatment and control of epidemic, endemic, occupational and other diseases; and creation of conditions which would assure to all medical service and medical attention in the event of sickness." The UN Millennium Development Goal (MDG) 3 is, "promote global public health for all" and "strengthening the effectiveness of health systems and proven interventions to address evolving health challenges, including the increased incidence of non-communicable diseases, roads traffic fatalities and injuries and environmental and occupational health hazards." WHO Global Strategy on Occupational Health for all and the Global Plan of Action on Workers Health emphasises the need for access to occupational health services for all workers.[1] The International Commission on Occupational Health, at its Second General Assembly in March, 2012 decided its priorities, which includes extending effective occupational health services to all workers- Basic Occupational Health Services (BOHS).[2]

Today there are 1.2 billion youth (age 15-24) in the world out of which 60 per cent are in Asia. South Asia only account for 27 per cent.[3] India has an estimated 540 million below the age 25. In a 2000 study in Baroda 64.54 per cent workers among 784 workers studied were below 35.[4]

Insecurity and vulnerability are the integral part of the working young in India. Of 457 million workers 92 per cent are in the unorganized or informal sector in India. More than 71.6 per cent of all non-agriculture workers are in unorganised sector. The largest proportion, 95 per cent is in trade and more than three-fourths are in other services, such as hotel and restaurants, transport, storage and construction are in the unorganized sector. About half the women workers in unorganised sector are in manufacturing.

Of the urban workforce 70 per cent are unorganised sector workers. The casual workers in urban areas are the worst off with more than a third living below the poverty line irrespective of whether they work in organised or unorganised sector. In urban areas 21 per cent of the unorganised sector workers are self-employed. Half the male workers and 87 per cent of female workers in urban areas earn less than notional national minimum wage.[5]

Extent of problem

The ILO estimates that some 2.3 million women and men around the world succumb to work-related accidents or diseases every year; this corresponds to over 5,500 deaths every single day. Worldwide, there are around 340 million occupational accidents and 160 million victims of work-related illnesses annually.[6] Economic loss due to workplace accidents and diseases is estimated to be 4 per cent of GDP. Hazardous substances cause estimated 651,000 deaths, mostly in developing countries and this figure may be under-estimated due to poor reporting and recording

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[1] *Cancun Charter on Occupational Health for all, March, 2012.*
http://www.icohweb.org/site_new/multimedia/core_documents/pdf/Cancun%20Charter%20on%20Occupation%20Health%20for%20All.pdf.

[2] Minutes of the 2nd General Assembly of the International Commission on Occupational Health.
http://www.icohweb.org/site_new/ico_general_assembly_23_03_2012.asp

[3] *The Youth Employment Crisis: Time for Action, ILO, 2012.*
http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_175421.pdf

[4] *Profiles of Industrial Workers. Vadodara Employer's Organisation, 2000, P.11*

[5] *Report on Conditions of Work and Promotion of livelihood in Unorganized Sector: NCEUS Report, 2007.*

[6] *Op cit. http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/moscow/areas/safety/statistic.htm, 2011*

system in these countries. In yet another estimate by WHO, 100 million workers are injured and 200,000 die each year in occupational accidents and 68-157 million new cases of occupational diseases are attributed to hazardous exposures or workloads. Such huge numbers of severe health outcomes have major impact on the health of the world's population.

In developing countries where 70 per cent of the working population of the world lives, the impact of occupational injuries and diseases is deeper and more widespread. According to recent estimates, the cost of work-related health loss and associated productivity loss may amount to several per cent of the total gross national product of the countries of the world.[7] The then Chairman of the Maharashtra Pollution Control Board in a conference address said that each year 25,000 workers die of accidents involving electricity in factories in India and 15,000 die in fires in factories in India.[8] And these are the figures for registered factories only.

Politics of occupational safety and health at work

It is said that 'health is wealth' and extending this logic wealth of business depends upon health of workers. Few business houses understand this and fewer implement it in word and in spirit. In capitalist society, workers are exploited to the core to achieve productivity. In the process, the health of the worker is abused. Karoshi, a disease of speed, kills hundreds in Japan. The cost of increased productivity is by the workers by way of accidents and resultant injuries and disabilities and chronic illnesses and occupational diseases of hundreds of types. Few workers live to enjoy their retirement life. Thousands have to migrate to cities and live away from family to work long hours in sweat shops in metropolitan cities. While there are few studies on the psychological aspects of migrant workers health, there is no denying that the insecure and precarious livelihood causes emotional trauma. For instance, in 2012 rape case in Delhi bus, one

of the accused was one such migrated to Delhi from a village in UP. While there is no condoning his crime, it points to the need to look at this aspect.

While there is lot of discussion on environmental pollution, few talk of work place pollution. Families of workers and their families often live in the cramped workplaces where they may be constantly exposed to a number of chemicals and other pollutants. In India while laws regulating trade and manufacture have seen amendments, there has been no similar move to protect workers' health or safety.

The Factories Act was amended in 1987 in the wake of the Bhopal disaster but since then neither list of threshold limit values have been revised or reviewed nor the list of occupational diseases in ESI Act or Employees Compensation Act amended to match the list of occupational diseases revised by ILO in 2010. Musculoskeletal diseases highly prevalent in industries cutting across economic sectors, is still not included in the list of compensable occupational disease under the Factories Act. Twenty-nine occupational diseases are required to be notified but neither industry nor medical practitioners report them. Similarly, asbestos banned by more than 55 countries continues to be legally in use here.

In 1987, penal provisions of the Factories Act were amended to increased compensation amount, but hardly any compensation actually gets paid. Yet we seldom hear of the heavy fines or jail terms even where the hundreds of died, like quartz crushing industry in Godhra, several hundred tribal workers died in last 20 years inhaling huge amount of silica dust at work. In post-liberalization policy, on one hand, labor departments are deprived of adequate staff which weaken the enforcement and on the other State Governments, in the name of reducing harassment to the industry, declare "self-certification" schemes to avoid inspection of the work place by enforcement agencies. Workers struggle to gain these rights has weakened in the last decade with states adopting policies

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[7] *Declaration on occupational health for all, WHO.*
http://www.who.int/occupational_health/publications/declaration/en/index.html
[8] *Mazdoor Angolan kid eke zalak,* P.140, Faridabad Mazdoor Samachar, 1993.

to discouraging workers' organization. In 2000, there were 41,545 registered trade unions which came down to 27,137 in 2009.[9]

It is pertinent here to point out that the ILO has had a long-standing concern about the problems faced by young people. The Organization's work in the first two decades after 1919 was to a large extent focused on setting standards to protect the welfare of young workers. Among the earliest Conventions adopted by the ILO were the Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1919 (No. 6), the Medical Examination of Young Persons (See) Convention, 1921 (No. 16), and the Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946 (No. 77). [10]

This chapter provides a broad-based view of the state of health in the workplaces where millions of young people are employed. Data available on occupational health is limited ; within this age-wise data is almost unavailable. However many of the industries where workers' health and safety is a concern are also those sectors where jobs are being created and where young people go to find work.

Workplace Accidents: Poor database

We have no reliable data on workers being killed as a result of occupational diseases and accidents at work. ILO estimates it to be 40,133[11]   a year for India; this is an extrapolation of European data. Another estimate by a UK researcher, Sterling Smith, a UK scientist has estimated that one worker dies every five minutes in India, equivalent to a Bhopal a month.[12]

More Indians die because of three types of injuries - workplace fatal and non-fatal physical injuries due to accidents, occupational diseases due to toxic exposures at the workplace and health effects caused by environmental exposures - than due to all other manner of other man-made violence - be they on India's borders, in communal and political violence, in crimes, and so on. Yet, this problem has gone un-noticed and un-addressed as workplace injuries are grossly under-reported and environmental injuries remain un-estimated.

The Ministry of Labour's (MoL) Indian Labour Statistics provides fatal and non-fatal injuries in the workforce for which accidents are reported. Based on these rates, fatal accidents can be estimated to range between 50,000 and 75,000 and non-fatal accidents 5 to 7.5 million per year for the entire workforce in India. If mortalities due to all causes were considered for Indian workers in the age group 15-60 years, workplace fatalities contribute premature deaths in this population to the extent of 5 per cent.

Published statistics for occupational diseases are meager and those available, less reliable than for accidents. The Indian Labour Year Book reports an average annual incidence of new occupational disease cases of about 90 during the 1970s and early1980s. Jawaharlal Nehru University's Imrana Qadeer, former professor at the School of Social Medicine and Community Health, disputes these figures. She estimated that the number of new cases in just three industries (asbestos, cotton textiles and lead) is in the region of 40,000 per annum. The large differences between reported and estimated figures for workplace injuries (accidents and exposures) are because injury statistics are available only for factory workers, who form 3 per cent of the Indian workforce; statistics for all States are usually not compiled, and under-reporting of injuries is high. [13]

A report in *Mint,* a financial newspaper, collated data of accidents from DGFASLI, Mumbai and Employees State

[9] Statistical Year Book of India, 2013. Table: 41.1, Ministry of Statistics and program implementation,   Government of India. Link: http://mospi.nic.in/Mospi_New/upload/SYB2013/index1.html.

[10] Op.cit

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@ed_norm/@relconf/documents/meetingdocument/ms_175421.pdf

[11] *Introductory Report: Decent Work, Safe Work,* ILO, 2005.

http://www.ilo.org/public/english/region/eurpro/moscow/areas/safety/docs/worldcongressreporteng.pdf .

[12] *'A Bhopal a month' by Stirling Smith, Frontline, June 9-22, 2001. http://www.frontlineonnet.com/fl1812/18120860.htm .*
'Environment and workplace injury: Is there a solution for the colossal loss?' by Sagar Dhara, The Hindu, April 2000.

Insurance Corporation (ESIC) for the period 2005 to 2009 (Table1) . [14]

Among fatal accidents, deaths of workers in age group below 35 range between 19 per cent to 49 per cent. [15]

Here is a glimpse of how risky is the worker's environment in selected industries.

Cotton Gins in Gujarat: Gujarat accounts for 30-40 per cent of total cotton production in India and 50 per cent of cotton export from India. Half the 1100 cotton gins in Gujarat are in Kutchh-Saurashtra. Surendranagar has 42

Table 1: Accidents in Registered Factories, 2005

	2005	2006	2007	2008
Fatal injuries	1135	1349	1453	1387
Non-fatal injuries	48145	44200	32763	33135
Temporary disablement (ESIC)	103709	89443	-	-
Permanent disablement (ESIC)	164408	174179	-	-
Fatal injuries in coal mines	96	78	77	93
Fatal injuries in non-coal mines	52	71	72	94
Fatal injuries in port	30	36	23	33

Source: Mint, October 2009.

gins. Kadi town in Mehasana district in North Gujarat is the major centre for cotton ginning. There are 122 gins in Kadi area alone, 70 per cent small and 30 per cent big. An estimated 80,000-90,000 workers are employed in ginning and pressing industry in Gujarat.

The PRAYAS promoted Gujarat Gin and Other Workers Union started working among migrant, seasonal Rajasthani Gin workers in Kadi area since 2006. Of information on 105 accidents that they received, 18 were fatal and 87 non-fatal injuries. In the case of deaths, information on age was not available in five cases; all the other 13 were below 20 years. They died either of asphyxiation or burns or in road accident while commuting to the work.

Accidents in construction: The construction industry has seen a huge growth and huge labour absorption capacity.

But it is largely unregulated, insecure and risk-ridden for workers. At least 96 construction workers and labourers died in workplace accidents across Gujarat last year. Overall, 115 of last year's workplace accident victims were

Death by Cotton

Cotton seeds are collected in a tractor trolley after separation from cotton through duct which opens into a trolleys kept near the outlet of the seed flowing duct located outside the gin shed so that, when full, they may be driven to an oil mill for sale for extraction of oil. This trolley is completely covered by thick cloth or canvas from all sides to the height of approximately 7 ft. A male worker climbs into the trolley during this process to ensure that no heaps are formed by spreading it evenly. Once inside this trolley, the worker has no contact with the outside world. Since this job does not require special skills or training, it is usually assigned to young boys or even child labour. Often during the nights when the activity is sporadic, boys are found to go to sleep when seeds gradually cover them completely suffocating them to death. In many such cases, the death is noticed only when the trolley is emptied at the oil mill when the body falls out with the seeds. Gruesome as it is, this is neither an exaggeration nor an unusual occurrence. No records of workers inside the factory or out going are maintained-especially if it involves below age labour. In four such cases recorded here, three were children under 16 and 1, a 20 year old. All were migrants from Rajasthan.

In case of serious injuries, out of 87 cases recorded, 57 were under 35. Loss of fingers and hands are the most serious injuries observed. 12-year-old Anil Mangla Bhaogra's right hand was completely chopped off in Charkha machine while working in a ginning factory in Kadi in February 2012.[16] Disability of this kind impacts the individuals' and the families' earning capacity. In a country like India where labour is surplus, even a small disability severely affects employability of the victim. [17]

[13] 'Environment and workplace injury: Is there a solution for the colossal loss?' by Sagar Dhara, *The Hindu,* April 2000.

[14] *Mint,* October, 2009.

[15] PTRC data collated from newspaper clippings for the years 2007-2011.Unpublished.

[16] SALAMATI, Issue 115,April, 2012.

[17] 'Horror of white clouds' by Jagdish Patel, PRAYAS publication, 2011.

in their 30s or younger and 11 were teenagers. In 26 districts of Gujarat, 77 workers were grievously injured in workplace accidents in 2011. Across the state, workers died when they fell from rooftops, multi-storey buildings and scaffoldings. Falling objects like bricks or parts of metal machinery killed some, while several were electrocuted. Some were buried alive by cave-ins, others by collapsing walls and suffocation in manholes or coal containers. In a particularly gruesome tragedy in a factory in Mundra, two 18-year-olds fell into a pit of burning coal and burned to death.[18] Such statistics are the norm in every state of the country.

Of 155 deaths reported on construction sites across the state in 2008 to 2010, only two families have received compensation from the Gujarat State Construction Workers Welfare Board (CWWB). In Ahmedabad alone, an average of 14 workers die every year on construction sites, and rarely does family receive the relief from CWWB. As of early 2011, the total CWWB welfare benefits dispersed amounted to a little more than Rs 17 million, just 0.91 percent of the Rs.1.9 billion collected as cess from employers for this workers' welfare.[19]

The promise of pizza: The promise of discounts for not delivering "food on time" makes consumers happy, but one section is paying a heavy price to keep this promise — the delivery staff. Trauma units in Delhi hospitals are receiving more and more cases of food delivery personnel with head and orthopedic injuries. "Food chains advertise home delivery schemes with the condition of time-bound delivery. But if a person has to risk his or her life to ensure someone's dinner is on time, it is really unfortunate," Dr Sanjiv Bhoi, Head of Emergency Services at AIIMS Trauma Centre, told reporter. "There are days when I drive 10 hours. On Friday nights, we work for 14 hours. If I miss a delivery or don't reach office within 20-30 minutes of delivering one order, I am scolded publicly. How can we drive safely? Small accidents are common," said a 21-

year-old delivery boy admitted with serious fractures after an accident. There are no records of the number of accident cases involving delivery staff, but most hospitals claim they are among the "most common accident victims" in the emergency unit.

A consultant in the Surgery department of a trauma centre told a reporter, "Of the annual 10,000-12,000 cases we see in the emergency, a good 5 to 6 per cent will easily be those of delivery boys."[20]

Women's Work and Health

Women tend to work in the most menial of jobs. They are especially to be found in making and selling food products. Conditions are poor and women have to work long hours at tedious and often unsafe job. There is also poor recognition of the fact that women, by the fact of the kind of work they do and because of the double burden they carry are often more affected by the risky conditions at work. Here are a few examples, by no means exhaustive.

Women work in sand stone mine in Jodhpur out of compulsion, never ever by choice, states a study carried out by GRAVIS. They constitute 15-20% of the total work force. They continue to work as unskilled workers as long as they work. Women working in mines are under paid and are subjected to exploitation. Women work under the scorching heat without water and shed to take a breath. They work without using mask, helmet or shoes. There are no toilets for women to use. They drink dirty groundwater that gather in the gaps here and there.

Among the 200 women workers, studied 38 per cent were in the age group of 18-30. About 10 per cent started working at the age below 15, and almost half between 15-18 years, and 23 per cent above 18. These workers do not get any weekly holiday, sick leave, earned leave, festival holidays, overtime wages. Unofficially three to five major accident takes place every week in Makrana mines and hardly any of the victims receive any medical care.

[18] http://www.indianexpress.com/news/workplace-accidents-claimed-96-lives-in-state-last-year-rti-replies/931498
[19] Decent *Work in Ahmedabad: An Integrated Approach* by Darshini Mahadevia, ILO Asia-Pacific Working Paper Series, ILO. http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---asia/---ro-bangkok/documents/publication/wcms_181745.pdf
[20] 'Pizza boys crowd trauma centers', Pritha Chetterjee, *Indian Express,* March 22, 2012, Delhi.

Malnutrition and hazardous work conditions lead to several health problems.

A study of female workers engaged in brick manufacturing in Bengal observed that female workers are involved in heavy manual material handling tasks like cutting the mud with a hoe, carrying the mud, brick making, carrying the bricks to the kiln top and after curing them back to the place of storage.

India produces two million metric tons of spices, including chili, coriander, black pepper, paprika, cinnamon and parsley. Large numbers of women find work in this occupation. Respiratory ailments are common among these women while the allergic reactions to spices include dermatological, gastrointestinal and neurological problems.[21] Women workers engaged in manual pounding of chili to make chili powder shared their experiences with SEWA activist. They said that their hands are covered with the powder and if they rub eye, eyes would burn. Washing hands with soap are not enough. They have to apply oil and then apply soil to remove chili. Even if they travel by bus, fellow passengers would immediately start sneezing as they carry chili powder on their cloths. Their other complaints were burning in throat and chest, burning during urination, ulcer in the mouth (stomatitis), eye burning etc. They also suffer from body ache, headache etc.[22] In a study of *papad* making women workers in Kolkata, 77.5 per cent workers were in the age group of 15-45 years. Musculoskeletal problem was their commonest health issue.[23]

Chemical Industry: With the current size of approximately $ 108 billion, the Indian chemical industry accounts for ~3 per cent of the global chemical industry and 7 per cent of Indian GDP. Since 2007-08 to 2010, barring pesticide production, all other important chemicals have registered growth. The share of chemicals

and petrochemicals in total national exports was registered 9.96 per cent while imports are 7.2 per cent.[25]

Gujarat and Maharashtra are important centres of chemical production. In spite of its huge presence, there are few studies of effects of chemicals on worker's health. In its long experience of working on occupational health,

Migrant workers

Occupational health problems of migrant workers are high especially for those working at the construction sites quarries and mines as lung related health issues become common. Safety measures are poor and the rate of accidents high. The temporary status of the workers limits their access to the public health services. Arjun Sengupta report notes that the migrant workers are highly vulnerable because of their lack of physical assets and human capabilities coupled with their initial conditions of extreme poverty and low social status. This results in their low bargaining power that further reinforces their already vulnerable state and traps them into vicious circle of poverty and deprivation. The conditions of work are often miserable, hours of work long, meager wages, non-existent work security and a greater exploitation. The long working hours in hazardous environment, harsh working and living conditions increase health and occupational hazards of the migrant workers and their families.[24]

the People's Training and Research Centre (PTRC) came across many cases of chemical poisoning. Bromine burns are common in the public sector bromine factory in Surendranagar district in Gujarat. In a medium scale chemical factory producing chromium salts in Vadodara, several cases of nasal septum perforations, asthma, liver damage and dermatitis were reported. The majority of the workers were young migrants from North India. PTRC also came across cases of severe dermatitis exposed to benzanthrone, cuprous cyanide, para-aminophenol, cement and other chemicals, asthma due to exposure to Phthalic anhydride and rhinitis due to acidic fumes suffering from rhinitis. PTRC has seen several cases of

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[21] 'Occupational Health of Women' by M.H.Fulekar, *Asian Pacific News letter on Occupational Health & Safety,* 2000: 7:69-73.

[22] *ANSUYA,* April 6, 2002.

[23] 'A study on health status of women engaged in a home based papad-making industry in a slum area of Kolkata', *Indian Jr. of Occu. and Env. Medicine,* April-2008, Vol.12, Issue no.1:33-36.

[24] *The Challenge of Employment in India; An Informal Economy Perspective.* Vol.I, NECUS, April, 2009.

[25] *Economic Survey 2010-2011,* Oxford Uni. Press, 2011, p.223.

acute poisoning following exposure to Para-nitro chloro benzene (PNCB), chlorine or ammonia. In 2011, PTRC came across several young workers exposed polyacrylate.

Diamond industry: Diamond polishing, largely in Gujarat, attracts 0.8 million workers.[26] Of these 4.35 lakh workers are in unregistered units.[27] In Surat alone, there are 441 registered diamond units where 1.75 lakh workers are employed. Several studies have recorded the abysmal working conditions in these units. There is anecdotal evidence of high prevalence of TB among diamond workers in India, but this may, in fact, be due to the use of cobalt-containing polishing disks that have been shown to cause interstitial and other lung disease.[28,29]

In the diamond industry in Surat where benzene was being used seven workers were found suffering from Aplastic

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Death Roster

27 year old Naina Mistry: worked only for 4 months at a factory manufacturing Polyacrylate in North Gujarat town Kadi; died from interstitial lung disease. Nilam Rajgor Alka Thakor, Bhavesh Patel and Vipul Darji (all in their 20s) also died of chemical-caused interstitial lung disease.

The Gujarat high court took serious note of these events and filed suo-moto PIL and instructed the National Institute of Occupational Health (NIOH) to carry out medical examination of all the existing workers. Of 84 workers examined NIOH found 12 to be suffering from lung diseases and 17 to be suffering from liver. On court orders, the factory brought in improved technology to reduce dust levels.

The Factories Act has no threshold limit values (TLV) for polyacrylate yet.

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anemia in a 2005 study[30] (caused as a result of exposure to Benzene) said Ashok Ansodaria (21), victim of aplastic anemia, " We worked in a basement, cutting diamonds on a computerized machines. We used benzene to clean the

diamond by taking few drops on our palms and rub it on the surface of the diamond. The room was poorly ventilated and there were times when workers complained of headache. But neither the workers nor the owners knew that the benzene was toxic."[31]

Garment industry: Garment industry provides employment to about 3.5 million workers in India and was at one time a large export item. Delhi, Mumbai, Bangalore, Tiruppur and Chennai are five major production hubs. In Bangalore alone there are five lakh workers in 1200 units. Roughly 80 per cent of the garment workers are women between age of 21 and 25. The work is physically demanding, calling for impossible targets of 100-120 garments an hour against the normal rate of 60-70 pieces. Achieving these targets means urging workers by any means-- verbal harassment, threats etc.

A 2008 Cividep study in Bangalore reported that nearly half the respondents from among women workers complained of backache and breathing problems, knee and leg pain and injuries due to needlepoint punctures etc. Noise is another hazard they face but there are no studies yet. Workers are constantly engulfed in the fluff of cut pieces of cloth. Women complained of tightness in chest, breathing difficulties, allergic sneezing, persistent coughs and runny noses. Some 80 per cent of all TB patients registered with ESI are garment workers. Anemia among women garment workers is common.[32] In December, 2011 Rajiv Gandhi Hospital, Bangalore reported a case of silicosis caused due to constant exposure during the process of sand blasting. Sand blasting in garment industry is prohibited under provisions of Factories Act but enforcement is and there are no studies of the prevalence of silicosis in this industry.

Automobile industry: India's passenger car and commercial vehicle manufacturing industry is the sixth largest in the world, with an annual production of more

[26] *Gujarat ni Aarthik ane Pradeshik Bhugol* by M B.Dave, Uni. Granthnirman Board,2008.

[27] *Gujarat on the move,* Directorate, Ind. Safety & Health, Gujarat State,(2012).

[28] 'Occupational Respiratory Disease', Editorial, *The National Medical Jr. of India,*Vol.8, No.5.1995

[29] *Infochange Agenda,* issue 15,2009, p.23.

[30] Information supplied by Directorate, Ind. Safety & Health, Gujarat State under RTI to Jagdish Patel, 2008

[31] Indian Express, June 26, 2005.

than 3.9 million units in 2011.There were 2,747 working factories in India manufacturing motor vehicles, trailers and semi-trailers employing 243,000 workers (in 2009).[33] According to the Society of Indian Automobile Manufacturers, annual vehicle sales are projected to increase to four million by 2015.

The majority of India's car manufacturing industry is based around three clusters in the south, west and north. Another emerging cluster is in the state of Gujarat with manufacturing facility of General Motors in Halol and further planned for Tata Nano at their plant in Sanand. Ford, Maruti Suzuki and Peugeot-Citroen plants are also set to come up in Gujarat.[34] The industry will absorb large numbers of the young semi-skilled labour.

Automobile workers face several hazards like postural problems, noise, exposure to chemicals, injuries and so on. A section of the workers in a large car manufacturing facility in Halol (Gujarat) went on strike on March 16, 2011 protesting excessive overwork[35] Permanent spinal chord injuries due to heavy lifting without ergonomic health and safety standards, the Union alleged.[36] At another plant in Gurgaon, poor work conditions have been alleged to cause nervous disorders. There is little documentation of the health hazards and safety standards in this expanding industry.

Cleaning workers and waste pickers: An estimated 1.3 million workers across India, belonging to lower caste, are forced into manual scavenging.[37] But official figure of manual scavengers is 6,17,000.[38] Large numbers of deaths are reported each year of the workers who routinely enter underground sewers. In a petition filed by A.Narayana, the Madras High Court gave a landmark judgment in November 2008 instructing civil authorities not to let humans enter sewer holes. Many city corporation's scavengers suffer from leptospirosis (rat fever) because garbage bins are infested with rodents and workers do not wear protective gear. Occupational health and safety has rarely been the subject of litigation concerning sanitation workers. Sanitation workers have "appointments but no retirement" because most of them die well before the age of retirement, said G.Israel, an NGO activist.[39]

In Gujarat the Valmiki community comprising more than 80,000 families making up 2.5 per cent of the state's population have been the mainstay of cleaning and sewage operations. In Delhi the total number of beldar is approximately 5,500. The few studies of these workers all report a variety of illnesses that can be related to their occupational exposure and work conditions.[40]

In Mumbai daily 7,025 tones solid waste is generated.[41] This solid waste is collected by Mumbai Municipal Corporation (MMC) workers, and transported to dumping ground for further management. MMC engaged 33000 workers and 800 vehicles for this. It uses trucks, tractors, dumpers and compactors to transport it to dumping grounds, the biggest of which is over 500 acres. A large proportion of these workers are youth and most after a few years of work develop a number of health problems ranging from respiratory to skin and musculoskeletal diseases.[42]

According to a World Bank estimate 1 per cent of urban population in developing countries earn their living through scavenging or waste collection and recycling.[43] There are 24 organizations of waste pickers or those that work with waste pickers in India. In Pune every other scrap

[32] 'Fashionable and famous… at the garment worker's cost' by Suhasini Singh, *Infochange Agenda,* Issue 15,2009.

[33] *Statistical Year Book of India,* 2013. Table 32.5 Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation, Government of India. Link: http://mospi.nic.in/Mospi_New/upload/SYB2013/index1.html

[34] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Automotive_industry_in_India

[35] http://www.carzy.co.in/blog/car-news/gms-halol-plants-month-long-strike-continues-1500-units-loss.html/

[36] http://www.globallabourrights.org/reports?id=0631

[37] http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-10-20/mumbai/34605949_1_manual-scavengers-dry-latrines-schemes

[38] Du Daraswati, MFC Annual meeting, Hyderabad, 2013.

[39] 'Sewer Rats' by Vidya Venkat, *Infochange Agenda,* Issue 15, 2009, p.43.

collector was under age 35. Nine out of 10 waste pickers were women, 25 percent of the women between age 19 and 35 were widowed or deserted. Several studies point to serious health issues that impact on the workers' longevity.[44]

IT industry: An estimated seven lakh workers, mostly in their 20s, are employed in IT industry in India. While some data has been gathered for call centre work there is little in other areas of the IT industry all of which require high levels of concentration and exposure to display screen hazards and bad workplaces.[45]

Thermal power plants: Among the growth areas in infrastructure is the generation of power. Thermal power plant workers suffer a range of illnesses that have been only poorly documented. In a study carried out by Occupational Health & Safety Association (OHSA), it was observed that among skilled and unskilled categories, 28.6 percent accident victims were below age of 30.[46] According to OHSA to the reply they received, in seven thermal power plants in Gujarat, 7,559 permanent and 6,525 contract workers work in seven power plants but medical check ups are carried out only for the permanent employees. Out of seven, only three units have reported cases of occupational diseases.[47]

Struggle for Health and Safety

How have young workers responded to these situations? In recent years these struggles, usually in response to an event such as a fatal accident at work, are more likely to be spontaneous and short-lived. Such incidents are frequently observed among migrant construction workers. On March 3, 2009 at the Hajira (Gujarat) plant of a major construction company a migrant worker fell from height during night hours and died on the spot. By morning of 4 March - celebrated as National Safety Day - more than 5,000 workers went on rampage and damaged office and vehicles. Police had difficulty in controlling the mob. Again in May, 2009 at a construction site of a power plant a migrant worker fell from height during night hours and died and for hours neither contractor nor principal employer shouldered responsibility for compensation. By morning thousands of workers came together and went rioting. Police had to resort to firing which injured two workers. There is great need to study such struggles. This energy could be converted into long term social movement for safer and healthier workplaces. We also need to study the State response-particularly the local police, and the financial arrangements, if any, made by the protesting group for defense, the local support they received and other aspects.[52]

Health and safety issues can become a law and order matter. This would serve neither the workers nor the industry. We need to ensure proper reporting of health and safety issues in all industries, implement existing laws, strengthen workers' groups on these issues and also educate the public. This is an urgent need.

Post-liberalization, the doors of an international market were opened for Indian entrepreneurs. This has brought in the need for obtaining international certifications of quality such as the ISO that offers voluntary standards and certification processes. Some of these quality standards also include workplace safety and security, improvement of workplace conditions and ensuring health standards among workers. In the process of getting this certification some industries made changes in their work place for improving safety and health. Indian industries also are

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[40] *Hole to Hell: A Study on Health and Safety Status of Sewage Workers in Delhi,* Centre for Education and Communication, 2006.

[41] http://www.bcpt.org.in/webadmin/publications/pubimages/solidwaste.pdf

[42] 'Damping Ground mhanje Kachara Medana' Vijay Kanhere. Priya 1997.

[43] Rising from Waste, Committee For Asian Women, 2009, p.2.

[44] *Rising from the Waste by* P.Chikarmane and L. Narayan, CAW, 2009.

[45] 'Mental, Physical and Social Health Problems of Call Centre Workers' by Bhuya P et al Ind. Psychiatry, 2008:17:21-5, http://www.industrialpsychiatry.org/article.asp?issn=0972-6748

[46] *Thermal Power Plants---Mixed Blessings for Mankind,* OHSA, 2004.

[47] Information sought under RTI Act by OHSA, Ahemadabad, 2012.

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Deathly Dust

Silicosis a irreversible lung condition caused by silica dust is widespread in a number of industries ranging from agate stone workers, sandstone workers, flourmill workers and similar others.

Agate polishers in Khambhat are known to be exposed to fine silica dust leading to fatal occupational lung disease, Silicosis. Peoples Training and Research Centre (PTRC) runs weekly clinic to screen exposed agate workers in Khambhat in Gujarat in collaboration with Sri Krishna Hospital, Karamsad and Cardiac Care Hospital, Khambhat. A third of the 585 workers screened had silicosis. Almost 75 per cent of these were below 35, 19 of whom had already died.[48]

In Madhya Pradesh, tribal workers migrating to work in stone crushing units in Gujarat, get silicosis following exposure to silica dust. When sick, they go back home. A study found 1,169 workers suffering from silicosis. Of these workers 567 were below the age of 25. Nearly half of these workers were already dead because of the disease. Dust levels in the factories have been much beyond threshold limit values. Government agencies were in denial mode on the existence of silicosis. The report quotes NIOH that 90 workers, all of them below 35, have died after leaving their jobs. (p 26).[49]

Ceramic workers are also exposed to silica dust and likely to be affected. One study in Ahmedabad and Himmatnagar found that there were very few workers over the age of 45 because most workers start working at an early age, contract silicosis and are unable to continue to work in the hazardous industry.[50]

Of the 1,083 Sand stone mine workers interviewed in a study in Jodhpur half were under the age of 30. The report observes, " Age analysis clearly shows that 45% of mine workers are below the age of 20 years and hardly 1% is above 50 years of age." While 26 per cent of workers had started their first job before turning 17; only 8 per cent had attained 21 in the industry. Workers are unable to continue work for more than ten years.[51]

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setting up their units in foreign countries and they too need better comprehension of workers' health and safety. In Pune, for instance, the trade union in Thermax Industries has been able to persuade management to make a number of changes in work place design to reduce the accidents. In a thermal power plant in Ahmedabad, workers took initiative to make changes in the workplace not only to reduce accidents but also to increase productivity. These experiences are very inspiring. But it is possible only where workers are allowed to get organized and given more autonomy over the work place organization and a more democratic.

Trade unions are representative bodies of workers. Of the four major trade unions, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), Hin Mazdoor Sabha (HMS), the Centre for Trade Union (CITU) and TUCI AITUC none had any specific policy on Occupational safety and health.

[53]Recommendations:

1. The Government of India need to ratify ILO Convention 155 to provide legal cover to workers in all economic sectors for occupational health and safety. Similarly the recommendations of the Second Labour Commission on occupational safety and workers' rights need to be adopted and implemented.

2. Existing youth centers should be equipped to provide information on occupational safety and health especially legal provisions and rights of workers .

3. A separate cell needs to be set up for women workers in the Labour department.

4. For migrant workers, information centers should be opened in source areas to provide information on hazards of the work and preventive measures.

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[48] STONED: Plight of Agate Stone Workers, Gujarat. April, 2012.

[49] *Destined to Death: Killing the Marginalized,* A report by Shilpi Kendra, 2011. pp17-20.

[50] *Pottery Udhyog kamdar maganio* .Guj. Pottery Kamdar Sangathan,1997.

[51] Silico tuberculosis: Burdening Lives of Miners, Gravis, Jodhpur,2010.

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[53] *Infochange Agenda,* issue 15, 2009.

Section IV

Xavier Grousson

CHAPTER 15

Youth in Urban Transition
A Sustainability Challenge

Sangeeta Nandi
**Kadambari Anantram**

In Brief

- Mainstreaming the agency of youth for sustainable cities calls for strategies that integrate youth concerns and experiences into a conceptual framework, design and implementation and prioritising youth-led development at the grass-roots level.
- Fast-tracking data efforts for the construction of composite indexes on youth development for urban and rural areas would motivate greater youth-inclusion in public policy and in India's on-going urban transition.

Cities offer crucial agglomeration advantages that allow them to become centres of productivity and social advancement [Van Dijk and Mingshun 2005]. India's urban population has grown from 17 per cent of the total population in 1950 [UN 2012] to 31.6 per cent in 2011 [GOI 2012a]. The country is projected to become more urban than rural by 2051 with widening divergences between urban and rural population growth rates (Figure 1). The median age of India's 1.2 billion strong population, 25.2 years[1], when juxtaposed with a growing urban economy that contributes more than 60 per cent of the national output [GOI 2010a], provides a rich context for the young to meet their livelihoods and quality of life potential. In return, interactions

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[1]International Labour Organization (ILO) webpage, http://www.ilo.org/newdelhi/info/WCMS_175936/lang--en/index.htm, last accessed 14 March 2013

Figure 1: Annual population growth rate in urban and rural India

Urban average annual rate of change (%)
Rural average annual rate of change (%)
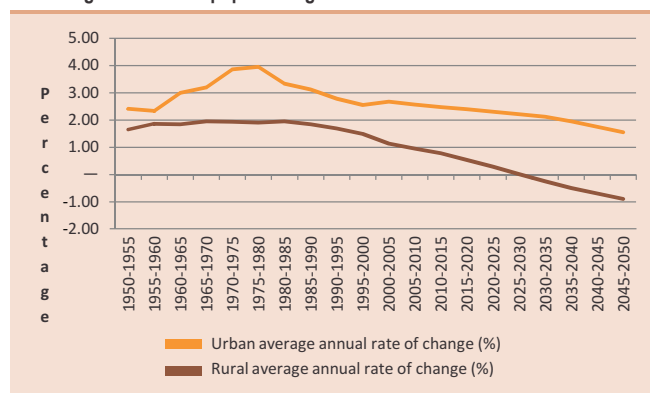
Source: UN 2012

between skills, entrepreneurial resources, and institutional infrastructure in a concentrated space can conceivably enhance the productive participation of youth to inject dynamism and innovation into the urban socio-economy.

The optimism regarding a 'demographic dividend' in India's growth story [Aiyar and Mody 2011], driven in large part by youth entering the labour market, would also appear to be intrinsically tied to the country's urban promise: McKinsey and Company (2010) estimates note that 70 per cent of net new employment generated in India

by 2030 will be in cities. This brings to focus the quality of India's urban transition, and whether opportunities inherent in urbanization are translating into a sustainable future for India's youth (Figure1).

Despite more than 198 million youth between ages 13 and 35 living in urban India (in 2001),[2] inadequate academic and policy attention has been devoted to the issue of meaningfully engaging youth in the urbanization process. To understand the linkages between the quality of India's urban growth and its implications for urban youth as a group, we first delineate the constituent agencies of urban sustainability. We follow this by placing youth in the context of prevailing urban challenges in India.

Sustainable urbanization: guiding parameters

UN-HABITAT (2002) provided four separate but mutually reinforcing dimensions to sustainable urbanisation: economic sustainability and poverty reduction, social integration, environmental protection and good governance. The organization further evolved

Table 1: Urban sustainability challenges in India

Urban Challenge	Summary indicators
Economic sustainability and poverty reduction	*Unemployment* • 65-70 percent of urban workforce employed in unorganised sector- many in need of 'occupational up-scaling'; Urban unemployment rates very high, particularly in 15-24 age group; [GOI 2010b]. • Average urban unemployment rate, at 5.0 per cent, compares unfavourably with rural unemployment at 3.4 per cent; female unemployment rate is 12.5 per cent in urban areas [GOI 2012b]. • Gender differentials in urban unemployment rate: female unemployment rate is estimated to be 12.5 per cent in urban areas [GOI 2012b]. • The Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) is estimated to be 47.2 per cent in the urban sector as compared to 54.8 per cent in the rural sector [GOI 2012b] *Poverty* • 20.9 percent of urban population below national poverty linein 2000 [UN 2012b].
Social integration	*Housing* • 29.4 percent of urban population lived in slums in 2009 (UN 2012b): 17 percent of notified slums and 51 percent of non-notified slums have no sanitation facilities [GOI 2008]. *Basic municipal services* • 95 percent of urban population has access to safe water [UN 2012b], but the quality and quantity of access is unreliable; 74 percent have access to piped water supply [McKinsey and Company2010]. • 58 percent of urban population with access to "improved sanitation"; [UN 2012b] community and shared sanitation facilities used by 28 percent of urban households; 18.5 percent households have no access to drainage networks; 40 percent households are connected to open drains [GOI 2008]. • 72 per cent of solid waste generated is collected [McKinsey and Company 2010; most cities are not able to provide MSW collection and disposal services uniformly across areas, especially crowded low-income settlements. *Transport Infrastructure* • Public transport accounts for only 22 percent of urban trips among increasing numbers of private vehicles [UN-HABITAT 2012].
Environmental vulnerabilities	• Average annual exposure level of the urban resident to suspended outdoor particulate matter less than 10 microns in diameter (Pm10) in 2009 was 59 micrograms per cubic meter [World Bank 2013] as against World Health Organization (WHO) recommended standard of 20.
Urban governance	• Decentralized and participatory urban governance mandated by 74th Constitutional Amendment Act 1992 and operationalized progressively across urban areas under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) since 2005.

[2]For Rajiv Gandhi National Institute of Youth Development webpage,
http://www.youthportal.gov.in/statistics/UrbanYouthPopulation2001.htm, last accessed 14 March 2013

the concept to draw direct connections between equity and economic efficiency such that 'transformative' people-centred growth could actuate 'a prosperous city' [UN-HABITAT 2012]. Table 1 provides a snapshot of key sustainability challenges for urban India.

Key Barriers to Realising Youth Potential

Inequitable urbanization: The extent of India's increasing inequality over the last decade [OECD 2011] is most apparent in urban areas where the concentrated wealth and high productivity employment neighbours degraded living in temporary shanties and slum settlements and unorganised sector employment with low incomes and benefits. It is well-established that inequities do not allow for the full realization of participatory growth [Sen 1999] and impact both economic efficiency and social cohesion.

In addition, the impact of socio-economic inequities and infrastructure deficits are disproportionately higher in smaller towns. This has led to increasingly concentrated urban population growth in large cities: the Census of India [GOI 2012a] estimates 70 per cent of the urban population lives in 468 Class I cities (cities that comprise at least a million people) out of a total of 79355 urban centres in the country. Kundu (2006) points out that unless corrected through local infrastructure and capacity building, India's under-developed and under-served small towns may lose out on the development stimulus attributed to urbanisation.

Inadequate capacity development: The Economic Survey of India [GOI 2013] cautions that catalysing increased productivity, especially in the non-agrarian manufacturing and services sectors, is key to achieving 'strong inclusive growth'. However, many industrial jobs being created are low-productivity and contractual, while employment growth in the relatively higher productivity services sector has been slow in recent years. In addition, with an average schooling of 5.1 years [World Bank 2012],

Indian youth are, on average, ill-equipped for high-productivity urban employment. Gender differentials in literacy attainments translate into average schooling of 4.1 years for women vis-à-vis 6.1 years for men.

McKinsey and Company (2012) report notes that industrialisation will raise the demand for medium skill workers with secondary education and vocational training, but due to low rates of high school enrolment and completion, there could be a shortfall of 13 million such workers in India by 2030. Further, a projected surplus of low-skill workers in the economy could trap millions into subsistence agriculture or urban poverty. Government initiatives to correct for skill mismatches with those of an industrialising economy include a National Skill Development Mission and a formal apprenticeship initiative to encourage vocational and on-the-job training.

Environmental: High density urban centres with inadequate municipal water, sanitation and waste collection amenities and vehicular congestion imply unsanitary living conditions with long-term health – and therefore productivity. Basic infrastructure inadequacies will disproportionately impact the living standards, productivity potential and access to opportunities of poor urban youth. The urban poor are also more likely to live in low-cost environmentally vulnerable areas [Farrington, Ramasut and Walkerl 2002] located next to polluting industries or uncovered landfills, or in shanty-towns near congested thoroughfares, further impacting their quality of life and opportunities.

A policy vacuum: The young in India have to contend with a legacy of silo-isation in the administrative structure[3] and the consequent lack of a comprehensive perspective on youth development in the country. Tapping the resources and agency of youth for sustained urban development has not featured as an explicit policy objective in the participatory model of decentralized urban governance mandated by the 74th Constitutional

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[3]For example, while the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports leads youth-related initiatives, urgent urban youth concerns would also fall under the ambit of several other governance units, including (at a minimum): the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, the Ministry of Human Resource Development and the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare.

Amendment Act 1992, and implemented under the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewable Mission (JNNURM), India's milestone urban regeneration initiative. Nor has proactive youth involvement featured in the recommendations of the Government of India's High Powered Expert Committee on urban infrastructure and services [GOI 2011] established to assess JNNURM performance and provide a policy roadmap for future urban reform.

Conclusion

Mainstreaming the challenges and agency of youth is an essential underpinning of the Habitat Agenda for sustainable cities. As noted by Power et al (2009), this calls for strategies that integrate youth concerns and experiences into the conceptual framework, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, projects and programmes as well as youth-led development at the grass-roots level. The policy gap on youth in India's urban transition is perhaps strongly indicated by a lack of consistent youth-differentiated data on key urban development indicators. Fast-tracking data efforts for the construction of composite indexes on youth development for urban and rural areas, as proposed in the Draft National Youth Policy 2012 [GOI 2012c], would motivate greater youth-inclusion in public policy and in India's on-going urban transition.

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What is Youth-led Development?

The concept of youth-led development was first defined by the Peacechild Foundation. Building on this definition UN-HABITAT published a report reviewing youth-led development as practised by youth-led agencies. Today many other UN agencies are also promoting and pursuing the idea of youth-led development as a key tool in involving youth in the development process.

The Five Principles of Youth Led Development.

1. Youth define their own development goals and objectives;

2. Youth have a social and physical space to participate in development and to be regularly consulted;

3. Adult mentorship and peer-to-peer mentorship are encouraged;

4. Youth act as role models to help other youth engage in development; and,

5. Youth are integrated into all local and national development programs and frameworks.

INDIA YOUTH FUND

An initiative of
UN-HABITAT | Narotam Sekhsaria Foundation
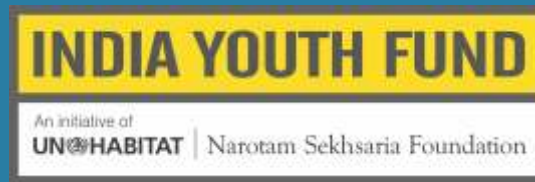
The India Youth Fund is part of the Global Youth Fund by the UN-HABITAT Governing Council that has so far awarded grants to 67 projects all over the world in urban areas led by young people from. The India Youth Fund Window is a joint initiative by UN-HABITAT and Narotam Sekhsaria Foundation (NSF) that aims at advancing youth empowerment in India through the provision of small grants upto INR 8 lakh to urban youth-led organizations in addition to training in functional areas of sustainable project development. Through this Fund, UN-HABITAT and NSF hope to provide young urban Indians the opportunity to mobilize the youth for better youth related policy formulation, facilitate the exchange of best practices and promote gender mainstreaming.

UN-HABITAT and NSF strongly believe that the youth are a major force in the fight against urban poverty and the implementation of the Millennium Development Goals. Since its inception NSF has been working towards identifying and supporting meritorious developmental enterprises across diverse domains including health, education, governance and livelihood. The synergies between the goals of the organization and the HABITAT Agenda to work in partnership with youth and empower them to participate in decision-making in order to improve urban livelihoods and develop sustainable human settlements have led to this collaborative effort between UN-HABITAT and NSF.

The Indian chapter of the Urban Youth Fund spans across India on a range of issues: i) Urban Land, Legislation and Governance; ii) Urban Planning and Design; iii) Urban Economy; iv) Urban Basic Services; v) Access to Health Information and Facilities; vi) Housing and Slum Upgrading; vii) Risk Reduction and Rehabilitation; viii) Research and Capacity Development.

Parag Pilankar

The Way Forward

India's demographic transformation is creating an opportunity when the demographic burden of the past may well convert to a dividend for the future. Over 35 per cent of its youth (15 – 32 years) are in urban areas, which are also growing very fast. While the growth is uneven, those who are making up the numbers are young people. Also important is the fact that the most numerous in the cities are those who already have a social and economic advantage. Of the urban young only three-fourths are educated even upto middle and secondary.

The growing pains of urban India appear felt most by the young. The deepening crisis in health care impinges worse on the young than any other group partly because they are perhaps the least likely to access care. Beyond childhood health conditions, the medical system tends to treat everyone as adults. And yet, the conditions and the trajectories of ill health conditions may be different for the young. Worse, the largest proportion of youth work in unhealthy, insecure environments that offer no financial support in times of injury or ill health. Unless health is regarded as a right, change, especially for the young will not come about.

What of the political environment that youth inhabit? Anecdotal and survey evidence shows that youth interest in politics is rising. The urban youth is politically oriented, but still not politically very active, and a few steps away from becoming an active political community.

How has the state looked at youth? India has a long history of recognizing the potential of youth in nation-building. Youth issues have consistently been incorporated in policies. But hardly has any impact been made in terms of youth development. Several states have youth policies; but few have involved youth in the evolution of policy.

This has provided the anchor for a three-city youth survey that has demonstrated amply that youth can not only discern developmental issues but may even be capable of suggesting innovative solutions to deep problems of development and growth.

But how is the widening gap between the resource rich and the poor to be bridged? Without adequate development plans and policies in place cities are increasingly becoming divided worlds and sharpen other conflicts.

More than 110 million young are on the move across the country but most of them do not travel far, moving within the state. Some 17 per cent of migration for education is across states. Tracking the trajectories of the migrants throws up an understanding of the pattern of resources and opportunities that attracts the young.

Even after three decades of the women's movement and the growth of women's research emerging as a major discipline and influence in policy making women still have to battle it out for the right to live and to work. Women are very visible in the lowest paying, low skill jobs that are also often tedious, risky and hazardous. Women are forced into domestic labour and sex work due to an absence of other opportunities. Safety and security are important issues in assuring women's opportunities for work.

Jobs are being created not in the larger more established sectors, but in the unstable informal sector. At that these are low skilled jobs. This inevitably means that a large number of educated are either unemployed or are underemployed. Can India afford to invest in training young people in skills that will not be productive? Is this the way to realize the demographic dividend?

The gap between available skills and jobs is stark. Skills and education that youth are acquiring is no match for the jobs available. At another level, the quality of higher education has not only remained static but appears to be deteriorating. The young are being short-changed in several ways.

Not surprisingly the informal sector attracts a huge chunk of the youth population in urban centres. The regional disparity in jobs and industry is underlined by the informal sector. The six states of southern and western India, a continuous zone, accounted for 63 per cent of all formally trained people. These are also the states with more industry, higher levels of education, and training opportunities.

In sum, most of the jobs that the young are employed in are dangerous, in insecure workplaces that have high risks associated. The proliferation of small units, with the encouragement given to small and micro industries mimic the large industries and make little attempt to ensure the health and safety of the largely youthful workers. Regulations are many, but who is to ensure that they are implemented? With the waning of the labour movement, workers have neither voice nor a platform where they may seek redressal. This has resulted in sporadic, spontaneous and violent worker responses to such incidents as deaths that only serve to mitigate chances of long-term reform.

These are typically seen as evidence of youth violence. When 15,000 youth turned for 56 job vacancies for security guards, their revolt was termed as the uninhibited anger of impatient youth. Given the situations and the futures they face it is inevitable that sporadic and spontaneous violence will occur more frequently.

So what's to be done? How do we conceptualise an India led by youth and for youth? How do we make it possible for young people to design sustainable urban futures for themselves and their inheritors?

Several suggestions have been made here and in other fora on how measures to be taken to tilt the balance of development on the larger conceptual and structural change required.

Mainstreaming the agency of youth for sustainable cities calls for strategies that integrate youth concerns and experiences into a conceptual framework, design and implementation and prioritizing youth-led development at the grass-roots level.

India has already proposed the evolving of a composite youth development index. This needs to be fast tracked. This involves the generation of age-wise data in every sphere of development.

Equally, the emphasis must be on understanding all the needs of youth as agents of change, as well as social actors

and participants in change.

Besides this, just as development reports are brought out every year, international agencies that have the tools and expertise must be involved in bringing out data rich status report on urban and rural youth. These must be used in the planning process and to strengthen current programmes.

These are not processes that will be easily accomplished. Accompanying these will need to be the inclusion of youth as a focus of research and study as well. Besides, youth must also be provided with the skills to participate in policy making and programme implementation.

Together with this comes the expansion of rights education that will include a responsibility perspective. For youth to be involved in the making of laws this is essential.

All policy evolution related to or affecting youth needs to recognise the agency of youth and include them as a matter of course in deliberations, at all levels including the implementation of programmes.

The focus must be on the assets and the resources that youth uniquely bring to the development process.

In making this paradigm shift there must be a change in the planning machinery. It is here and in offices of the prime minister and the various chief ministers that locations must be created for permanent youth functionaries in advisory roles. These are not political offices; but integrated into the civil service structure so that there will be continuity of programmes regardless of changes in the political power structures.

Similarly, just as Planning Commission working groups incorporate women mandatorily, they must include youth from various regions of the country in every working group.

If this paradigm shift has to occur the political system will have to take on a definitive role. Each party needs to put in place a youth manifesto, drawn by its youth members to engage its youth constituents. Without this kind of grass-root measures inspiring youth to vote or participate in democratic politics is meaningless.

Appendix
Table A1: WPR, LFPR and rate of unemployment (Usual Principal Status)

	NSS 66th Round (2009-10)			NSS 61st Round (2004-05)		
	Work Participation Rate (WPR	Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR)	Rate of Unemployment	Work Participation Rate (WPR	Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR)	Rate of Unemployment
Rural						
Male	68.8	71.9	4.31	75.6	79	4.3
Female	23.3	24.6	5.28	31.2	33.2	6.02
Male + Female	46.4	48.6	4.53	53	56	4.82
Urban						
Male 62.6	66.9	6.3	66.5	72.5	8.3	
Female 13.4	15.7	14.6	15.7	19	17.4	
Male + Female	39.2	42.5	7.8	42.6	47.3	9.9
Rural + Urban						
Male 66.9	70.3	4.8	72.9	77.1	5.5	
Female 20.5	22.1	7.2	27.1	29.4	7.8	
Male + Female	44.3	46.8	5.3	50.3	53.6	6.2

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Table A3: Labour market composition of youth according to religion (usual principal status)

Religion	Self Employed	Regular Salaried & Wage	Casual Wage Labour	Unemployed	Not in Labour Force	Total
NSS 66th Round (2009-10)						
Hinduism	19.8%	8.2%	17.0%	2.5%	52.5%	100.0%
Islam	19.5%	6.6%	15.1%	2.2%	56.6%	100.0%
Christianity	16.0%	12.2%	14.2%	5.2%	52.4%	100.0%
Sikhism	14.5%	6.9%	14.1%	3.8%	60.7%	100.0%
Jainism	20.9%	17.2%	1.9%		60.0%	100.0%
Buddhism	7.9%	12.6%	22.5%	3.4%	53.5%	100.0%
Zoroastrianism	2.8%	65.4%		4.4%	27.4%	100.0%
Others	23.5%	3.8%	17.8%	2.3%	52.6%	100.0%
Total	19.5%	8.1%	16.7%	2.5%	53.2%	100.0%
NSS 61st Round (2004-05)						
Hinduism	25.3%	8.1%	18.1%	3.1%	45.4%	100.0%
Islam	24.1%	6.7%	13.2%	3.3%	52.6%	100.0%
Christianity	22.1%	12.5%	13.0%	7.8%	44.5%	100.0%
Sikhism	19.1%	9.4%	11.2%	5.6%	54.6%	100.0%
Jainism	28.5%	10.9%	2.1%	1.7%	56.7%	100.0%
Buddhism	13.7%	7.2%	32.0%	4.9%	42.2%	100.0%
Zoroastrianism	6.2%	48.7%			45.1%	100.0%
Others	44.7%	4.9%	11.6%	3.1%	35.8%	100.0%
Total	25.0%	8.0%	17.3%	3.3%	46.4%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Table A4: Labour market composition of youth according to formal and informal employment

		Sex		
		Male	Female	Total
NSS 66th Round (2009-10)				
Rural	Informal	97.6%	97.5%	97.6%
	Formal	2.4%	2.5%	2.4%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban	Informal	86.5%	79.3%	85.3%
	Formal	13.5%	20.7%	14.7%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural + Urban	Informal	94.5%	94.1%	94.4%
	Formal	5.5%	5.9%	5.6%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
NSS 61st Round 2004-05				
Rural	Informal	98.0%	98.3%	98.1%
	Formal	2.0%	1.7%	1.9%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Urban	Informal	89.6%	86.4%	89.1%
	Formal	10.4%	13.6%	10.9%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Rural + Urban	Informal	95.8%	96.5%	96.0%
	Formal	4.2%	3.5%	4.0%
	Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

Table A2: Labour market composition of youth according to social groups (usual principal status)

	Social Group				
	Scheduled Tribe	Scheduled Caste	Other Backward Class	Others	Total
66th Round (2009-10)					
Self Employed	24.3%	13.7%	21.3%	19.7%	19.5%
Regular Salaried & Wage	4.3%	7.1%	7.4%	10.8%	8.1%
Casual Wage Labour	27.3%	26.1%	15.5%	8.7%	16.7%
Unemployed	2.3%	2.6%	2.3%	2.9%	2.5%
Not in Labour Force	41.8%	50.6%	53.5%	57.9%	53.2%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
61st Round (2004-05)					
Self Employed	31.4%	17.1%	27.9%	24.5%	25.0%
Regular Salaried & Wage	4.4%	7.2%	7.3%	10.5%	8.0%
Casual Wage Labour	30.6%	28.1%	15.9%	8.7%	17.3%
Unemployed	1.7%	3.4%	3.1%	3.8%	3.3%
Not in Labour Force	31.9%	44.2%	45.8%	52.4%	46.4%
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Source: Unit level data of 66th and 61st NSS

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