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स्वास्थ्य एवं परिवार कल्याण मंत्रालय
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MINISTRY OF HEALTH & FAMILY WELFARE
NIRMAN BHAWAN, NEW DELHI - 110011

Youth in India: Situation and Needs 2006–2007

International Institute for
Population Sciences, Mumbai

Population Council

This report is the result of a sub-national study undertaken by the International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai and the Population Council, New Delhi, as part of a project to collect information on key transitions experienced by youth in India, including those related to education, work force participation, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation; the magnitude and patterns of young people's sexual and reproductive practices before, within and outside of marriage as well as related knowledge, decision-making and attitudes. The project was implemented in six states of India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu.

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Youth in India: Situation and Needs 2006–2007

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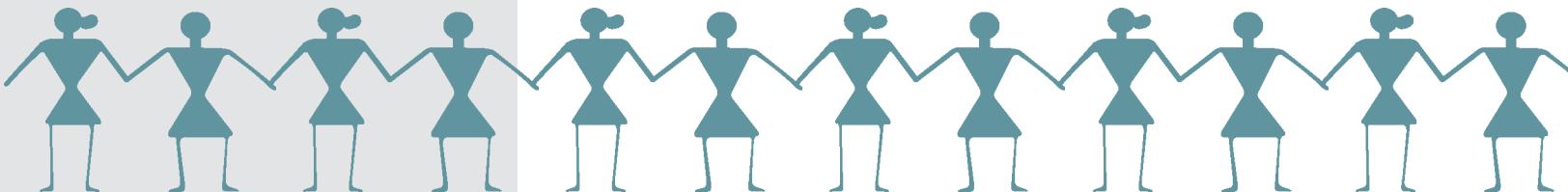

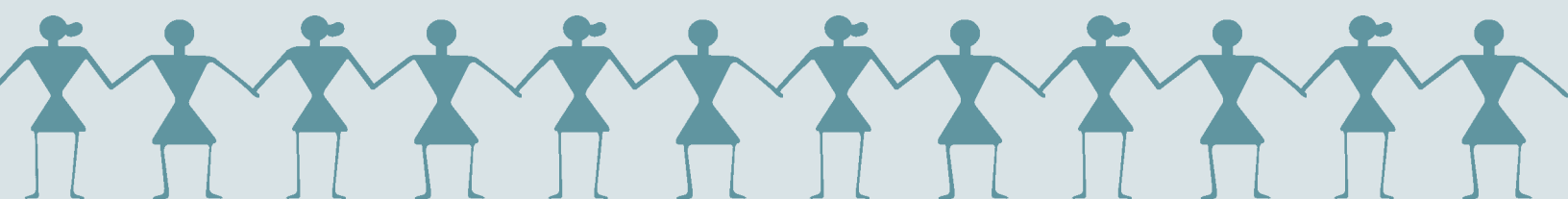

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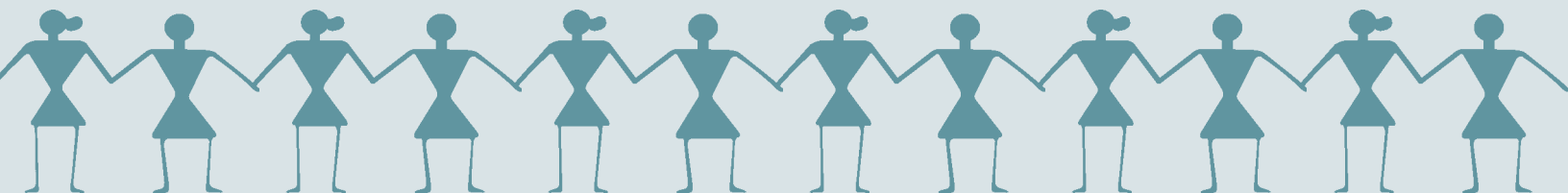

NATIONAL RURAL HEALTH MISSION
राष्ट्रीय ग्रामीण स्वास्थ्य मिशन

सत्यमेव जयते

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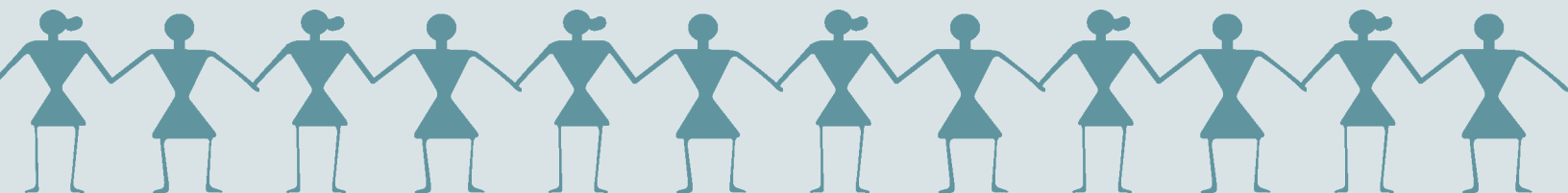
गुलाम नबी आज़ाद
GHULAM NABI AZAD

Message

Young people are the nation's future and investment in their development is critical. This report of the *Youth in India: Situation and Needs* study provides a comprehensive overview of young people in the country and offers a roadmap for programmes and priorities that aim to address youth needs. It highlights that in order to fully meet the needs of youth in a rapidly globalizing world and to enable the country to reap the benefits of the demographic dividend, many Ministries will need to join hands—Youth, Health and Family Welfare, Human Resource Development, Labour, Women and Child Development for example.

Over 50000 youth were interviewed in the study, giving us a robust picture of youth in India and a wealth of evidence on almost every aspect of the life of youth in this country: education, work force participation, family life, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation. I do hope that the evidence presented in this report will spur us all, in our individual capacities as policy makers, programme implementers, researchers and family members of young people, to ensure that the full potential of youth in India is realized.

(GHULAM NABI AZAD)



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Foreword

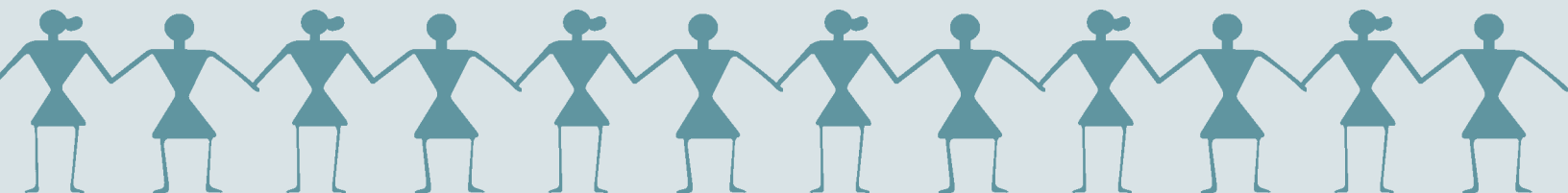
The Government of India is committed to addressing the multiple needs of young people. The Eleventh Five Year Plan, the National Youth Policy, the National Population Policy 2000 and the National Rural Health Mission have all advocated special programmatic attention to addressing this population. The National AIDS Control Programme-III and the Reproductive and Child Health Programme-II, notably the National Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health Strategy provide the framework for a range of sexual and reproductive health services to be provided to youth.

Effective implementation of policies and programmes, however, has been difficult and there has been a lack of comprehensive evidence on young people's situation and needs. The project *Youth in India: Situation and Needs* is an ambitious project intended to provide this evidence. Research has been conducted in a total of six states of India—Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu—representing about two-fifths of the country's youth. It provides a wealth of evidence on married and unmarried young women and men from both rural and urban settings of each state. The surveys in the six states were undertaken in a phased manner and took place between January 2006 and April 2008. A total of 50,848 married and unmarried young men and women from 174,037 households (71,694 from urban and 102,343 from rural areas) were interviewed in the survey.

This report focuses on findings from interviews with youth in all six states. It provides an enormous amount of information—much for the first time—on almost every major dimension of youth life: education, work force participation, family life, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation. It provides evidence on the magnitude and patterns of sexual and reproductive practices in and outside of marriage as well as related knowledge, decision-making and attitudes. Findings from the study provide important base-line indicators against which the long-term impact of programmes may be measured and will certainly go a long way in guiding policy, programmes and advocacy on youth issues. Information provided will be valuable to policy makers, programme implementers in government and non government sectors, rights advocates and researchers alike who are committed to addressing the needs of India's next generation.

I appreciate the efforts put in by the International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai and the Population Council, New Delhi for undertaking the study, and the project's advisory committees who guided it.

(K. SUJATHA RAO)



Acknowledgements

The *Youth in India: Situation and Needs* study is a sub-nationally representative study, undertaken for the first time in India, of key transitions experienced by young people. The study covered six states of India, namely, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu. These six states were purposively selected to represent the different geographic and socio-cultural regions within the country, and together they represent two-fifths of the country's population. This report presents consolidated findings from all six states and covers multiple dimensions of young people's situation, ranging from education, work and marriage to sexual and reproductive health and behaviours.

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Executive summary

Young people (aged 10–24) constituted almost 315 million and represented 31% of the Indian population in 2001. Not only does this cohort represent India's future in the socio-economic and political realms, but its experiences will largely determine India's achievement of its goal of population stabilisation and the extent to which the nation will be able to harness its demographic dividend. While today's youth are healthier, more urbanised and better educated than earlier generations, social and economic vulnerabilities persist. In the course of the transition to adulthood, moreover, young people face significant risks related to sexual and reproductive health, and many lack the knowledge and power to make informed sexual and reproductive choices.

In recognition of the importance of investing in young people, several national policies and programmes formulated since 2000, including the National Population Policy 2000, the National Youth Policy 2003, the Tenth and Eleventh Five-Year Plans, the National Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health Strategy and the National Rural Health Mission, have underscored a commitment to addressing the multiple needs of this group in India. Effective implementation of both policies and programmes, however, has been handicapped by the lack of evidence on young people's situation and needs. Currently available evidence is limited, at best, and comes largely from small-scale and unrepresentative studies.

The *Youth in India: Situation and Needs* study (referred to as the Youth Study), implemented by the International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai and the Population Council, New Delhi is the first-ever sub-nationally representative study conducted to fill these gaps in evidence. Its objectives were to identify key transitions experienced by youth, including those pertaining to education, work force participation, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation; provide state-level evidence on the magnitude and patterns of young people's sexual and reproductive practices in and outside of marriage as well as related knowledge, decision-making and attitudes; and, finally, identify key factors underlying young people's sexual and reproductive health knowledge, attitudes and life choices.

The Youth Study focused on married and unmarried young women and unmarried young men aged 15–24 and, because of the paucity of married young men in the younger ages, married men aged 15–29, in both rural and urban settings. The study was conducted in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu; these states were purposively selected to represent the different geographic and socio-cultural regions within the country. Indeed, these six states together represent 39% of the country's population. This report focuses on the consolidated findings from youth interviewed from all the six states. A more detailed description of findings from each state have been published elsewhere (IIPS and Population Council, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2010).

The study comprised three phases, and included both a survey and qualitative data gathering exercises prior to and after the survey. The surveys were undertaken in a phased manner and took place between January 2006 and April 2008. In all, 58,728 young people were contacted, of which a total of 50,848 married and unmarried young women and men were successfully interviewed.

Characteristics of the household population

A total of 186,152 households were selected for interview. Among these, interviews were successfully completed in 174,037 sample households, and 838,731 individuals, who were usual residents in these households, were enumerated.

The age distribution of the six states was typical of a population in which fertility has been declining in the recent past. A little over one-fifth (22%) of the population was aged 0–9 years, and at the other end of the age spectrum, the population aged 60+ years represented 9%. Findings suggest, moreover, that the proportion of the population aged 0–4 years was similar to that observed in the 2001 census in these six states (10.0 and 10.7 respectively), and the median age of the population was slightly higher than that reported in the 2001 Census (24 years versus 22.6 years). With regard to the population of young people, the distribution suggests that at the time of the survey, 11.4% of the population was aged 10–14 years, 9.5% was aged 15–19 years and 8.6% was aged 20–24 years. A total of 18.1% of the population was aged 15–24 years, about the same as that observed in the 2001 Census (18.3%) Overall, the sex ratio of the *de jure* population was 992 females per 1,000 males, somewhat higher than that observed for these six states in the 2001 Census (943). A similar pattern was observed in both rural (1,005 compared to 955 in the 2001 census) and urban areas (956 and 915, respectively). The child sex ratio of the surveyed population was 920 females per 1,000 males aged 0–6, similar to that reported in the 2001 Census (935).

The educational profile of the household population highlights low levels of educational attainment: over one-third (36%) of the population aged 6 years and above had no formal education. Notably, as many as 47% of females compared to 26% of males, and as many as 43% of the rural population compared to 19% of the urban population, had never been to school. Reaffirming the low levels of educational attainment in the population covered by the study, findings also indicate that just 11% of the total population had received 12 or more years of education, including 14% and 7% of males and females, respectively.

Housing characteristics of the surveyed population underscore poor living conditions among the majority of the population covered. Overall, 28% of households lived in *kachcha* houses (constructed from mud, thatch or other low-quality materials), 34% lived in semi-*pucca* houses (constructed using a mix of low- and high-quality materials) and 38% lived in *pucca* houses (constructed entirely from cement, masonry or other high-quality materials). Only 68% of households had electricity, including 94% of urban households and 58% of rural households. Little less than nine in ten households (88%) reported that their main source of drinking water was piped water, or water obtained from a hand-pump or a covered well. Access to a toilet facility of any kind was reported by about one-third (36%) of households. Finally, the main source of cooking fuel was coal, charcoal, wood, crop residue or dung cakes, reported by 72% of households; liquid petroleum gas (LPG) was used, in contrast, by just 23% of households. With regard to the availability of household amenities such as electricity, piped water and gas connections, findings suggest that the northern states, especially Bihar and Jharkhand were comparatively worse off than Maharashtra and the southern states.

The distribution of households by wealth quintiles shows a stark rural-urban divide: over two-fifths (45%) of urban households were in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile; in contrast, only one-tenth of rural households were in this quintile. Likewise, one-quarter of rural households were in the poorest (first) quintile of the index compared to only 4% of urban households. Findings also highlight that poverty levels were higher in Bihar and Jharkhand than in any of the other states, with considerably more households in these states (39–44%) falling into the poorest (first) quintile compared to those in the other four states (8–18%).

Situation of youth

As mentioned earlier, a total of 50,848 youth were interviewed. Age profiles suggest that a somewhat larger proportion of young men and women were concentrated in the 15–19 than in the 20–24 age group (52–53% compared to 47–48%). Moreover, the unmarried were clearly younger than the married; while 78% of unmarried young women were aged 15–19, only 31% of married women fell into these ages. The distribution of youth by religion shows that 83–85% of youth were Hindu, 10% were Muslim and 5–7% belonged to other religions. Caste-wise distributions were generally similar among young men and women, with about half (49–50%) falling into other backward castes, 20–21% into scheduled castes, 7–9% into scheduled tribes and 21% into general castes. More than four in five young men and women (84–85%) reported that both parents were surviving. For those with just one parent surviving, this parent was more likely to be the mother (11%) than the father (3–4%). Finally, 1–2% reported that neither parent was alive.

Education

While youth in the country were better educated than the general population, schooling was far from universal among them. Almost one in ten young men and one in four young women had never attended school. Findings show, moreover, that young women in rural areas and married young women were particularly disadvantaged; one-third of rural young women and almost two-fifths of married young women had never been to school. State-wise differences were also apparent: 10–16% of young men and 38–51% of young women from the northern states had never been to school, compared to 2–8% and 5–21%, respectively, in Maharashtra and the southern states.

Attainment of educational milestones also varied. In total, just two in five young men and one in three young women had completed high school. The rates were particularly low among several sub-groups of youth—young women, married youth, rural youth, those belonging to poor households, Muslim youth and those belonging to scheduled castes and tribes. Similarly, far smaller proportions of youth in the northern states than those in Maharashtra and the southern states had completed 10 or more years of education.

Among those who had ever enrolled in school, substantial declines in school completion rates took place earlier among young women than men, the married than the unmarried, and the rural compared to the urban. State-wise differences were less consistent. Major declines occurred earlier in the northern states and Andhra Pradesh than in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Moreover, in all groups and all states, major declines occurred just prior to high school completion (between Classes 9 and 10) as well as following the completion of such milestones as a secondary, higher secondary and college education.

The leading reason for never attending school among young men and women was economic (for example, the respondent was required for work on the family farm/business or for outside wage earning work, or the family could not afford school-related expenses), reported by about three in five young men and women. More than half of young women, moreover, reported reasons related to housework (the respondent was required for care of siblings or housework). Attitude- or perception-related reasons (for example, education was unnecessary or the respondent was not interested in schooling) were other important reasons for never going to school, reported by one-third of young men and women. Finally, school-related reasons (school located too far away, poor school quality and so on) were important, particularly among young women.

Among those who had ever been to school, gender differences in reasons for discontinuation became more apparent. Leading reasons for discontinuation among young men, irrespective of the level at which schooling had been discontinued, continued to be economic and attitude and perception-related, and at higher levels, school-related as well. For young women, while percentages differed, leading reasons were economic, attitude- or perception-related, housework responsibilities and school-related. Among young women, moreover, reasons relating to transitions to adult roles, overwhelmingly marriage became increasingly important among those who had discontinued their education at the secondary or higher secondary level. Of note, particularly, is that one in seven and one in four young women who had discontinued their education in Classes 7–9 and 10–11, respectively, reported reasons related to transitions to adult roles, notably marriage.

For the most part, youth attended co-educational and government schools and colleges. A gender divide was, however, observed in the type of educational facility they attended. While young men, by and large, attended co-educational facilities at all levels of education, percentages of young women attending a co-educational facility declined with level of schooling attained. Moreover, percentages of young men and women attending private educational facilities increased with level of education.

As far as availability of such amenities as drinking water, playgrounds, toilets and libraries was concerned, almost all youth had access to drinking water, and considerable majorities to playgrounds. Toilets and library facilities were less likely to be reported by youth, irrespective of their schooling status at the time of the interview. By and large, differences were observed in the availability of amenities at educational facilities attended by youth who were still in school and those who had discontinued their education at various levels. Indeed, youth who were still studying were

somewhat more likely to report the availability of all four amenities—water, toilets, playgrounds and libraries—than were those who had discontinued their education: for example, among those at higher secondary or college level at the time of the interview, 70–77% reported access to all four amenities, compared with 62–65% among those who had discontinued their education at these levels.

Schooling experiences were relatively similar among young men and women but differed somewhat among those who had discontinued schooling and those who were studying at the time of the interview. While differences in regular attendance and perceptions about academic load were less consistent, youth who were continuing their education were considerably more likely to report private tuition, and to have passed the last examination for which they had appeared. It would appear that academic failure was an important factor precipitating school discontinuation.

Work

Work profiles suggest that over two-thirds of young men and one-half of young women had at some time engaged in paid or unpaid work. Indeed, almost all married young men and almost two-thirds of unmarried young men had done so, compared with three-fifths and two-fifths of married and unmarried young women, respectively. Likewise, more youth in rural than urban areas had ever worked: differences were mild among men (74% versus 62%) and considerable among young women (58% versus 30%). Young men and women were far less likely to have engaged in unpaid than in paid work. Economic activity was often initiated at an early age: over one in four young men and women reported initiating work in childhood or early adolescence (by age 15).

Data on work participation in the 12 months prior to interview indicate that the majority of young men (61% of unmarried and 97% of married) and a substantial proportion of young women (37% and 43%, respectively) had engaged in paid or unpaid work at some point in the 12 months preceding the interview. The majority of young men and women who had worked in the year prior to the interview had done so for the major part (at least six months) of the year.

Findings also suggest substantial levels of unemployment among youth: 14% among young men and 16% among young women. Unemployment was particularly high among the educated—young men and women who had completed Class 12 reported considerably higher rates of unemployment than those who had completed fewer years of schooling.

Youth were clearly interested in acquiring skills that would enable employment generation; over half of young men and two-thirds of young women reported interest in vocational skills training. However, far fewer—just 21% of young men and 25% of young women—had attended at least one vocational training programme.

Finally, while no clear regional patterns were evident in terms of young people's work profiles, findings suggest a regional divide with regard to young people's participation in vocational training programmes. Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to have ever attended vocational training programmes. While this regional pattern was not as consistently observed with regard to young people's interest in attending vocational training programmes in general, those from the northern states were consistently less likely than their counterparts from Maharashtra and the southern states to express a preference for training in new technologies, namely, computer skills.

Media exposure

Findings suggest that large proportions of all youth were exposed to the media, typically television (89% of all young men and 76% of all young women), and, among youth with five or more years of education, newspapers, magazines or books (93% of young men and 78% of young women). Exposure to the internet, among those with five or more years of education, was reported by considerably fewer youth (15% of young men and 9% of young women). Gender differences were apparent, with young men typically more likely to be exposed to each medium than young women. State-level differences were narrow with regard to exposure to the print media, but wider in the case of the remaining two media; youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were, by and large, more likely

than their counterparts in the northern states to report exposure to television and the internet. For example of those who had completed five or more years of education, 14–26% of young men and 9–14% of young women in Maharashtra and the southern states, compared to 6–11% and 3–6%, respectively, in the northern states, had accessed the internet. Indeed, internet exposure was most likely to be reported by young men in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu than by those in the other states (22–26% versus 6–14% with five or more years of education in the remaining states); among young women, differences were narrower, but young women in Tamil Nadu (14%) were considerably more likely than those in the other states (3–9%) to report internet exposure.

Findings also suggest that about one in three young men (35%) and hardly any (3%) young women watched pornographic films; 23% of young men and 5% of young women accessed pornographic books and magazines and 37% of young men and 5% of young women who had been exposed to the internet had accessed pornographic materials on the internet. State-level differences were inconsistent but highlight that young men in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those in the northern states to report exposure to pornographic materials. Notably, young men in Andhra Pradesh were consistently more likely than those in the other states to access pornographic materials on films, in books and magazines, and on the internet.

Finally, between half and three-fifths of young men and women (54–62%) acknowledged the influence that media have on youth behaviours, in terms of influencing the way youth dress or the extent to which they exhibit aggressive behaviours.

Socialisation experiences and communication with parents

Youth Study findings confirm that puberty occurs in the early teens among both young men and women. The mean age at menarche was 13.5 years, and young men typically reported voice change and the appearance of pubic hair at age 15.

Findings underscore, in general, the gendered socialisation of youth. For example, responses of both young men and women indicate that unequal gender norms regarding freedom of movement prevailed in most study households, with more than two-thirds of young men acknowledging that they had more freedom to go out than their sisters or female cousins did, and more than half of young women agreeing that they had less freedom to go out than their brothers or male cousins. At the same time, more than half of young men and women reported that young men in their family were expected to do less housework than were young women. Findings also suggest that parents controlled both young men's and women's social interactions, particularly those involving members of the opposite-sex: For example, 69% of young men and 82–84% of young women expected parental disapproval if they brought an opposite-sex friend home.

Findings regarding communication with parents on issues relevant to youth—such as school performance, romantic relationships, growing up matters and reproductive processes—reiterate those from other studies, showing that such communication is far from universal. Indeed, sensitive topics—such as romantic relationships and reproductive processes—were rarely discussed with either parent, and growing up matters were discussed only by young women with their mother.

That parent-child communication was restricted was also evident from responses to questions probing the most likely confidante on a range of topics from taking a job to boy-girl relationships. While a parent was mentioned as the leading confidante on the subject of taking a job, a parent was rarely cited as a leading confidante on the more sensitive matter of boy-girl relationships. Moreover, while young women identified their mother as the most likely confidante on menstrual problems, young men rarely identified a parent as a leading confidante on matters relating to nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh*.

Young people's family lives were marked by violence, both witnessed and experienced. As many as one-quarter of young men and women had observed their father beating their mother. Many respondents reported experiencing a beating by a parent during adolescence; gender differences were marked, with almost half of young men and one-fifth of young women reporting such experiences.

In contrast, growing up was associated with close peer networks. Almost all youth reported having some same-sex friends. Young men typically reported a somewhat larger network of friends than did young women. Opposite-sex peer networks were less common but nonetheless reported by 27% of young men and 16% of young women. Indeed, findings suggest that youth derived an important measure of support from their peer networks on personal matters: friends were by far the leading confidante on boy-girl relationships for both young men and women, and on nocturnal emission for young men.

Our findings also suggest the familiar north-south divide with regard to the growing up experiences of young men and women, although these differences were not consistently observed. Of note were findings that fewer young men from Maharashtra and the southern states than from the northern states perceived disapproval from their parents if they brought opposite-sex friends home. And more young women from Maharashtra and the southern states than those from the northern states cited a parent or family member as their leading confidante on matters related to taking a job or menstrual problems. Even so, evidence of domestic violence did not follow this pattern: youth in the southern states were most likely to have witnessed their father beating their mother and to have been beaten by a parent.

Peer networks and interaction

In contrast, growing up was associated with close peer networks. Almost all youth reported having some same-sex friends. Young men typically reported a somewhat larger network of friends than did young women. Opposite-sex peer networks were less common but nonetheless reported by 27% of young men and 16% of young women. Indeed, findings suggest that youth derived an important measure of support from their peer networks on personal matters: friends were by far the leading confidante on boy-girl relationships for both young men and women, and on nocturnal emission for young men.

State-wise differences were apparent with regard to peer relations. Youth in the northern states were less likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to report five or more same-sex friends or an opposite-sex friend. Moreover, young men in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to cite a friend as their leading confidante on such matters as taking a job, anxiety about nocturnal emission and boy-girl relationships; so too, young women in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to cite a friend as a leading confidante on boy-girl relationships.

Agency and gender role attitudes

Findings clearly highlight young women's limited agency. For example, just one in four young women (27%) reported independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey, namely, decisions on choice of friends, spending money and purchase of clothes for oneself. Likewise, freedom of movement even within the village or neighbourhood was not universal among young women; only three-quarters of young women (73%) had the freedom to visit locations within their own village or neighbourhood unescorted. Moreover, just one-quarter of young women reported freedom to visit at least one place outside the village or neighbourhood unescorted, and 15% could visit a health facility unescorted. Access to and control over financial resources tended to be limited among young women; fewer than two in five reported some savings and one in 10 owned a bank or post office savings account. Of those who owned an account, just 54% operated it themselves. While in each state, women's agency was limited, a clear state-wise pattern was not discernible. For example, young women from Maharashtra displayed considerably higher levels of decision-making than did those from the other states. However, young women from the southern states were more likely than those from the other states to report freedom to visit places within the village or neighbourhood, and those from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the other states to report mobility outside the village or neighbourhood. Although young women in the southern states were about as likely as those from the other states to own an account, they were considerably more likely to operate the account independently.

Also notable from the findings is the striking gender divide in all the dimensions of young people's agency explored in the survey. Young women were far more disadvantaged than young men, and this was apparent in each state. For example, even the least educated young men and young men belonging to the poorest (first) wealth quintile were more likely than the most educated women and those in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile to report independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey. Likewise, although young women were more likely than young men to have money saved (36% and 23%, respectively), they were slightly less likely than young men to own a bank or post office savings account (11% and 15%, respectively). Moreover, young women were much less likely than their male counterparts to operate these accounts themselves (54% versus 90% of those who had an account).

While young men were not as disadvantaged as young women, findings indicate that many young men were also not able to exercise agency in their everyday lives, and this was evident in each state as well. For example, only 56% of young men reported independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey. Unmarried young men had considerable freedom of movement, yet more than one-third were not permitted to visit a place of entertainment or attend a programme conducted outside their village or neighbourhood, or visit a health facility unescorted.

More than half of young men and women (54% and 58%, respectively) justified wife beating in at least one situation. At the same time, relatively large proportions of youth espoused egalitarian gender role attitudes on other issues explored. It is notable that young men were consistently more likely than young women to report unequal gender role attitudes on these issues. State-wise differences suggest that youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their counterparts in the northern states to express egalitarian gender role attitudes. While a similar regional pattern was observed with regard to attitudes to wife beating among young men, regional patterns in attitudes towards wife beating were difficult to discern among young women.

Awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters

Findings underscore young people's limited awareness of most sexual and reproductive matters, ranging from how pregnancy occurs to contraception, HIV and safe sex practices. For example, just 37% of young men and 45% of young women were aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex, and 19% and 15%, respectively, of young men and women reported awareness of STIs other than HIV. Although awareness of HIV/AIDS was reported by the majority of young men and women, it was not universal, especially among young women (reported by 91% and 73% of young men and women, respectively). Likewise, although knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage was reported by large proportions of youth, three of ten young men and four of ten young women did not know that 18 years is the legal minimum age at marriage for females.

While most youth had heard of contraception and HIV/AIDS, in-depth awareness was limited. For example, 95% of young men and women had heard of at least one modern method of contraception. However, correct knowledge of even one modern non-terminal method such as the condom, the IUD, oral contraceptives and emergency contraception was reported by considerably fewer: 78% of young men and 49% of young women. Likewise, while 91% of young men and 73% of young women had heard about HIV/AIDS, just 45% of young men and 28% of young women had comprehensive awareness of HIV. Findings of considerable gender difference in comprehensive awareness about contraception and HIV/AIDS raise concerns about the vulnerability of young women.

Youth had few sources of information on sex and reproduction. Indeed, almost half of young women and one-sixth of young men reported that they had never received any information on sexual matters (prior to marriage among the married).

Leading sources of information on sexual matters were friends and the media for both young men and women. In contrast, just 10% of young men and women cited teachers and 3–7% cited health care providers as a source of information; just 2% and 9% of young men and women, respectively, cited a family member. Among the leading current sources of information on contraception among young people who were aware of at least one method were similarly, peers and the media, and, among young women, family members. Again, teachers and health care

providers were relatively infrequently reported as such: Just 13–14% of young men and women had obtained this information from a health care provider and 7–9% from a teacher. In short, health care providers, teachers and family members—often assumed to be more reliable sources of information than peers or the media—were infrequently and inconsistently cited by young people as sources of information on sensitive topics such as sexual matters and contraception.

Few youth—just 15%—had attended family life or sex education programmes either in or outside the school setting, notwithstanding the Adolescence Education Programme, the School AIDS Education Programme, the Red Ribbon Clubs and special programmes for out-of-school youth in most Youth Study states. Indeed, even among the unmarried, just 17% of young men and 23% of young women reported exposure to family life or sex education. Further, although most (87–90%) reported that many of their questions had been answered, one-fifth of young men (21%) and almost two-fifths of young women (37%) reported feelings of discomfort or embarrassment while receiving such education, raising questions about the extent to which they were indeed able to participate freely and clarify doubts. Despite this, youth were overwhelmingly in favour of the provision of family life or sex education to young people (83% of young men and 78% of young women); typically, young men preferred to receive this education from a teacher, while young women preferred to obtain it from either a family member or a teacher. Findings suggest, moreover, that youth who had undergone family life or sex education were indeed more knowledgeable about sexual and reproductive matters than those not exposed to it.

Finally, a regional pattern was not apparent with respect to young people's levels of awareness about such matters as correct specific knowledge of modern contraceptive methods, the legal minimum age at marriage, and perceptions about the condom. However, youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were, by and large, more likely to report awareness of such matters as medical abortion, the fact that sex selective abortion is illegal, STIs other than HIV/AIDS and comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS. They were, moreover, more likely to have received family life or sex education.

Pre-marital romantic relations

Findings confirm that despite strict norms prohibiting pre-marital opposite-sex mixing, opportunities do exist for the formation of pre-marital romantic relationships. Indeed, significant minorities of young men and women had made or received a "proposal" for a romantic relationship (21–23%), and noteworthy, if smaller, percentages reported that they had been involved in a romantic partnership (19% and 9% of young men and women, respectively). Patterns of pre-marital romantic partnerships suggest that where partnerships occurred, they were initiated at an early age and were usually hidden from parents but not from peers. The majority of youth who engaged in a pre-marital romantic partnership had expectations of a longer-term commitment; young women were considerably more likely than young men to have expected a romantic relationship to lead to marriage (87% and 57%, respectively). The experiences of the married suggest, moreover, a disconnect between intentions and reality: while 64% and 92% of married young men and women who reported a pre-marital romantic partner, respectively, had intended to marry their pre-marital partner, far fewer (23% and 64%, respectively) had done so.

There was a clear progression in reported physical intimacy and sexual experience with romantic partners: while 88% of young men had held hands with a romantic partner, just 42% had sex with their partner; among young women, while three-quarters had held hands with a romantic partner, just one in four (26%) had engaged in sexual relations. Gender differences in reporting pre-marital sex with a romantic partner were indeed wide. Partner communication and negotiation regarding safe sex were rare, and the vast majority of youth had engaged in unprotected sex. One in seven young women who had sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner reported that their partner had forced them to have sex the first time.

Pre-marital sexual experiences in romantic and other relationships

In total, 15% of young men and 4% of young women reported experiences of pre-marital sex within romantic and/or other partnerships. Young men tended to initiate pre-marital sex earlier than young women; moreover, youth

in rural areas tended to initiate pre-marital sexual activity earlier than their urban counterparts. Also, initiation of pre-marital sexual activity increased as young people transitioned from early into late adolescence, and further into young adulthood. Although a regional pattern was not evident with regard to pre-marital sexual experience, some state-wise differences were evident. Among young men, those in Tamil Nadu were less likely than those in the remaining five states to report pre-marital sex (9% versus 14–17%). Among young women, those from Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh were more likely than those from the other states to report pre-marital sex (6–7% versus 2–3%), and this pattern held, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

While sex with a romantic partner characterised pre-marital experiences for many of the sexually experienced, findings suggest that young men, but not young women, also engaged in sex in other contexts; other partners reported by young men included, mainly, married women, but also sex workers and casual partners. Many of the pre-marital sexual experiences reported by youth were risky, for example, 25% of young men and 21% of young women reporting pre-marital sex had sex with more than one partner. Moreover, consistent condom use was limited—only 13% of young men and 3% of young women reported condom use in all pre-marital encounters. While sexual relations were generally unsafe across all the six states, some notable state-level differences were discerned. For example, among young men, multiple partner relations were reported by 22–32% in five of the six states, but by relatively few (14%) in Rajasthan. Consistent condom use was most likely to be reported, however, by young men in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (17–22% compared to 5–7% in the remaining four states). Among young women, those from Andhra Pradesh were less likely than those from the remaining states to report pre-marital sex with multiple partners (7% versus 28–33%); differences were muted with regard to consistent condom use.

We acknowledge that youth, especially young women, may not report their sexual experiences in a survey situation. Hence, the Youth Study supplemented a series of direct questions with an opportunity to report sexual experiences in an anonymous format. Overall, it would appear that the sealed envelope technique did indeed offer a considerable number of sexually active young men and women who opted not to disclose their sexual experiences in face-to-face questioning the opportunity to do so.

Transition to marriage and early married life

Findings indicate that although most youth preferred to marry after age 18, as many as 19% of young women aged 20–24 were married before age 15, 49% before age 18, and 67% before age 20. In contrast, just 7% of young men aged 20–24 were married before age 18 and 16% before age 20.

Not only did marriage occur at young ages but it was also often arranged without the participation of young people themselves, particularly young women. Almost all youth reported arranged marriages. As many as one in ten young men and one in four young women reported that their parents did not seek their approval while determining their marriage partner. Hence, not surprisingly, reported pre-marital acquaintance was limited. Just one in five young men and one in seven young women reported that they had ever had a chance to meet and interact with their spouse-to-be alone prior to marriage. About two in three married youth reported that they had met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. Compounding the lack of pre-marital acquaintance was the lack of awareness of what to expect of married life, reported by 70% of young men and 78% of young women.

Despite the existence of laws against the payment of dowry, this practice characterised the marriages of about three-quarters of young men (72%) and women (78%). Findings also show that families of urban youth were as likely as their rural counterparts to conform to traditional practices, such as the payment of dowry.

Reports of marital life suggest that spousal communication was far from universal and that marital life was marked by considerable violence. For example, couple communication on contraceptive use was reported by just 34% of young men and 55% of young women, clearly undermining married young people's ability to adopt protective actions. Physical violence and forced sex within marriage were reported by considerable proportions of youth; of note is the finding that considerably more young women reported the experience of sexual compared to physical violence. For example, one-quarter of young women reported that they had ever faced physical violence perpetrated

by their husband (25%) and a similar percentage of young men (24%) reported perpetrating violence on their wife. Recent violence was reported by fewer: 18% of young men and 21% of young women. In contrast, one-quarter of young women reported that their first sexual experience within marriage had been forced, and one in three young women reported ever being forced to engage in sex by their husband; relatively fewer young men—about one in six—reported forcing their wife to engage in sex. Recent sexual violence was reported by 16% of young women and 6% of young men.

While the Youth Study did not explore extra-marital sexual experiences in detail, the available data indicate that 4% of young men reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. In contrast, hardly any young women reported so.

Contraceptive practice and pregnancy experience

Contraceptive use at any time within marriage was limited, reported by 24–25% of young men and women. Moreover, just 18% of youth reported current use of contraception. Reporting of methods currently used was fairly similar among young women and men. Contraceptive methods most likely to be used were condoms and oral contraceptives and, notwithstanding their young age, female sterilisation. Few young people practised contraception to delay the first birth—just 12% of young men and 5% of young women. Not surprisingly, pregnancy typically occurred within a year of marriage for three-fifths of young women and young men who reported that they or their wife had been pregnant at least once. Moreover, large proportions of youth—particularly young women—reported experiencing unintended pregnancy. For example, among young women who were not pregnant at the time of the interview and young men whose wife was not pregnant at the time of the interview, 25% and 14%, respectively, reported that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted.

Circumstances of the first birth suggest that institutional delivery and skilled attendance at delivery were limited: only about half of first births (47–54%) were delivered institutionally and just two-thirds reported delivery by a skilled attendant.

Findings also show that son preference was evident. Almost one-quarter of young men and women preferred to have more sons than daughters. In contrast, just 3–5% preferred to have more daughters than sons.

Finally, findings suggest that transitions to marriage and parenthood were fraught with several challenges for all youth, but these challenges were, by and large, more daunting for youth from the northern states than for those from Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, marriage continues to take place in adolescence for large proportions of young women and significant minorities of young men in the northern states. Youth in the northern states were also more likely than their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states to have consented to marry without any involvement in selecting their marriage partner and to have met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. Moreover, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to report forced sex, including at initiation. Notwithstanding these regional differences, no regional pattern was discernible in young people's reports of perpetration or experience of physical violence within marriage; indeed, youth in Tamil Nadu were more likely than those from most other states to report the perpetration and experience of physical violence, including in the 12 months preceding the interview.

With regard to utilisation of reproductive health services, findings suggest that youth from the northern states along with Maharashtra were more likely than those from the southern states to report practice of contraception to delay the first pregnancy. Youth from the northern states were also more likely than those from the other states to report three or more live births and less likely to report institutional delivery and skilled attendance for the first birth. Moreover, they were more likely to report son preference.

Substance use

Findings show that substantial proportions of young men reported the consumption of tobacco and alcohol; almost one-third of young men reported tobacco consumption and one-sixth reported alcohol consumption; almost all

of these—29% and 14%, respectively—had done so in the month preceding the interview. As expected, few young women reported that they had consumed any of these substances. In contrast, hardly any young men and not a single young woman reported drug use. State-wise differences suggest that young men in Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra were more likely than their counterparts from the other states to have consumed tobacco products in the month preceding the interview. In contrast, young men from the southern states were considerably more likely than those from the other states to have consumed alcohol in the month preceding the interview (22% versus 6–16%).

Health seeking behaviour

Although youth is a generally healthy period of life, significant minorities reported experiencing general, mental, and sexual and reproductive health problems in the period preceding the interview. For example, 21% of young men and 32% of young women had experienced high fever, and 5% of young men and 17% of young women reported the experience of symptoms of genital infection. One in eight young women reported experiencing menstrual problems; at the same time, almost one-quarter of young men reported anxiety about nocturnal emission. Finally, responses indicative of mental health disorders were reported by one in seven young men and women. Findings, moreover, suggest that young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were more likely than those in the other states (16–28% versus 11–13%), and young women in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra were more likely than those in the other states (17–21% versus 9–10%) to report symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders.

With regard to care seeking for general and sexual and reproductive health problems, patterns varied by type of problem. While the large majority of those who had experienced high fever, for example, had sought care, many fewer had sought care for sexual and reproductive health problems. Of those who had sought treatment, large proportions of young men and women had sought advice or treatment from a private facility or provider, irrespective of the type of problem. However, in the case of anxiety about nocturnal emission, young men had rarely sought advice from a health care provider, preferring to do so from their peers.

Findings suggest that youth were shy about seeking sexual and reproductive health services. For example, many youth, including the married, reported that they would indeed hesitate to approach a health care provider or a pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptive supplies.

Finally, small minorities of young men (4%) and somewhat more young women (11%) reported that they had undergone HIV testing. While state-wise differences were narrow among young men, young women from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to have undergone an HIV test (6–24% versus 1–3%). Findings, moreover, suggest that youth were overwhelmingly in favour of pre-marital HIV testing. While no regional pattern was discernible among young men, young women from Maharashtra and the southern states were somewhat more likely than their northern counterparts to favour pre-marital HIV testing.

Participation in civil society and political life

Findings highlight the limited participation of youth in civil society. Although a number of programmes are organised by the government or NGOs at the community level in which youth can participate, few youth (22% of young men and 31% of young women) reported familiarity with these programmes. Even fewer youth—12% of young men and 9% of young women—reported participating in such programmes. Relatively larger proportions of young men (45%) and young women (15%) reported that they had participated in community-led activities such as the celebration of festivals and national days. Finally, just 10–11% of young men and women reported membership in organised groups.

Regional patterns in the extent of participation in civil society and political life were marked. For example, young men and women in Maharashtra and the southern states were considerably more likely than those from the northern states to report awareness of government and NGO-sponsored programmes as well as participation in these programmes.

They were also more likely to report participation in community-led programmes and membership in organised groups. A similar pattern was observed with regard to the expression of secular attitudes: Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were consistently more likely to express secular attitudes than their northern counterparts.

Findings suggest that large proportions of youth did indeed vote, however voting behaviour was far from universal. Among those eligible, 71% of young men and 60% of young women had cast their vote in the most recent election preceding the interview for which they were eligible to vote. Large majorities of youth (83–86%) perceived that one could vote freely and without fear and pressure. At the same time, however, considerable proportions reported dissatisfaction with the political process: 68% of young men and 57% of young women reported disillusionment with the commitment of political parties to work for change at the community level.

Regional patterns were less evident with regard to political participation. However, youth from the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to perceive that one could vote freely and without fear or pressure. Considerable proportions of youth from all the six states reported disillusionment with the political process.

Expressions of secular attitudes varied. About three-fifths (63%) of young men and half (51%) of young women reported that they would mix freely with individuals of different religions and castes, would eat together with a person of a different caste or religion, and would talk to a person who has had an inter-caste marriage. Findings suggest a consistent positive association between age, education and wealth status, and expression of secular attitudes. They also suggest that youth from Maharashtra and the southern states were consistently more likely to express secular attitudes than their northern counterparts.

Considerable proportions of young men and women acknowledged that physical fights among young men and also among young women did occur in their village or urban neighbourhood; however, just 11% of young men and 3% of young women reported that they had been involved in a physical fight in the year preceding the interview.

The four leading problems facing youth expressed by both young men and women were unemployment, poverty, lack of amenities and lack of educational opportunities. However, young people's perceptions of these problems varied enormously by sex. Among young men, the majority reported difficulty in finding employment as the leading problem, followed by concerns about poverty more generally, lack of amenities or infrastructure and lack of educational opportunities. In contrast, the leading problem expressed by young women was lack of amenities and infrastructure, and to a lesser extent, difficulty in finding employment, poverty more generally, and lack of opportunities for education. This pattern persisted fairly uniformly in all the six states.

Recommendations for programmes

Findings presented in the sections above underscore the fact that youth face numerous challenges while making the transition to adulthood. These challenges call for programme interventions at the youth, family and service delivery levels. Key programme recommendations emerging from this study are highlighted below.

Address obstacles to universal school enrolment and secondary school completion

Youth Study findings highlight that school enrolment was far from universal among young people in the country and that school completion rates were low. Concerted efforts are needed if the country is to achieve the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring universal primary school completion. While the achievement of universal primary school completion is a key goal, the importance of high school education in enabling youth to make a successful transition to adulthood underscores the need, at the same time, for efforts to overcome barriers to high school completion. The government has articulated its commitment to improving the schooling situation in the country in several policies and acts, including the recently enacted Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009, and through several programmes, including the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*, the *Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan* and the *Saakshar Bharat* scheme. What is needed is a strong commitment to ensuring that these programmes are effectively implemented and that these do indeed reach the most disadvantaged groups.

A number of factors have been identified in the Youth Study that inhibit school completion; leading among these were economic reasons; attitudes and perceptions and school-related reasons; and, among young women, house-work and marriage related reasons as well. Multiple activities are needed to address these barriers. Efforts must be made, for example, to address the economic pressures that dissuade parents from enrolling their children in school and from keeping them in school once enrolled. A number of centrally- and state-sponsored programmes are ongoing that aim to reduce the cost of education and it is important to ensure that these ongoing government programmes do indeed reach the most disadvantaged groups; additional inputs, by way of conditional grants that encourage school completion among disadvantaged groups, also need to be considered. At the same time, activities directed at parents are needed that promote positive attitudes towards education and school completion, raise their aspirations about their children's education and encourage greater parental involvement in their children's education.

Activities must also address school-level barriers, notably, poor infrastructure, quality of education and academic failure, particularly among young women. Several state governments have launched various schemes to address these barriers (for example, the bicycle schemes for girls in Jharkhand and Bihar); however, it is important that the effectiveness of these schemes is evaluated and promising lessons are assimilated and scaled up. There is a need to incorporate livelihood skills building models within the school setting that will not only raise young people's aspirations regarding their education and careers but also provide them opportunities to gain market-driven job skills. There is also a need to focus on providing better training and ensuring accountability for teachers—investments that are likely to improve the quality of schooling experiences for youth. Finally, given the large proportions reporting that schooling had been interrupted because they were required for work on the family farm or business or for housework, and given the reality of young people's lives and the economic pressures on families, efforts need to be made to adjust school timings, including the establishment of evening schools to enable children to accommodate work on the family farm or business without sacrificing their education.

Findings indicating the transition to adult roles, particularly early marriage, as an important reason for school discontinuation among girls emphasise the fact that programmatic commitments outside the education sector are also critical to the achievement of universal school enrolment and completion. Specifically required are programmes that seek to critically examine norms and practices surrounding marriage and to eliminate the practice of early marriage. Explorations of subsidies and cash transfers that link school retention and delayed marriage among girls are needed.

Findings that several sub-groups of youth—young women, the married, the rural, those belonging to poor households, Muslim youth and those belonging to scheduled castes and tribes—remain considerably disadvantaged call for efforts that specifically target these vulnerable groups. Interventions are needed that give youth who missed the opportunity to obtain adequate formal education a second chance to acquire equivalency to formal education.

Finally, findings indicating considerable state-wise differences in school enrolment and completion call for state-specific interventions. Targeted efforts to achieve universal school enrolment and at least primary school completion need to be a high priority in the northern states, while concerted efforts to achieve universal secondary school completion are called for in Maharashtra and the southern states. At the same time, efforts to provide a second chance to youth who missed the opportunity to acquire an adequate level of formal education are called for in all the six states.

Strengthen efforts to prevent child labour

Findings of the Youth Study that over one in four young men and women had initiated work in childhood or in early adolescence (before age 15) reiterate the recommendation highlighted above regarding the need to provide conditional grants and targeted subsidies to disadvantaged groups, which would encourage parents to opt for schooling over work for their children. At the same time, it is important to vigorously enforce existing laws that prohibit child labour. Such efforts are particularly needed in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan.

Invest in promoting youth employment

Findings point to the effective unemployability of significant proportions of youth. For example, few youth—two in five young men and one in three young women—had completed high school. Even fewer—one-fifth of young men and a quarter of young women—had attended a vocational training programme. It is notable that while considerable proportions of urban youth reported exposure to computer skills, English language skills and so on, rural youth tended to opt for relatively traditional vocational skills and may not have had the opportunity to learn about market needs or develop appropriate skills for which a demand exists. It is also notable that those who were engaged in economic activity were working largely as agricultural and unskilled non-agricultural labourers. Moreover, considerable proportions of youth, particularly, the educated were unemployed, suggesting a possible disconnect between youth skills and market needs.

The country must significantly strengthen investments in programmes that enable youth to make a successful transition to work roles. Enhancing employability would depend to a considerable extent on the improvements in educational attainment discussed above; it would also require greater investment in enabling youth to acquire vocational skills. Formal mechanisms must be developed that provide opportunities to youth to acquire skills for which there is an established demand, and that link eligible youth to market opportunities. The proposed National Skills Development Initiative is a step in the right direction and it is important that this initiative is implemented without any delay. At the same time, efforts are needed to promote self-employment and entrepreneurship through various livelihood schemes, for example, providing soft loans to youth to enable them to set up their own business enterprises. Also required are efforts to evaluate existing programmes aimed at job creation to assess their reach and impact in enabling young people to make a successful transition to work roles, upscale successful models, raise awareness among youth about their availability and ensure that these programmes do indeed reach young people. Findings highlighting young women's particularly limited access to wage work call, moreover, for programmes specially targeted towards young women.

Finally, findings indicating considerable state-wise differences in unemployment rates and young people's participation in vocational training programmes call for state-specific interventions. Concerted efforts to improve the employability of youth and to enhance the reach of existing programmes aimed at job creation among youth are most urgently required in states like Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan. At the same time, efforts to meet the large unmet need for vocational skills training are needed in all the six states.

Promote agency and gender equitable norms among youth

Findings highlight the limited agency of young women and the persistence of gender double standards among youth. Young women were particularly disadvantaged in terms of school enrolment, attendance and completion, participation in wage earning activities, and exposure to mass media. While young women were as likely as young men to have participated in vocational training programmes, most young women had undergone training in traditional skills, such as tailoring and handicrafts. Socialisation was gendered and parental control over their adolescent children's mobility and interactions with peers was stricter for young women than men. Additionally, compared to young men, young women reported less mobility, opportunities to build peer networks, decision-making authority in matters relating to their own lives and control over resources. And although young women were more likely than young men to express equitable gender role attitudes, over half of both young men and women expressed traditional attitudes concerning wife beating. These findings call for attention to promote life skills education programmes for young women, both unmarried and married, that will not only raise their awareness of new ideas and the world around them but also enable them to put new information into practice, encourage them to question gender stereotypes, develop self-esteem and strengthen their skills in problem-solving, decision-making, communication and inter-personal relations and negotiation. Equally important is to identify safe spaces in which young women can build social networks and find social support among peers.

Interventions intended to build life skills must also be inclusive of young men. Indeed, findings that inegalitarian gender role attitudes were expressed by many young men, on the one hand, and that considerable numbers of young men were not able to exercise agency in their everyday lives, on the other, call for programmes that build their life skills, promote new concepts of masculinity and femininity and at the same time, promote messages that build egalitarian relations between women and men.

Promoting gender equitable norms and practices requires active engagement with the community. It is essential that programmes for youth work with key community members, such as parents and political and religious leaders in the community, to critically examine prevailing gender norms and forces that perpetuate such norms.

An increasing number of intervention models to build agency and promote egalitarian gender role attitudes among young people have been tested in India. These models could be reviewed and replicated or scaled up as appropriate.

Provide opportunities for formal saving, especially for young women

Findings suggest that while young women were more likely than young men to report savings, they were somewhat less likely to own a savings account, and, among those who did own an account, considerably less likely to operate the account independently. At the same time, few youth owned a bank or post office account. Programmes are needed that inculcate a savings orientation among young people, that offer savings products that are attractive and appropriate to the small and erratic savings patterns of young people and that enable young women in particular to overcome obstacles related to owning and controlling savings products.

Promote youth participation in civil society and political processes and reinforce secular attitudes

Findings note that large proportions of youth have exercised their right to vote, that the majority hold secular attitudes with regard to mixing with a person from another caste and religion, and few engage in community-level violence. Nevertheless, not all youth expressed secular attitudes. Moreover, considerable proportions of youth were dissatisfied with the political process. Finally, relatively few had taken part in civil society, that is, government- or NGO-sponsored programmes or community-led activities.

Programmes are needed at the school, college and community levels—through national service programmes, sports and other non-formal mechanisms—that encourage civic participation, incorporate value building components and reinforce secular attitudes and values that espouse responsible citizenship. Findings indicating that youth participation in civil society and the expression of secular attitudes were far more limited in the northern states than in Maharashtra and the southern states emphasise that these programmes should be a high priority, especially in the northern states.

Findings also emphasise that the political system in the country needs to make special efforts to address the concerns of youth and encourage youth participation in the political processes in more meaningful ways. Such efforts are called for in all the states.

Strengthen family life or sex education for those in school and out of school

The provision of family life or sex education to young people has been a controversial issue in the country. Youth Study findings provide considerable evidence suggesting that family life or sex education is urgently needed for youth, both for those in school and those who have discontinued their education. Findings demonstrate a limited understanding of sexual and reproductive matters among young people, including the married. Misconceptions abound on most topics: sex and pregnancy, contraceptive methods including condoms, STIs and HIV/AIDS and the conditions under which abortion is legally available or restricted. Where awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters exists, it is superficial in many cases. Moreover, substantial proportions of married young women

(and some young men) reported entering marriage completely unaware of what marriage entailed. At the same time, several young people had engaged in pre-marital sexual relations uninformed about risk taking and safe practices. Finally, youth themselves have called for family life or sex education.

Programmes are ongoing in several Youth Study states that aim to impart sexual and reproductive health information to young people. What is needed is a strong commitment to ensuring that these programmes do indeed reach young people, both those in school and out-of-school, married and unmarried, and rural and urban. At the same time, it is important that such programmes are revived in states in which they have been stalled. These programmes should be age-appropriate. Moreover, there is a need to expand the content of existing awareness raising programmes to include not just HIV-related information but broader sexual and reproductive health topics. These programmes should be designed not only to raise awareness among youth but also to enable young people to correctly understand and assess the risks they face and to adopt appropriate protective actions.

In addition, special attention needs to be paid to the training of trainers. Indeed, findings indicate that one in three young women and one in five young men who had received formal family life or sex education reported feeling uncomfortable or embarrassed in the course of receiving this information, raising questions about the extent to which youth were indeed able to participate freely in discussions and clarify their doubts. At the same time, these findings raise questions about the ability of trainers to connect with youth to whom they provided this education. Such findings clearly highlight the need to improve the quality of training imparted to trainers. It is important that teachers, health care providers and other experts undergo training that enables them to overcome their reluctance to communicate with youth on sensitive sexual and reproductive matters, dispels their misconceptions on these matters, and enhances both their communication skills and their technical knowledge of these issues. Peers and, in the case of young women, parents have also been identified as acceptable sources of information and efforts must therefore be made that identify youth leaders and build networks of peer educators. Also needed are efforts to engage parents—providing them with accurate information and working with them to overcome inhibitions about imparting this information to their children, particularly their daughters.

Ensure that when pre-marital sex takes place, it is safe and wanted

While sexual activity is initiated within the context of marriage for the vast majority of young women, findings show that a sizeable proportion of young men and some young women had engaged in sex before marriage. As documented in this report, many youth had initiated sexual activity uninformed, reiterating the need for providing age appropriate family life or sex education to young people. Moreover, the finding that for many youth, pre-marital sexual experiences were unsafe, and for some unwanted, calls for programmes that focus not only on building sexual and reproductive health awareness among young people but also on enabling them to correctly understand and assess the risks they face, and developing their skills in negotiating safe sex and communicating with their partners on sexual and reproductive health matters. At the same time, programmes must make available appropriate family planning and infection prevention services for unmarried young men and women in a manner acceptable to them.

Intensify efforts to eliminate the practice of early marriage

Findings indicate that although most youth prefer to marry after age 18, the practice of early marriage is widespread among young women. These findings call for measures that go beyond information campaigns to address the underlying factors—social norms and economic constraints—driving early marriage in the country.

There is a need for a multi-pronged approach to eliminate the practice of early marriage. Strategies are needed that mobilise communities to help parents resist pressures that foster the practice of early marriage. Moreover, strategies are needed that establish new norms and practices, that actively engage influential persons in the community, including religious and political leaders, as well as that initiate campaigns highlighting the adverse consequences of early marriage and the extent to which it is a violation of the rights of the child. Finally, strategies for community mobilisation must involve youth themselves as well as their families.

Equally important is to ensure greater commitment on the part of law enforcement agencies to enforce existing laws on the minimum age at marriage and the registration of marriages, and to levy penalties on violators. Allowing anonymous reporting, making law enforcement agencies and others aware that the practice of early marriage is not a minor violation, and making the guidelines for penalties clear to enforcement agencies and the wider community are possible steps in this direction.

Efforts to delay marriage also require providing girls with viable alternatives to marriage in the form of accessible and quality schooling and opportunities to build and use livelihood skills. Working with the education sector to make schooling for girls more accessible, and to make classrooms gender-sensitive and responsive to the needs of girls and the concerns of their parents is important. At the same time, it is necessary to provide livelihoods training within and outside the educational system.

Findings that marriages were often arranged without the participation of young people themselves and that few young people had an opportunity to meet their spouse-to-be prior to the wedding day call for actions to sensitise parents to the need to involve their children in marriage-related decisions and enable them to interact with their prospective spouse prior to the wedding day. Parents must also be made aware of the physical and mental health consequences of early marriage and the adverse experiences of many young women (and some young men) who were married early or who were unprepared for marriage.

Finally, findings suggest that challenges faced by youth during transitions to marriage and parenthood were more daunting for those from the northern states than from Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, marriage continues to take place in adolescence for large proportions of young women and significant minorities of young men in the northern states. Youth in the northern states were also more likely than their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states to have consented to marry without any involvement in selecting their marriage partner and to have met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. These findings emphasise that the strategies discussed above need to be accorded a high priority in the northern states.

Support newly-weds to postpone the first pregnancy and promote pregnancy-related care among those who become pregnant

Findings show that the social pressure to bear children as soon as possible following marriage persists. Contraceptives were rarely used to postpone the first pregnancy and many young women experienced their first pregnancy soon after marriage. It would appear that numerous forces work against delaying the first pregnancy—young people's lack of awareness of appropriate methods of contraception and access to supplies, overwhelming pressure from the family and the community to bear children as soon as possible after marriage, young people's limited skills in countering social expectations and negotiating pregnancy postponement, and the lack of attention from health care providers.

Programmes are needed that inform youth about their pregnancy postponement options and enable them to access appropriate contraception. At the same time, providers, including such outreach workers as ASHAs, must be trained and charged with the responsibility of reaching married young women and men—including those who have not yet experienced pregnancy—with information regarding contraception and other reproductive health matters as well as contraceptive supplies. Many married young women lack the freedom of movement to seek health care, underscoring the need for health workers to reach these women—particularly those newly married and first time pregnant—in their homes.

Findings indicating young women's limited access to maternal health services, even at the time of the first—often the most risky—pregnancy, highlight the need for reproductive and child health programmes in the country to build a demand for, as well as improve the availability of such services among young people.

Finally, findings that utilisation of reproductive health services by youth varied considerably across the states call for tailoring the focus of the programme in response to the situation and needs of youth in each state. For example,

while the practice of contraception to delay the first pregnancy was limited in all the states, it was far more limited in the southern states than in Maharashtra and the northern states. In contrast, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to report three or more live births and less likely to report institutional delivery and skilled attendance for the first birth. The reproductive and child health programmes should take cognizance of these differences in the situation and needs of young people.

Address power imbalances within marriage

Findings regarding the multiple vulnerabilities faced by married young women underscore the need for programmes that support young women, especially the newly-wed, acknowledging that their situation and needs may differ from those of unmarried young women and married adults. Married young women typically have just a few years of schooling, limited exposure to mass media and limited mobility. They also have limited communication with their husband and notable proportions have experienced physical and sexual violence perpetrated by their husband.

Efforts are needed to encourage couple communication on sensitive issues (contraception, for example), negotiation and conflict management skills early in marriage. Efforts are also needed to inform married young women of their rights so that they have the opportunity to exercise control over their own lives; at the same time, efforts must be made to promote new concepts of masculinity and femininity and egalitarian couple relations among young men and women. Intervention models exist in India that have attempted to address these needs; these should be reviewed and up-scaled as appropriate.

Engage boys and young men

While wide gender disparities place young women at a notable disadvantage, Youth Study findings highlight that young men are also disadvantaged in many ways. Almost three-fifths had not completed high school and over one-quarter had initiated economic activity from an early age. Although socialized with more freedom than their sisters, communication with parents was limited among young men and many did not have decision-making authority in matters pertaining to their life or control over economic resources. Moreover, many were exposed to tobacco products and alcohol, many had experienced unsafe pre-marital sex, and notable minorities had married in adolescence. Awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters was limited, few had received family life or sex education, and many, including the married, reported discomfort about seeking contraceptives from a health care provider or pharmacy. Finally, as noted earlier, many held unequal gender norms, and power imbalances were evident within marital relations. These findings highlight that young men are vulnerable—albeit in different ways than young women—and argue that programmes for adolescents and young people must be inclusive boys and young men.

Create a supportive family environment

Findings highlight the limited interaction and social distance between parents and young people while growing up and the gendered nature of socialisation experiences. Efforts must be made to create a supportive environment for young people. While evidence on models that are effective in bridging the distance between parents and children or that enable parents to adopt more gender-egalitarian socialisation practices is not currently available, findings presented in this report call for programmes that address parental inhibitions about discussing sexual matters with their children, encourage greater openness and interaction between parents and children, and enable the adoption of gender-egalitarian child-rearing practices. Programmes that aim to encourage universal education or eliminate child marriage must, likewise, address parental concerns about the potential consequences of keeping daughters in school or delaying their marriage.

Reposition the condom as a suitable method for youth

Findings have suggested that consistent condom use was rarely practised by those reporting pre-marital sexual relations, and few married youth reported the use of condoms at the time of the interview. At the same time,

widespread misconceptions prevailed about the condom, including that it can slip off and disappear into the woman's body, and in-depth awareness about the condom was far from universal, especially among young women. Moreover, large proportions of youth reported discomfort about seeking contraceptives, including condoms, from a health care provider or pharmacy. Given the appropriateness of the condom for use among young people, it is important that bold and imaginatively designed communication programmes aimed at youth are implemented that dispel misconceptions and encourage condom use; and at the same time, that bold and imaginative changes are made in the service delivery structure that enable youth to access condoms easily and confidentially.

Reorient service provision to address the unique sexual and reproductive health needs of unmarried and married young women and men

Although the RCH Programme has advocated special services for youth, including the unmarried, these services had not reached the youth in our survey. For example, relatively small percentages of young people had ever practised contraception. Few had sought care for symptoms of STIs or gynaecological problems, and most youth who had sought care preferred private to public sector facilities. Lack of care seeking and the disconnect between the public health sector and youth underscore the need to sensitise health care providers about the special needs, heterogeneity and vulnerability of unmarried and married young women and men, and to orient them to the need for developing appropriate strategies to reach these diverse groups, including newlyweds. It raises, at the same time, the need to explore the feasibility of implementing various financing strategies, for example, health insurance, competitive voucher schemes and community financing schemes, which will allow youth to have a wider choice of providers and enhance the possibility of obtaining quality care.

Programmes must be inclusive of unmarried as well as married young people and recognise their need and right to sexual and reproductive health and related information and services. Counselling and contraceptive services must be made available to all young people, including the unmarried, in a non-threatening, non-judgmental and confidential environment. Indeed, these findings call for the implementation of strategies outlined under the National Rural Health Mission's RCH Programme.

Establish systems that address young people's mental health

Findings that one in seven young men and women reported symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders suggest that there is a need to establish systems that address young people's mental health. It is important that the National Mental Health Programme must take note of these findings and incorporate a special focus on identifying and treating youth in need. Efforts are needed to screen young people—particularly the rural among whom symptoms were more likely to be reported—for possible mental health disorders when they avail of other primary health services, including, for example, sexual and reproductive health services, and to refer youth with such symptoms to appropriate health facilities and providers. Findings that young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were more likely than others, and young women in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra were more likely than others, to report symptoms suggestive of mental health disorders highlight the need for such efforts on a priority basis in these states.

Sensitise youth about the adverse effects of substance abuse

Findings indicate that substantial proportions of young men reported the consumption of tobacco and alcohol. Efforts are needed to sensitise young men about the adverse effects of substance abuse.

Directions for future research

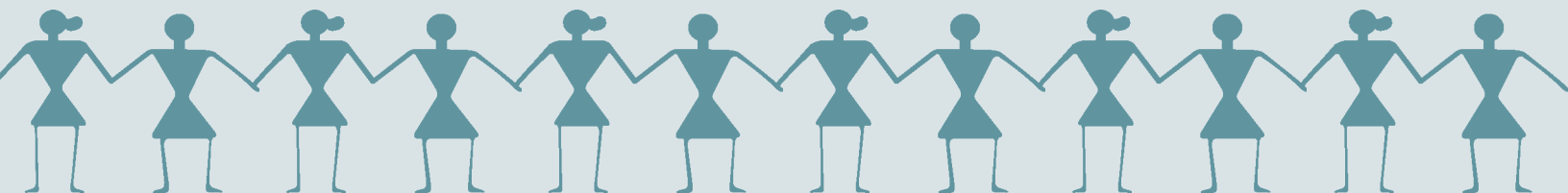
Findings presented in this report provide a broad picture of youth in India. At the same time, findings have raised a number of issues that require further investigation, particularly with regard to the determinants and consequences of

youth behaviours and practices during the transition to adulthood. While the Youth Study is indeed a rich source of data that will enable investigators to fill many of the information gaps identified, there are several gaps in knowledge that will require additional research.

Youth Study findings highlight the need for further research in terms of formative research that explores in greater depth factors impeding successful transitions to adulthood, including enrolment in school and school completion, entry into the labour force, initiation of sexual activity, and marriage and parenthood. Research is also needed that explores the role of peers and the media, socialisation practices, young people's access to information and services, and the ways in which these factors contribute to or impede young people's ability to make successful transitions. A better understanding is required moreover of the factors underlying young people's agency and the expression of unequal and equal gender role attitudes. Also required are efforts to refine measures of agency as applicable to young men and women. A general research recommendation is the urgent need for prospective or panel study designs that follow a cohort of adolescents at regular intervals up to age 24. Prospective study designs would enable researchers to take a life course approach, identify, with compelling data, the factors responsible for healthy transitions to adulthood and point to the ways in which the situation and experiences of youth in adolescence influence their life course at later ages.

Operations research is also needed. While a number of interventions have been initiated in the country intended to address the needs of youth—for example, addressing the needs of married girls, changing the norms of masculinity and femininity, encouraging education for girls, developing market-based vocational skills and providing family life and sex education—few of these have been rigorously evaluated. Urgently needed, therefore, are carefully designed and rigorously tested intervention models that not only pay attention to the content and delivery of the intervention but also measure effectiveness and acceptability—in short, that will enable a shift from the implementation of *promising* to *best* practices in addressing young people's needs. In order to inform the field, multiple inputs are required. Ultimately, research is needed that monitors the scaling up of successful interventions in terms of their impact on young people's lives.

In brief, the Youth Study has documented, for the first time, the multi-faceted situation of youth in India. The study alerts us to the many challenges confronting youth and their ability to make a successful transition to adulthood. It emphasises the heterogeneity of youth, not only in terms of their situation but also with regard to their stated needs and preferred mechanisms to address these needs. Programmes must recognise the heterogeneity of young people and interventions and delivery mechanisms should be appropriately tailored to meet their needs. Evidence presented here provides not only a blue-print for the programming needs of youth in the country but also a base-line by which to measure the impact of programmes intended to address youth needs.



Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Rationale

The *Youth in India: Situation and Needs* study (referred to as the Youth Study) is the first-ever sub-nationally representative study conducted to identify key transitions experienced by married and unmarried youth in India. There is a strong rationale for the Youth Study. Young people (aged 10–24) constituted almost 315 million in 2001 and represent 31% of the Indian population (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a). These numbers are projected to increase and peak at around 358 million in 2011 before stabilising at around 336 million by 2026 (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2006). Not only does this cohort represent India's future in the socio-economic and political realms, but its experiences will largely determine India's achievement of its goal of population stabilisation articulated in the National Population Policy 2000 (MOHFW, 2000) and the extent to which the nation will be able to harness its demographic dividend. In addition, it is clear that the realisation of the Millennium Development Goals (UNDP, 2000) depends, to a considerable extent, upon the situation of young people. While today's youth are healthier, more urbanised and better educated than earlier generations, social vulnerabilities persist and transitions to adulthood are too frequently marked by early entry into the labour force, abrupt and premature exit from school, early marriage and strongly-held gender norms. In the course of the transition to adulthood, moreover, young people face significant risks related to sexual and reproductive health, and many lack the knowledge and power to make informed sexual and reproductive choices (for a review see Jejeebhoy and Sebastian, 2003).

In recognition of the importance of investing in young people, several national policies formulated since 2000, including the National Population Policy 2000 (MOHFW, 2000) and the National Youth Policy 2003 (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, 2003) have underscored a commitment to addressing the multiple needs of this group in India. Also notable is the commitment to address the needs of adolescents and young people articulated in the Tenth (2002–07) and Eleventh (2007–12) Five-Year Plans (Planning Commission 2002; 2007a), the National Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health Strategy (MOHFW, 2006) and the National Rural Health Mission (MOHFW, 2005a). Effective implementation of both policies and programmes, however, has been handicapped by the lack of evidence on young people's situation and needs. Currently available evidence is limited, at best, and comes largely from small-scale and unrepresentative studies. The most recent National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) obtained, for the first time, valuable data on unmarried young women and men (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a). Even so, the information that it provides on young people's various transitions remains limited and the small sample sizes obtained in most states preclude the possibility of in-depth analysis and of obtaining state-representative estimates of behaviours and practices among different sub-groups of young people.

1.2 Study objectives

The objectives of the Youth Study were to identify key transitions experienced by youth, including those pertaining to education, work force participation, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation; provide state-level evidence on the magnitude and patterns of young people's sexual and reproductive practices in and outside of marriage as well as related knowledge, decision-making and attitudes; and, finally, identify key factors underlying young people's sexual and reproductive health knowledge, attitudes and life choices. Findings from the study are expected to guide policy, programmes and advocacy on youth issues, enable programmes and policies to recognise the heterogeneity of youth in India, and provide important base-line indicators against which the long-term impact of programmes may be measured.

The Youth Study focused on married and unmarried young women and unmarried young men aged 15–24 and, because of the paucity of married young men in the younger ages, married men aged 15–29, in both rural and urban settings. The study was conducted in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu; these states were purposively selected to represent the different geographic and socio-cultural regions within the country (see Figure 1.1). Indeed, these six states together represent 39% of the country's population. This report focuses on the consolidated findings from youth interviewed from all six states. A more detailed description of findings from each state have been published elsewhere (IIPS and Population Council, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2010).

Funding for the Youth Study was provided by the David and Lucile Packard Foundation and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation. The Youth Study was conducted jointly by the International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai (IIPS) and the Population Council, New Delhi. The design and implementation of this study were guided by the Project Advisory Committee, headed by the Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW), Government of India.

1.3 Context

A brief overview of the demographic, socio-economic and reproductive health situation in the country as a whole and the six states in which the Youth Study was undertaken suggests that while distributions of the population in these states taken together were similar to that of the national population, there was considerable diversity across states. Selected socio-demographic indicators for India in general, the six Youth Study states taken together, and each state separately, are reflected in Table 1.1.

Figure 1.1: Youth Study states, India

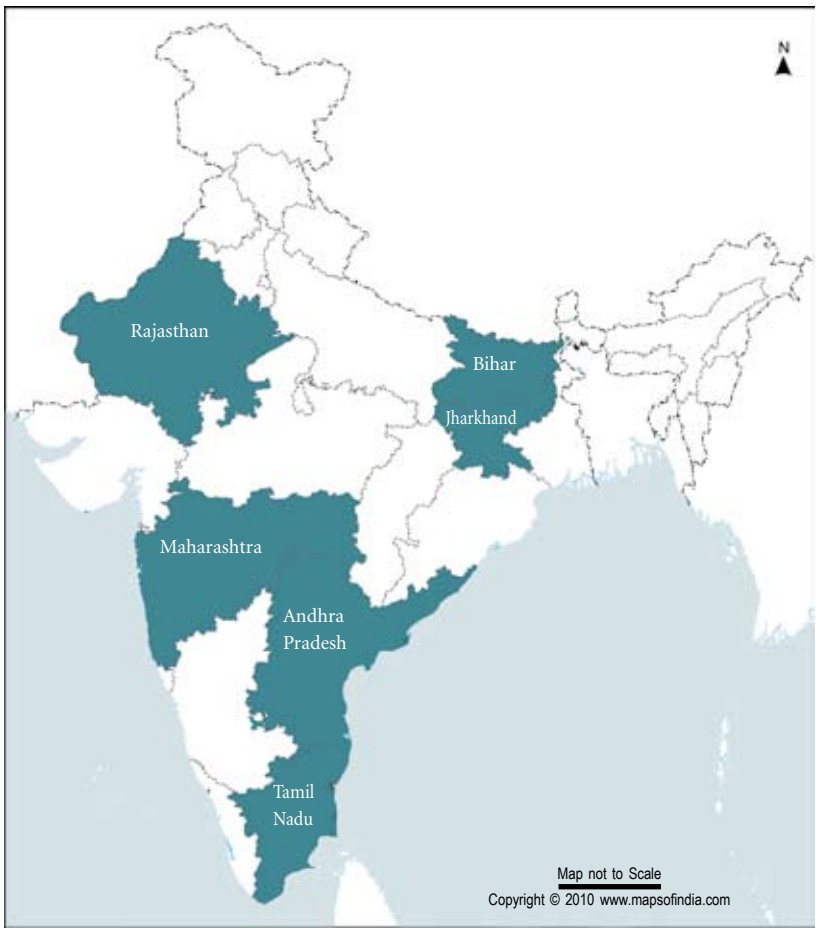


Table 1.1: Selected socio-demographic indicators, India and Youth Study states

Indicators	India	Youth Study states						
		Combined	Bihar	Jharkhand	Rajasthan	Maharashtra	Andhra Pradesh	Tamil Nadu
Projected population, 2009 (million)[a]	1,161	451	95	30	66	110	83	67
Youth (15–24) population, 2001 (%)[b]	18.4	18.3	16.3	17.3	18.1	19.0	19.0	19.2
Sex ratio, 2001 (females per 1,000 males)[c]	933	943	919	941	921	922	978	987
Child sex ratio, 2001 (0–6 years)[c]	927	935	942	965	909	913	961	942
Population belonging to Hindu religion, 2001 (%)[d]	80.5	84.2	83	69	89	80	89	88
Population belonging to Muslim religion, 2001 (%)[d]	13.4	10.7	16.5	14	9	11	9	6
Population belonging to scheduled castes, 2001 (%)[c]	16.2	15	16	12	17	10	16	19
Population belonging to scheduled tribes, 2001 (%)[c]	8.2	7.3	1	26	13	9	7	1
Urban population, 2001 (%)[c]	27.8	29	11	22	23	42	27	44
Population density, 2001 (per square kilometre)[c]	325	327	881	338	165	314	277	480
Population living below poverty line, 2004–05 (%)[e]	28	28.2	41.4	40.3	22.1	30.7	15.8	22.5
Male literacy rate, 2001 (%)[c]	75	75	60	67	76	86	70	82
Female literacy rate, 2001 (%)[c]	54	52	33	39	44	67	50	64
Male life expectancy, 2002–06 (years)[f]	63	NC	62[1]	62[1]	62	66	63	65
Female life expectancy, 2002–06 (years)[f]	64	NC	60[1]	60[1]	62	68	66	67
Infant mortality rate, 2005–06	57.0	50.4	61.7	68.7	65.3	37.5	53.5	30.4
Women aged 20–24 married by age 18, 2005–06 (%)[h-m]	47	49.9	69	63	65	40	55	22
Women aged 15–19 who have begun childbearing, 2005–06 (%)[g]	16	17.8	25.0	27.5	16.0	13.8	18.1	7.7
Total fertility rate, 2005–06[g]	2.7	2.6	4.0	3.3	3.2	2.1	1.8	1.8
Skilled attendance at birth, 2005–06 (%)[2, g]	47	53.3	29.3	27.8	41.0	68.7	74.9	90.6
Contraceptive prevalence rate, 2005–06[g]	56	55.0	34.1	35.7	47.2	66.9	67.6	61.4
Unmet need for contraception, 2005–06[g]	12.8	12.5	22.8	23.1	14.6	9.4	4.7	8.5
HIV prevalence rate (male aged 15–49), 2005–06[g]	0.36	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.77	1.22	0.27
HIV prevalence rate (female aged 15–49), 2005–06[g]	0.22	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.48	0.75	0.39

Note: NC: Not calculated. NA: Not available. [1]Combined for Bihar and Jharkhand; [2]For births during the five years preceding the survey.
[a]Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner. 2006; [b]Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner. 2001a; [c]Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner. 2001b; [d]Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner. 2001c; [e]Planning Commission. 2007b; [f]Office of the Registrar General, India (RGI). 2008; [g]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2007a; [h]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2008a; [i]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2008b; [j]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2008c; [k]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2008d; [l]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2008e; [m]International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS) and Macro International. 2008f.

India's population, which crossed one billion in 2000, was projected to reach 1.16 billion in 2009; it is one of the youngest countries in the world, with almost one-third (31%) of its population aged 10–24 and almost one-fifth (18%) aged 15–24 (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a). The current age structure implies a low dependency ratio, an advantage characterized as the demographic dividend (see, for example, Chandrasekhar, Ghosh and Roychowdhury, 2006).

As mentioned above, the six Youth Study states together cover a population of 451 million and account for almost two-fifths (39%) of the total population in the country. As seen in Table 1.1, the proportion of youth in these states taken together was similar to that of the national population: the youth population, that is, those aged 15–24 account for 18% in the six Youth Study states as well as nationally (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a). The situation is similar in each state as well; 16–19% of their population was aged 15–24.

As far as the sex ratio is concerned, India's population continues to be characterized by population and child sex ratios that are unfavourable to females: the population sex ratio stood at 933 females and the child sex ratio at 927 females per 1,000 males in 2001 (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). The population and child sex ratios of the Youth Study states combined were somewhat similar (943 and 935, respectively). State-wise differences were, however, wide: of the six states in which the study was undertaken, Bihar, Rajasthan and Maharashtra registered a considerably lower sex ratio (919–922) than did the remaining three states (941–987). Child sex ratios were lowest in Rajasthan and Maharashtra (909–913), and most favourable to females in Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh (961–965).

The distribution of the population by religion indicates that 81% of the national population was Hindu, 13% was Muslim and the remaining 6% belonged to other religions, including Buddhists, Christians, Jains and Sikhs (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001c). The religion-wise distribution of the population in the six states taken together was similar to that of the national population (84%, 11% and 5%, respectively). However, across states, some variation was observed. For example, while 80–89% of the populations of five states were Hindu, in Jharkhand, Hindus comprised just 69% of the population, with large proportions belonging to the *Sarna* religion; at the same time, 14–17% of the populations of Bihar and Jharkhand were Muslim, compared to 6–11% of those in the remaining states.

Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes constituted 16% and 8%, respectively, of the total population in the country (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). A similar caste-wise distribution was evident for the consolidated population in the study states, namely, 15% and 7%, respectively. However state-wise differences were considerable: while just 10% of the population of Maharashtra belonged to scheduled castes, 19% of that of Tamil Nadu so belonged. Differences were wider with regard to the scheduled tribe population: while just 1% of the populations of Bihar and Tamil Nadu belonged to scheduled tribes, over one-quarter of those from Jharkhand so belonged (26%).

As far as the urban population is concerned, the vast majority of both India's population and that of the six Youth Study states continue to live in rural areas, 72% and 71%, respectively; population density was 325 per square kilometre for the country as a whole and 327 per square kilometre in the Youth Study states (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). Of the six states in which the study was conducted, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu are among the more urbanised states in the country; however a regional pattern is evident with 27–44% of those in Maharashtra and the southern states residing in urban areas, compared to 11–23% in the three northern states. Population density ranged from a low of 165 persons per square kilometre in Rajasthan to a high of 881 persons per square kilometre in Bihar.

The country has witnessed considerable intra- and inter-state migration during the decade 1991–2001; during this period, a total of 98 million persons migrated within or outside the state of last residence (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001d). The states in which the study was undertaken differed significantly in

terms of migration patterns. With a total of 2.3 million net migrants, Maharashtra topped among the in-migrating states and with a total of 1.7 million net migrants, Bihar ranked second among the out-migrating states.

Although economic growth has decelerated in India with the global financial meltdown and consequent economic recession, India currently is the second fastest growing economy in the world (Ministry of Finance, 2009a). The Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) at constant market prices stood at Rs. 3,609,425 crore in 2008–09 and increased by 6.1% between 2007–08 and 2008–09 (Ministry of Finance, 2009b) (not shown in tabular form). The per capita income stood at Rs. 33,283 at current prices in 2007–08. Although the share of the primary sector in the national GDP has been declining over the years, its role remains critical as it accounts for 52% of the employment in the country; the sector contributed 17.8% of the national GDP in 2007–08 (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, 2008). Of the six states in which the Youth Study was undertaken, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu are among the more economically progressive states in the country, accounting for 7–13% each of the national GDP, while Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan are among the lesser developed states, accounting for 2–4% each.

Despite the impressive performance of the Indian economy, poverty remains a major concern. As of 2004–05, over one-quarter (27.5%) of the country's population was estimated to live below the poverty line (based on Uniform Recall Period consumption distribution), with little difference between those residing in urban (25.7%) and rural (28.3%) areas (Planning Commission, 2007b). An identical proportion of the population of the six Youth Study states was estimated to live below the poverty line, however, state-wise differences were wide, ranging from 16% to 41%. Estimated populations living below poverty line were considerably larger in Bihar and Jharkhand (40–41%) than in the remaining states (16–31%).

Although government expenditure in the educational sector has gone up consistently over the years, a significant proportion of the population remains illiterate, with wide geographic and gender disparities. For example, the overall literacy rate in the country was just 65% —75% among males and 54% among females—in 2001, almost identical to the rates observed among the populations of Youth Study states taken together (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). State-wise differences were apparent. The male literacy rate ranged from a low of 60–67% in Bihar and Jharkhand to a high of 82–86% in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu; the female literacy rate, ranged, correspondingly, from 33–39% in Bihar and Jharkhand to 64–67% in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Data on gross enrolment ratios also highlight the country's poor performance in the educational field. The gross enrolment ratio in 2005–06 among children aged 6–11 years was 121% and among those aged 11–14 and 14–16 years were 71% and 52%, respectively. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) at the elementary, secondary and higher secondary levels of education indicates limited access to educational opportunities for girls in the country; the GPI score ranged from 0.85 at the elementary level to 0.48 at the secondary and higher secondary level in 2005–06 (MOHRD, 2008).

The demographic and health situation in the country has changed significantly over the last decade. Some changes, such as increasing life expectancy (63 and 64 years for males and females, respectively; Office of the Registrar General, 2008), declining infant mortality (57/1,000; IIPS and Macro International, 2007a) and declining unmet need for contraception (13%, IIPS and Macro International, 2007a), are positive. Other trends are disturbing, such as the engagement of young people in unprotected sexual activity, the persistence of early marriage and early childbearing, the slow pace of fertility decline, low levels of skilled attendance at birth and the emergence of HIV. For example, recent evidence from the National Behavioural Surveillance Survey (BSS) on sexual behaviours of youth shows that 13% of young men and 3% of young women—married and unmarried—had engaged in sexual relations with a person other than their spouse (if married) or regular partner (if unmarried) and just 47% and 50% of sexually experienced young men and women, respectively, reported consistent condom use in the 12 months preceding the interview (National Institute of Medical Statistics and National AIDS Control Organisation, 2008). Despite increased policy and programmatic commitments, nearly half of 20–24 year-old women were married before age 18 and one in six 15–19 year-olds have begun childbearing. The total fertility rate remains well above the replacement level (2.7). Just half of all births were attended by health personnel, 56% of women in the reproductive

ages reported practising contraception, and, the HIV prevalence rate among males and females aged 15–49 is 0.36% and 0.22%, respectively (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a).

The demographic and health situation in the six Youth Study states taken together was similar. Life expectancy ranged from 62 to 66 years among males and from 60–68 among females. Other rates, such as the infant mortality rate (50 per 1000 births), the contraceptive prevalence rate (55%), unmet need for contraception (13%), the percentage of females marrying below 18 (50), the total fertility rate (2.6) and the percentage of women who reported skilled attendance at their last birth (53) were all relatively similar to that reported for India.

State-wise variation was, however, wide on most of these indicators, with Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu considerably better off than Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan. Life expectancy ranged, for example, from 62 among males and 60–62 among females in Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan to 63–66 and 66–68, respectively, in Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Likewise, the infant mortality and total fertility rates were far higher in Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan than in the remaining three states (62–69 versus 30–54 and 3.2–4.0 versus 1.8–2.1, respectively), and the contraceptive prevalence rate and proportions reporting skilled attendance at delivery much lower in Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan than in other states (34–47% versus 61–68% and 28–41% versus 69–91%, respectively). With regard to early marriage, the regional picture is somewhat different: Child marriages are extremely common in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan and somewhat common in Maharashtra; between two-fifths and two-thirds of young women aged 20–24 were married before age 18 in these five states, compared to just over one-fifth in Tamil Nadu (IIPS and Macro International, 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; 2008d, 2008e, 2008f). Likewise, the percentage of 15–19 year-old girls who had begun childbearing ranged between 14% and 28% in these five states, compared to just 8% in Tamil Nadu (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a).

As is well-known, moreover, the social system in India is typically patriarchal, characterised by inegalitarian gender relations. Beyond these generalizations, however, there is considerable evidence of regional differences in the situation of women and gender equity, and inegalitarian relations are much more acute in north India than in the west and the south (see, for example, Karve 1965; Altekar, 1962; Dyson and Moore, 1983). Indeed, ethnographic evidence would suggest a broad north-south divide in terms of kinship systems and female autonomy, with female autonomy and tight social controls considerably more likely to prevail in the northern than in the southern states. In this schema, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan represent the northern pattern with low female autonomy, and Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu represent the southern pattern in which females have more autonomy, with Maharashtra in between the two (Dyson and Moore, 1983). This north-south divide is evident in most indicators presented in Table 1.1, with gender differences much wider in the northern states than in Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, life expectancy at birth is about 2–3 years greater for females than males in Maharashtra and the southern states; it is identical for males and females in Rajasthan and greater for males than females in Bihar and Jharkhand. Likewise, gender disparities in the literacy rate are considerably wider in the northern states (27–32 points) than in the other states (18–20 points).

In short, the six states taken together were representative of the country as a whole in many respects. At the same time, the six states lie at extremes of the socio-economic and cultural spectrum of the country, reflecting, for the most part, the well-known regional diversity in social, economic and demographic characteristics. Indeed, for the most part, the two southern states, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, and the single western state, Maharashtra, are clearly better developed than the three northern states, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan.

1.4 Policy and programme environment

The importance of investing in youth has been recognized in India's Constitution. One of the Directive Principles of State Policy, for example, states that it is imperative that "children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity and that childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment." (Article 39f) (Ministry of Law and Justice, n.d.). A large number of policies and programmes exist in India that have relevance for youth.

The National Youth Policy 2003 focuses on the needs of those aged 13–35, but recognises adolescents (aged 13–19) as a special group requiring a different approach from that appropriate for young adults (aged 20–35). It recognises, moreover, the need for a multi-dimensional and integrated approach to serving youth needs and contains wide-ranging objectives. For example, it aims to promote qualities of citizenship and adherence to secular principles and values; ensure educational and training opportunities for youth, facilitate their access to health information and services, and develop their leadership in socioeconomic and cultural spheres. Further, it calls for gender justice and a focus on ensuring that the gender gap in education is narrowed, that young women have access to health services, are free from domestic violence and have access to decision-making processes, and that young men are oriented to respect the status and rights of women (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, 2003).

In the area of education, the National Policy on Education 1986 highlights the importance of universal school enrolment and completion, and stresses the need to reduce gender imbalances in school attendance and completion (MOHRD, 1998). The very recently enacted Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009 (Ministry of Law and Justice, 2009), moreover, has, for the first time, made primary education compulsory; the Act indicates that all children aged 6–14 and studying in Classes 1–8 have the right to obtain free and compulsory education; those aged above 15 years who have not completed Class 8 are also eligible for these benefits. State governments are called upon to ensure the availability of schools that are physically accessible to children, ensure attendance and completion of elementary schooling, and ensure good quality elementary education. Similarly, several programmes have been initiated in recent years to promote universal school enrolment and completion. Notable among these is the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA), intended to universalise elementary education and provide useful and relevant education to all children in the age group of 6–14 years by 2010. The most recent review of the programme suggests that SSA has contributed to near universal enrolment at primary level and considerable improvement in retention of children in the upper primary level (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2009a). Recognising that eight years of education are insufficient to prepare adolescents for a globalised world, efforts are underway, through the *Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan*, to universalize access to and improve the quality of secondary education (Classes 9–12); plans are underway to provide secondary (Classes 9–10) and higher secondary schools within 5 and 7–10 kilometres of any habitation, ensure universal access to secondary education by 2017 and universal retention by 2020, and make special efforts to ensure that disadvantaged groups, including girls, are not deprived of this education (MOHRD, n.d.). Efforts are also underway, through the recently announced *Saakshar Bharat* scheme (2009–2012), to impart functional literacy and numeracy to those aged 15–35 years who are non-literate and non-numerate, enable the neo-literate to continue their learning and acquire equivalency to formal education, and impart relevant skills to improve their earning capacities (MOHRD, 2009b). Notably, the scheme does take note of the special needs of adolescents and young people.

The proposed National Policy on Skill Development calls for establishing a National Skills Development Initiative that aims to empower individuals through improved skills, knowledge and qualifications to gain access to employment in an increasingly competitive global market (Planning Commission, 2009). The policy aims to meet, by 2022, the skilling needs of 500 million individuals. Objectives are to create opportunities for skill acquisition, with special attention to youth, women, and school drop-outs. To achieve these ambitious goals, public private partnerships are envisaged, and outreach is to be expanded through a variety of mechanisms including skill development centres at village and block levels, mobile training and distance learning programmes. At the same time, the coverage of vocations will be expanded and soft skills such as basic numeracy, literacy, rights, team work and confidence building will be folded into skill development curricula.

The National Population Policy 2000, the National Health Policy 2002, the National AIDS Prevention and Control Policy 2002 and the National Youth Policy 2003 have all articulated India's commitment to promoting and protecting the health and rights of adolescents and youth, including those relating to mental, and sexual and reproductive health. All these policies reflect a broad orientation that stresses sexual and reproductive health and the exercise of reproductive rights. The National Population Policy 2000 recognised, for the first time, that adolescents constitute an under-served group with special sexual and reproductive health needs, and advocates special programme attention to

addressing this population (MOHFW, 2000). The growth of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in India and the recognition of its spread among young people have resulted in a greater openness in addressing issues relating to sex among young people. Recognising the special vulnerability of youth, the National AIDS Prevention and Control Policy 2002 notes the need to promote a better understanding of HIV infection and safer sex practices among youth (NACO, 2002). The National Health Policy also recognises the need to address nutritional deficiencies in women and girls, and to raise awareness among school and college students about health promoting behaviour (MOHFW, 2002).

Also notable is the commitment to addressing the needs of adolescents and young people articulated in the National Rural Health Mission's Reproductive and Child Health Programme II and the Five Year Plans, particularly the Tenth and Eleventh Plans. As far as access to sexual and reproductive health services is concerned, the Programme Implementation Plan (PIP) of the Reproductive and Child Health Programme II outlined a two-pronged strategy to meet youth needs: first, incorporating specific activities to reach adolescents within sexual and reproductive health services intended for adults more generally; and second, providing services specifically intended for adolescents at the primary or community health centre level on dedicated days and at dedicated times, in selected districts (MOHFW, 2005b). Elaborating on these strategies, the Implementation Guide for State and District Programme Managers notes that "friendly services are to be made available for all adolescents, married and unmarried, girls and boys" (MOHFW, 2006).

The proposed National Urban Health Mission does not specifically mention the needs of youth but incorporates a significant focus on improving services relating to safe pregnancy, contraception, reproductive tract infection, sexually transmitted infections including HIV, as well as mental health that are key health concerns of youth (Planning Commission, 2007a). Likewise, the National Mental Health Programme, expanded during the Eleventh Five Year Plan period (2007–2012), and expected to be integrated into the National Rural and Urban Health Missions, does not specifically mention the needs of youth, but incorporates a considerable focus on community-based outreach services that are expected to go a long way in identifying and treating youth in need (MOHFW, 2009).

As far as awareness of health promotion behaviours are concerned, the National Policy on Education, for example, emphasises that educational programmes should actively motivate and inform youth about family planning and responsible parenthood (MOHRD, 1998). The Adolescence Education Programme, launched in 2005 by the Ministry of Human Resource Development and the National AIDS Control Organisation (NACO), seeks to provide life skills education to adolescents in Classes IX and XI. The programme has three objectives, namely, to provide age-appropriate and accurate information about the process of growing up; to prevent HIV/AIDS and drug abuse; and to develop positive attitudes and life skills (MOHRD, NACO and UNICEF, 2005). While the programme has been ongoing in several states, its implementation has been thwarted in others, including Maharashtra and Rajasthan from among the Youth Study states. As of 2009, debate has surrounded the acceptability of the programme, and the Rajya Sabha Committee on Petitions has recommended that there should be no sex education in schools (Rajya Sabha Committee on Petitions, 2009).

The National Policy for the Empowerment of Women 2001 identifies adolescent girls as a vulnerable group and highlights the need to address their education and nutrition needs; at the same time it recognises the need to raise age at marriage and address gender-based violence (MOWCD, 2001). There has been considerable attention paid, moreover, to addressing the health and social disadvantages of adolescent girls. For example, the *Kishori Shakti Yojana* (KSY) scheme focuses on empowering adolescent girls; it is implemented in conjunction with the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS) and provides girls with training in skill development and health promotion, as well as addresses their nutritional status and facilitates a return to school for those who have dropped out (MOWCD, n.d.).

A number of state-specific policies and programmes also exist that highlight state strategies for meeting the needs of youth. Just one of the six Youth Study states has developed a Youth Policy (the Jharkhand Youth Policy 2007) that provides an integrated framework by which youth needs are to be addressed. However, in all six states, programmes exist that encourage schooling and delaying marriage, particularly of girls; providing vocational training to youth, building leadership and life skills and awareness of health promoting behaviours. State level population policies and

PIPs of the Reproductive and Child Health Programme-II have all articulated the need to provide youth information and services relating to sexual and reproductive health. At least two states (Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu) have formed Red Ribbon Clubs (RRC) in high schools and junior colleges, in which youth are trained to act as change agents to provide correct information to other young people about HIV/AIDS and life skills, notably with regard to coping with peer pressure, promoting healthy life styles and adopting responsible behaviours. In addition, a number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), including state-based and national NGOs, implement programmes intended to meet the needs of young people in the state. These programmes have focused on building leadership and livelihood skills, on providing sexual and reproductive health-related information, counselling and services to young people; and on mobilising communities to support young people's access to information and services (see also IIPS and Population Council 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2010).

1.5 Study phases

The Youth Study comprised three phases and included both a survey and qualitative data gathering exercises.

1.5.1 Pre-survey qualitative phase

As the Youth Study was one of the first of its kind in India, precedents did not exist for youth terminologies, particularly with reference to sensitive issues (romantic relationships, sexual experience and so on), youth perceptions or youth willingness to share their experiences with study teams. In order to better understand these matters and to inform the design of the survey instrument, focus group discussions were conducted with married and unmarried young men and women, and key informant interviews conducted with teachers, health care providers, and community and youth leaders, in the first phase of the Youth Study. This phase also offered us an opportunity to explore community reactions to the kinds of issues raised by the survey.

In the course of this pre-survey qualitative phase, we also conducted in-depth interviews with parents of youth to collect parental perspectives on young people's situation and needs. At each site, eight categories of parents were selected (mothers and fathers of married and unmarried young men and women, respectively). The discussion focused on the life experiences of the child of interest.

The pre-survey qualitative phase was undertaken during April-August 2005 and covered at least one urban area and one rural area in geographically diverse districts in each state. In total, 104 focus group discussions were conducted with young people; 231 key informant interviews were held with community leaders, health care providers, teachers and youth leaders; and 420 in-depth interviews were held with mothers and fathers.

1.5.2 Survey phase

Field work was undertaken in two phases. In 2006–07, surveys were implemented in three states, namely, Maharashtra, Jharkhand and Tamil Nadu. The survey was implemented in the remaining three states in 2007; in Andhra Pradesh, it continued into the first quarter of 2008. A total of 174,037 households were enumerated and a total of 50,848 young people were successfully interviewed from these households (8,052 married young men, 11,522 unmarried young men, 13,912 married young women and 17,362 unmarried young women).

1.5.3 Post-survey qualitative phase

In order to better understand the sexual and reproductive experiences of youth and the factors inhibiting and facilitating safe transitions into these behaviours, in-depth interviews were conducted with consenting survey respondents who reported certain experiences in the course of the survey interview. These experiences included, notably, having an opposite-sex romantic partner; having sexual relations with an opposite-sex romantic partner; experiencing same-sex, forced or exchange sexual relations; and among young men, engaging in relations with sex workers or married women. Among the married, in addition, experiences included exercising choice in spouse selection and practising contraception to delay the first pregnancy.

At the conclusion of the survey interview, interviewers sought the consent of respondents for an in-depth interview. Those who consented were then approached by a trained investigator who conducted the interview in the form of an unstructured conversation. In-depth interviews, therefore, took place at around the same time as did the survey. A total of 344 in-depth interviews were completed in the six states, 148 among urban respondents and 196 among rural respondents.

Findings from the survey are presented in this report.[1]

1.6 Study instruments

1.6.1 Interview guidelines

For the pre-survey qualitative phase, three sets of guidelines were prepared, one each for focus group discussions, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews. These guidelines were appropriately modified for each youth group (married and unmarried young men and women) and parent group (mothers and fathers of married and unmarried young men and women). As mentioned above, specific guidelines were not prepared for the post-survey in-depth interviews with youth reporting selected behaviours; instead, the interviewers were trained to steer the interview to focus on the experience of interest, and obtain information on the circumstances surrounding the experience and the respondent's own perceptions about the experience.

1.6.2 Questionnaires

A total of six questionnaires were developed for the study: a rural community questionnaire; a household questionnaire, administered in each selected household; and four individual questionnaires, one each for married young men, married young women, unmarried young men and unmarried young women.

The community questionnaire was administered in each village selected for the survey. This questionnaire collected information on different aspects of village life, including the village population, numbers engaged in agriculture, and the availability of various facilities and infrastructure in and around the village. In each village, team supervisors administered the questionnaire to one or more individuals who were well-informed about the village.

The household questionnaire listed all usual residents of the selected households and collected basic information on each listed household member, including his or her age, sex, marital status, relationship to the head of the household, education and current activity status. Information was also obtained on the religion and caste of the head of the household as well as on ownership of the residential structure and agricultural land, number of rooms in the residence, and such amenities available as type of toilet facility, main source of lighting, main type of cooking fuel and main source of drinking water. The survey also inquired about ownership of 17 consumer durables. Finally, information was sought on marriages of any usual resident of the household in the three years preceding the interview as well as the sex and age of the person at the time of marriage.

The development of individual questionnaires was informed by other survey instruments, notably the World Health Organisation core questionnaire for youth surveys (Cleland, 2001) and a recent survey conducted in Pune district on the formation of partnerships among youth (Alexander et al., 2003). Other instruments consulted included surveys of youth conducted in India (Andrew, Patel and Ramakrishna, 2003; IIPS and Population Council, 2002; Sebastian, Grant and Mensch, 2003), Pakistan (Sathar et al., 2003), the Philippines (DRDF and UPPI, 2002), Vietnam (Mensch, Anh and Clark, 2000) and sub-Saharan Africa (Guttmacher Institute, 2004a; 2004b; 2004c). Finally, our survey instrument drew upon the questionnaire used in the NFHS-3 (IIPS and Macro International, 2007b).

[1] *Separate reports, drawn from in-depth interviews with parents and youth, respectively, will discuss parental perspectives on young people's experience of growing up and provide insights on the sexual and reproductive experiences of youth, as well as the factors inhibiting and facilitating safe transitions into these behaviours.*

The development of individual questionnaires was also informed by insights obtained in the pre-survey qualitative phase. Once the pre-survey qualitative phase was completed in all the six states, the data generated were analysed to identify the kinds of issues that would be explored in the survey, ways of presenting sensitive issues, and terminologies to be used that would be comprehensible and acceptable to youth. The survey instrument was finalised after extensive pre-testing.

Individual questionnaires were employed to interview eligible youth who usually resided in the selected households. Currently married young men and women aged 15–29 and 15–24, respectively, as well as unmarried young men and women aged 15–24, were eligible for interview. Widowed and divorced individuals were excluded from the survey. Keeping in mind the sensitive nature of the questions, the questionnaire was divided into several sections and arranged in such a way that the most sensitive questions were administered towards the middle of the interview. This strategy of asking a series of non-sensitive questions in the early part of the interview served two purposes: it enabled the interviewer and respondent to build rapport before sensitive questions were posed; it also permitted the investigator to maintain privacy for sensitive questions, as interested bystanders would usually depart while questions in the early sections were being posed.

The individual questionnaires collected information on the following topics:

Background characteristics: Questions were asked regarding the respondent's age, education and schooling, quality of school or college attended, work patterns including housework and paid employment, vocational training, short-term migration and characteristics of parents.

Additionally, a Life Event Calendar (LEC), adapted from that used in a nationally representative survey of adolescents and youth in Pakistan (Sathar et al., 2003), was administered to obtain information on education, work, living arrangements, marriage and family building (for married respondents), starting from the age of 12 years. This system of recording life events is considered one of the most effective approaches to minimise recall error.

Media exposure: Respondents were asked whether they were exposed to newspapers, television or the internet, and whether they watched pornographic films or read pornographic magazines. They were also asked about their views on the influence of films and television on their own life as well as young people's lives in general.

Puberty: In order to assess the age at which puberty was experienced, respondents were asked to report their age at key signs of maturation. Young women, therefore, were questioned about their first menstruation while young men were asked about the onset of voice changes and growth of pubic hair.

Parental interaction/relationship: Detailed questions were asked on the extent of parent-child communication on everyday activities as well as sexual and reproductive issues. Questions were also asked to assess the extent to which a respondent had witnessed parental violence or been the victim of violence perpetrated by a parent during the respondent's growing-up years.

Communication, mobility and decision-making: This section collected information on the person with whom youth were most likely to confide matters related to getting a job, growing up, boy-girl relationships and personal problems. Detailed questions were also asked on decision-making and, for all groups except married males, mobility.

Gender and self-efficacy: In order to evaluate the respondent's gender role attitudes and level of self-efficacy, questions were asked to probe opinions about a range of gender-related issues, such as, for example, the importance of boys' vis-à-vis girls' education, housework and freedom of movement.

Awareness of sexual and reproductive matters: This section probed young people's awareness about sexual relations, pregnancy, contraceptive methods, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infection (STI) as well as the legal minimum age at marriage and conditions under which abortion is legally permitted. It also probed young people's sources of

information on sexual matters and contraception, the extent to which they had obtained formal sex or family life education, and their experiences and perceptions about this education.

Connectedness and friendship: Questions relating to connectedness and friendship explored respondents' friendship networks among those of the same sex and activities in which they participated with their friends. This was followed in a gradual fashion by questions on interaction with the opposite sex, whether or not the respondent had exchanged a "proposal" of romantic partnership with someone of the opposite sex and whether the respondent had ever met someone of the opposite sex secretly in a number of likely places.

Pre-marital romantic heterosexual relationships: This was a highly sensitive section, conducted only if complete privacy was assured. The section started by probing the pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences of up to five of the respondent's best friends. This technique, known as anonymous third-party reporting (developed by Rossier, 2003), was used to assess the extent to which youth were more likely to report the romantic and sexual relationships of their peers than their own. Respondents were then asked about their own experiences of pre-marital romantic partnerships and, if reported, detailed questions were asked on the nature of such relationships with the first partner and the last or most recent partner (if more than one partner was reported). Questions were designed to gradually probe sensitive behaviours, for example, starting with whether the respondent had ever held hands with a romantic opposite-sex partner, and continuing with questions on hugging, kissing and finally having sex with the partner. We believe this gradual progression of questions was more culturally appropriate than a single question on pre-marital sex and provided insights into the range of behaviours youth experienced. If sex with a pre-marital romantic partner was reported, a host of questions followed that probed the consensuality of first sex with this partner, condom use, frequency of such relations and experience of pre-marital pregnancy. Questions were also asked about the characteristics of the romantic partner and parental awareness of and reactions to the romantic relationship.

Marriage process: Questions in this section covered marriage planning, dowry, the participation of the respondent in decision-making related to marriage and the respondent's feelings about his or her own marriage. This section was administered, suitably modified, to both married and unmarried respondents.

Married life: Married respondents were asked detailed questions on married life. These included the nature of marriage (love or arranged), acquaintance with spouse before marriage and age at cohabitation. Questions about the marital relationship were also covered, including spousal communication and joint decision-making, the nature of the first sexual experience with spouse, experience of forced sex within marriage, inter-spousal violence, pregnancy experiences and outcomes, and contraceptive practice.

Same-sex, paid and forced sexual experiences: This was the second highly sensitive section in which respondents were asked a series of questions on their personal experience of several types of sexual encounters; for example, paid or exchange sex, forced sex perpetrated on the respondent and casual sex. In the case of male respondents, additional questions were asked about sex with a same-sex partner, relations with sex workers and married women (other than their wife for married males) and whether they had ever perpetrated forced sex. All married respondents were also asked about their experiences of extra-marital sexual relations. Respondents who reported any of these experiences were probed for their age at first experience of such a sexual encounter and whether or not they had used condoms during their sexual encounters.

Attitudes: This section probed respondents' views on pre-marital physical intimacy and wife beating.

Health and health seeking: This section collected information on respondents' experience of common health problems, specifically high fever and injury, as well as symptoms of genital infections in the three months preceding the interview. In addition, respondents were asked whether they had sought treatment for these health issues and, if so, from what source. Respondents' mental health in the last one month was assessed using the 12-item General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) developed for use in field conditions (Goldberg, 1992).

Substance use and violence: A series of questions were asked about consumption of tobacco products, alcohol or drugs. In each case, questions were asked about the use and frequency of use of such substances by family members and by the respondents themselves. Additional questions sought respondents' assessments of the frequency with which young people in their neighbourhoods engaged in violence (fights or beatings) and their own participation in such violence.

Programmes and participation: The final section of the questionnaire collected information on programmes available to young people in the village or neighbourhood in which they resided, and the extent to which they participated in such programmes. In addition, rural respondents were asked about the role of *panchayats* in decisions affecting young people's lives. All respondents were asked about their participation in community activities, opinions about political processes, secular attitudes and participation in recent elections. Finally, respondents were asked to identify the most important problem facing youth in their village or neighbourhood.

Sealed envelope response: However carefully designed and culturally sensitive the survey questions may have been, the possibility that young people would deliberately withhold information about their sexual experiences in a face-to-face interview could not be discounted. Drawing from other research in the field, an anonymous reporting method was included in our survey to obtain responses to a single question: *Have you ever had sex with anyone? [for the unmarried]/Did you ever have sex with anyone before marriage? [for the married]*. Interviewers first explained the technique to respondents, noting in particular its confidential nature. The interviewer then gave each respondent a blank card and asked him or her to simply mark a "✓" or an "**X**" on the card to indicate that s/he had or had not experienced pre-marital sex. Once marked, the respondent placed the card inside an envelope provided by the interviewer; the envelope was sealed by the respondent and returned to the interviewer. Unique identification numbers linked the individual's questionnaire with his or her responses in the sealed envelope. Envelopes were opened only at the central office at the time of data entry.

Draft tools were extensively reviewed at meetings of the study's Technical Advisory Committee and then translated into four languages (Hindi, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu), extensively pre-tested and finalised after appropriate modification. Copies of all these instruments can be found in a separate volume.

1.7 Study design and sample size estimation for individual interviews

The Youth Survey was designed to provide estimates for the state as a whole, as well as for urban and rural areas for each of the four categories of respondents, namely married and unmarried young men and women, separately. The study was not designed to provide estimates at district or sub-district levels.

While arriving at sample size estimates, on the basis of the scarce available evidence, the following assumptions were made:

- 10% of unmarried young women would report the experience of pre-marital sexual relations;
- Among married men, 20% would report unsafe sexual relations (multiple partner sex or non-use of condoms, or experience of STI symptoms);
- The coefficient of variation was set at 10% (equivalent to fixing the absolute error at 20% of the true value and 95% confidence interval);
- The non-response rate for the individual interviews was assumed to be 25–30%;
- Design effect was assumed to be in the range of 1.5 to 2.

The chances of finding an unmarried young man were greater than the chances of finding a married young man in a given household, and conversely, the chances of finding a married young woman were greater than the chances of finding an unmarried young woman. As a result, in the case of the male sample, our strategy was to estimate the number of households required to obtain the target number of married young men aged 15–29, that is, the harder-to-reach group of males. Similarly, in the case of the female sample, the strategy was to identify the total

number of households required based on the target number of unmarried young women aged 15–24, again, the harder-to-reach group of females.

Following from the assumptions described above, and in consultation with the study's Technical Advisory Committee, the required sample of each sub-group of youth was determined at 1,000 married young men, 1,250 unmarried young men, 1,250 married young women and 1,750 unmarried young women in rural and urban areas of each Youth Study state.[2] These targeted sample sizes were modified in different states in order to account for the mobility of youth and the fact that the relative proportion of unmarried to married young men in rural areas of some states was lower than that observed in others. The required sample was determined therefore at 1,200 married young men, 1,500–1800 unmarried young men, 1,500 married young women and 2100 unmarried young women in urban areas; and 1000–2115, 1250–1800, 1250–1500 and 1750–2100, respectively, in rural areas (for details, see IIPS and Population Council, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2010). In order to achieve the above mentioned number of individual interviews, a total of 179,878 households were required to be covered in the six states.

We further determined that a total of 300 primary sampling units (PSUs)—villages in rural areas and Census Enumeration Blocks (CEBs) in urban areas—divided into 150 female PSUs and 150 male PSUs, would be visited in each state in order to conduct interviews in the required number of households. Thus, the number of household interviews to be conducted in each rural PSU ranged from 114 to 191 among female PSUs and from 50 to 109 among male PSUs. In urban areas, correspondingly, the number of household interviews to be conducted ranged from 86 to 105 among female PSUs and from 47 to 116 among male PSUs.

1.7.1 Sample selection strategy

The study treated rural and urban areas of each state as independent sampling domains and, therefore, drew sample areas independently for each of these two domains. In order to avoid potential risks associated with interviewing both women and men from the same PSU, we decided to conduct interviews in separate PSUs for female and male respondents, that is, interviews with young women in 150 PSUs and young men in the remaining 150 PSUs. These 150 PSUs were further divided equally into rural and urban areas, that is, 75 for rural respondents and 75 for urban respondents. Within each sampling domain, a systematic multi-stage sampling design was adopted. Sample selection procedures differed somewhat in rural and urban areas, as described below.

1.7.1.a Selection of households in rural areas

In rural areas, the 2001 Census list of villages served as the sampling frame for the selection of villages. This list was stratified using four variables, namely, region, village size, proportion of the population belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, and female literacy. At the first level of stratification, each state was stratified into 2–6 contiguous geographical regions according to their administrative and geographical zones.

In each region, villages were further stratified by size and the percentage of the population belonging to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes. The last level of stratification was implicit for all strata, consisting of an ordering of villages within each stratum by level of female literacy, ordered alternatively in increasing and decreasing levels of female literacy (obtained from the 2001 Census Village Directory).

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[2] *In estimating the number of households required, the study used the age-sex-marital status distributions observed in rural and urban areas, respectively, in the 2001 Census. The following formula was used to estimate sample size:*

$$\textit{Coefficient of Variation } (cv) = \sqrt{\frac{q}{np}}$$

$$n = \frac{q}{cv^2 p}$$

In order to obtain the actual number of respondents, the above numbers were multiplied by the design effect and a factor 'K' (1 + the non-response rate).

The sample in rural areas was selected in two stages. At the first stage of selection, villages were selected systematically from the stratified list arranged as described above, with selection probability proportional to size (PPS). The 150 PSUs thus selected were then ordered by district and *taluka* codes and numbered from 1 to 150. Odd-numbered PSUs were designated for interviews with young men and even-numbered PSUs for interviews with young women. In the case of male PSUs, selected PSUs containing fewer than 75 households were then linked to one or more adjoining villages so that the PSU had approximately 75 households. In the case of female PSUs, selected PSUs containing fewer than 200 households were linked to one or more adjoining villages so that the PSU had approximately 200 households. Those containing more than 300 and fewer than 601 households were segmented into two approximately equal parts, and one was chosen randomly for the survey. In the case of even larger villages, that is, those containing more than 600 households, segments of 150–200 households were made and numbered in a clockwise manner. Two segments were then selected using probability proportional to size.

The rural domain sampling fraction for a particular category, that is, the probability of selecting an eligible respondent of a particular category in rural areas of each state (f^R), was computed as:

$$f^R = \frac{n^R}{N^R}$$

where

n^R = number of eligible respondents in a particular category to be interviewed (target number of interviews as described before), and
N^R = projected rural population of eligible respondents in the state as of April 1, 2006.

The probability of selecting a PSU from rural areas of each state (f_1^R) was computed as:

$$f_1^R = \frac{a \times v_i}{\sum v_i}$$

where

a = number of PSUs selected from rural areas for the particular category,
v_i = population of the ith PSU, and
$\sum v_i$ = total rural population of the state.

A complete mapping and household listing operation was carried out in each selected PSU (or in selected segments or linked villages as appropriate). This list of households provided the necessary frame for selecting households at the second stage. Mapping and listing were conducted by 8–10 teams in each state, each team comprising one mapper and one lister. Households to be interviewed were selected with equal probability from the list using systematic sampling.

The probability of selecting a household from a selected rural PSU (f_2^R) was calculated as:

$$f_2^R = \frac{f^R}{f_1^R}$$

No replacement for selected households was allowed even if a selected household could not be contacted after several attempts.

All the sampling fractions (f^R, f_1^R, f_2^R) described above were computed separately for male and female PSUs on the basis of the target sample of married males and unmarried females, respectively.

Because we expected more unmarried than married males in our age groups, we needed to visit fewer households to obtain the required number of unmarried compared to married males. Likewise, because we expected more married

than unmarried females, we needed to visit fewer households to obtain the required number of married compared to unmarried females. Appropriate intervals were computed to operationalise each of these selection processes.

1.7.1.b Selection of households in urban areas

In selecting the urban sample, the 2001 Census list of wards (each consisting of several CEBs of 100–200 households) provided the sampling frame. For operational convenience, the Youth Study first determined male PSUs (equivalent to a CEB) and followed this with the selection of female PSUs (another CEB) in CEBs adjacent to male CEBs.

In urban areas,[3] the 2001 Census list of wards was first ordered by district, and within each district by level of female literacy. The sample was then selected in three stages. At the first stage of selection, 75 wards were selected systematically with probability proportional to size. At the second stage, within each selected ward, CEBs were arranged by their administrative number and one CEB (designated as a male PSU) was selected using probability proportional to size. For each selected male CEB, an adjacent CEB was chosen to represent the female PSU in the same ward.

The urban domain sampling fraction for a particular category, that is, the probability of selecting an eligible respondent of a particular category in urban areas in each state (f^U), was computed as:

$$f^U = \frac{n^U}{N^U}$$

where

n^U = number of eligible respondents in a particular category to be interviewed in urban areas (target number of interviews as described before), and
N^U = projected urban population of eligible respondents in the state as of April 1, 2006.

The probability of selecting a ward (or section) from urban areas in each state (f_1^U) was computed as:

$$f_1^U = \frac{a \times w_i}{\sum w_i}$$

where

a = number of wards selected from urban areas for the particular category,
w_i = population of ith ward, and
$\sum w_i$ = total urban population of the state.

The probability of selecting a CEB from a selected ward (f_2^U) was computed as:

$$f_2^U = \frac{c_i}{\sum c_i}$$

where

c_i = population of ith CEB from a selected ward, and
$\sum c_i$ = total population of the selected ward.

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[3] *This strategy was followed in Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and part of Maharashtra. In Maharashtra, a slightly different strategy was followed for sample selection in Mumbai and Greater Mumbai (see IIPS and Population Council, 2008 for more details).*

A complete mapping and household listing operation was carried out in each selected PSU and the resulting list provided the necessary frame for selecting households at the third stage. Households to be interviewed were selected with equal probability from the list using systematic sampling. In some CEBs the number of households listed was smaller than the minimum expected number of households, and in such cases, a part of an adjacent CEB was listed.

The probability of selecting a household from a selected urban PSU (f_3^U) was calculated as:

$$f_3^U = \frac{f^U}{f_1^U \times f_2^U}$$

As in the case of rural areas, (a) no replacement of selected households was allowed under any circumstances; (b) all sampling fractions (f^U, f_1^U, f_2^U, f_3^U) were computed separately for male and female PSUs on the basis of the target sample of married males and unmarried females, respectively; and (c) appropriate intervals were computed to enable the selection of fewer households for the interview of unmarried compared to married males and married compared to unmarried females.

1.7.2 Selection of individual respondents within selected households

In each PSU, the households to be interviewed were selected by systematic sampling. The value of the interval (between one selected household and the next) was determined in advance to ensure a self-weighing design. As mentioned earlier, fewer households needed to be selected in order to obtain our sample of unmarried males and married females. Hence, further intervals were computed, using the target sample for unmarried males and married females.

Within each selected household, no more than one married and one unmarried respondent was interviewed, resulting in a maximum of two interviews from any household. In case more than one respondent from a single category was found in the household, one respondent was selected randomly using the Kish table.[4] No replacement of the respondent thus selected was allowed.

1.7.3 Sample weights

In each Youth Study state, the sample was weighted at the level of the sampling domain, that is, urban and rural males and females, respectively, that is, a total of four sampling domains. The sample weight for each state (the state weight) was calculated taking into account differential non-response rates as well as design weights for each domain. A detailed description of the calculation of sample weights for each state is presented in individual state reports (IIPS and Population Council, 2008; 2009a; 2009b; 2009c; 2009d; 2010).

For the combined sample, the overall sample weights have been calculated as the product of the design weight for each state (after adjusting for non response) and the state weight.

[4] *The probability of selection of individuals in rural areas is (f^R/K_i^R) and in urban areas (f^U/K_i^U), where K_i^R, and K_i^U denote the number of individuals of the specified category (married and unmarried males and females, respectively) in the ith selected household in rural and urban areas, respectively.*

The overall sample weights for the combined sample were defined as:

$$W_{sij}^{N} = \frac{P_s}{\sum_{ij} W_{sij}} \times W_{sij}$$

where

W_{sij} = weight for the j[th] household (or young person) in the i[th] weighting domain (consisting of 2–3 PSUs) in state 's',

W_{sij}^{N} = weight for the j[th] household (or young person) in the i[th] weighting domain in state 's' for the combined estimates of all six states, and

P_s = population of state 's' projected to the midpoint of the survey

Finally, weights were normalised so that the total number of weighted cases equalled the total number of unweighted cases. The final normalised weight for the j[th] household in the i[th] weighting domain in state 's' for combined estimate was:

$$W_{sij}^{\overline{N}} = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^{6} n_k}{P} \times \frac{P_s}{\sum_{ij} W_{sij}} \times W_{sij}$$

where

P = combined population of the six states projected to the midpoint of the survey, and

n_k = sample size in the k[th] state

1.8 Recruitment, training and fieldwork

Almost 450 young men and women underwent interviewer training and over 120 underwent training for mapping and house-listing exercises. On the basis of performance, a total of 338 youth were recruited as field investigators and 108 individuals were recruited for mapping and house-listing exercises in the six states.

Training of interviewers was conducted jointly by principal investigators from IIPS and the Population Council. House-listing staff underwent a four-day training, during which they were familiarised with house-listing procedures in both classroom and field situations. Training for field investigators for the main survey lasted three weeks. It included lectures and interactive sessions on a range of issues, such as the sexual and reproductive health situation of youth in India, an overview of gender issues, ethical issues in research, violence against women, and mental health, as well as detailed explanations of sex and contraception. Efforts were also made to enable trainees to overcome their inhibitions about discussing sexual and reproductive health matters. Trainees were provided opportunities to ask questions via an anonymous drop-box; questions were then answered in the course of training. Trainees were familiarised with each module of the questionnaire, complicated concepts and questions and their underlying rationale. Role-plays and mock interviews were conducted for each module. Towards the end of the training programme, field practice sessions were organised in which trainees were taken to a village and an urban slum setting and asked to conduct interviews. The training team monitored each trainee's progress on a regular basis and selected as interviewers only those trainees who demonstrated a full understanding of the questionnaire as well as the ability to ask questions appropriately and record responses accurately.

In most states, interviewers were divided into eight teams, four each to interview young men and women, respectively. Male interviewers interviewed young men and female interviewers interviewed young women. Each team comprised one field editor who was responsible for field editing, back-checks and quality control of interviews; and one supervisor, responsible for the overall management of fieldwork and team-related logistics as well as assisting in field editing and back-checking. Interviewer and supervisor/editor manuals were prepared, translated into the local language and provided to each team member as appropriate. These manuals clarified the meaning and appropriate coding of every question in the questionnaire.

Research officers were deputed to oversee fieldwork, and ensure that correct survey procedures were followed and data quality maintained. Principal investigators from IIPS and the Population Council made monthly or bi-monthly visits to monitor and supervise data collection operations. Each team filled quality control sheets regularly, giving the team, research officers and coordinators a quick view of the quality of ongoing fieldwork. These control sheets were designed to provide information on response rates in each PSU covered, and track sensitive issue reporting and interviewer performance.

1.9 Ethical considerations

As this was the first such study in India in which sensitive sexual and reproductive experiences of youth were sought in a survey situation, it was unclear how youth respondents and community members would react. At the same time, it was clear that if youth participated in the interview, its content was likely to prompt questions and problems for which support would be requested. A number of ethical issues arose which influenced the design and implementation of the Youth Study.

First, to address our concern that if interviews with young women and men were conducted in the same PSU, it could lead to teasing, harassment, harm to girls' reputations and even violence, we decided that the study would be undertaken in one set of PSUs for young men and in a completely different set for young women. Likewise, we also ensured that two unmarried brothers or sisters, two married brothers or sisters or two sisters- or brothers-in-law would not be interviewed from the same household in case such a practice caused conflict within the family. Hence, in each household, only one individual from any category was selected for interview. In case both a married and an unmarried individual were selected from a particular household, interviews were conducted separately but simultaneously.

Second, youth themselves contributed—albeit indirectly—to the development of the questionnaire. In the course of our pre-survey qualitative phase, youth and key informants informed our study teams of various youth behaviours; youth described the ways in which they referred to various sensitive behaviours and, in order to minimise discomfort during questioning, the scenarios and terminologies described by youth themselves were adapted for use in the most sensitive parts of our questionnaire.

Third, interviewers underwent extensive training in ethical issues. Emphasis was laid on explaining the content of the questionnaire, the respondent's right to refuse to participate or answer any question, and informed consent. At the same time, we trained interviewers on how to ask sensitive questions—regarding sexual experience, domestic violence and forced sex, in particular—in empathetic and non-judgemental ways, and emphasised the importance of offering to refer those in need to appropriate nearby organisations.

Fourth, before entering a PSU, teams were instructed to apprise community leaders of the study and seek their support for its implementation in the community. This step ensured that community support was forthcoming and enabled team members to build rapport within the community easily. We note that despite the sensitive nature of the questions, not a single PSU in any of the states refused permission to Youth Study teams on the grounds of study content, although in two PSUs in Jharkhand, interviews could not be completed with all the selected individuals because of difficult law and order conditions.

Fifth, even though consent was sought from each individual to be interviewed, in the case of unmarried youth aged 15–17, consent was also sought from a parent or guardian.

Sixth, all questionnaires were anonymous and names were never recorded. In order to preserve the confidentiality of the respondent or the parent/guardian, signing the consent form was optional; however, the interviewer was required to sign that she or he had explained the content of the consent form to the respondent or parent. Consent forms were detached and stored separately from the questionnaires.

Seventh, every effort was made to maintain privacy in the course of the interview. Interviewers were permitted to skip to relatively non-sensitive sections in case the interview was observed by parents or other family members. If possible, particularly in the case of young men, interviews were held outside the home—often in a nearby field—in order to ensure privacy. Each team was trained to assign one interviewer to conduct parallel discussion sessions with bystanders, thereby providing privacy to the interview. This proved particularly useful in the case of interviews with young women. Finally, interviewers were instructed that if privacy could not be ensured, the interview must be terminated without asking sensitive questions. Due to these strategies, few interviews had to be terminated for want of privacy and in no case was a young respondent's privacy breached.

Eighth, the study team realised that this was perhaps one of the first opportunities many youth would have to discuss intimate matters and that respondents might request information on sexual and reproductive issues or seek counselling or treatment for a health problem. In each state, therefore, the team approached NGOs that conduct youth- or health-related activities at the district level and sought their consent for referring any youth in need to their organisation. Many NGOs agreed, and youth (and some adults) in need were later referred to these organisations, along with an indication that the individual had been part of the Youth Study. At the same time, research officers and team members themselves built rapport with public health authorities and referred to their facilities those who preferred to seek public services, again, along with the information that the individual had been part of the Youth Study.

Finally, many youth were in need of information on sexual and reproductive health matters. On occasion, interviewers themselves responded to their questions. In addition, easy-to-read booklets in local languages (for example, the *Neeli Kitab* (Hindi)/*Nili Pustika* (Marathi)/*Neeli Rangu Pustakam* (Telugu) prepared by TARSHI (distributed in Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh) and the *Paalvali Noyeingal STD/AIDS Adi Padi Vunmayamangal Velakkam* prepared by the Tamil Nadu AIDS Control Society and distributed in Tamil Nadu) were distributed to youth who requested them.

1.10 Data processing

All completed questionnaires were sent to the project office at IIPS, Mumbai, or the Population Council, New Delhi, for editing and data processing. Completed questionnaires were rechecked and further edited in the office for omissions and consistency. Responses to open-ended questions were scrutinised and common responses were provided codes. For entering the edited data, a special software package was developed using CSPro 3.0. Data were entered twice by different entry operators to minimise entry problems. The raw data were validated and cleaned to remove possible inconsistencies. The analysis of data was carried out using SPSS 14.0.

1.11 Interview outcomes

Table 1.2 provides response rates—consolidated as well as state-specific—for household interviews by type of PSU (male or female) and residence. A total of 186,152 households were selected for interview, 5% could not be contacted because the house could not be located or was vacant, or because the entire household was absent over an extended period of time. In total, however, the response to the household questionnaire was high: 99% in both male PSUs and female PSUs. A total of 71,694 and 102,343 interviews were completed in urban and rural areas, respectively. Response rates in urban and rural areas were almost identical. Likewise, response rates were almost identical in the six states as well. We note that just 0.4% of selected households refused to be interviewed.

Table 1.3 presents similar findings with regard to interviews with eligible respondents. A total of 50,848 interviews were completed: 8,052 with married young men, 11,522 with unmarried young men, 13,912 with married young women and 17,362 with unmarried young women. Response rates for individual interviews were in the range of 84–90%, with unmarried young women registering the highest response rate (90%). Response rates did not vary much by residence, but in all cases, they were marginally lower among those residing in rural areas. In general,

Table 1.2: Response rate for household interviews

Percentage of households in which interviews were successfully completed by state, according to residence (unweighted)

State	All PSUs			Male PSUs			Female PSUs		
	Total number of households selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (HRR)	Total number of households selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (HRR)	Total number of households selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (HRR)
Combined									
Bihar	30,888	28,205	98.7	9,797	8,950	98.3	21,091	19,255	98.9
Jharkhand	28,318	25,978	97.4	9,940	9,077	97.4	18,378	16,901	97.4
Rajasthan	31,064	29,774	99.2	8,815	8,512	99.4	22,249	21,262	99.2
Maharashtra	25,641	23,077	98.3	9,875	8,995	98.9	15,766	14,082	97.9
Andhra Pradesh	32,348	31,123	99.0	10,971	10,484	99.0	21,377	20,639	99.1
Tamil Nadu	37,893	35,880	98.9	18,388	17,348	98.8	19,505	18,532	98.9
Total	**186,152**	**174,037**	**98.6**	**67,786**	**63,366**	**98.7**	**118,366**	**110,671**	**98.6**
Urban									
Bihar	11,945	10,887	98.2	5,051	4,558	97.7	6,894	6,329	98.6
Jharkhand	12,377	11,257	97.3	5,856	5,235	96.5	6,521	6,022	98.0
Rajasthan	10,511	10,047	98.9	3,444	3,301	99.0	7,067	6,746	98.9
Maharashtra	12,225	11,184	98.2	5,018	4,592	98.7	7,207	6,592	97.9
Andhra Pradesh	12,950	12,439	99.1	5,462	5,204	98.6	7,488	7,235	99.2
Tamil Nadu	16,682	15,880	99.0	8,715	8,257	98.8	7,967	7,623	99.3
Total	**76,690**	**71,694**	**98.5**	**33,546**	**31,147**	**98.2**	**43,144**	**40,547**	**98.7**
Rural									
Bihar	18,943	17,318	99.0	4,746	4,392	98.9	14,197	12,926	99.0
Jharkhand	15,941	14,721	97.5	4,084	3,842	98.6	11,857	10,879	97.0
Rajasthan	20,553	19,727	99.4	5,371	5,211	99.7	15,182	14,516	99.3
Maharashtra	13,416	11,893	98.4	4,857	4,403	99.2	8,559	7,490	97.9
Andhra Pradesh	19,398	18,684	99.2	5,509	5,280	99.4	13,889	13,404	99.0
Tamil Nadu	21,211	20,000	98.8	9,673	9,091	98.9	11,538	10,909	98.8
Total	**109,462**	**102,343**	**98.7**	**34,240**	**32,219**	**99.2**	**75,222**	**70,124**	**98.6**

Note: PSU: Primary sampling unit; HRR: the percentage of selected households (excluding structures that were vacant or not a dwelling and structures in which the entire household was absent for an extented period of time) successfully interviewed.

response rates for unmarried respondents, both male and female, were somewhat higher than those for married respondents. Response rates varied among the six states. For example, response rates among young men were lower in Bihar, Jharkhand and Tamil Nadu (78% among the married and 76–82% among the unmarried) than in Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (86–92% among the married and 90–95% among the unmarried). In contrast, among young women, state-wise differences in response rates were narrower (81–91% among the married and 86–94% among the unmarried).

The main reason for non-response was that the respondent was not at home, ranging from 8% among unmarried respondents to 14% among married respondents (not shown in the table). The somewhat higher level of non-response for married young men compared to other groups may be attributed to work-related temporary migration, and for married young women to their relatively frequent movement to their natal homes, particularly for delivery. We attribute the low refusal rates to the strategies described earlier to address ethical concerns, which, at the same time, enabled the development of considerable rapport and trust between study communities and our interview teams.

Table 1.3: Response rate for eligible respondent interviews

Percentage of eligible respondents successfully interviewed by state, according to residence (unweighted)

State	Married			Unmarried		
	Total number of eligible respondents selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (IRR)	Total number of eligible respondents selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (IRR)
Men, 15–24						
Combined						
Bihar	1,431	1,115	78.0	1,858	1,492	80.4
Jharkhand	1,617	1,259	77.9	2,607	2,141	82.1
Rajasthan	2,045	1,886	92.3	2,256	2,129	94.5
Maharashtra	1,243	1,065	85.7	2,252	2,017	89.6
Andhra Pradesh	1,572	1,405	89.4	2,301	2,077	90.3
Tamil Nadu	1,703	1,322	77.6	2,205	1,666	75.6
Total	**9,611**	**8,052**	**83.8**	**13,479**	**11,522**	**85.5**
Urban						
Bihar	705	547	77.7	1,006	833	82.8
Jharkhand	798	605	75.8	1,753	1,448	82.6
Rajasthan	678	631	93.0	1,043	987	94.6
Maharashtra	594	506	85.2	1,386	1,246	89.9
Andhra Pradesh	704	648	92.0	1,234	1,132	91.7
Tamil Nadu	745	653	87.7	940	789	83.9
Total	**4,224**	**3,590**	**85.0**	**7,362**	**6,435**	**87.3**
Rural						
Bihar	726	568	78.3	852	659	77.3
Jharkhand	819	654	79.9	854	693	81.1
Rajasthan	1,367	1,255	91.8	1,213	1,142	94.1
Maharashtra	649	559	86.1	866	771	89.0
Andhra Pradesh	868	757	87.2	1,067	945	88.6
Tamil Nadu	958	669	69.8	1,265	877	69.3
Total	**5,387**	**4,462**	**82.9**	**6,117**	**5,087**	**83.2**
Women, 15–24						
Combined						
Bihar	2,855	2,341	81.9	3,540	3,188	90.1
Jharkhand	3,310	2,684	81.1	3,174	2,730	86.0
Rajasthan	2,914	2,603	89.4	3,599	3,384	94.0
Maharashtra	2,284	1,947	85.2	2,870	2,541	88.5
Andhra Pradesh	2,575	2,330	90.5	2,673	2,518	94.2
Tamil Nadu	2,377	2,007	84.4	3,467	3,001	86.6
Total	**16,315**	**13,912**	**85.3**	**19,323**	**17,362**	**89.9**
Urban						
Bihar	1,401	1,136	81.1	1,628	1,445	88.8
Jharkhand	1,245	1,034	83.1	1,525	1,381	90.6
Rajasthan	1,158	1,038	89.5	1,529	1,436	93.9
Maharashtra	1,019	901	88.4	1,478	1,328	89.9
Andhra Pradesh	1,143	1,037	90.7	1,159	1,089	94.0
Tamil Nadu	911	804	88.3	1,526	1,347	88.3
Total	**6,877**	**5,950**	**86.6**	**8,845**	**8,026**	**90.8**

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Table 1.3: (Cont'd)

State	Married			Unmarried		
	Total number of eligible respondents selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (IRR)	Total number of eligible respondents selected	Number of interviews completed	Response rate (IRR)
Rural						
Bihar	1,454	1,205	82.9	1,912	1,743	91.1
Jharkhand	2,065	1,650	79.9	1,649	1,349	81.8
Rajasthan	1,756	1,565	89.1	2,070	1,948	94.3
Maharashtra	1,265	1,046	82.7	1,392	1,213	87.1
Andhra Pradesh	1,432	1,293	90.3	1,514	1,429	94.4
Tamil Nadu	1,466	1,203	82.1	1,941	1,654	85.2
Total	**9,438**	**7,962**	**84.3**	**10,478**	**9,336**	**89.1**

Note: IRR: the percentage of eligible individuals successfully interviewed.

1.12 Structure of the report

This report is structured as follows. Chapter 2 provides a socio-demographic profile of the surveyed population and respondents, and the facilities available to the rural population. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 discuss young people's educational attainment patterns, economic and non-economic activity experiences and media exposure, respectively. Chapter 6 discusses growing up issues, including young people's relationships with parents and peers. Chapters 7 and 8 focus, respectively, on young people's autonomy and gender role attitudes, and awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters. Chapter 9 describes the formation of pre-marital romantic relationships and pre-marital sexual experiences with romantic and non-romantic partners. Chapter 10 discusses the transition to marriage and experiences in early married life. Chapter 11 presents information on health and health seeking behaviours and substance use. Chapter 12 focuses on civic and political participation and related attitudes. A summary of each chapter (3–12) is provided at its conclusion. Finally, Chapter 13 offers recommendations for programmes and research.

In view of the heterogeneity of youth by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence, in each chapter, tables are presented that describe findings, separately, on the situation of married and unmarried young men and women residing in urban and rural areas, respectively. In order to provide information on all youth, we provide findings for all young men and women aged 15–24 (that is, excluding married young men aged 25–29) to enable comparison.

All means, medians and percentages indicated in the tables have been weighted using normalised weights for the total population. However, in order to show the total number of youth interviewed, unweighted numbers of respondents (Ns) are provided in each table. Because numbers are unweighted and percentages are weighted, we caution readers against deriving numbers based on the percentages provided in the tables.

As our review of the socio-demographic situation in the six Youth Study states suggested, the six states differed considerably in terms of social, economic and demographic characteristics. A regional pattern was observed in many instances: the three northern states—Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan—tended to display similar levels and were more disadvantaged than the remaining states—Maharashtra in the west, and Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu in the south—on many indicators. Hence, while providing state-wise evidence in this report, we listed states by region, presenting findings for the three northern states, Maharashtra, and the two southern states, respectively, and highlighting differences between these three sets of states.

Chapter 2

Profile of surveyed communities, households and youth

This chapter presents a summary of the community-level characteristics of the rural areas surveyed as well as household- and respondent-level profiles of the surveyed population. First, using data drawn from the community questionnaire, it describes the rural communities in which the survey was undertaken in terms of access to facilities more generally available in urban settings. Thereafter, drawing on data from the household questionnaire, it profiles the surveyed households in terms of socio-demographic and housing characteristics, and economic status. Comparisons are drawn throughout between the distribution of the population as recorded in the present survey and that calculated for the six states combined from the 2001 Census as well as the most recent NFHS (2005–06), wherever data are available. Finally, the chapter presents the socio-demographic characteristics of youth respondents and their parents drawn from individual questionnaires.

2.1 Profile of rural communities surveyed

This section presents data regarding access to a variety of facilities among the rural population surveyed and suggests considerable differences among the states (Table 2.1). Access to such civic amenities as banks and post offices was limited, particularly in the northern states (Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan). For example, between two-fifths and three-fifths of the rural population in Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan (38–59%) had a post office located within their village or its immediate vicinity, that is, within a distance of 2 kilometres, compared to between two-thirds and four-fifths of their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states of Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu (64–83%). Likewise, between one-seventh and one-quarter of the rural population in the northern states (15–26%) had a bank within their village or its immediate vicinity, compared to one-third in Maharashtra and the southern states (33–36%).

Primary schools were available within the village or in close proximity in all the states, except Rajasthan: 97–100% of the rural population in Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu had access to a primary school within a distance of 2 kilometres; in Rajasthan, however, relatively fewer reported such easy access (89%). Secondary or higher secondary schools were progressively less likely to be available, irrespective of the state of residence. Regional differences were not discernible; even so, Bihar and Jharkhand were less likely than the remaining states to report easy access. For example, just 18–21% of the rural population in Bihar and Jharkhand had access to a secondary or higher secondary school within their village or its vicinity, compared to between 38% and 69% of their counterparts in the remaining four states. Colleges and technical institutions were rarely available at the village level or its vicinity, irrespective of the state of residence; just 1–12% of the population had such a facility within 2 kilometres.

Almost all rural residents in every state reported the availability of an *anganwadi* in the village of residence or its vicinity (94–99%). Access to health facilities, however, was limited. Only between two-fifths and three-fifths of the rural population (42–61%) had a sub-centre within the village or its vicinity; state-wise differences were mild in this respect. As in the case of education, higher-level facilities were less accessible in all the states; just 13–16% of the rural population in Bihar and Jharkhand resided within 2 kilometres of any higher level public sector health facility, namely a primary health centre, a community health centre, a government dispensary or a government hospital. In contrast, 19–42% of the rural populations of the remaining four states so reported (19% in Maharashtra, 28–29% in Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan, and 42% in Tamil Nadu). Moreover, even private clinics and hospitals

Table 2.1: Proximity of study residents in rural areas to selected facilities

Percentage of rural residents reporting availability of selected facilities in their village or its immediate vicinity, according to state

Facility	% of residents having access within 2 kilometres (including within village):					
	Bihar	Jharkhand	Rajasthan	Maharashtra	Andhra Pradesh	Tamil Nadu
Post office	55.9	38.1	58.5	63.9	82.9	75.4
Bank	26.4	15.3	26.4	35.4	32.5	36.4
Educational facilities						
Primary school	97.0	96.6	88.7	99.5	98.9	98.9
Secondary/higher secondary school	20.5	18.4	47.7	50.0	69.2	38.3
College	3.7	1.9	2.9	7.9	11.6	2.9
Technical school/college	1.1	1.3	1.0	6.9	7.4	5.2
Ashram school	1.9	11.6	1.9	12.0	3.1	3.1
Madarsa	38.3	30.1	11.3	13.7	5.2	2.8
Health facilities						
ICDS (*anganwadi*)	94.4	94.9	96.0	99.2	98.4	98.2
Sub-centre	46.8	42.1	58.2	42.8	56.4	61.3
Other government health facilities[1]	15.6	13.4	28.7	18.9	27.7	42.1
Private clinic, including ISMH	19.5	21.7	28.5	48.4	32.0	24.3
Private hospital	3.9	6.0	1.2	18.4	12.0	15.4
Club/*Mandal*	10.7	13.9	13.6	57.6	35.2	39.9

Note: ICDS: Integrated Child Development Services. ISMH: Indian systems of medicine and homoeopathy. [1]Includes primary health centre, community health centre, government dispensary and government hospital.

(including those offering Indian systems of medicine and homoeopathy) were relatively inaccessible; for example, just 1–6% of the rural population in the northern states had access to a private hospital within the village or its vicinity, compared to 12–18% in Maharashtra and the southern states.

The availability of civic organisations was also assessed. Findings again indicate limited access to such facilities. Just 11–14% of the population in the northern states resided within a distance of 2 kilometres from a club or *mandal*, compared to 35–58% in Maharashtra and the southern states.

2.2 Profile of the household population: Age-sex distribution

Age and sex distributions play an important role in the study of demographic processes. Details of the age and sex distribution of the *de jure* population in the survey area are presented in Table 2.2. Corresponding distributions relating to the six states under study, as derived from the 2001 Census, are provided to enable comparison.

The age distribution of the six states was typical of a population in which fertility has been declining in the recent past. A little over one-fifth (22%) of the population was aged 0–9 years, and at the other end of the age spectrum, the population aged 60+ years represented 9%. Findings suggest, moreover, that the proportion of the population aged 0–4 years was similar to that observed in the 2001 census in these six states (10.0 and 10.7 respectively), and the median age of the population was slightly higher than that reported in the 2001 Census (24 years versus 22.6 years).

Table 2.2: Distribution of the surveyed population by age and sex

Percent distribution of the surveyed and 2001 Census populations by age and sex, according to residence

Age (years)	Youth Study			Census, 2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Combined						
Below 1	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.6
1–4	8.1	8.4	7.8	9.1	9.0	9.1
5–9	11.6	11.9	11.2	12.3	12.4	12.2
10–14	11.4	12.0	10.9	11.9	12.2	11.6
15–19	9.5	9.4	9.7	9.6	10.0	9.1
20–24	8.6	8.2	8.9	8.7	8.6	8.7
25–29	7.8	7.3	8.3	8.2	7.8	8.5
30–34	7.1	6.9	7.4	7.2	7.0	7.4
35–39	7.2	7.2	7.2	6.9	6.8	7.1
40–44	5.6	5.8	5.5	5.5	5.7	5.3
45–49	5.2	5.2	5.2	4.7	4.7	4.7
50–54	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.7	3.8	3.5
55–59	3.2	3.1	3.4	2.8	2.6	2.9
60–64	3.3	3.2	3.4	2.8	2.6	3.0
65–69	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.0	1.9	2.2
70–74	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
75 and above	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.4
Age not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3
Number	**838,731**	**425,715**	**413,004**	**401,945,839**	**206,877,761**	**195,068,078**
Median age (years)	24.0	23.0	24.0	22.6	22.1	23.1
Sex ratio, all ages[1]	992	NA	NA	943	NA	NA
Sex ratio, age 0–6 years[1]	920	NA	NA	935	NA	NA
Urban						
Below 1	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3
1–4	6.6	6.7	6.4	7.5	7.4	7.6
5–9	9.3	9.5	9.1	10.2	10.1	10.3
10–14	10.1	10.4	9.9	11.1	11.0	11.1
15–19	9.8	9.7	9.8	10.5	10.7	10.2
20–24	9.8	9.7	9.8	10.0	10.1	9.8
25–29	9.0	8.6	9.4	9.3	9.0	9.5
30–34	8.2	8.2	8.1	7.9	7.9	7.9
35–39	8.0	7.9	8.1	7.6	7.4	7.7
40–44	6.4	6.6	6.2	6.0	6.3	5.6
45–49	5.7	5.8	5.7	5.1	5.2	4.9
50–54	4.3	4.4	4.2	3.9	4.1	3.6
55–59	3.5	3.4	3.5	2.7	2.7	2.8
60–64	3.0	2.9	3.2	2.5	2.3	2.6
65–69	2.1	2.0	2.3	1.8	1.6	2.0
70–74	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.3
75 and above	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.4
Age not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.4
Number	**342,773**	**176,174**	**166,597**	**117,283,834**	**61,249,154**	**56,034,680**
Median age (years)	26.0	26.0	26.0	24.2	24.0	24.3
Sex ratio, all ages[1]	956	NA	NA	915	NA	NA
Sex ratio, age 0–6 years[1]	907	NA	NA	925	NA	NA

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Table 2.2: (Cont'd)

Age (years)	Youth Study			Census, 2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Rural						
Below 1	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.8	1.7
1–4	8.7	9.0	8.3	9.7	9.7	9.7
5–9	12.4	12.8	12.0	13.2	13.4	13.0
10–14	11.9	12.6	11.2	12.3	12.7	11.9
15–19	9.4	9.2	9.6	9.2	9.7	8.7
20–24	8.1	7.6	8.6	8.1	8.0	8.2
25–29	7.4	6.8	8.0	7.7	7.3	8.1
30–34	6.8	6.4	7.1	6.9	6.7	7.2
35–39	6.9	6.9	6.9	6.7	6.5	6.8
40–44	5.3	5.4	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.1
45–49	5.0	5.0	5.0	4.6	4.5	4.6
50–54	3.9	4.0	3.8	3.6	3.7	3.4
55–59	3.2	3.0	3.4	2.8	2.6	3.0
60–64	3.4	3.3	3.5	2.9	2.8	3.1
65–69	2.4	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.0	2.3
70–74	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5
75 and above	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.4
Age not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.2
Number	**495,958**	**249,541**	**246,407**	**284,662,005**	**145,628,607**	**139,033,398**
Median age (years)	23.0	22.0	23.0	21.8	24.5	22.5
Sex ratio, all ages[1]	1,005	NA	NA	955	NA	NA
Sex ratio, age 0–6 years[1]	924	NA	NA	938	NA	NA

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of persons in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable. [1]Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males.

Age distributions differ in rural and urban areas. For example, children aged 0–9 years comprised a larger proportion of the population in rural areas (23%) than in urban areas (17%), indicating higher fertility in rural areas, and correspondingly, the median age of the population was three years higher in urban than in rural areas.

With regard to the population of young people, the distribution suggests that at the time of the survey, 11.4% of the population was aged 10–14 years, 9.5% was aged 15–19 years and 8.6% was aged 20–24 years (Table 2.2). A total of 18.1% of the population was aged 15–24 years, about the same as that observed in the 2001 Census (18.3%) (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a).

Overall, the sex ratio of the *de jure* population was 992 females per 1,000 males, somewhat higher than that observed for these six states in the 2001 Census (943; Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b), but lower than that obtained for the six states in NFHS-3 (1,022; IIPS and Macro International 2007a). A similar pattern was observed in both rural (1,005 compared to 955 in the 2001 census and 1,053 in NFHS-3) and urban areas (956, 915 and 964, respectively). The child sex ratio of the surveyed population was 920 females per 1,000 males aged 0–6, similar to that reported in the 2001 Census (935) and that obtained for the six states in NFHS-3 (913).

Table 2.3 presents the median age and population and child sex ratios for each state. As expected, wide regional differences in fertility levels are suggested, with median ages considerably lower in the northern than in other states. For example, the median age of the surveyed populations was 18–21 years in the northern states, reflecting a high fertility population. In comparison, the median age in Maharashtra and the southern states was 25–28 years, reflecting a low fertility population. These regional differences were observed in both urban and rural areas.

Table 2.3: Median age and sex ratio of the surveyed population

Median age and sex ratio of the surveyed and 2001 Census populations by state, according to residence

State	Youth Study					Census, 2001				
	Median age (years)			Sex ratio		Median age (years)			Sex ratio	
	Total	Male	Female	All ages[1]	(0-6)[1]	Total	Male	Female	All ages[1]	(0-6)[1]
Combined										
Bihar	18.0	16.0	19.0	1,043	935	19.5	19.1	20.2	919	942
Jharkhand	20.0	20.0	20.0	978	960	20.5	20.3	20.7	941	965
Rajasthan	21.0	20.0	22.0	951	898	20.1	19.6	20.7	921	909
Maharashtra	25.0	25.0	26.0	947	862	24.0	24.0	25.0	922	913
Andhra Pradesh	27.0	26.0	27.0	1,018	970	23.5	23.2	23.8	978	961
Tamil Nadu	28.0	28.0	28.0	999	925	25.6	25.4	25.8	987	942
Total	**24.0**	**23.0**	**24.0**	**992**	**920**	**22.6**	**22.1**	**23.1**	**943**	**935**
Number	**838,731**	**425,715**	**413,004**	**838,731**	**123,685**	**401,945,839**	**206,877,761**	**195,068,078**	**401,945,839**	**63,492,035**
Urban										
Bihar	20.7	20.0	21.0	926	901	21.0	21.1	21.0	868	924
Jharkhand	23.0	23.0	22.0	916	948	21.9	22.1	21.6	870	930
Rajasthan	23.0	23.0	24.0	932	891	21.9	21.7	22.2	890	887
Maharashtra	26.0	26.0	26.0	926	878	25.0	25.0	25.0	873	908
Andhra Pradesh	26.0	26.0	26.0	989	965	23.4	23.4	23.4	965	955
Tamil Nadu	29.0	29.0	28.0	1,000	914	25.9	25.9	25.8	982	955
Total	**26.0**	**26.0**	**26.0**	**956**	**907**	**24.2**	**24.0**	**24.3**	**915**	**925**
Number	**342,773**	**176,174**	**166,597**	**342,773**	**43,985**	**117,283,834**	**61,249,154**	**56,034,680**	**117,283,834**	**15,112,560**
Rural										
Bihar	18.0	16.0	18.0	1,055	938	19.4	18.8	20.1	926	944
Jharkhand	20.0	19.0	20.0	995	962	20.0	19.5	20.4	962	973
Rajasthan	20.0	19.0	20.0	957	899	19.5	19.0	20.1	930	914
Maharashtra	25.0	24.0	26.0	962	852	24.0	23.0	25.0	960	916
Andhra Pradesh	27.0	26.0	27.0	1,029	971	23.5	23.1	24.0	983	963
Tamil Nadu	28.0	27.0	28.0	998	934	25.3	24.9	25.7	992	933
Total	**23.0**	**22.0**	**23.0**	**1,005**	**924**	**21.8**	**24.5**	**22.5**	**955**	**938**
Number	**495,958**	**249,541**	**246,407**	**495,958**	**79,700**	**284,662,005**	**145,628,607**	**139,033,398**	**284,662,005**	**48,379,475**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of persons in the six states combined. [1]Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males.

Of the six states, the child sex ratio was considerably lower in Maharashtra (862) and Rajasthan (898) than in the remaining states (925–970). The child sex ratio observed in the Youth Study was almost identical to that observed in the 2001 Census in all the states, except Maharashtra, in which it was considerably lower than that observed in the census, suggesting the possibility of a decline in the child sex ratio in last few years.

2.3 Profile of the household population: Marital status

Table 2.4 presents the marital status distribution of the surveyed population, classified by age, residence and sex. A comparison with the marital status distribution as obtained in the 2001 Census (data not shown in tabular form) suggests a similar distribution, except that proportions never married increased somewhat in the period between the Census (2001) and the time of the surveys (2006–08) (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001e). The currently married included both those who had married and cohabited with their spouse as well as those for whom cohabitation had not been initiated, that is, for whom *gauna* had not been performed.

Findings suggest wide gender differences in marriage age distributions, notably between the ages of 15 and 29: of those aged 15–19 years, 4% of males and 26% of females were currently married. This increased to 30% and 76%, respectively, for those aged 20–24 years, and further to 70% and 92%, respectively, for those aged 25–29 years. Patterns were similar for both rural and urban areas, but larger percentages of both males and females were married in each age group up to age 30 in rural versus urban areas.

Table 2.4: Marital status of the surveyed population

Percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by marital status and sex, according to residence

Age (years)	Marital status					
	Male			Female		
	Never married	Currently married[1]	Separated/ divorced/ widowed	Never married	Currently married[1]	Separated/ divorced/ widowed
Combined						
Age						
6–9	99.3	0.4	0.0	99.1	0.6	0.0
10–14	99.0	0.8	0.0	98.3	1.5	0.1
15–19	95.6	4.4	0.1	73.6	26.0	0.3
20–24	69.5	30.1	0.4	22.1	76.3	1.6
25–29	29.3	69.9	0.8	4.9	92.3	2.8
30 and above	2.0	92.9	5.1	0.8	77.0	22.1
Total	**44.4**	**53.1**	**2.5**	**33.3**	**55.8**	**10.9**
Urban						
Age						
6–9	99.3	0.5	0.1	99.3	0.5	0.1
10–14	99.6	0.4	0.0	99.2	0.7	0.0
15–19	98.6	1.4	0.0	86.9	12.8	0.2
20–24	83.3	16.5	0.2	39.6	59.2	1.3
25–29	43.9	55.6	0.5	9.9	87.6	2.5
30 and above	3.4	92.9	3.8	1.5	76.6	21.9
Total	**45.4**	**52.7**	**1.9**	**34.4**	**54.5**	**11.1**

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Table 2.4: (Cont'd)

Age (years)	Marital status					
	Male			Female		
	Never married	Currently married[1]	Separated/ divorced/ widowed	Never married	Currently married[1]	Separated/ divorced/ widowed
Rural						
Age						
6–9	99.3	0.4	0.0	99.1	0.7	0.0
10–14	98.9	1.0	0.0	98.1	1.8	0.1
15–19	94.4	5.6	0.1	68.8	30.8	0.4
20–24	62.8	36.7	0.5	15.0	83.3	1.7
25–29	22.3	76.8	0.9	2.8	94.2	3.0
30 and above	1.4	92.9	5.6	0.5	77.2	22.2
Total	**44.0**	**53.2**	**2.7**	**32.9**	**56.3**	**10.8**

Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Includes both those who are currently married and cohabiting as well as those who have not yet initiated cohabitation.

Table 2.5 provides estimates of the singulate mean age at marriage (see Hajnal, 1953) calculated from the age-specific proportion of never-married individuals obtained in the household survey. As suggested above, the singulate mean age at marriage was considerably higher among the male population compared to the female: 24.6 and 19.7 years, respectively, indicating that women tended to marry men who were an average of 5 years older than themselves. Differences were also observed by rural-urban residence; the singulate mean age at marriage was about three years higher among urban males and females, respectively, compared to their rural counterparts. The singulate mean age at marriage was higher in Maharashtra and the southern states than in the northern states (25–27 years versus 22–24 years among males; 20–22 years versus 18–19 years among females); differences were more notable in rural than urban areas.

Table 2.5: Singulate mean age at marriage of the surveyed population

Singulate mean age at marriage of the surveyed population by sex and state, according to residence

State	SMAM[1] (years)					
	Male			Female		
	Combined	Urban	Rural	Combined	Urban	Rural
Bihar	22.8	26.1	22.3	18.1	20.7	17.8
Jharkhand	23.7	26.2	22.8	18.9	21.3	18.2
Rajasthan	21.9	24.4	21.1	18.5	20.8	17.8
Maharashtra	25.7	26.6	24.9	20.8	21.9	19.8
Andhra Pradesh	24.5	26.2	23.8	19.6	21.0	19.1
Tamil Nadu	27.4	27.9	27.0	21.8	22.4	21.4
Total	**24.6**	**26.6**	**23.7**	**19.7**	**21.7**	**18.9**

Note: [1]Singulate mean age at marriage (for those whose first marriage occurred between the ages of 6 and 55 years)

In order to assess age at marriage among those married more recently, the Youth Study household questionnaire asked specifically about marriages that had taken place in the three years prior to the interview among the household's usual residents at that time. Table 2.6 shows that considerable proportions of both males and females had married before the legal minimum age at marriage. One-third of the females (35%) had married before they were aged 18, that is, the legal minimum age at marriage for females. Likewise, over a quarter of the males (29%) had married before they were 21, the legal minimum age at marriage for males. Rural-urban differences were notable: 41% of rural females compared to 14% of urban females had married before they were 18. Among males, 34% and 12% of respondents in rural and urban areas, respectively, had married before they reached 21. Findings, moreover, indicate that marriages before the legal minimum age at marriage were widespread in the northern states; between one-third and one-half of males (35–53%) and between two-fifths and one-half of females (43–52%) had married before the legal minimum age at marriage. Though not as prevalent as in the northern states, marriages before the legal minimum age at marriage were reported to a considerable extent in Maharashtra (14–16%) and Andhra Pradesh (20–28%) as well. The only exception was Tamil Nadu where just 6–10% of young men and women had married before the legal minimum age at marriage.

Table 2.6: Age at marriage of usual residents of households

Percentage of usual residents of the surveyed households who were married before the legal minimum age at marriage in the three years preceding the interview by state, according to residence

State	Male (married below age 21)			Female (married below age 18)		
	Combined	Urban	Rural	Combined	Urban	Rural
Bihar	43.5	21.7	45.6	52.2	28.0	54.6
Jharkhand	34.6	16.7	39.3	42.7	20.7	48.3
Rajasthan	53.2	26.1	61.0	45.7	19.4	52.3
Maharashtra	13.8	9.2	17.2	15.7	8.1	19.9
Andhra Pradesh	19.9	10.9	22.7	27.6	16.4	31.5
Tamil Nadu	5.9	3.9	7.3	9.5	7.2	11.1
Total	**28.7**	**11.9**	**34.4**	**34.7**	**13.9**	**40.6**

2.4 Profile of the household population: Educational attainment

Table 2.7 shows the percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by educational level and median years of schooling according to sex, age and residence. Over one-third (36%) of the population aged 6 years and above had no formal education. More females than males (47% versus 26%) fell into this group. Rural-urban differences were also wide: one-fifth (19%) of the urban population compared to over two-fifths (43%) of the rural population had never been to school. At the other extreme, 11% of the total population had received 12 or more years of education. Gender and rural-urban differences remained evident: 14% and 7% of males and females, respectively, and 22% and 6% of the urban and rural populations, respectively, had reached this level of education. The median years of schooling was 6 years for males and 2 years for females, and was five years higher in the urban compared to the rural population (8 versus 3 years).

Table 2.7: Educational attainment

Percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by educational level and median years of schooling, according to age, sex and residence

Age (years)	Completed years of schooling (%)				No. of persons	Median years of schooling
	None[1]	1–7	8–11	12 and above		
Combined						
Total						
6–9	38.3	61.5	0.0	0.0	75,491	1.0
10–14	12.5	72.6	14.8	0.0	95,956	5.0
15–19	16.1	21.8	50.0	12.1	83,218	9.0
20–24	23.0	20.0	31.6	25.3	74,278	8.0
25–29	30.0	20.5	29.2	20.2	66,456	7.0
30 and above	51.1	20.1	18.1	10.4	339,265	NC
Total	**36.3**	**31.5**	**21.6**	**10.5**	**734,691**	**4.0**
Male						
6–9	36.8	62.9	0.0	0.0	38,899	1.0
10–14	9.2	75.8	14.9	0.0	50,429	5.0
15–19	9.8	21.5	55.7	13.0	42,302	9.0
20–24	12.1	20.1	36.5	31.2	36,317	9.0
25–29	17.0	20.8	35.4	26.6	32,230	9.0
30 and above	35.5	23.7	25.0	15.5	171,381	5.0
Total	**25.5**	**34.2**	**26.2**	**13.9**	**371,567**	**6.0**
Female						
6–9	39.8	60.0	0.0	0.0	36,592	1.0
10–14	16.1	69.1	14.7	0.0	45,526	5.0
15–19	22.3	22.1	44.4	11.2	40,915	8.0
20–24	33.1	19.8	27.2	19.8	37,961	7.0
25–29	41.5	20.2	23.7	14.5	34,225	5.0
30 and above	66.8	16.6	11.2	5.3	167,877	NC
Total	**47.1**	**28.7**	**16.9**	**7.1**	**363,114**	**2.0**
Urban						
Total						
6–9	25.2	74.7	0.0	0.0	27,408	2.0
10–14	4.5	73.7	21.7	0.0	37,038	6.0
15–19	6.0	15.2	57.3	21.4	35,267	10.0
20–24	8.8	15.9	33.1	42.1	33,028	10.0
25–29	12.7	17.1	33.5	36.6	29,473	10.0
30 and above	27.5	21.3	28.0	22.9	143,575	8.0
Total	**18.9**	**29.9**	**29.3**	**21.7**	**305,798**	**8.0**
Male						
6–9	25.3	74.6	0.0	0.0	14,299	2.0
10–14	4.1	75.3	20.6	0.0	19,423	6.0
15–19	4.8	15.4	59.3	20.4	18,152	10.0
20–24	5.5	15.8	34.4	44.2	16,683	10.0
25–29	7.4	15.7	35.4	41.4	14,654	10.0
30 and above	15.5	20.3	33.2	30.7	73,681	10.0
Total	**12.0**	**29.8**	**32.1**	**26.0**	**156,894**	**9.0**

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Table 2.7: (Cont'd)

Age (years)	Completed years of schooling (%)				No. of persons	Median years of schooling
	None[1]	1–7	8–11	12 and above		
Urban						
Female						
6–9	25.1	74.8	0.0	0.0	13,109	2.0
10–14	4.9	72.1	23.0	0.0	17,615	6.0
15–19	7.2	15.0	55.3	22.5	17,115	10.0
20–24	12.2	16.0	31.8	40.0	16,345	10.0
25–29	17.8	18.4	31.7	32.0	14,818	9.0
30 and above	40.0	22.3	22.7	14.8	69,893	5.0
Total	**26.1**	**30.1**	**26.4**	**17.4**	**148,902**	**7.0**
Rural						
Total						
6–9	41.9	57.8	0.0	0.0	48,083	1.0
10–14	15.0	72.3	12.6	0.0	58,918	5.0
15–19	19.9	24.3	47.2	8.5	47,951	8.0
20–24	29.3	21.8	31.0	17.8	41,250	7.0
25–29	37.8	22.1	27.2	12.7	36,983	5.0
30 and above	60.7	19.7	14.0	5.4	195,690	NC
Total	**43.0**	**32.0**	**18.6**	**6.2**	**428,893**	**3.0**
Male						
6–9	40.1	59.6	0.0	0.0	24,600	1.0
10–14	10.8	75.9	13.2	0.0	31,006	5.0
15–19	11.7	23.8	54.3	10.0	24,150	9.0
20–24	15.3	22.2	37.5	24.9	19,634	9.0
25–29	21.6	23.3	35.5	19.5	17,576	8.0
30 and above	43.7	25.1	21.6	9.3	97,700	4.0
Total	**30.8**	**36.0**	**23.9**	**9.1**	**214,673**	**5.0**
Female						
6–9	43.8	55.9	0.0	0.0	23,483	1.0
10–14	19.6	68.2	12.1	0.0	27,911	5.0
15–19	27.8	24.7	40.4	7.0	23,800	7.0
20–24	41.7	21.4	25.3	11.6	21,616	5.0
25–29	51.6	21.0	20.3	7.0	19,407	NC
30 and above	77.4	14.4	6.6	1.6	97,984	NC
Total	**54.9**	**28.2**	**13.4**	**3.3**	**214,212**	**NC**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of persons in the six states combined. Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. NC: Median cannot be calculated as more than 50% had no formal education. [1]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

2.5 Profile of the household population: Work participation

Table 2.8 presents the percentage distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above who had worked in the seven days prior to the interview, according to sex and residence. While 45% of the total population was reported as working, a considerably larger percentage of males than females (62% and 29%, respectively) and a somewhat larger proportion of the rural than urban population (47% and 40%, respectively) were working. These disparities are attributable to the vast differences in work participation observed among rural and urban females

(34% and 16%, respectively). In comparison, percentages of working males were similar in urban and rural areas (63% and 61%, respectively). A positive association between age and work was observed between the age groups of 10–14 and 25–29: the work participation rate increased from 6% of those aged 10–14, to 30% of those aged 15–19, 52% of those aged 20–24 and 65% of those aged 25–29. Age-specific increases were much sharper among males than females, and among the rural than urban population.

Table 2.8: Work participation

Percentage of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by work participation, according to age, sex and residence

Age (years)	Combined			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
6–9	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.5	0.7
10–14	5.9	6.5	5.4	2.8	3.8	1.6	6.9	7.3	6.5
15–19	29.7	39.7	20.0	20.4	31.4	9.1	33.3	43.0	24.0
20–24	52.2	76.8	29.7	43.6	69.3	17.0	56.1	80.3	34.9
25–29	65.1	94.1	39.7	56.3	92.3	21.8	69.1	94.9	47.2
30 and above	64.3	88.0	40.7	55.1	86.8	22.2	68.0	88.5	47.9
Total	**45.2**	**61.7**	**28.8**	**39.8**	**62.6**	**16.1**	**47.3**	**61.4**	**33.5**

Note: Work participation is defined as reported work activity in the seven days prior to interview.

2.6 Socio-demographic characteristics of households and heads of households

Table 2.9 presents selected characteristics pertaining to households and their heads, according to residence. Findings suggest that heads of households were overwhelmingly male and typically aged 35 years and above with a similar distribution observed for heads of both rural and urban households.

A distribution of the population by religion suggests that 85% of household heads were Hindu, 9% were Muslim and the remaining 6% belonged to other religions. Rural-urban differences suggest that the urban population consisted of a somewhat smaller proportion of Hindus than did the rural population (81% and 87%, respectively). As far as caste was concerned, the largest group belonged to other backward castes (50%), followed by general castes and scheduled castes (21% and 20%, respectively). Scheduled tribes, including the *Vimukta jati* nomadic tribes (VJNT) in Maharashtra and Rajasthan, comprised 8% of household heads. This distribution closely resembles that obtained for the six states in the NFHS-3 (other backward castes, 49%; general castes, 25%; scheduled castes, 18%; scheduled tribes, 8%). Rural-urban differences indicate that the rural population consisted of a somewhat larger proportion of households belonging to scheduled castes and tribes than did the urban population (21% versus 16% of scheduled caste population; 9% versus 3% of scheduled tribe population) and conversely, a smaller proportion of households belonging to general castes (18% versus 30%).

Educational attainment levels suggest that two-fifths of heads of households had no schooling and another one-quarter had only 1–7 years of schooling. Just as the educational distribution differed for the general population, here too, heads of households in urban areas were better educated than their rural counterparts. The vast majority of heads of households reported working in the last seven days (86%), with marginal rural-urban differences.

Households contained an average of 4.7 members, with little rural-urban differences. As far as family type was concerned, 63% of households—65% and 62% in urban and rural areas, respectively—consisted of a nuclear family.

Finally, 76% of households contained at least one literate member aged 18 and above. Rural-urban differences were wide: 91% and 70% of urban and rural households, respectively, contained at least one literate member aged 18 and above. Just half of households, in contrast, contained at least one female aged 18 and above who was literate (51%), ranging from 41% in rural areas to 75% in urban areas.

Table 2.9: Socio-demographic characteristics of households and heads of households

Percent distribution of surveyed households by selected socio-demographic characteristics of heads of households, household size and type of family, according to residence

Socio-demographic characteristics	Combined	Urban	Rural
Sex of household head			
Male	87.5	88.4	87.1
Female	12.5	11.6	12.9
Current age of household head (years)			
Below 25	2.9	2.1	3.2
25–34	17.9	17.2	18.1
35–44	27.6	29.0	27.1
45–54	23.1	24.7	22.5
55 and above	28.5	27.1	29.0
Religion of household head			
Hindu	85.4	80.8	87.1
Muslim	8.8	11.8	7.7
Christian	2.8	3.6	2.4
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	1.5	2.0	1.3
Other[1]	1.5	1.8	1.4
Caste/tribe of household head			
SC	19.5	16.3	20.8
ST[2]	8.1	3.5	9.8
OBC	50.3	49.0	50.8
General[3]	21.3	29.7	18.0
Caste/tribe unknown	0.8	1.5	0.5
Schooling of household head (years)			
None[4]	40.2	19.6	48.2
1–7	24.5	22.5	25.3
8–10	21.0	28.8	18.0
11–12	6.0	10.1	4.3
Above 12	8.0	18.7	3.9
Current work status of household head[5]			
Working	85.5	82.7	86.6
Not working	14.4	17.3	13.3
Number of members in the household			
1	4.1	3.6	4.3
2	11.0	10.3	11.3
3	13.6	15.6	12.9
4	22.7	27.3	21.0
5	19.1	19.3	19.0
6	12.5	10.8	13.2
7 or more	16.9	13.2	18.4
Mean household size	4.7	4.6	4.8
Type of family			
Nuclear	63.0	65.0	62.2
Non-nuclear	37.0	35.0	37.8
Households with at least one literate member aged 18 and above	75.7	91.3	69.6
Households with at least one female literate member aged 18 and above	50.6	74.7	41.2
Number of households	**174,037**	**71,694**	**102,343**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of households in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. [1]Includes Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes Vimukta jati nomadic tribes (VJNT) residing in Maharashtra and Rajasthan. [3]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [4]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling. [5]Defined as reported work activity in the seven days prior to the interview.

2.7 Profile of the household population: Housing characteristics

Table 2.10 provides information on ownership of residence, quality of housing, access to basic amenities and indicators of crowding. Information was obtained from responses to the household questionnaire and, in the case of housing type, interviewer observations.

The vast majority of households (85%) owned the structure in which they resided. More rural than urban households reported owning their residence (93% and 66%, respectively). Overall, interviewers observed that over one-quarter of households (28%) lived in *kachcha* houses (constructed from mud, thatch or other low-quality materials), 34% lived in semi-*pucca* houses (constructed using a mix of low- and high-quality materials) and 38% lived in *pucca* houses (constructed entirely from cement, masonry or other high-quality materials), considerably fewer than that obtained for the six states in the NFHS-3 (51%).

Over half of the residential structures contained 2–3 rooms (55%) and over one-quarter (29%) contained just one room. Somewhat more urban than rural households reported homes with 4 or more rooms (20% versus 14%). The mean number of persons per room was 2.5, with mild rural-urban differences.

Respondents were asked about their household's main source of lighting and drinking water. In addition, information was gathered on toilet facilities typically accessed and cooking fuel generally used. As Table 2.10 shows, two-thirds (68%) of the households had electricity. This compares with 71% for the six states taken together as calculated from data from NFHS-3; urban households were far more likely than rural households to report the use of electricity (94% versus 58%). For the majority of households (88%), the main source of drinking water was either piped water, water obtained from a hand-pump, or a covered well. While not entirely comparable, 90% of households in NFHS-3 in the six states taken together had access to an improved source of drinking water, defined to include piped water, tube-well or borehole, protected well or spring, rainwater or bottled water. These facilities were reported as self-owned for 36% of households, and as public or shared facilities for the remaining 53%. Again, rural-urban differences were marked: while 97% of urban households had access to these safe sources of drinking water, 85% of rural households reported as such.

Access to a toilet facility of any kind was reported by a few—just 36% of households compared to 40% as assessed in NFHS-3 for the six states taken together. Large rural-urban differences were observed: 80% of rural households compared to 21% of urban households had no access to toilet facilities.

Finally, the main source of cooking fuel was coal, charcoal, wood, crop residue or dung cakes, reported by 72% of all households (90% of rural and 26% of urban households). This compares with 68% for the six states taken together as assessed in NFHS-3. Liquid petroleum gas was used, in contrast, by just 23% of households, ranging from 9% in rural areas to 62% in urban areas.

Table 2.11 presents selected socio-demographic and housing characteristics of surveyed households by state and suggests considerable variation among states in many aspects. For example, while mean household size was 4.1 in the southern states, it was above 5 in the northern states (5.3–5.5), with Maharashtra in between (4.8). Households in the southern states and Maharashtra were, moreover, more likely than those in the northern states to report at least one literate member aged 18 or older (73–87% compared to 60–72%), and ranging from 60% in Bihar to 87% in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. The majority of households, irrespective of state, consisted of a nuclear family (59–69%); nonetheless, it is notable that the southern states reported a larger proportion of nuclear families than the other states (68–69% versus 59–60%). Only a minority of households (8–17%) were headed by a female in all the study states and state-wise differences were mild; even so, it is notable that as many as one in six households was headed by a female in Bihar.

Table 2.10: Housing characteristics

Percent distribution of surveyed households by selected housing characteristics, according to residence

Housing characteristics	Combined	Urban	Rural
Ownership of residence			
Yes	85.4	65.6	93.1
No	14.6	34.4	6.9
Type of house			
Kachcha	28.0	8.2	35.7
Semi-*pucca*	34.3	30.3	35.8
Pucca	37.6	61.5	28.4
Number of rooms in the house[1]			
1	29.4	24.4	31.3
2–3	55.0	55.6	54.7
4–5	12.0	16.1	10.4
6 or more	3.3	3.8	3.1
Average number of persons per room			
Up to 2	65.1	72.1	62.4
3–4	22.6	18.6	24.2
5–6	9.1	7.2	9.9
More than 6	2.8	1.9	3.1
Mean number of persons per room	2.5	2.3	2.6
Source of lighting			
Electricity	68.0	94.1	57.8
Kerosene	31.8	5.7	41.9
Other lighting sources[2]	0.2	0.1	0.2
Source of drinking water			
Own piped water/hand-pump/covered well	35.5	58.6	26.6
Public piped water/hand-pump/covered well	52.9	38.3	58.5
Own open well	1.8	0.7	2.3
Public open well	7.0	0.8	9.4
Surface water[3]	1.5	0.2	2.0
Other water sources[4]	1.3	1.5	1.3
Toilet facility			
Own flush toilet	23.8	52.0	12.9
Shared flush toilet	5.9	16.1	2.0
Own pit toilet	5.5	7.9	4.6
Shared pit toilet	1.1	2.6	0.6
Other toilet facility[5]	0.1	0.2	0.1
No toilet facility	63.4	21.2	79.9
Main type of fuel used for cooking			
Liquid petroleum gas	23.4	62.0	8.5
Bio-gas	0.2	0.3	0.2
Kerosene	3.9	11.0	1.1
Wood/crop residue/dung cakes/coal/charcoal	72.1	26.0	90.0
Other types of fuel[6]	0.3	0.7	0.1
Number of households	**174,037**	**71,694**	**102,343**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of households in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Excludes toilets/bathrooms but includes kitchen. [2]Includes oil, gas, etc. [3]Includes water of a spring, river, stream, pond, lake or dam. [4]Includes rain water and tanker truck. [5]Includes twin pit/composting and dry toilets. [6]Includes electricity, straw, shrubs and grass.

With regard to the availability of household amenities such as electricity, piped water and gas connections, findings suggest that the northern states, especially Bihar and Jharkhand were comparatively worse off than Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, while 80–92% of households in Maharashtra and the southern states reported the use of electricity, just 67% in Rajasthan and even fewer—37% and 14% in Jharkhand and Bihar, respectively, reported so. Differences were somewhat mild with regard to availability of piped water; over 80% of households in all states, except Jharkhand, had access to piped water. In Jharkhand, just 54% of households reported as such. Cooking fuel was rarely liquid petroleum gas, irrespective of state: even so, while 27–38% of households in Maharashtra and the southern states reported gas connection, just 5–17% of households in the northern states reported so. Urban households in all the states were more likely than rural households to report the availability of these amenities. Moreover, state-wise differences were more pronounced in rural than urban settings.

Table 2.11: Selected socio-demographic and housing characteristics of surveyed households

Percentage of surveyed households by selected socio-demographic and housing characteristics and state, according to residence

State	Household size (mean)	Nuclear family (%)	At least one literate member aged 18 and above (%)	Households headed by female (%)	Households		
					With electricity (%)	With piped water (%)	Using LPG (%)
Combined							
Bihar	5.5	59.1	59.6	16.6	13.9	93.2	5.3
Jharkhand	5.3	59.7	69.9	9.5	37.2	54.1	9.2
Rajasthan	5.4	59.5	71.5	7.8	66.6	83.2	17.1
Maharashtra	4.8	59.5	87.1	10.9	79.8	85.1	38.3
Andhra Pradesh	4.1	67.9	72.8	13.1	91.6	94.5	27.2
Tamil Nadu	4.1	69.0	86.9	14.0	90.9	96.0	32.1
Total	**4.7**	**63.0**	**75.7**	**12.5**	**68.0**	**88.4**	**23.4**
Urban							
Bihar	5.7	55.9	84.9	10.5	71.2	96.5	47.4
Jharkhand	5.2	57.8	89.8	8.0	87.3	80.1	37.5
Rajasthan	5.3	59.9	89.0	8.2	95.0	98.2	61.5
Maharashtra	4.8	62.3	94.1	11.5	96.3	98.7	73.2
Andhra Pradesh	4.1	70.3	88.5	12.7	97.2	97.0	66.9
Tamil Nadu	4.1	69.2	92.2	12.9	95.1	96.5	53.3
Total	**4.6**	**65.0**	**91.3**	**11.6**	**94.1**	**96.9**	**62.0**
Rural							
Bihar	5.4	59.4	57.2	17.1	8.5	92.9	1.4
Jharkhand	5.4	60.2	64.5	9.9	23.7	47.1	1.6
Rajasthan	5.4	59.3	66.4	7.7	58.3	78.7	4.1
Maharashtra	4.9	57.4	81.7	10.4	67.2	74.6	11.5
Andhra Pradesh	4.0	67.0	67.2	13.3	89.6	93.5	13.1
Tamil Nadu	4.1	68.8	82.7	14.9	87.5	95.7	15.3
Total	**4.8**	**62.2**	**69.6**	**12.9**	**57.8**	**85.1**	**8.5**

Note: Unweighted number of households in the six states combined—Total: 174,037; Urban: 71,694; Rural: 102,343.

2.8 Profile of the household population: Overall economic status

Household economic status was measured using a wealth index composed of household asset data on ownership of selected durable goods, including means of transportation, as well as data on access to a number of amenities. The wealth index was constructed by allocating the following scores to a household's reported assets or amenities:

Type of house: 2 for *pucca*; 1 for semi-*pucca*; 0 for *kachcha*
Agricultural land owned: 4 for more than 10 acres; 3 for 5.1–10.0 acres; 2 for 2.6–5.0 acres; 1 for less than 2.6 acres, or if the household owns some land but does not know how much; 0 for no land
Irrigated land owned: 1 for any irrigated land; 0 for no land
Access to toilet facility: 4 for own flush toilet; 2 for shared flush toilet or own pit toilet; 1 for shared pit toilet or other types of toilet; 0 for no toilet facility
Cooking fuel used: 2 for liquid petroleum gas, electricity or bio-gas; 1 for kerosene, wood, crop residue, dung cakes, coal or charcoal; 0 for other types of cooking fuel, for example, straw, shrubs or grass
Access to drinking water facility: 4 for own piped water, hand-pump or covered well; 3 for own open well; 2 for public or shared piped water, hand-pump or covered well; 1 for public or shared open well; 0 for other sources of drinking water, for example, surface water, tanker/truck or rainwater
Access to electricity: 3 for electricity; 0 for no electricity
Ownership of household assets: 4 for car or truck; 3 each for motorcycle or scooter, refrigerator, computer/laptop, telephone (landline or mobile), colour television; 2 each for bicycle, electric fan, radio or transistor, black and white television, sewing machine, water pump, animal-drawn cart; 1 for watch or clock; 0 for each of the above items that the household does not possess.

Index scores, so constructed, ranged from 0 to 54. Households were then ranked according to the index score. This ranked sample was divided into quintiles—i.e., five groups, each containing an equal number of households—with the first quintile representing households of the lowest (poorest) wealth status and the fifth quintile representing households with the highest (wealthiest) status. In the Youth Study state reports, wealth quintiles were developed on the basis of the weighted sample for the whole state; in this report, wealth quintiles were developed on the basis, similarly, of the weighted sample for the six states combined. Hence wealth quintile distributions reported in this report and individual state reports differ.

Findings are presented in Table 2.12. As far as ownership of household assets was concerned, the items most likely to be owned were a watch or clock (76%), an electric fan (56%) and a bicycle (44%). Other items owned by one-fifth or more of all households included a radio (23%), a colour television set (25%), or a telephone (24%). Wide rural-urban differences were observed, with rural households far less likely than urban households to report ownership of most items. For example, while 90% of urban households owned an electric fan, just 43% of rural households did; and while 56% of urban households owned a colour television set, just 13% of rural households did. As many as 16% of households did not own a single item; again, this proportion was considerably higher among rural than urban households (21% and 3%, respectively).

The distribution of households by wealth quintiles shows that over two-fifths (45%) of the urban households were in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile; in contrast, only one-tenth (10%) of rural households were in this quintile. Likewise, one-quarter of rural households were in the poorest (first) quintile of the index compared to only 4% of urban households.

Table 2.13 presents the distribution of households in each state by wealth quintile. Findings highlight that poverty levels were higher in Bihar and Jharkhand than in any of the other states. For example, two in five households in these states (39–44%) fell into the poorest (first) quintile compared to 8–18% of those in the other states. At the other extreme, just 7–11% of households in Bihar and Jharkhand were in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile, compared to 19% of those in Andhra Pradesh and 26% of those in the remaining three states. These state-wise differences were particularly wide in rural areas.

Table 2.12: Household assets and wealth status

Percentage of surveyed households owning selected household assets and percent distribution of households by wealth quintile, according to residence

Housing characteristics	Combined	Urban	Rural
Assets owned			
Watch/clock	76.1	92.5	69.7
Electric fan	56.1	89.5	43.1
Bicycle	43.7	48.7	41.8
Radio and/or transistor	22.8	36.7	17.4
Colour television	24.8	56.0	12.7
B/W television	17.1	19.5	16.1
Telephone (landline/mobile)	24.2	48.7	14.6
Refrigerator	11.1	31.1	3.3
Motorcycle/scooter	15.9	32.4	9.5
Sewing machine	11.9	21.4	8.3
Animal-drawn cart	4.2	0.6	5.6
Water pump	9.3	12.2	8.1
Personal computer/laptop	2.1	6.8	0.2
Car/truck	1.7	4.6	0.5
Tractor	1.1	0.4	1.4
Thresher	0.6	0.2	0.7
None of the above	15.7	3.0	20.5
Wealth quintile			
First	20.0	4.3	26.1
Second	20.0	6.9	25.1
Third	20.0	15.5	21.7
Fourth	20.0	28.0	16.9
Fifth	20.0	45.3	10.2
Number of households	**174,037**	**71,694**	**102,343**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of households in the six states combined.

2.9 Profile of surveyed youth: Background characteristics

A total of 50,848 youth were interviewed. Table 2.14 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of surveyed youth. Age profiles suggest that a somewhat larger proportion of young men and women were concentrated in the 15–19 than in the 20–24 age group (52–53% compared to 47–48%). Moreover, the unmarried were clearly younger than the married; while 78% of unmarried young women were aged 15–19, only 31% of married women fell into these ages. Gender differences were also wide. Among married young women, almost one-third (31%) were between 15 and 19 years of age and 69% were aged 20–24; in contrast, few married young men were between the ages of 15 and 19 (5% of all respondents aged 15–29 and 17% of those aged 15–24). Among the unmarried too, gender differences were wide; more young women than men were concentrated in the 15–19 age group (78% and 63%, respectively). Rural-urban differences were also apparent, with rural respondents more likely to be in the younger age group than urban respondents; gender differences observed among the married and the unmarried samples remained pronounced in both rural and urban areas.

Table 2.13: Wealth status of surveyed households in each state

Percent distribution of households by wealth quintile and state, according to residence

State	Wealth quintile					Total
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	
Combined						
Bihar	43.8	28.7	13.0	7.8	6.7	100.0
Jharkhand	39.3	25.1	16.1	8.8	10.7	100.0
Rajasthan	15.2	18.8	18.2	22.0	25.9	100.0
Maharashtra	18.0	14.6	19.3	22.4	25.7	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	10.0	19.2	25.4	26.0	19.4	100.0
Tamil Nadu	8.3	18.3	23.7	24.1	25.7	100.0
Total	**20.0**	**20.0**	**20.0**	**20.0**	**20.0**	**100.0**
Urban						
Bihar	12.0	11.0	19.5	23.0	34.4	100.0
Jharkhand	8.7	9.8	19.9	21.3	40.3	100.0
Rajasthan	2.2	4.7	9.4	24.4	59.4	100.0
Maharashtra	4.0	4.4	12.9	30.6	48.1	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	3.1	6.6	15.8	31.2	43.2	100.0
Tamil Nadu	4.1	9.5	18.7	26.2	41.4	100.0
Total	**4.3**	**6.9**	**15.5**	**28.0**	**45.3**	**100.0**
Rural						
Bihar	46.9	30.4	12.3	6.4	4.0	100.0
Jharkhand	46.9	28.9	15.2	5.7	3.4	100.0
Rajasthan	18.9	22.8	20.7	21.3	16.3	100.0
Maharashtra	27.4	21.3	23.6	16.9	10.8	100.0
Andhra Pradesh	12.0	23.0	28.2	24.4	12.3	100.0
Tamil Nadu	11.6	25.3	27.7	22.3	13.0	100.0
Total	**26.1**	**25.1**	**21.7**	**16.9**	**10.2**	**100.0**

Note: Unweighted number of households in the six states combined—Total: 174,037; Urban: 71,694; Rural: 102,343. Wealth quintiles were developed on the basis of the weighted sample for the six states combined; as such they differ from those reported in state reports in which wealth quintiles were developed on the basis of the weighted sample for that state only.

The distribution of youth by religion was fairly similar to that observed in the household population: 83–85% of youth were Hindu, 10% were Muslim and 5–7% belonged to other religions. Differences by marital status were negligible. Rural-urban differences were evident: youth in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to be Hindu (86–88% versus 76–80%) and conversely, less likely to be Muslim (8% versus 15%).

Caste-wise distributions were generally similar among young men and women, with about half (49–50%) falling into other backward castes, 20–21% into scheduled castes, 7–9% into scheduled tribes and 21% into general castes. Differences by marital status show that somewhat more unmarried than married youth belonged to general castes (23–25% versus 17–18%); other differences were mild. Rural-urban differences were also evident; urban youth were more likely than rural youth to belong to general castes (29–30% versus 18%) and conversely, less likely to belong to scheduled tribes (4% versus 8–12%).

Table 2.14: Background characteristics of surveyed youth

Percent distribution of surveyed youth by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	Men (M)[4] 15–24		Women (W)[4] 15–24		Married men (MM)[4] 15–29		Married women (MW)[4] 15–24		Unmarried men (UM)[4] 15–24		Unmarried women (UW)[4] 15–24	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Combined												
Age (years)												
15–19	53.0	7,457	52.2	17,584	4.8	321	30.7	3,912	63.0	7,136	78.2	13,672
20–24	47.0	6,824	47.8	13,690	31.3	2,438	69.3	10,000	37.0	4,386	21.8	3,690
25–29	NA	NA	NA	NA	63.8	5,293	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	85.3	12,028	83.4	25,356	86.5	6,878	85.1	11,488	84.9	9,658	81.5	13,868
Muslim	9.9	1,529	10.0	3,746	9.4	803	9.5	1,611	10.0	1,250	10.5	2,135
Christian	1.9	258	3.0	898	1.8	144	2.6	334	2.0	219	3.5	564
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	1.6	128	2.0	386	1.2	61	1.5	157	1.7	108	2.4	229
Other[1]	1.3	338	1.6	871	1.2	166	1.2	313	1.4	287	2.0	558
Caste												
SC	19.7	2,616	20.6	5,961	22.5	1,671	21.5	2,825	18.4	1,978	19.6	3,136
ST/VJNT	9.4	1,293	7.1	2,462	11.6	920	7.4	1,170	8.4	924	6.8	1,292
OBC	48.8	7,038	50.3	16,049	48.6	4,119	52.1	7,411	49.0	5,665	48.2	8,638
General[2]	21.3	3,237	21.2	6,641	16.7	1,313	18.1	2,420	23.3	2,869	24.6	4,221
No caste/do not know	0.8	97	0.8	161	0.5	29	0.9	86	0.9	86	0.7	75
Educational level (years)												
None[3]	8.4	1,114	25.2	6,857	18.8	1,319	38.1	4,765	5.6	624	10.3	2,092
1–7	23.0	3,067	24.4	7,546	30.2	2,380	27.8	3,825	20.2	2,159	20.6	3,721
8–11	49.1	6,974	36.1	11,797	35.4	2,902	26.3	3,959	52.9	5,966	47.9	7,838
12 and above	19.4	3,125	14.3	5,074	15.6	1,451	7.9	1,363	21.4	2,772	21.2	3,711
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	67.6	9,111	40.0	11,104	96.8	7,777	43.2	5,113	60.8	6,531	36.9	5,991
No	32.2	5,155	59.9	20,158	3.0	262	56.7	8,792	39.1	4,979	63.1	11,366
Wealth quintile												
First	12.3	1,301	16.7	4,328	17.7	1,071	20.8	2,339	10.6	894	12.3	1,989
Second	18.8	2,132	18.2	5,085	20.1	1,367	20.8	2,525	17.7	1,558	15.6	2,560
Third	20.8	2,783	20.8	6,359	21.5	1,737	21.3	3,007	20.6	2,174	20.5	3,352
Fourth	25.1	3,706	22.2	7,129	22.9	1,973	20.9	3,148	25.7	3,044	23.6	3,981
Fifth	22.9	4,359	22.0	8,373	17.9	1,904	16.2	2,893	25.3	3,852	27.9	5,480
Total	**100.0**	**14,281**	**100.0**	**31,274**	**100.0**	**8,052**	**100.0**	**13,912**	**100.0**	**11,522**	**100.0**	**17,362**
Urban												
Age (years)												
15–19	48.4	3,769	48.6	7,084	1.2	65	19.1	1,307	54.7	3,704	68.6	5,777
20–24	51.6	3,714	51.4	6,892	26.3	983	80.9	4,643	45.3	2,731	31.4	2,249
25–29	NA	NA	NA	NA	72.5	2,542	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	79.7	6,072	76.3	10,750	79.9	2,952	76.1	4,599	79.7	5,216	76.5	6,151
Muslim	14.9	1,039	14.9	2,246	15.2	489	16.2	975	14.7	881	14.1	1,271
Christian	2.1	129	3.9	423	1.7	55	3.3	155	2.2	118	4.4	268
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	1.9	68	3.4	224	1.8	26	3.5	97	1.7	58	3.4	127
Other[1]	1.4	175	1.4	331	1.4	68	0.9	123	1.6	162	1.7	208
Caste												
SC	16.6	1,174	19.5	2,369	18.1	649	19.5	1,084	16.0	951	19.5	1,285
ST/VJNT	4.2	378	4.1	685	4.9	188	4.5	310	4.2	332	3.9	375
OBC	47.8	3,645	46.6	7,040	47.6	1,926	49.0	3,177	48.0	3,083	45.0	3,863
General[2]	29.8	2,220	28.5	3,800	28.0	809	25.5	1,342	30.1	2,006	30.5	2,458
No caste/do not know	1.6	66	1.2	82	1.4	18	1.4	37	1.7	63	1.2	45

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Table 2.14: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	Men (M)[4] 15–24		Women (W)[4] 15–24		Married men (MM)[4] 15–29		Married women (MW)[4] 15–24		Unmarried men (UM)[4] 15–24		Unmarried women (UW)[4] 15–24	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Urban												
Educational level (years)												
None[3]	3.7	405	8.6	1,875	8.6	411	16.1	1,373	2.6	259	3.6	502
1–7	17.1	1,337	18.5	2,790	27.1	950	26.6	1,558	14.9	1,010	13.0	1,232
8–11	49.5	3,621	44.0	5,761	39.1	1,343	38.4	2,057	50.8	3,214	47.8	3,704
12 and above	29.8	2,120	28.9	3,550	25.2	886	18.9	962	31.7	1,952	35.6	2,588
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	59.3	4,379	20.7	2,834	98.2	3,483	17.4	1,070	54.1	3,402	22.9	1,764
No	40.5	3,098	79.3	11,137	1.6	103	82.6	4,878	45.8	3,027	77.0	6,259
Wealth quintile												
First	2.6	266	3.3	679	4.2	202	4.3	406	2.2	190	2.6	273
Second	6.2	527	6.2	1,029	8.0	329	8.8	602	5.5	398	4.4	427
Third	14.5	1,167	15.6	2,351	18.4	691	18.8	1,194	13.6	936	13.5	1,157
Fourth	30.4	2,118	29.9	3,798	31.4	1,025	32.7	1,712	30.2	1,825	28.0	2,086
Fifth	46.3	3,405	45.0	6,119	38.1	1,343	35.4	2,036	48.6	3,086	51.5	4,083
Total	**100.0**	**7,483**	**100.0**	**13,976**	**100.0**	**3,590**	**100.0**	**5,950**	**100.0**	**6,435**	**100.0**	**8,026**
Rural												
Age (years)												
15–19	54.9	3,688	53.7	10,500	5.9	256	34.0	2,605	67.2	3,432	83.5	7,895
20–24	45.1	3,110	46.3	6,798	32.9	1,455	66.0	5,357	32.8	1,655	16.5	1,441
25–29	NA	NA	NA	NA	61.1	2,751	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	87.8	5,956	86.3	14,606	88.6	3,926	87.7	6,889	87.5	4,442	84.2	7,717
Muslim	7.8	490	8.0	1,500	7.6	314	7.6	636	7.7	369	8.5	864
Christian	1.7	129	2.6	475	1.8	89	2.3	179	1.8	101	3.1	296
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	1.4	60	1.4	162	1.0	35	1.0	60	1.7	50	1.9	102
Other[1]	1.3	163	1.6	540	1.1	98	1.2	190	1.3	125	2.2	350
Caste												
SC	21.0	1,442	21.1	3,592	23.9	1,022	22.1	1,741	19.5	1,027	19.7	1,851
ST/VJNT	11.7	915	8.3	1,777	13.7	732	8.2	860	10.5	592	8.5	917
OBC	49.2	3,393	51.8	9,009	48.9	2,193	53.0	4,234	49.5	2,582	49.9	4,775
General[2]	17.6	1,017	18.1	2,841	13.2	504	16.0	1,078	19.9	863	21.4	1,763
No caste/do not know	0.5	31	0.6	79	0.3	11	0.7	49	0.5	23	0.5	30
Educational level (years)												
None[3]	10.5	709	32.2	4,982	22.0	908	44.3	3,392	7.1	365	13.9	1,590
1–7	25.6	1,730	26.8	4,756	31.2	1,430	28.2	2,267	22.8	1,149	24.8	2,489
8–11	49.0	3,353	32.8	6,036	34.3	1,559	22.8	1,902	53.9	2,752	47.9	4,134
12 and above	14.9	1,005	8.2	1,524	12.5	565	4.7	401	16.3	820	13.3	1,123
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	71.2	4,732	48.1	8,270	96.4	4,294	50.5	4,043	64.1	3,129	44.6	4,227
No	28.6	2,057	51.8	9,021	3.4	159	49.5	3,914	35.7	1,952	55.4	5,107
Wealth quintile												
First	16.6	1,035	22.4	3,649	21.9	869	25.4	1,933	14.8	704	17.7	1,716
Second	24.3	1,605	23.3	4,056	23.9	1,038	24.2	1,923	23.8	1,160	21.8	2,133
Third	23.6	1,616	22.9	4,008	22.5	1,046	22.0	1,813	24.2	1,238	24.4	2,195
Fourth	22.8	1,588	19.0	3,331	20.2	948	17.6	1,436	23.5	1,219	21.2	1,895
Fifth	12.8	954	12.4	2,254	11.5	561	10.8	857	13.7	766	14.9	1,397
Total	**100.0**	**6,798**	**100.0**	**17,298**	**100.0**	**4,462**	**100.0**	**7,962**	**100.0**	**5,087**	**100.0**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling. [4]These abbreviations have been used in subsequent tables in this report.

Educational distributions suggest that youth were better educated than the population at large. Even so, levels of educational attainment were low. In total, 8% of young men and 25% of young women had no formal education (compared to 26% and 47%, respectively, of the overall population described in Table 2.7) and just 19% and 14%, respectively, had 12 or more years of education (compared to 14% and 7%, respectively, of the overall population). As seen above, gender differences were wide, with young women far more likely than young men to be concentrated among the uneducated. Differences were also evident by marital status and rural-urban residence. Among married youth, for example, as many as 19% of young men and twice as many (38%) young women had no formal education, and just 16% and 8%, respectively had attained 12 or more years of education. The unmarried were typically better educated than the married: 6% of young men and 10% of young women had no formal education, and 21% had 12 or more years of education. Urban youth were generally better educated than rural youth: for example, 4% and 9% of young men and women in urban areas had no formal education compared to 11% and 32% of rural young men and women, respectively. Similarly, 29-30% of urban youth had completed 12 or more years of education compared to 15% and 8% of rural young men and women, respectively.

Gender differences were evident with regard to work status: 68% of young men compared to 40% of young women had ever worked in paid or unpaid activities in the 12 months preceding the interview. Married youth were typically more likely to be engaged in work activities than the unmarried: while 97% of married young men had worked in the year preceding the interview, 61% of unmarried young men had done so, and among young women, correspondingly, 43% and 37%. Evidence also showed that rural youth, were more likely to be engaged in work activities than were urban youth: while 71% and 59% of rural and urban young men, respectively, reported working in the year preceding the interview, 48% and 21%, respectively, of young women reported thus. These findings suggest, moreover, that gender differences were clearly wider in urban than in rural areas.

Household economic status distributions, as measured by wealth quintiles, were generally similar for young men and women. The married were generally more likely to be concentrated in households in the poorer quintiles than were the unmarried. For example, 18–21% of married youth fell into households in the poorest (first) quintile, compared to 11–12% of the unmarried; conversely, 16–18% of married youth fell into households in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile, compared to 25–28% of unmarried youth. Rural-urban differences were wide, with rural youth more likely than their urban counterparts to belong to households in the poorest quintile (17–22% versus 3%); conversely, more urban than rural youth belonged to households in the wealthiest quintile (45–46% versus 12–13%).

2.10 Profile of surveyed youth: Parental characteristics

The Youth Study inquired about the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents' parents, including their survival status, education and occupation. Findings, presented in Table 2.15, suggest that among 84–85% of young men and women, both parents were surviving. Married youth were less likely than the unmarried to report that both parents were alive (72–80% compared to 87–88%), clearly a function of the fact that married youth were typically older than unmarried youth. Rural-urban differences were negligible. For those with just one parent surviving, this parent was more likely to be the mother (11%) than the father (3–4%). Finally, 1–2% reported that neither parent was alive.

Parents' educational attainment was considerably lower than that of youth respondents. For example, the median number of years of education completed by fathers of young men and women was 5 years. Fathers of unmarried respondents were generally better educated than fathers of married respondents; while fathers of unmarried young men had an average of 5 years of schooling, the majority of fathers of married young men had never been to school. Likewise, fathers of unmarried young women had an average of 7 years of schooling compared to 2 years among fathers of married young women. Rural-urban differences were wide with regard to paternal education, with fathers of rural youth having completed a median of 3 years compared to 8 years among fathers of urban youth. Maternal education levels were lower than those of fathers, with mothers of over half of both young men and women, irrespective of marital status, having no formal education. Rural-urban differences were notable: while

Table 2.15: Parental characteristics of surveyed youth

Percent distribution of surveyed youth by selected parental characteristics, according to residence

Parental characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Survival status						
Both parents dead	1.1	1.6	3.7	2.4	0.8	0.8
Only father alive	2.7	3.7	5.9	4.8	2.2	2.3
Only mother alive	11.0	11.2	18.0	13.2	10.3	8.7
Both parents alive	85.2	83.5	72.3	79.6	86.7	88.2
Educational attainment level						
Median years of schooling of father	5.0	5.0	NC	2.0	5.0	7.0
Median years of schooling of mother	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC
Current/last occupational status of father						
Cultivator	23.5	23.8	29.4	29.2	21.2	18.0
Agricultural labourer	22.0	22.8	25.7	24.2	21.6	22.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	8.1	8.2	5.3	5.4	9.1	11.1
Business	5.9	6.0	4.3	4.6	6.3	7.5
Skilled manual/machinery	18.6	18.2	14.1	16.5	19.9	19.8
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	20.1	19.0	19.2	18.2	20.1	19.4
Other	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.9
Never worked	0.5	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.5	0.7
Current/last occupational status of mother						
Cultivator	12.2	18.6	14.5	23.4	10.7	13.4
Agricultural labourer	19.1	23.8	20.4	26.0	18.8	22.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	1.2	1.7	0.7	0.8	1.4	2.7
Business	0.5	0.9	0.4	0.8	0.6	1.0
Skilled manual/machinery	2.7	4.1	1.8	3.3	3.0	5.1
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	6.8	6.9	7.5	6.8	6.4	6.8
Other	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Housewife/never worked	57.1	43.6	54.4	38.5	58.9	48.6
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Survival status						
Both parents dead	1.0	1.5	4.1	2.7	0.9	0.7
Only father alive	2.3	2.6	4.9	4.0	2.1	1.7
Only mother alive	12.1	11.5	21.3	14.6	11.3	9.4
Both parents alive	84.5	84.4	69.7	78.7	85.7	88.2
Educational attainment level						
Median years of schooling of father	8.0	8.0	4.7	6.0	9.0	9.0
Median years of schooling of mother	4.0	4.0	NC	NC	5.0	5.0
Current/last occupational status of father						
Cultivator	6.3	8.0	13.1	14.7	5.5	3.4
Agricultural labourer	5.0	7.4	10.5	10.8	4.7	5.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	16.2	15.5	10.1	9.9	17.1	19.3

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Table 2.15: (Cont'd)

Parental characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Business	11.1	10.9	8.8	9.3	11.5	12.1
Skilled manual/machinery	31.7	27.7	26.6	25.8	32.5	29.0
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	27.0	27.4	28.2	26.4	26.0	28.1
Other	1.3	1.6	1.1	1.5	1.4	1.7
Never worked	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8	0.7	0.9
Current/last occupational status of mother						
Cultivator	2.0	4.7	4.4	9.2	1.6	1.6
Agricultural labourer	2.8	5.2	4.9	8.6	2.7	2.9
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	2.7	3.5	1.2	1.5	3.0	4.9
Business	0.9	1.5	0.7	1.7	0.9	1.4
Skilled manual/machinery	4.1	6.6	3.1	5.9	4.2	7.0
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	8.5	11.3	9.0	11.3	7.9	11.3
Other	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
Housewife/never worked	78.6	66.8	76.5	61.5	79.4	70.5
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Survival status						
Both parents dead	1.1	1.7	3.6	2.3	0.8	0.8
Only father alive	2.9	4.1	6.2	5.1	2.2	2.6
Only mother alive	10.5	11.0	17.0	12.8	9.8	8.3
Both parents alive	85.5	83.2	73.2	79.9	87.1	88.2
Educational attainment level						
Median years of schooling of father	3.0	3.0	NC	NC	4.0	5.0
Median years of schooling of mother	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC
Current/last occupational status of father						
Cultivator	31.0	30.4	34.5	33.3	29.0	26.0
Agricultural labourer	29.4	29.3	30.5	28.0	30.0	31.3
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	4.6	5.2	3.8	4.2	5.2	6.7
Business	3.6	4.0	2.9	3.3	3.7	5.0
Skilled manual/machinery	12.9	14.2	10.1	13.9	13.7	14.8
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	17.1	15.4	16.3	15.9	17.1	14.7
Other	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.6	0.4
Never worked	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.6
Current/last occupational status of mother						
Cultivator	16.7	24.4	17.6	27.3	15.3	19.9
Agricultural labourer	26.2	31.6	25.3	30.9	26.8	32.6
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	0.6	0.9	0.5	0.6	0.6	1.4
Business	0.4	0.7	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.8
Skilled manual/machinery	2.1	3.1	1.4	2.5	2.4	4.0
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	6.0	5.0	7.0	5.5	5.7	4.3
Other	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2
Housewife/never worked	47.7	33.8	47.4	32.1	48.6	36.5
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. NC: Not calculated, as more than 50% had no formal education.

mothers of urban youth had an average of 4 years of schooling, mothers of over half of rural youth had never been to school. Differences in educational attainment of fathers (and mothers in urban areas) by marital status of youth may be attributed to the fact that the better educated may be more likely than the poorly educated to delay the marriages of their children.

The Youth Study also inquired about the current or last main occupation of the respondents' parents. Distributions of occupational status suggest that fathers of one-quarter (24%) of youth were working on their own farms, compared to mothers of 12–19% of youth. Roughly similar proportions of fathers (22–23%) and mothers (19–24%) were agricultural labourers. Some 18–19% of fathers and fewer mothers (3–4%) were engaged in skilled manual occupations, and one-fifth of fathers (19–20%) and 7% of mothers were unskilled non-agricultural labourers. About one-tenth of fathers (8%) and 1–2% of mothers were in administrative, executive, managerial or clerical occupations, and 6% of fathers and less than 1% of mothers were engaged in their own business. Finally, mothers of 57% and 44% of young men and women, respectively, were housewives; just a handful of fathers (less than 1%) had never worked. Differences by marital status were evident: parents of married youth were considerably more likely to have been engaged in agricultural activities. Additionally, fathers of married youth were somewhat less likely than fathers of the unmarried to have been engaged in skilled manual occupations and administrative, executive, managerial or clerical occupations. Similarly, mothers of married youth were more likely than mothers of unmarried youth to be working in agricultural occupations and conversely, less likely to be housewives. Rural-urban differences were also evident. While rural parents were largely cultivators and agricultural labourers, urban parents, especially fathers, were more likely to be concentrated in administrative, executive, managerial or clerical occupations, business, skilled manual occupations and unskilled non-agricultural activities, and in the case of mothers, in housework. The finding that considerably larger percentages of parents of married compared to unmarried young women in urban settings were in agricultural occupations may be attributed to in-migration into urban areas by married young women.

Chapter 3

Education

Young people in India are spending more of their adolescent years acquiring an education than ever before. Educational attainment levels have increased, the percentage that has never been to school has declined and gender differences in educational attainment levels have diminished (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001f). This does not mean, however, that schooling is universal or that gender differences are no longer a concern. Attainment of primary school education is still far from universal, especially among girls; differences by caste, religion, region and poverty levels persist, and the quality of education varies widely among different sub-groups of youth. This chapter examines the schooling experiences of youth in terms of educational attainment, quality of schools and colleges attended, and socio-economic differences in the type and quality of education experienced.

3.1 Educational attainment

The Youth Study obtained information on whether the respondent had ever been to school and, if so, the number of years of schooling successfully completed. Current schooling status was also assessed, and a Life Event Calendar inquired about the schooling status of all respondents from the time they were aged 12 onward.

Findings presented in Table 3.1 highlight that schooling was far from universal among young people, particularly young women: 8% of young men and three times as many (25%) young women had never been to school. Differences by marital status were also evident. Among young men, 6% of the unmarried compared to 19% of the married had no formal education. Differences were much wider among young women: 10% of unmarried young women compared to almost four times as many (38%) married young women had never been to school. As expected, a larger percentage of rural than urban youth had never attended school (11% versus 4% among young men and 32% versus 9% among young women).

The average number of years of education attained by youth differed by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence. Young men, on average, had an additional year of schooling than young women (9 versus 8). Among young men, the unmarried had 1 more year of schooling than the married (9 versus 8); the corresponding difference among young women was 4 years (9 versus 5). Rural-urban differences suggest that urban young men typically had 1 more year of schooling than their rural counterparts (10 versus 9); the corresponding difference among young women was 3 years (9 versus 6). Similar differences were evident in terms of the proportion who had completed high school (Class 10). Young men were more likely than young women to have completed high school (42% versus 30%). Married youth, particularly young women, were considerably less likely than the unmarried to have completed high school (30% and 46%, respectively, among young men; 18% and 43%, respectively, among young women). We note that disparities by marital status may be wider than what is reflected here because the unmarried were younger and more likely to be pursuing their education at the time of interview. Rural youth were considerably less likely than urban youth to have completed high school (37% and 55%, respectively, among young men; 22% and 50% respectively, among young women); the wide disparities observed among young women were evident among both the married and the unmarried (13% versus 35% among the married; 34% versus 60% among the unmarried).

At the time of the interview, 39% of young men compared to 22% of young women were in school or college. These gender differences disappeared when the married and the unmarried were considered separately: 47% and

45% of unmarried young men and women were currently studying, compared to 3% each of married young men and women. While rural-urban differences were negligible among the married, among the unmarried, urban young men were slightly more likely (50% versus 46%) and young women were considerably more likely (56% versus 39%) to be studying at the time of the interview than their rural counterparts.

Table 3.1: Educational attainment and current educational status

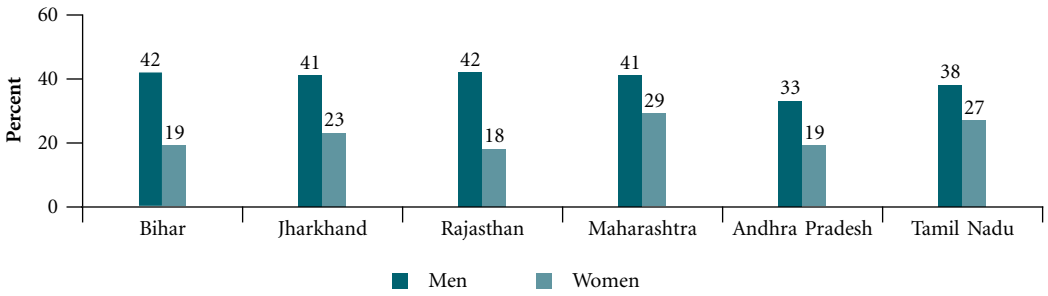
Percent distribution of youth by years of schooling successfully completed, median years of schooling and percentage currently in school or college, according to residence

Schooling status	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Completed years of schooling						
None[1]	8.4	25.2	18.8	38.1	5.6	10.3
1–4	6.2	7.1	10.4	8.5	5.1	5.7
5–7	16.8	17.2	19.8	19.3	15.1	14.9
8–9	26.7	20.5	20.8	15.9	27.9	26.1
10–11	22.5	15.6	14.6	10.4	24.9	21.7
12 and above	19.4	14.3	15.6	7.9	21.4	21.2
Median years of schooling	9.0	8.0	8.0	5.0	9.0	9.0
Currently in school/college	39.2	22.4	3.4	2.9	47.4	45.2
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Completed years of schooling						
None[1]	3.7	8.6	8.6	16.1	2.6	3.6
1–4	4.0	4.2	8.4	6.4	3.0	2.7
5–7	13.1	14.3	18.7	20.2	11.9	10.3
8–9	24.8	22.8	22.4	22.2	24.8	23.3
10–11	24.7	21.1	16.6	16.2	25.9	24.5
12 and above	29.8	28.9	25.2	18.9	31.7	35.6
Median years of schooling	10.0	9.4	9.0	8.0	10.0	10.0
Currently in school/college	44.6	34.9	1.8	3.9	50.3	55.9
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Completed years of schooling						
None[1]	10.5	32.2	22.0	44.3	7.1	13.9
1–4	7.1	8.4	11.0	9.1	6.2	7.4
5–7	18.4	18.4	20.2	19.1	16.6	17.4
8–9	27.5	19.5	20.3	14.1	29.5	27.7
10–11	21.6	13.3	14.0	8.7	24.4	20.2
12 and above	14.9	8.2	12.5	4.7	16.3	13.3
Median years of schooling	9.0	6.0	7.0	4.0	9.0	9.0
Currently in school/college	36.9	17.2	3.9	2.6	46.0	39.3
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Figure 3.1 presents the percentage of youth who were in school or college at the time of the interview in each state and suggests little variation by state. For example, 41–42% of young men from the three northern states and Maharashtra were in school or college at the time of the interview, compared to 33–38% of those in the two southern states. Among young women, those from Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu were somewhat more likely than those from the other states to be currently studying (27–29% compared to 18–23%).

Figure 3.1: Percentage of youth who were currently in school or college by state



3.2 Differentials in educational attainment

Differentials in educational levels of young men and women, measured with respect to completed years of schooling, are presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, respectively. In general, findings suggest a positive association between age and years of education completed among youth; differences were particularly evident when the married and unmarried were considered separately, irrespective of rural-urban residence.

Differences by religion, shown in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, indicate that Muslim youth tended to be more disadvantaged than youth belonging to Hindu and other religions. For example, 31% of Muslim young men had completed at least 10 years of education, compared to 42–43% of young men belonging to Hindu and other religions. Among young women, similarly, while 21% of Muslims had completed at least 10 years of education, 31–35% of those belonging to Hindu and other religions had done so. Similar patterns were observed among married and unmarried youth and those from urban and rural settings.

Caste differences were evident, with those belonging to general castes considerably most likely, and those belonging to scheduled tribes least likely, to have completed 10 or more years of schooling (54% and 27%, respectively, among young men; 45% and 18%, respectively, among young women). These patterns were observed among both young men and young women, irrespective of marital status, and, for the most part, among those in rural and urban areas. The pattern differed only among young men in urban areas, among whom those belonging to scheduled castes were least likely to have completed 10 or more years of schooling.

A positive association was observed between the economic status of young people's households, measured in wealth quintiles, and young people's educational attainment levels. For example, among young men, just 15% of those from households in the poorest (first) quintile had completed 10 or more years of schooling, compared to 70% of those from households in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile. Among young women too, the pattern was similar: just 5% of those from the poorest (first) quintile had completed 10 or more years of schooling compared to 64% of those from the wealthiest (fifth) quintile. Patterns were similar for both the unmarried and the married, and those residing in rural and urban areas.

Table 3.2: Educational attainment of young men by selected background characteristics

Percent distribution of young men by educational level, according to selected background characteristics and residence

Background characteristics	M, 15–24				MM, 15–29				UM, 15–24			
	Completed years of schooling											
	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+
Combined												
Age (years)												
15–19	6.8	21.9	31.9	39.4	19.1	35.1	24.2	21.6	6.2	21.2	32.3	40.4
20–24	10.2	24.2	20.8	44.7	19.9	34.0	21.2	25.0	4.5	18.4	20.5	56.5
25–29	NA	NA	NA	NA	18.3	28.0	20.4	33.3	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	8.0	21.8	27.1	43.2	18.2	29.4	21.4	31.0	5.2	18.7	28.3	47.7
Muslim	12.6	33.6	22.9	31.0	25.8	35.8	16.3	22.1	8.2	32.1	24.3	35.3
Other[2]	8.1	22.5	27.1	42.3	15.4	35.2	18.7	30.7	5.7	20.5	28.1	45.7
Caste												
SC	11.4	26.7	26.9	35.0	22.8	32.6	21.0	23.6	7.6	23.0	29.1	40.2
ST/VJNT	17.2	25.7	29.7	27.3	32.1	30.3	18.1	19.6	11.6	23.8	33.3	31.3
OBC	7.9	23.8	25.7	42.6	17.6	31.7	20.4	30.3	5.4	21.0	26.8	46.8
General[3]	3.1	16.3	26.9	53.7	7.5	22.6	23.6	46.2	2.3	14.5	27.2	56.0
Wealth quintile												
First	26.2	37.1	22.1	14.6	43.7	33.5	14.2	8.6	19.4	38.0	25.3	17.2
Second	13.9	32.5	28.2	25.4	25.6	39.3	18.9	16.3	10.2	29.3	31.5	29.0
Third	6.9	27.7	29.2	36.2	16.1	37.9	23.6	22.3	4.6	24.2	30.8	40.4
Fourth	3.4	19.8	29.6	47.2	8.4	26.6	26.0	39.0	2.1	17.5	29.9	50.5
Fifth	1.3	6.9	22.2	69.6	3.3	12.0	19.5	65.2	0.8	5.7	22.2	71.4
State												
Bihar	16.1	30.2	23.5	30.2	29.4	28.8	15.9	25.9	11.7	28.6	26.5	33.1
Jharkhand	13.6	26.8	27.2	32.4	26.9	29.1	22.9	21.0	10.3	25.2	28.3	36.2
Rajasthan	10.2	23.3	28.9	37.6	17.2	27.6	23.5	31.7	7.8	20.6	30.0	41.6
Maharashtra	3.7	17.6	34.4	44.3	10.2	26.7	26.9	36.1	2.0	15.5	35.2	47.2
Andhra Pradesh	7.8	23.1	17.5	51.6	21.1	33.0	14.7	31.1	5.1	18.8	18.7	57.4
Tamil Nadu	2.2	20.1	26.7	50.9	6.1	40.7	24.8	28.4	1.5	17.3	26.1	55.0
Total	**8.4**	**23.0**	**26.7**	**41.9**	**18.8**	**30.2**	**20.8**	**30.2**	**5.6**	**20.2**	**27.9**	**46.3**
Urban												
Age (years)												
15–19	3.0	15.2	30.2	51.6	8.3	29.2	33.3	29.2	2.9	15.0	30.2	51.9
20–24	4.3	18.9	19.7	57.2	11.3	32.2	24.1	32.4	2.2	14.9	18.3	64.6
25–29	NA	NA	NA	NA	7.6	25.2	21.6	45.5	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	2.9	15.4	24.6	57.1	7.1	26.3	23.5	43.1	2.1	13.2	24.5	60.2
Muslim	7.8	28.5	25.5	38.2	15.8	32.5	20.2	31.5	5.8	26.5	26.0	41.6
Other[2]	3.4	10.6	25.5	60.4	9.6	23.4	13.8	53.2	1.9	9.3	25.7	63.1
Caste												
SC	5.6	21.5	30.2	42.7	12.4	31.9	26.1	29.6	4.1	19.5	30.5	45.9
ST/VJNT	7.2	14.9	27.1	50.8	14.0	26.9	28.0	31.2	4.3	14.2	26.5	54.9
OBC	3.6	17.9	23.7	54.8	7.8	29.0	22.2	41.1	2.7	15.8	23.7	57.9
General[3]	2.2	13.3	22.6	61.9	5.4	21.3	19.3	54.0	1.6	10.7	23.0	64.8

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Table 3.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M, 15–24				MM, 15–29				UM, 15–24			
	Completed years of schooling											
	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+
Urban												
Wealth quintile												
First	22.3	38.4	29.5	9.8	31.3	43.8	18.8	6.3	20.9	37.2	31.4	10.5
Second	14.0	33.8	28.7	23.5	22.1	46.8	20.1	11.0	11.4	31.3	29.4	28.0
Third	6.8	33.4	27.7	32.1	13.6	41.8	23.2	21.5	4.6	31.2	29.2	35.0
Fourth	2.7	21.0	29.7	46.6	7.8	27.8	27.6	36.8	1.8	19.2	29.8	49.1
Fifth	0.8	6.0	20.0	73.2	1.5	13.5	18.8	66.2	0.7	4.8	19.7	74.8
State												
Bihar	10.4	18.0	23.0	48.6	20.7	19.6	17.4	42.4	8.6	17.2	23.8	50.4
Jharkhand	5.9	17.1	23.0	53.9	15.3	21.9	19.9	42.9	4.8	15.8	23.2	56.2
Rajasthan	6.8	18.2	25.1	49.9	9.7	22.3	21.8	46.1	5.6	15.6	25.7	53.1
Maharashtra	1.8	14.9	30.1	53.2	5.7	23.8	26.3	44.2	1.0	12.9	30.1	56.0
Andhra Pradesh	4.8	19.4	17.0	58.7	13.7	29.7	15.0	41.5	3.3	16.7	17.3	62.7
Tamil Nadu	1.2	18.5	22.9	57.4	2.6	39.2	24.3	33.9	0.9	15.8	22.0	61.3
Total	**3.7**	**17.1**	**24.8**	**54.5**	**8.6**	**27.1**	**22.4**	**41.9**	**2.6**	**14.9**	**24.8**	**57.6**
Rural												
Age (years)												
15–19	8.3	24.5	32.5	34.8	19.6	35.5	23.7	21.2	7.5	23.7	33.1	35.7
20–24	13.2	26.9	21.3	38.5	22.1	34.4	20.4	23.1	6.1	20.9	22.0	50.9
25–29	NA	NA	NA	NA	22.3	29.0	19.9	28.8	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	10.0	24.3	28.0	37.7	21.4	30.2	20.8	27.6	6.7	21.3	30.1	42.0
Muslim	16.5	37.7	20.8	25.0	32.2	37.8	13.8	16.2	10.5	37.5	22.7	29.3
Other[2]	10.3	28.9	28.0	32.9	17.6	39.9	20.6	21.8	8.2	27.0	29.4	35.4
Caste												
SC	13.3	28.4	25.8	32.4	25.2	32.7	19.8	22.2	9.0	24.4	28.6	37.9
ST/VJNT	18.8	27.4	30.2	23.6	34.1	30.6	17.0	18.3	13.0	25.6	34.8	26.6
OBC	9.7	26.2	26.6	37.4	20.6	32.5	19.8	27.1	6.7	23.6	28.3	41.5
General[3]	3.7	18.6	30.1	47.7	8.9	23.4	26.6	41.1	2.8	17.4	30.4	49.4
Wealth quintile												
First	26.4	37.0	21.7	14.9	44.5	32.9	13.9	8.7	19.3	38.2	24.8	17.7
Second	13.9	32.3	28.2	25.6	25.9	38.5	18.7	16.8	10.0	29.1	31.7	29.1
Third	6.9	26.1	29.7	37.3	16.8	37.0	23.8	22.5	4.7	22.3	31.2	41.9
Fourth	3.8	19.1	29.5	47.5	8.6	26.0	25.2	40.1	2.4	16.4	29.9	51.3
Fifth	1.9	8.2	25.8	64.0	5.1	10.5	20.3	64.2	0.9	7.0	26.8	65.4
State												
Bihar	17.0	32.3	23.5	27.2	30.1	29.6	15.8	24.5	12.3	30.9	27.1	29.8
Jharkhand	16.5	30.4	28.8	24.3	29.1	30.5	23.4	17.0	12.8	29.4	30.5	27.3
Rajasthan	11.3	25.0	30.2	33.4	18.9	28.8	23.9	28.4	8.7	22.8	31.9	36.6
Maharashtra	5.2	19.6	37.9	37.3	13.2	28.9	27.3	30.6	3.0	17.7	39.4	39.9
Andhra Pradesh	8.9	24.5	17.7	48.9	23.1	34.0	14.7	28.2	5.9	19.7	19.3	55.1
Tamil Nadu	3.0	21.3	29.7	45.9	8.6	41.8	25.0	24.5	2.0	18.6	29.4	49.8
Total	**10.5**	**25.6**	**27.5**	**36.5**	**22.0**	**31.2**	**20.3**	**26.5**	**7.1**	**22.8**	**29.5**	**40.7**

Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling. [2]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [3]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.

Table 3.3: Educational attainment of young women by selected background characteristics

Percent distribution of young women by educational level, according to selected background characteristics and residence

Background characteristics	W, 15–24				MW, 15–24				UW, 15–24			
	Completed years of schooling											
	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+
Combined												
Age (years)												
15–19	21.9	25.4	24.1	28.6	43.7	30.6	14.5	11.2	11.9	23.2	28.7	36.1
20–24	28.9	23.3	16.6	31.3	35.6	26.6	16.6	21.3	4.3	11.3	16.8	67.6
Religion												
Hindu	25.3	23.7	20.5	30.5	38.4	27.1	15.9	18.6	9.2	19.7	26.5	44.6
Muslim	31.8	29.6	17.3	21.3	43.0	30.3	13.0	13.6	20.5	29.3	21.7	28.4
Other[2]	14.9	25.1	25.2	34.8	23.7	33.8	21.7	20.8	8.2	18.6	28.3	44.9
Caste												
SC	30.9	26.5	20.0	22.6	45.1	29.4	13.7	11.7	12.8	22.9	28.0	36.3
ST/VJNT	37.8	24.4	19.6	18.2	51.7	24.1	14.7	9.5	19.9	25.1	26.1	29.0
OBC	27.3	24.8	19.6	28.3	40.1	27.3	15.0	17.5	11.0	21.8	25.7	41.5
General[3]	11.0	21.0	23.1	44.8	19.0	28.5	21.0	31.5	4.3	15.1	25.3	55.4
Wealth quintile												
First	58.3	26.7	10.2	4.8	69.1	22.0	6.2	2.7	35.9	36.4	18.6	9.1
Second	39.5	31.8	16.9	11.8	51.9	30.1	11.1	6.9	19.1	34.6	26.4	19.9
Third	23.0	30.5	24.3	22.2	34.8	34.1	17.8	13.4	8.3	25.9	32.5	33.3
Fourth	11.7	24.9	26.9	36.5	19.5	32.7	23.4	24.5	3.6	16.9	30.6	48.9
Fifth	4.1	10.2	21.4	64.3	8.7	17.8	22.6	50.9	1.1	5.2	20.8	72.9
State												
Bihar	51.0	24.9	11.0	13.1	64.1	20.5	6.6	8.8	28.2	33.4	19.0	19.4
Jharkhand	39.0	26.5	18.3	16.3	51.7	26.1	13.5	8.7	23.6	27.4	24.2	24.8
Rajasthan	38.4	26.1	17.3	18.1	51.5	26.3	12.4	9.8	16.8	26.4	26.1	30.7
Maharashtra	8.2	21.5	31.4	38.9	14.8	28.9	27.4	28.9	2.7	15.3	34.7	47.3
Andhra Pradesh	20.8	28.4	14.8	35.9	31.3	36.2	11.8	20.7	7.2	18.4	18.9	55.5
Tamil Nadu	5.0	19.7	27.3	48.1	9.7	28.4	29.5	32.3	1.8	13.9	25.8	58.4
Total	**25.2**	**24.4**	**20.5**	**29.9**	**38.1**	**27.8**	**15.9**	**18.2**	**10.3**	**20.6**	**26.1**	**43.0**
Urban												
Age (years)												
15–19	6.8	18.0	27.2	48.1	21.0	32.9	22.2	23.9	4.1	15.2	28.1	52.7
20–24	10.4	19.0	18.8	51.8	15.0	25.1	22.2	37.7	2.4	8.4	12.7	76.5
Religion												
Hindu	8.1	16.9	22.2	52.7	15.9	24.8	21.6	37.7	2.9	11.5	22.7	62.9
Muslim	13.4	27.2	24.1	35.3	20.0	33.3	22.0	24.8	8.3	22.4	25.8	43.5
Other[2]	5.0	17.7	26.2	51.1	10.2	29.7	29.2	30.9	2.1	11.0	24.5	62.4
Caste												
SC	10.7	23.3	27.9	38.1	19.2	32.6	23.5	24.7	4.8	17.0	31.0	47.2
ST/VJNT	19.1	22.3	22.0	36.6	32.4	31.7	19.4	16.5	8.4	14.7	23.9	52.9
OBC	9.5	19.5	22.1	48.9	17.2	26.3	21.8	34.7	3.8	14.5	22.4	59.3
General[3]	4.3	12.3	20.2	63.2	8.8	21.1	22.3	47.8	1.7	7.2	19.1	72.0

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Table 3.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	W, 15–24				MW, 15–24				UW, 15–24			
	Completed years of schooling											
	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+	None[1]	1–7	8–9	10+
Urban												
Wealth quintile												
First	41.9	33.7	14.9	9.6	55.6	29.3	11.3	3.8	26.4	38.4	18.9	16.4
Second	27.3	35.2	21.3	16.2	35.9	34.8	17.4	11.9	15.6	35.7	26.8	21.9
Third	15.9	34.0	24.8	25.3	25.0	39.6	20.0	15.5	7.2	28.8	29.4	34.7
Fourth	7.0	22.7	28.6	41.7	12.2	30.4	27.4	30.1	3.0	16.6	29.6	50.9
Fifth	2.2	6.9	19.1	71.7	5.3	13.8	21.2	59.7	0.8	3.8	18.2	77.2
State												
Bihar	22.3	21.5	16.2	40.0	35.9	23.9	12.0	28.2	12.2	19.9	19.1	48.9
Jharkhand	16.7	20.3	22.6	40.3	30.9	25.3	18.9	24.9	8.6	17.5	24.9	49.1
Rajasthan	18.5	22.0	20.5	39.0	29.7	27.1	18.5	24.8	8.5	17.5	22.4	51.6
Maharashtra	5.0	16.3	28.1	50.6	10.5	25.6	26.0	37.9	1.6	10.4	29.4	58.7
Andhra Pradesh	10.0	20.9	16.6	52.5	17.1	30.5	16.8	35.6	4.2	13.1	16.5	66.2
Tamil Nadu	3.2	17.1	23.2	56.5	7.0	25.2	27.5	40.2	1.0	12.3	20.7	66.0
Total	**8.6**	**18.5**	**22.8**	**50.0**	**16.1**	**26.6**	**22.2**	**35.1**	**3.6**	**13.0**	**23.3**	**60.1**
Rural												
Age (years)												
15–19	27.6	28.2	23.0	21.2	47.4	30.3	13.2	9.2	15.5	26.9	29.0	28.6
20–24	37.5	25.3	15.5	21.7	42.7	27.1	14.6	15.7	6.2	14.3	21.1	58.4
Religion												
Hindu	31.6	26.2	19.9	22.3	43.9	27.7	14.5	13.9	12.3	23.8	28.4	35.5
Muslim	46.2	31.5	12.0	10.2	56.8	28.6	7.6	6.9	31.8	35.5	18.0	14.7
Other[2]	21.2	29.8	24.7	24.3	29.9	35.8	18.2	16.0	12.6	24.0	30.9	32.5
Caste												
SC	38.7	27.7	16.9	16.6	51.5	28.7	11.3	8.5	17.1	26.1	26.4	30.4
ST/VJNT	41.7	24.8	19.1	14.3	54.7	22.9	14.0	8.4	22.7	27.7	26.6	22.9
OBC	34.0	26.7	18.7	20.6	46.1	27.6	13.2	13.1	14.6	25.4	27.3	32.7
General[3]	15.5	26.8	25.0	32.7	23.6	31.8	20.5	24.1	6.3	21.1	30.1	42.5
Wealth quintile												
First	59.3	26.2	9.9	4.5	69.8	21.6	5.9	2.6	36.6	36.2	18.5	8.6
Second	40.8	31.4	16.4	11.4	53.5	29.7	10.4	6.4	19.5	34.4	26.4	19.7
Third	25.1	29.5	24.1	21.3	37.2	32.7	17.2	12.8	8.6	25.0	33.5	32.9
Fourth	14.7	26.4	25.8	33.1	23.3	33.8	21.3	21.6	4.0	17.1	31.4	47.5
Fifth	7.0	15.0	24.8	53.2	11.9	21.6	23.9	42.7	1.7	7.9	25.9	64.6
State												
Bihar	54.7	25.3	10.3	9.6	65.9	20.3	6.2	7.6	31.1	35.9	19.0	14.0
Jharkhand	46.7	28.7	16.7	7.9	55.9	26.3	12.5	5.4	31.5	32.7	23.8	12.0
Rajasthan	45.5	27.6	16.2	10.7	55.9	26.1	11.2	6.8	21.0	30.9	28.0	20.1
Maharashtra	10.6	25.5	34.0	29.8	17.3	30.8	28.1	23.8	3.8	20.2	40.0	36.1
Andhra Pradesh	25.3	31.6	14.1	29.0	35.3	37.8	10.4	16.5	8.9	21.4	20.3	49.5
Tamil Nadu	6.3	21.7	30.6	41.4	11.5	30.6	30.9	27.0	2.6	15.4	30.3	51.8
Total	**32.2**	**26.8**	**19.5**	**21.4**	**44.3**	**28.2**	**14.1**	**13.4**	**13.9**	**24.8**	**27.7**	**33.5**

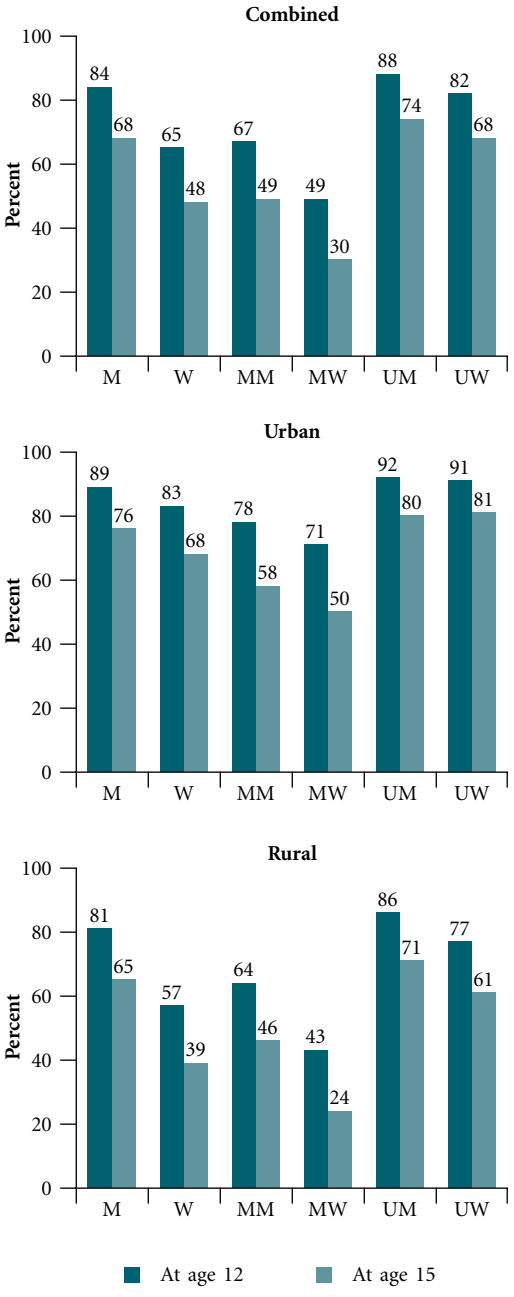
Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling. [2]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [3]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.

State-wise differences were evident. Young men and women from Maharashtra and the southern states were consistently more likely to have completed 10 or more years of education than were those in the northern states. Differences were wider among young women than young men. For example, among young men, 44–52% of those from Maharashtra and the southern states had completed 10 or more years of education, compared to 30–38% of those from the northern states. Among young women, 36–48% of those in Maharashtra and the southern states, compared to 13–18% of those in the northern states had done so. These state-wise differences were observed, for the most part, among the married and the unmarried, and among those from both rural and urban settings.

3.3 School attendance

Figure 3.2 presents schooling status at ages 12 and 15, representing periods before and after puberty was attained for many. Findings reconfirm the limited school attendance among young people: 84% and 65% of young men and women, respectively, were in school at age 12 and far fewer—68% and 48%—at age 15. Married youth were far less likely than their unmarried counterparts to be in school at both ages 12 and 15. Rural-urban differences were also evident: while rural young men were less likely than their urban counterparts to be in school at ages 12 and 15, corresponding differences among young women were wider. Findings also underscore the considerable decline in rates of retention in school between ages 12 and 15 among all groups; indeed, percentage point declines were just marginally larger among rural than urban youth and among married compared to unmarried youth.

Figure 3.2: Percentage of youth who were in school at ages 12 and 15, according to residence



Figures 3.3a–3.3e show the cumulative percentages of youth (all youth who had completed at least one year of schooling) who had completed each year of education from Class 2 to Class 17, using life table techniques. Findings show that youth who had completed at least one year of schooling, by and large, remained in school up to Class 4 (94–96% had completed Class 4). Declines in school completion and gender differences in school completion became more evident thereafter. For example, among young women, completion rates fell to 90% in Class 5 and 82% in Class 6. Among young men, completion rates fell to 87% and 83% in Classes 6 and 7, respectively. Considerable differences in school completion were evident by marital status. For example, completion rates fell below 90% as early as in Class 5 among married youth (86% had completed Class 5); in contrast among unmarried youth, completion rates fell below 90% in Class 7 among young men and in Class 6 among young women.

Declines in school completion became progressively steeper, with differences between young men and women widening as the level of schooling increased. Among both young men and women, there were several notable

declines in school completion levels. A major set of declines occurred between Classes 9 and 11, where declines exceeded 10% a year (Figure 3.3a). For example, while 71% of young men and 61% of young women had completed Class 9, 59% and 49%, respectively, had completed Class 10, and percentages fell further to 49% and 36%, respectively, by Class 11. Findings suggest therefore that many youth may have discontinued their education because they did not pass Class 10, and many who passed Class 10 opted not to pursue further education. Further major declines occurred between Classes 12 and 13 (9–10 points) and after Class 15 (11–14 points), that is, after such milestones as higher secondary school and college education, respectively, were attained. Among young women, in addition, such notable declines were observed earlier, that is, between Classes 7 and 9 (8–9 points), perhaps reflecting withdrawal from school around the time of menarche.

Marital status differences were evident, with steep declines occurring earlier among the married than the unmarried. Among the married, declines in the range of 9–12% in completion rates occurred as early as between Classes 5 and 6. Further steep declines occurred between Classes 7 and 11 (9–15 points each year). In contrast, among the unmarried, declines of this magnitude were observed considerably later—between Classes 9 and 11 (10–11 points annually), Classes 12 and 13 (9 points) and after Class 15 (11–17 points). Indeed, half of unmarried youth who had enrolled in school had continued schooling up to Class 12, compared to just one-fifth of married young men and one-seventh of married young women.

With regard to rural and urban patterns of school completion (Figures 3.3b and 3.3c), findings suggest that the rural disadvantage in terms of school completion was relatively mild for young men but substantial for young women. For example, in urban areas, completion rates fell below 90% in Class 7 among both young men and young women. Completion rates fell below 90% just one year earlier among young men (Class 6), but two years earlier among young women (Class 5) in rural areas. Steep declines in completion rates, thereafter, occurred the first time between Classes 9 and 11 among young men in both rural and urban areas (9–12 points); declines of this magnitude were also observed between Classes 12 and 13 (8–11 points); and between Classes 15 and 16 (13–16 points). In sum, almost half (45%) of young men in urban areas who had enrolled in school had continued beyond Class 12, compared to over one quarter (28%) of their rural counterparts.

Figure 3.3a: Cumulative percentage of youth who had completed each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), combined

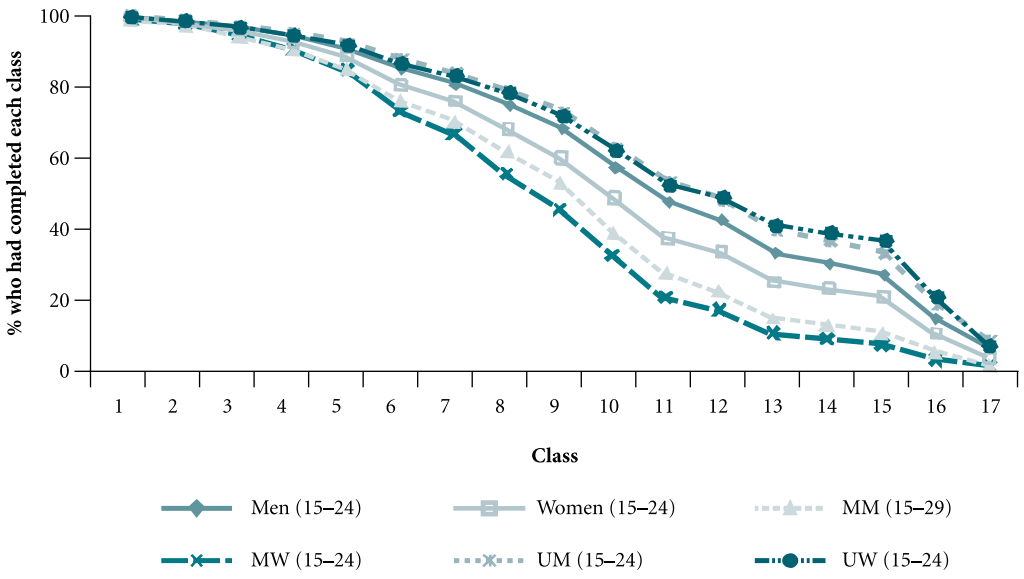


Figure 3.3b: Cumulative percentage of youth who had completed each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), urban

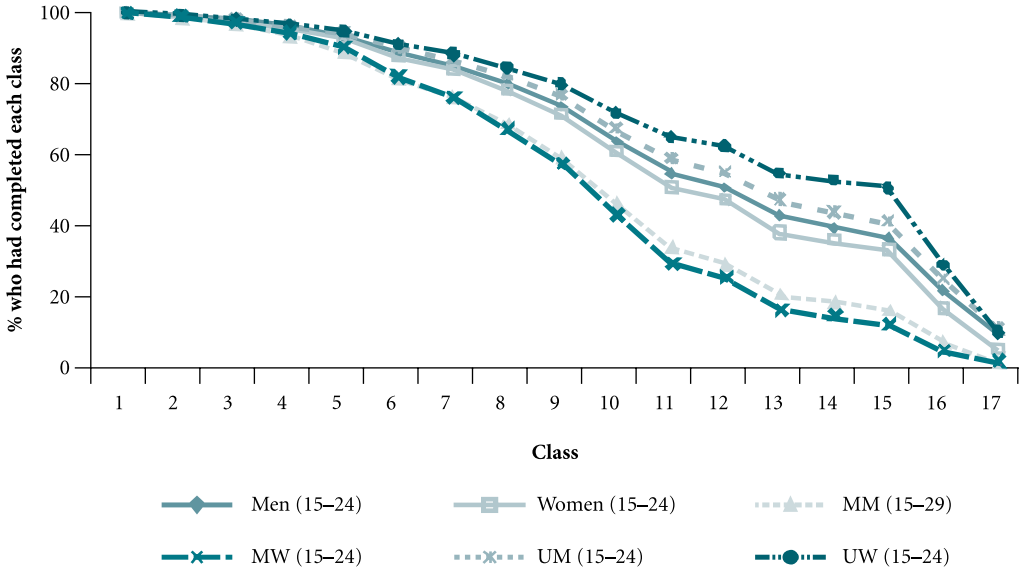
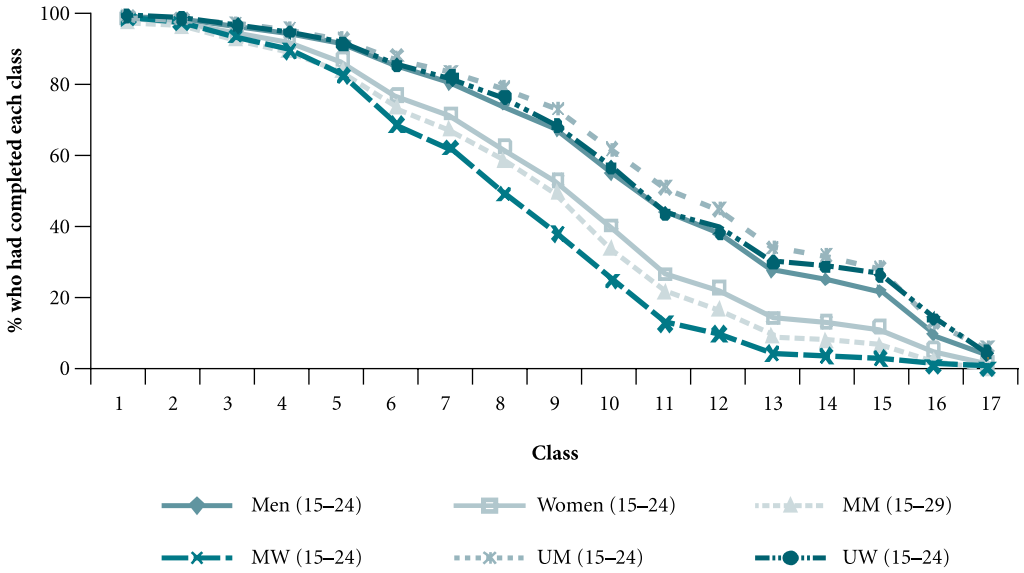


Figure 3.3c: Cumulative percentage of youth who had completed each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), rural



Among young women, rural-urban patterns were quite different. For example, a steep decline was first observed among young women in rural areas between Classes 5 and 6 (10 points) and the declines in school completion remained substantial (9–13 points each year) between Classes 7 and 11. Indeed, just 15% of young women in rural areas had continued schooling beyond Class 12. In contrast, among young women in urban areas, steep declines in school completion were first observed between Classes 9 and 11 (10–11 points annually), and thereafter, between Classes 12 and 13 (10 points) and after Class 15 (12–18 points). Indeed, as many as 39% of young women in urban areas who had enrolled in school had continued schooling beyond Class 12, compared to just 15% of their rural counterparts.

Figures 3.3d and 3.3e show that patterns of school completion rates varied considerably across the six states. Among young men, while completion rates fell below 90% in Class 5 in Bihar, it occurred in Class 6 in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, and in Class 7 in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Notable declines, thereafter, also occurred at different levels of schooling in each state. Declines of about 10 points or more annually were first observed in Rajasthan between Classes 8 and 9, in Jharkhand, Maharashtra and the southern states between Classes 9 and 10, and in Bihar between Classes 10 and 11. Declines of 10 points or more were observed after the attainment of a secondary school education in four of the six states (excluding Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu), after the attainment of a higher secondary school education in four states (excluding Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh), and after the attainment of a college education in all six states.

Figure 3.3d: Cumulative percentage of young men who had completed each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), according to state

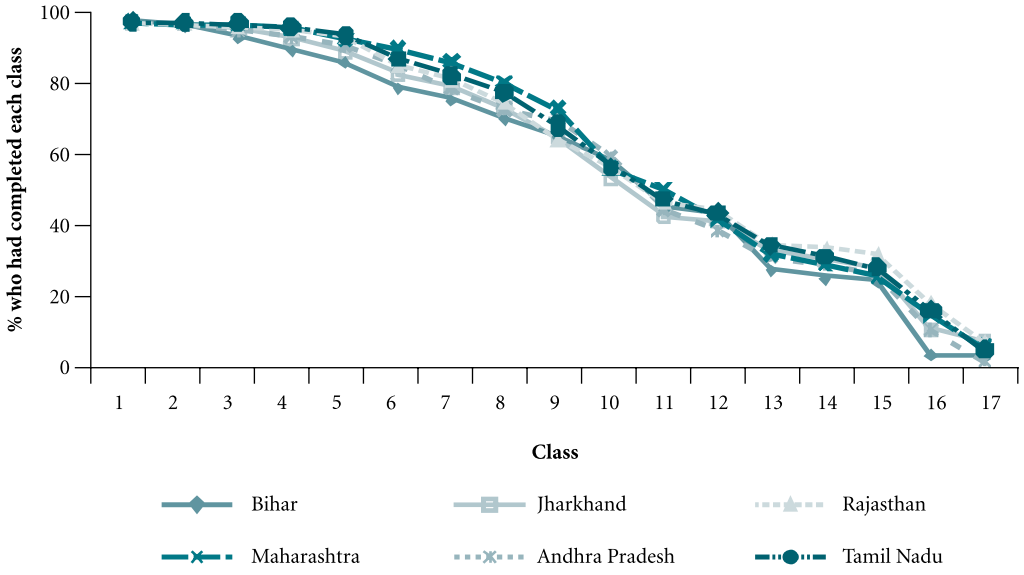
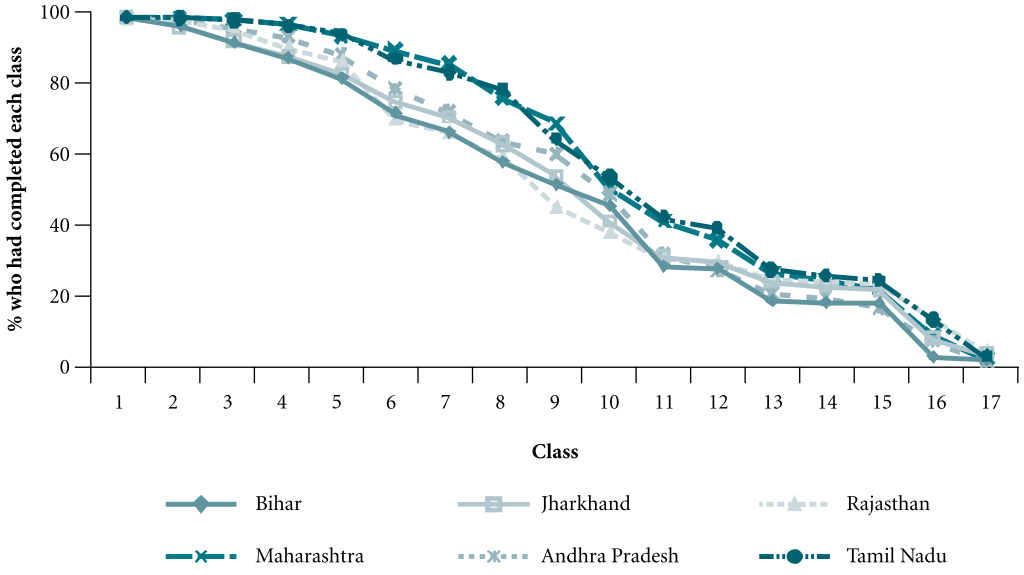


Figure 3.3e: Cumulative percentage of young women who had completed each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), according to state



Among young women, a regional pattern was evident in the level of schooling at which the completion rates fell below 90%; completion rates fell below 90% earlier in the northern states (Class 4 in Bihar and Jharkhand and Class 5 in Rajasthan) than in Maharashtra (Class 7) and the southern states (Class 6). As in the case of young men, declines of about 10 points or more per year of schooling were first observed at different levels of schooling in each state. For example, such declines occurred between Classes 5 and 6 in Bihar, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh, between Classes 7 and 8 in Maharashtra, and between Classes 8 and 9 in Jharkhand and Tamil Nadu. Thereafter, declines of 10% or more were observed between Classes 8 and 9 in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu, between Classes 9 and 10 in one of the three northern states (Jharkhand), as well as in Maharashtra and the southern states. Further notable declines occurred after such milestones as high school and college education, respectively, were attained (7–17 points and 10–15 points, respectively).

In short, substantial declines in school completion rates took place earlier among young women than men, the married than the unmarried, and the rural compared to the urban. State-wise differences were less consistent. Major declines occurred earlier in the northern states and Andhra Pradesh than in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Moreover, in all groups and in all states, major declines occurred just prior to high school completion (between Classes 9 and 10), as well as following the completion of such milestones as a secondary, higher secondary and college education.

3.4 Reasons for school non-attendance or discontinuation

The Youth Study inquired about reasons for never going to school from all those who so reported, and reasons for discontinuing school from all those who had not completed Class 12. Responses, provided in Table 3.4a for those who had never gone to school, have been grouped into five categories: economic reasons (work on the family farm or business, wage earning work, family poverty, i.e., the family could not afford to keep the respondent in school); housework-related reasons (required for care of siblings or housework); attitude or perception-related reasons (unsafe to send children to school, education not considered necessary, respondent's lack of interest); school-related reasons (school located too far away, appropriate transport not available, poor school quality and infrastructure, poor quality of teaching); and health-related reasons (health problems of respondent, illness or death of a family member).

Table 3.4a: Reasons for never attending school

Percentage of youth who never attended school by reasons for never attending school, according to residence

Reasons	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
At least one economic reason	60.0	56.1	63.1	55.7	60.8	58.0
Housework-related reasons	23.8	52.0	27.0	52.4	25.1	50.1
At least one attitude-/perception-related reason	36.8	33.6	33.7	33.9	39.1	31.8
At least one school-related reason	8.1	18.1	9.3	18.6	5.9	15.5
Health-related reasons	13.3	10.0	13.3	9.7	14.5	11.4
Number who never attended school	**1,092**	**6,785**	**1,289**	**4,725**	**614**	**2,060**
Urban						
At least one economic reason	64.3	49.4	64.4	47.7	65.3	54.6
Housework-related reasons	21.0	42.1	23.9	41.5	22.4	44.0
At least one attitude-/perception-related reason	39.9	43.2	38.4	44.6	41.8	38.7
At least one school-related reason	5.1	15.4	4.9	15.3	2.0	15.6
Health-related reasons	12.7	11.1	12.2	10.6	13.4	12.4
Number who never attended school	**398**	**1,852**	**403**	**1,355**	**255**	**497**

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Table 3.4a: (Cont'd)

Reasons	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
At least one economic reason	59.3	56.9	62.9	56.6	59.9	58.5
Housework-related reasons	24.3	53.1	27.4	53.6	25.8	50.9
At least one attitude-/perception-related reason	36.4	32.5	33.2	32.8	38.5	30.8
At least one school-related reason	8.6	18.4	9.9	19.0	6.5	15.5
Health-related reasons	13.3	9.9	13.5	9.6	14.5	11.3
Number who never attended school	**694**	**4,933**	**886**	**3,370**	**359**	**1,563**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Findings suggest that the key reason for never going to school was economic for both young men and women. Three-fifths of young men (60%) and 56% of young women cited an economic reason. A similar percentage of young women (52%) also cited housework responsibilities for never going to school; fewer young men reported so (24%). One-third of youth (34–37%) reported attitude- or perception-related reasons for never attending school. School-related reasons were more likely to be mentioned by young women than men (18% and 8%, respectively). Finally, 10–13% of youth cited a health-related reason (mainly illness or death of a family member) for never attending school. Differences by marital status in reasons for never going to school were typically narrow (no more than 5%) among both young men and women. Rural-urban differences were, likewise, narrow among young men, but among young women, those in rural areas were more likely than those in urban areas to cite economic reasons (57% versus 49%) and housework-related reasons (53% versus 42%) and less likely to report attitude or perception related reasons (33% versus 43%).

Table 3.4b reports findings for youth who had discontinued their education before completing Class 12. In addition to the five sets of reasons included above, an additional category—early transition into adult roles—was included, containing such reasons as marriage/engagement and employment. Reasons are presented separately for those who discontinued schooling before completing middle school (Class 7), high school (Class 10) and higher secondary education (Class 12). As evident from Table 3.4b and Figures 3.4a and 3.4b, reasons varied considerably by level at which education was discontinued, as well as, by and large, by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence of the respondent.

Among those who had completed just 1–6 years of schooling, economic considerations and attitudes and perceptions were major reasons for school discontinuation for both young men and women (65% and 45%, respectively, for young men; 41% and 38%, respectively, for young women). Among young women, in addition, housework-related responsibilities were also a leading reason (39%); fewer young men so reported (21%). School-related reasons were more likely to be mentioned by young women than men (26% and 16%, respectively). Fewer youth reported health-related (12–15%) reasons and transition to adult roles (3–6%).

Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence in reported reasons for school discontinuation were, by and large, narrow among youth who had completed just 1–6 years of schooling. However, some differences were notable. Among young men, the unmarried were more likely than the married to cite attitude- or perception-related reasons (49% versus 39%) and somewhat more likely to mention school-related reasons (18% versus 13%); they were less likely than the married to report economic reasons (64% versus 71%). Likewise, young men in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to report attitude- or perception-related reasons (52% versus 43%), and somewhat more likely to cite transition to adult roles (7% versus 2%). In contrast, they were somewhat less likely to attribute school discontinuation to housework responsibilities (18% versus 23%). Among young women, profiles were different. The unmarried were somewhat more likely than the married to cite economic reasons

Table 3.4b: Reasons for school discontinuation by level of education

Percentage of youth who had discontinued schooling before completing Class 12 by reasons, according to levels of discontinuation and residence

Reasons	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Combined						Urban						Rural					
Discontinued before completing Class 7																		
At least one economic reason	65.1	40.8	70.8	38.7	63.9	45.0	65.7	39.9	71.2	39.0	65.4	41.3	64.9	41.0	70.8	38.7	63.4	46.1
Housework-related reasons	21.4	39.3	23.9	40.8	20.9	36.6	17.7	31.3	19.5	34.6	16.9	26.2	22.5	41.5	25.0	42.4	22.2	39.6
At least one attitude-/perception-related reason	44.7	38.3	38.9	37.8	48.8	39.0	52.0	47.9	48.7	46.5	53.5	50.3	42.7	35.6	36.3	35.6	47.1	35.7
At least one school-related reason	16.1	25.5	12.5	24.4	17.6	27.7	14.4	25.4	13.0	24.9	15.5	26.2	16.6	25.6	12.4	24.3	18.3	28.2
At least one reason related to transition into adult roles	3.0	5.9	2.4	8.7	3.6	0.5	6.8	3.0	6.0	4.8	7.5	0.2	1.9	6.7	1.5	9.7	2.4	0.6
Health-related reasons	12.2	14.6	13.1	13.1	12.1	17.5	14.6	15.8	14.5	15.0	15.2	16.9	11.5	14.2	12.8	12.6	11.1	17.7
Number who discontinued before completing Class 7	**2,011**	**4,972**	**1,790**	**2,805**	**1,361**	**2,167**	**888**	**1,791**	**706**	**1,112**	**649**	**679**	**1,123**	**3,181**	**1,084**	**1,693**	**712**	**1,488**
Discontinued after completing Class 7 and before completing Class 10																		
At least one economic reason	64.2	33.3	69.0	29.6	61.6	39.4	59.6	31.9	65.8	30.1	57.5	34.3	66.1	34.0	70.1	29.4	63.7	41.8
Housework-related reasons	16.6	22.3	18.7	21.9	15.7	23.1	13.0	18.3	12.9	18.9	12.0	17.5	18.2	24.1	20.7	23.1	17.7	25.7
At least one attitude-/perception-related reason	38.9	34.5	34.2	33.3	41.3	35.9	45.7	41.0	43.5	38.2	46.4	44.6	35.9	31.6	31.0	31.3	38.6	32.0
At least one school-related reason	35.7	46.7	30.4	42.5	39.6	53.6	36.7	44.5	32.0	41.3	39.6	48.8	35.3	47.7	29.8	43.0	39.7	55.7
At least one reason related to transition into adult roles	4.5	14.9	5.2	23.3	4.6	1.5	7.0	12.2	6.2	18.8	7.0	3.2	3.5	16.1	4.8	25.1	3.3	0.7
Health-related reasons	10.1	11.6	10.2	11.0	9.9	12.6	8.1	13.0	9.2	12.3	7.7	13.9	11.0	11.0	10.5	10.4	11.1	12.0
Number who discontinued after completing Class 7 and before completing Class 10	**2,794**	**5,885**	**2,244**	**3,310**	**1,956**	**2,575**	**1,354**	**2,600**	**976**	**1,567**	**1,041**	**1,033**	**1,440**	**3,285**	**1,268**	**1,743**	**915**	**1,542**
Discontinued after completing Class 10 and before completing Class 12																		
At least one economic reason	64.3	35.0	67.4	26.9	63.8	47.2	59.4	32.3	65.5	25.5	60.4	43.7	66.6	36.4	68.2	27.7	65.6	48.6
Housework-related reasons	17.0	16.6	17.7	16.7	17.5	16.4	14.6	15.4	16.6	16.8	13.9	12.9	18.1	17.2	18.2	16.7	19.3	17.8
At least one attitude-/perception-related reason	30.5	32.1	29.4	32.1	31.6	31.8	37.8	38.5	36.4	36.8	38.4	41.4	27.1	28.9	26.5	29.5	28.1	28.0
At least one school-related reason	23.5	34.7	22.7	30.6	23.3	41.4	20.7	27.1	17.2	26.7	20.7	27.8	24.9	38.6	24.8	32.7	24.5	46.7
At least one reason related to transition into adult roles	7.3	24.3	8.3	37.8	7.5	4.3	12.0	22.4	15.0	32.0	11.5	6.4	5.1	25.2	5.6	40.9	5.7	3.5
Health-related reasons	7.3	7.4	9.0	6.4	7.0	8.8	6.8	9.2	8.6	8.6	7.5	10.3	7.6	6.4	9.2	5.2	6.7	8.2
Number who discontinued after completing Class 10 and before completing Class 12	**1,297**	**2,621**	**1,128**	**1,462**	**975**	**1,159**	**691**	**1,314**	**581**	**842**	**534**	**472**	**606**	**1,307**	**547**	**620**	**441**	**687**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

(45% versus 39%) and health-related reasons (18% versus 13%), and conversely, less likely to cite transition to adult roles (1% versus 9%). At the same time, young women from urban settings were more likely than their rural counterparts to cite attitude- or perception-related reasons (48% versus 36%), and conversely, less likely to report that they were withdrawn from school due to housework responsibilities (31% versus 42%) and, to a less extent, because of transition to adult roles (3% versus 7%).

Gender differences in reasons for school discontinuation became more pronounced among those who had completed Classes 7–9. The leading reason for young men continued to be economic, reported by 64%. At the same time, attitude- or perception-related reasons and school-related reasons were cited by 39% and 36%, respectively. Among young women, in contrast, the leading reasons were school-related (47%). Other key reasons cited were attitude- or perception-related (35%), economic (33%) and housework responsibilities (22%). As many as 15% expressed transition into adult roles, overwhelmingly in order to marry, as a reason for having to leave school; in contrast, just 5% of young men so reported. Marital status differences revealed somewhat different patterns among young men and women. Among young men, the married were more likely than the unmarried to report economic reasons (69% versus 62%), and were conversely less likely to mention attitude or perception-related reasons (34% versus 41%) and school-related reasons (30% versus 40%). Among young women, the married were less likely than the unmarried to report economic reasons (30% versus 39%) and school-related reasons (43% versus 54%) (see also Figures 3.3a and 3.3b). However, transitions into adult roles were far more likely to be a reason for married women than their unmarried counterparts to discontinue schooling: 23% of married young women compared to just 2% of the unmarried. Rural-urban differences suggest that urban youth were somewhat less likely than rural youth to report housework responsibilities, and conversely, more likely to report attitude or perception-related reasons. More rural than urban young men, in addition, reported economic reasons.

Among those who had discontinued their education after completing Classes 10 or 11, gender differences continued to be wide. Among young men, leading reasons for school discontinuation were economic (64%), and, to a lesser extent, attitude- or perception-related and school-related (31% and 24%, respectively). Among young women, economic (35%), school-related reasons (35%), attitude- or perception-related reasons (32%) and transition into adult roles (24%) were the most frequently cited reasons for school discontinuation. Differences by marital status were negligible among young men; however, among young women, the unmarried were more likely than the married to report economic and school-related reasons for discontinuation, while, as expected, the married were far more likely to cite transition into adult roles (38% versus 4%). Rural-urban differences were substantial. For example, urban young men were more likely than rural young men to report attitude- or perception-related reasons (38% versus 27%) and transition to adult roles (12% versus 5%) but were less likely than their rural counterparts to cite economic reasons (59% versus 67%). Among young women too, those in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to report attitude- or perception-related reasons (39% versus 29%); they were less likely, conversely, to report school-related reasons (27% versus 39%).

3.5 School/college type, quality and experiences

All respondents were asked about the kind of school or college they had last attended or were attending at the time of the interview, and the facilities available in that school or college. Respondents were also asked about their experiences: whether they attended classes regularly, their attitudes towards education and their performance in that school or college. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 present findings on type and quality of educational institutions most recently attended, and schooling experiences, respectively. Findings are presented separately for those who were still in school or college at the time of the interview and for those who had discontinued their education at various stages before completing Class 12 in order to explore the extent to which school/college quality and experiences differed between these two groups. As school quality and experiences are unlikely to be different for the married and unmarried, Tables 3.5 and 3.6 present information by sex and rural-urban residence of respondents only. In addition, because experiences may vary according to the level of education attained, findings are presented separately for primary or middle school, high school and higher secondary or college level.

Figure 3.4a: Percentage of married youth who had discontinued schooling by class when discontinued and reasons for discontinuation

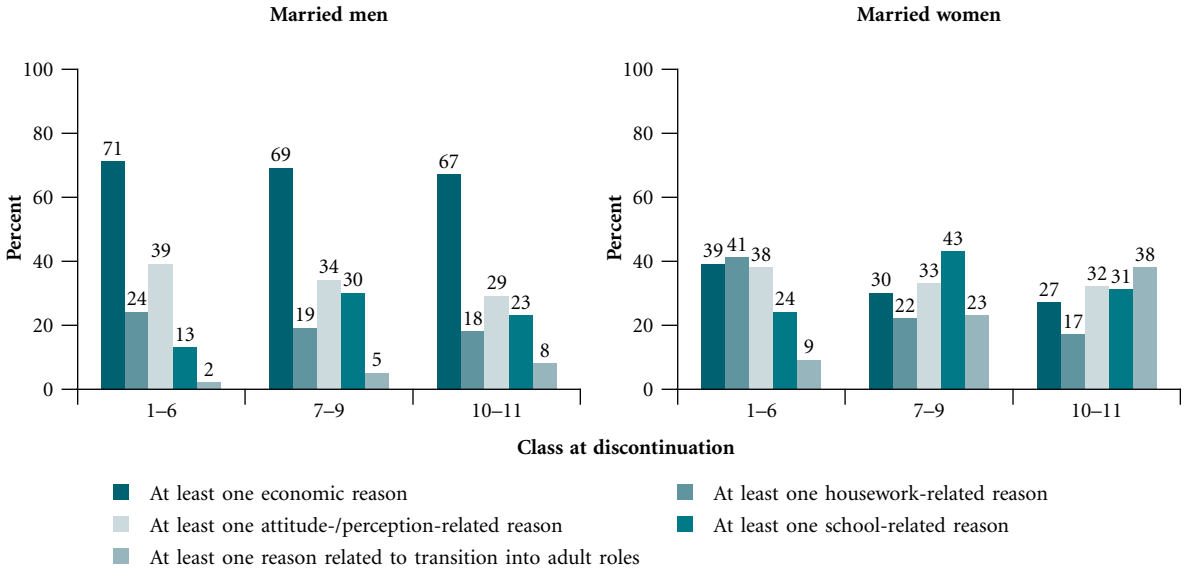
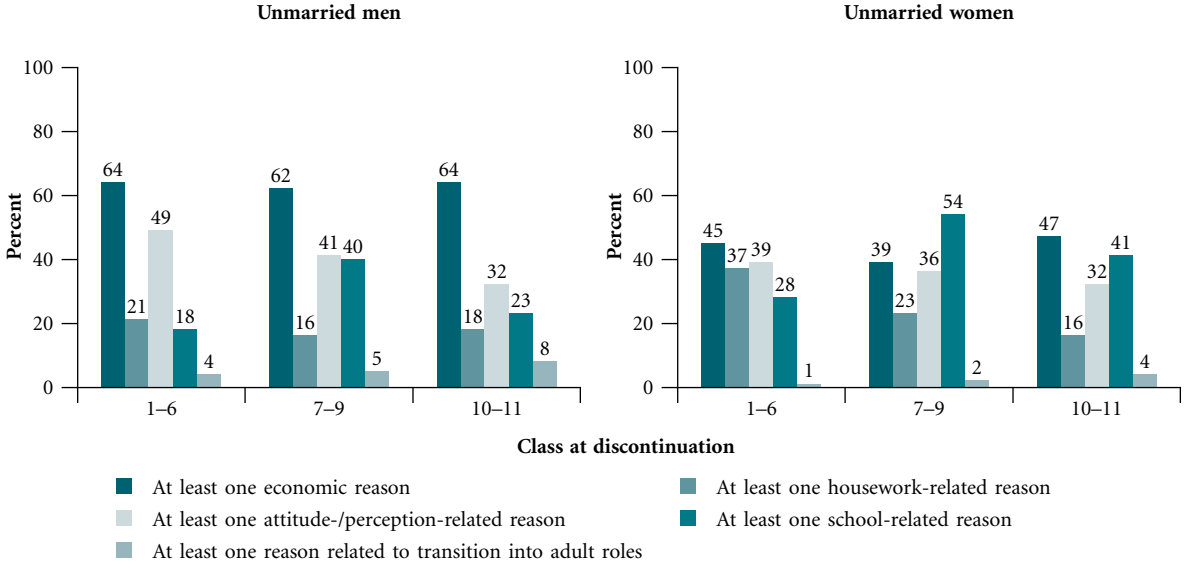


Figure 3.4b: Percentage of unmarried youth who had discontinued schooling by class when discontinued and reasons for discontinuation



3.5.1 School/college type and quality

As can be seen from Table 3.5, the majority of youth attended co-educational facilities. There was, however, a significant gender divide in terms of type of educational facility that youth attended, irrespective of rural-urban residence or current schooling status. Young men reported attending co-educational facilities at all levels of education; no less than four-fifths of young men reported so, irrespective of rural-urban residence and whether or not education had been discontinued. In contrast, young women were less likely to attend a co-educational facility, especially at higher

levels of schooling; for example, among both those who were currently attending a school or college and those who had discontinued their education, the percentage attending a co-educational facility dropped from 89–90% at primary or middle school level, to 79% at high school level, to 70% at higher secondary and higher levels. Rural youth were more likely than urban youth to have attended co-educational facilities.

The majority of youth at all levels attended government schools or colleges. Even so, some patterns are notable. For one, youth attending private educational facilities increased steadily as the level of schooling increased; among those who were currently attending a school or college, youth attending private educational facilities increased from 12–17% at primary or middle school level, to 25–27% at high school level, to 37–40% at higher secondary or college level. Second, young men and women in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to have attended a private educational facility, especially at high school and higher secondary or college levels. For example, among those who were currently studying at high school level, 39% of urban youth attended a private school, compared to 21–22% of rural youth. Third, larger percentages of those who had discontinued schooling than those who were currently studying had attended/were attending government educational facilities at all levels of schooling and in both rural and urban settings.

School quality was assessed by questions on the availability of drinking water, toilets, playgrounds and library facilities. Findings from Table 3.5 show vast differences between those pursuing their education at the time of the interview and those who had discontinued their education; differences were also observed by level of education attained and by type of amenity considered.

Among those pursuing their education at the time of the interview, the overwhelming majority, irrespective of sex, rural-urban residence or level of education attained, had access to drinking water (90–99%). Access to playgrounds varied by level of education, ranging from 80–81% among those attending primary or middle school to 86–91% among those at high school to 89–92% among those at higher secondary or college level; sex and rural-urban differences were narrow. In contrast, access to toilets increased with the level of education attained, was somewhat more likely to be reported by young women than young men, and considerably more likely to be reported by urban than rural youth. For example, while 70–72% of youth attending primary or middle school reported access to toilet facilities, 90–95% at higher secondary or college level reported so; among those studying at high school level, 83% of young women compared to 73% of young men, and 89–96% of urban youth compared to 69–77% of rural youth reported access to toilets. The availability of library facilities was reported by fewer youth and varied by level of education attained, sex and rural-urban residence. For example, access to libraries increased from 27% and 41% among young men and women attending primary or middle school to 49–59% among those attending high school and 78–82% among those at higher secondary or college level. Young women were more likely than young men to report library facilities; for example, among those attending high school, 59% of young women compared to 49% of young men so reported. Rural-urban differences were evident, with urban youth more likely than rural youth to report the availability of library facilities.

Among youth who had discontinued their education, drinking water was available to the vast majority of youth (86–97%), irrespective of sex, rural-urban residence or the level at which they had discontinued their education. Access to playgrounds varied by level at which education had been discontinued, ranging from 70–79% among those who had discontinued their education at the primary level to 87–95% among those who had discontinued at high school or higher secondary level. While young women were more likely than young men to report playgrounds, rural-urban differences were narrow. In contrast, reporting of toilet and library facilities varied by sex, rural-urban residence and level at which education was discontinued; these amenities were, for the most part, more likely to be reported by young women than men, among those in urban than rural settings and among those who had discontinued their education at higher secondary or college level than those who had discontinued at lower levels.

Availability of all four amenities—drinking water, playgrounds, toilets and libraries—increased systematically with level of schooling attained for all youth, irrespective of whether or not they had discontinued their education. Among youth still in school, all four amenities were available to 17–35% of those in primary or middle school, 41–52%

of those in high school, and 70–77% of those studying at higher levels. Among those who had discontinued their education, it increased from 15–21% at primary or middle school level, to 36–43% at the high school level, to 62–65% at higher secondary or college level. Availability of all four amenities was more likely to be reported by those who were studying at the time of the interview than those who had discontinued their education, suggesting that their availability may have played a role in the continuation of schooling. Gender differences were apparent; irrespective of current schooling status, somewhat larger percentages of young women than men reported the availability of all four amenities, most likely because the presence of these amenities was considered a prerequisite for girls to be enrolled in school. Finally, urban youth were more likely to report the availability of all four amenities than rural youth, irrespective of school continuation status, level of education attained or sex of the respondent.

3.5.2 School/college experiences

Table 3.6 presents young people's schooling experiences, namely, whether or not they attended class regularly, took private tuition, considered the academic workload to be heavy and had passed the last examination for which they had appeared. Among those pursuing their education, over 70% of youth, irrespective of sex, level of education attained or rural-urban residence reported that they attended classes regularly. Among them, it was young men at primary or middle level, and particularly those from rural areas, who were least likely to attend regularly. Between one-third and almost half of youth (33–46%) reported that they had taken private tuition; youth were more likely to have attended coaching classes at high school level than any other level (41–46% at high school level versus 35–36% at primary or middle level and 33–36% at higher secondary or college level). Gender differences were, for the most part, narrow; however, somewhat more young men than women reported private tuition at high school level, particularly in rural areas. Rural-urban differences suggest that urban youth were more likely than rural youth to have attended coaching classes at high school and higher secondary or college levels. Perceptions that the academic workload was heavy were reported by larger proportions of youth currently attending primary or middle schools than others (55% and 38% of young men and women, respectively, attending primary or middle schools, compared to 34–35% and 24–28% of those at high school and higher secondary or college levels, respectively). Differences were, by and large, negligible by sex and rural-urban residence. Finally, over 90% of youth, irrespective of level of education, reported that they had passed the last school or college examination for which they had appeared.

Among youth who had discontinued their education, those who had done so at primary or middle level were somewhat less likely than those who had discontinued later to have attended school regularly (77–82% compared to 88–95% at high school level and 84–91% at higher secondary or college level). Among them, young women were more likely than young men to have attended school regularly, irrespective of the level at which schooling had been discontinued. Rural-urban differences were, by and large, negligible. While 11–13% of those who had discontinued schooling at primary or middle level reported having taken private tuition, 24–27% of those who had discontinued at high school level and 21% of those who had discontinued at higher secondary or college level so reported. Differences by sex were negligible; however, urban youth who had discontinued at higher secondary or college levels were more likely than their rural counterparts to report private tuition (27–29% versus 17–18%); so too were young women in urban areas who had discontinued their education at high school level (32% versus 25%). Between one-third and two-fifths (32–45%) of all youth, irrespective of level of education and rural-urban residence, perceived the academic workload to be heavy. Finally, percentages who had passed the last examination for which they had appeared declined with the level of education at which schooling had been discontinued; 77% of young men and 84% of young women who had discontinued at primary or middle level had passed the last examination for which they had appeared, compared to 62% and 70%, respectively, of those who had discontinued at high school level, and 29% and 34%, respectively, of those who had discontinued at higher secondary or college level. Young women were more likely than young men to have passed their last examination, irrespective of the level at which schooling had been discontinued. Rural-urban differences were modest except that among those who had discontinued their education at higher secondary or college level, more urban than rural youth had passed the last examination for which they had appeared.

Table 3.5: Educational facilities availed

Percentage of youth who had ever attended school by type and characteristics of educational facility currently or last attended, according to current schooling status and residence

Facility characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24
	Combined						Urban						Rural					
	Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above		Primary/ middle School		High school		Higher secondary and above		Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above	
A. Currently continuing education																		
Type of facility																		
Co-educational	96.3	89.5	86.5	79.0	87.1	69.6	(88.2)	78.6	81.7	65.6	85.9	65.0	97.3	91.3	88.0	85.0	87.9	75.3
Private[1]	16.6	12.0	25.1	27.2	37.2	40.3	(35.3)	16.7	39.3	39.0	45.8	44.4	14.4	11.4	20.9	21.9	31.1	35.2
Fully government aided	83.4	87.0	72.7	70.1	55.6	53.9	(64.7)	83.3	58.4	57.7	47.0	49.1	85.6	87.5	76.9	75.7	61.8	59.9
Partially government aided	0.0	0.6	2.1	2.1	7.0	5.3	(0.0)	0.0	2.3	2.9	7.1	5.9	0.0	0.7	2.0	1.8	7.0	4.6
Available amenities																		
Drinking water	93.9	90.4	96.5	95.7	97.9	97.3	(94.1)	92.9	98.4	98.3	98.6	98.3	93.8	90.7	95.9	94.6	97.3	96.1
Toilet facility	69.9	71.5	73.3	82.7	89.9	95.0	(82.4)	81.0	88.7	95.6	95.9	98.2	68.5	70.6	68.8	76.8	85.6	91.1
Playground	79.8	80.5	86.4	91.3	88.8	92.0	(70.6)	83.3	88.9	93.0	90.4	93.0	80.8	80.3	85.7	90.6	87.7	90.7
Library	26.5	41.0	48.9	59.4	77.8	82.1	(50.0)	48.8	64.1	72.6	88.5	88.6	24.0	40.1	44.5	53.4	70.1	73.8
All of the above	16.6	34.6	40.8	52.0	69.9	76.7	(35.3)	40.5	57.3	68.9	81.8	84.1	14.4	33.8	35.9	44.3	61.5	67.3
Number currently in school/college	**140**	**525**	**1,793**	**2,820**	**4,011**	**5,340**	**49**	**157**	**815**	**1,192**	**2,581**	**3,517**	**91**	**368**	**978**	**1,628**	**1,430**	**1,823**
B. Discontinued education before completing Class 12																		
Type of facility																		
Co-educational	92.3	88.9	86.1	79.0	86.4	69.7	86.1	85.7	81.0	71.5	83.0	58.9	94.4	89.8	88.4	82.7	87.9	75.6
Private[1]	10.3	10.2	19.3	19.1	33.4	29.5	16.8	12.8	23.7	23.2	43.9	22.8	8.3	9.4	17.3	17.0	29.2	33.1
Fully government aided	88.4	88.8	78.1	78.9	61.6	67.1	82.5	86.1	73.9	75.0	54.2	73.1	90.2	89.7	80.0	80.8	64.2	63.8
Partially government aided	0.6	0.7	2.4	1.8	4.2	3.4	0.3	0.8	2.2	1.6	1.9	4.1	0.7	0.6	2.5	1.9	5.5	3.1
Available amenities																		
Drinking water	87.8	87.5	96.5	94.4	97.1	96.7	92.0	91.1	97.2	96.4	96.2	97.0	86.4	86.4	96.2	93.4	97.4	96.6
Toilet facility	43.2	55.5	66.3	80.0	82.6	91.3	56.0	68.5	78.9	89.8	88.7	96.4	39.2	51.6	60.6	75.2	80.2	88.5
Playground	70.2	78.9	87.3	91.9	87.4	94.9	70.3	82.2	86.5	92.3	84.1	95.9	70.2	77.9	87.6	91.7	88.3	94.1
Library	19.6	26.3	43.9	48.6	72.9	71.8	24.5	29.6	52.0	54.0	67.0	76.6	18.1	25.3	40.3	45.9	75.2	69.1
All of the above	14.6	21.1	36.3	43.4	61.8	64.7	20.7	27.0	47.4	51.7	63.2	71.6	12.6	19.4	31.2	39.4	60.9	61.0
Number who discontinued education before completing Class 12	**2,719**	**6,574**	**3,087**	**6,455**	**296**	**449**	**1,222**	**2,479**	**1,580**	**3,012**	**131**	**214**	**1,497**	**4,095**	**1,507**	**3,443**	**165**	**235**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. [1]While private, fully government aided and partially government aided were mutually exclusive options for school type, their combined total may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Table 3.6: Schooling experiences

Percentage of youth who had ever attended school by characteristics of school attendance and performance, according to current schooling status and residence

School attendance and performance characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24
	Combined						Urban						Rural					
	Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above		Primary/ middle School		High school		Higher secondary and above		Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above	
A. Currently continuing education																		
Attended classes regularly	74.2	86.1	91.5	91.0	87.9	88.7	(88.2)	90.5	95.2	95.4	92.1	92.0	72.6	85.8	90.4	89.0	84.8	84.5
Private tuition taken	36.0	34.8	45.6	41.1	35.9	33.1	(35.3)	33.3	53.8	54.6	45.0	39.3	36.3	35.2	43.1	35.0	29.5	25.4
Perceived the academic workload to be heavy	54.6	37.7	34.7	33.9	28.4	23.9	(41.2)	35.7	31.6	32.0	25.9	24.1	55.8	37.9	35.6	34.8	30.2	23.7
Passed last examination for which appeared	95.7	95.5	91.0	91.5	96.3	97.9	(100.0)	93.0	88.0	91.9	96.2	98.0	95.9	95.8	91.9	91.3	96.3	97.7
Number currently in school/college	**140**	**525**	**1,793**	**2,820**	**4,011**	**5,340**	**49**	**157**	**815**	**1,192**	**2,581**	**3,517**	**91**	**368**	**978**	**1,628**	**1,430**	**1,823**
B. Discontinued education before completing Class 12																		
Attended classes regularly	76.8	82.4	88.0	94.6	83.7	91.0	76.1	86.9	88.0	94.5	91.6	91.4	77.1	81.1	88.0	94.6	80.7	91.0
Private tuition taken	12.9	11.3	24.0	27.4	20.8	21.3	9.8	10.0	24.1	31.7	27.4	28.9	13.9	11.7	23.9	25.3	18.3	17.1
Perceived the academic workload to be heavy	43.6	36.7	40.4	32.4	36.8	35.6	39.6	33.5	40.4	33.6	33.0	38.6	44.9	37.7	40.4	31.9	38.1	33.9
Passed last examination for which appeared	76.6	84.3	61.6	70.3	29.2	34.1	73.8	80.7	60.8	66.7	32.7	39.6	77.4	85.3	61.9	72.1	28.1	31.1
Number who discontinued education before completing Class 12	**2,719**	**6,574**	**3,087**	**6,455**	**296**	**449**	**1,222**	**2,479**	**1,580**	**3,012**	**131**	**214**	**1,497**	**4,095**	**1,507**	**3,443**	**165**	**235**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases.

Schooling experiences differed somewhat among those who had discontinued schooling and those who were studying at the time of the interview. While differences in regular attendance were negligible, private tuition was consistently more likely to be reported by those pursuing their education than those who had discontinued it, irrespective of sex, level of education attained and rural-urban residence. As far as perceptions about the academic workload are concerned, clear patterns could not be discerned except that those who had discontinued their education at secondary or higher secondary levels were more likely than others to perceive the academic load to have been heavy. Differences were most apparent with regard to performance: those who had discontinued their education were considerably less likely than others to have passed the last examination for which they had appeared, irrespective of sex, level of education attained and rural-urban residence. It would appear that academic failure was an important factor precipitating school discontinuation.

3.6 Summary

While youth in the country were better educated than the general population, schooling was far from universal among them. Almost one in ten young men and one in four young women had never attended school. Findings show, moreover, that young women in rural areas and married young women were particularly disadvantaged; one-third of rural young women and almost two-fifths of married young women had never been to school. State-wise differences were also apparent: 10–16% of young men and 38–51% of young women from the northern states had never been to school, compared to 2–8% and 5–21%, respectively, in Maharashtra and the southern states.

Attainment of educational milestones also varied. In total, just two in five young men and one in three young women had completed high school. The rates were particularly low among several sub-groups of youth—young women, married youth, rural youth, those belonging to poor households, Muslim youth and those belonging to scheduled castes and tribes. Similarly, far smaller proportions of youth in the northern states than those in Maharashtra and the southern states had completed 10 or more years of education.

Among those who had ever enrolled in school, substantial declines in school completion rates took place earlier among young women than men, the married than the unmarried, and the rural compared to the urban. State-wise differences were less consistent. Major declines occurred earlier in the northern states and Andhra Pradesh than in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. Moreover, in all groups and all states, major declines occurred just prior to high school completion (between Classes 9 and 10) as well as following the completion of such milestones as a secondary, higher secondary and college education.

The leading reason for never attending school among young men and women was economic (for example, the respondent was required for work on the family farm/business or for outside wage earning work, or the family could not afford school-related expenses), reported by about three in five young men and women. More than half of young women, moreover, reported reasons related to housework (the respondent was required for care of siblings or housework). Attitude- or perception-related reasons (for example, education was unnecessary or the respondent was not interested in schooling) were other important reasons for never going to school, reported by one-third of young men and women. Finally, school-related reasons (school located too far away, poor school quality and so on) were important, particularly among young women.

Among those who had ever been to school, gender differences in reasons for discontinuation became more apparent. Leading reasons for discontinuation among young men, irrespective of the level at which schooling had been discontinued, continued to be economic and attitude and perception-related, and at higher levels, school-related as well. For young women, while percentages differed, leading reasons were economic, attitude- or perception-related, housework responsibilities and school-related. Among young women, moreover, reasons relating to transitions to adult roles, overwhelmingly marriage, became increasingly important among those who had discontinued their education at the secondary or higher secondary level. Of note, particularly, is that one in seven and one in four young women who had discontinued their education in Classes 7–9 and 10–11, respectively, reported reasons related to transitions to adult roles, notably marriage.

For the most part, youth attended co-educational and government schools and colleges. A gender divide was, however, observed in the type of educational facility they attended. While young men, by and large, attended co-educational facilities at all levels of education, percentages of young women attending a co-educational facility declined with level of schooling attained. Moreover, percentages of young men and women attending private educational facilities increased with level of education.

As far as availability of such amenities as drinking water, playgrounds, toilets and libraries was concerned, almost all youth had access to drinking water, and considerable majorities to playgrounds. Toilets and library facilities were less likely to be reported by youth, irrespective of their schooling status at the time of the interview. By and large, differences were observed in the availability of amenities at educational facilities attended by youth who were still in school and those who had discontinued their education at various levels. Indeed, youth who were still studying were somewhat more likely to report the availability of all four amenities—water, toilets, playgrounds and libraries—than were those who had discontinued their education: for example, among those at higher secondary or college level at the time of the interview, 70–77% reported access to all four amenities, compared with 62–65% among those who had discontinued their education at these levels.

Schooling experiences were relatively similar among young men and women but differed somewhat among those who had discontinued schooling and those who were studying at the time of the interview. While differences in regular attendance and perceptions about academic load were less consistent, youth who were continuing their education were considerably more likely to report private tuition, and to have passed the last examination for which they had appeared. It would appear that academic failure was an important factor precipitating school discontinuation.

Chapter 4

Economic and non-economic activity

The period between the ages of 15 and 29 marks, for many young people, entry into the labour market and economic independence, acquisition of professional and technical skills, and new living arrangements. Economic uncertainty, however, dominates the lives of many youth. According to International Labour Organisation (ILO) estimates, although youth (aged 15–24) comprise around 25% of the world's working-age population, they constitute around 44% of the unemployed (ILO, 2006). The unemployment rate among youth has also been identified as one of the key indicators for monitoring the progress towards achieving the UN Millennium Development Goals (UNDP, 2000). For many young people, this period also marks the discontinuation of education and increasing acceptance of domestic responsibilities. This chapter explores the economic activity of young people, their work-related mobility, their participation in non-economic activities (domestic work), and their vocational skill-building experiences and preferences.

4.1 Economic activity

During the survey, a number of questions were asked to assess the economic activity and occupational status of youth. Youth were asked whether they had ever worked, either for or without remuneration. They were also asked whether they had worked in the 12 months preceding the interview, whether they were seeking employment, the type of work in which they were engaged, and the number of months during which they had worked or sought work in the year preceding the interview.

Work profiles varied widely, as shown in Table 4.1. In total, over two-thirds of young men and one-half of young women reported that they had been engaged in paid or unpaid work at some point in their lives. Young men and women were far less likely to have engaged in unpaid than in paid work (23% versus 63% among young men and 22% versus 39% among young women). Marital status differences indicate that the married were more likely than the unmarried to have engaged in paid or unpaid work. Almost all married young men compared to almost two-thirds of unmarried young men, and almost three-fifths of married young women compared to two-fifths of the unmarried, had ever worked. Rural-urban differences suggest, moreover, that more rural than urban youth had ever worked: 74% versus 62% of young men, and 58% versus 30% of young women. In addition, rural youth, particularly young women, were more likely than their urban counterparts to have engaged in unpaid work (28% each of young men and women in rural areas compared to 12% and 7%, respectively, in urban areas).

Work was initiated in childhood or early adolescence, that is, before age 15, for many; 28–29% of youth reported that they had initiated either paid or unpaid work before they were aged 15. More married than unmarried and more rural than urban youth had initiated economic activity from an early age, irrespective of sex.

Table 4.1 also presents the percentages of youth reporting that they had worked any time in the 12 months prior to the interview. We note that the measure of work in the year prior to the interview covers a wide range of experiences that go beyond what is typically considered an employment rate (for example, as per the usual principal status definition, employment is defined as those who worked for the major part of the year preceding the interview as a fraction of those in the labour force, that is, those who worked or sought work for the major part of the year). Included in our measure of work are youth who worked for any length of time during the year as a proportion of all youth, irrespective of whether they had worked or sought work in the year preceding the interview.

Table 4.1: Economic activity

Percentage of youth who ever worked and who worked in the last 12 months, and percent distribution of youth by duration of work and main occupation in the last 12 months, according to residence

Economic activity	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Ever worked						
Paid work	63.1	38.7	93.2	43.9	56.3	32.8
Unpaid work	23.0	21.5	33.0	27.7	20.2	14.7
Either paid or unpaid work	70.0	49.6	97.7	58.0	63.6	40.2
Started working before age 15	27.6	29.2	39.4	37.4	23.9	20.1
Ever worked in last 12 months						
Paid work	60.3	30.4	91.4	31.2	53.3	29.8
Unpaid work	13.5	15.8	13.6	19.0	12.9	12.3
Either paid or unpaid work	67.6	40.0	96.8	43.2	60.8	36.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Duration of paid work in last 12 months						
Most of the year (6 months or more)	78.7	62.6	90.0	62.5	75.4	62.3
Part of the year (3–5 months)	12.7	20.6	8.0	22.4	13.7	18.5
Rarely (less than 3 months)	8.3	15.6	1.7	13.9	10.6	18.1
Main occupation (paid work)						
Cultivator	5.5	3.3	8.5	4.4	4.4	1.9
Agricultural labourer	20.1	58.6	19.3	67.1	20.1	49.4
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	6.7	7.3	6.0	3.5	7.8	11.5
Business	4.8	0.7	5.7	0.5	4.9	0.8
Skilled manual/machinery	30.8	16.0	30.1	13.4	31.6	19.1
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	30.1	13.2	28.7	10.7	29.1	15.8
Other	1.4	0.5	1.2	0.3	1.5	0.8
Number engaged in paid work in last 12 months	**8,181**	**8,158**	**7,380**	**3,558**	**5,779**	**4,600**
Urban						
Ever worked						
Paid work	58.4	26.7	98.1	30.7	53.1	23.9
Unpaid work	11.9	6.5	17.0	8.6	11.1	5.1
Either paid or unpaid work	61.7	29.9	98.8	35.1	56.7	26.4
Started working before age 15	16.1	9.5	27.5	14.5	14.1	6.1
Ever worked in last 12 months						
Paid work	56.3	18.2	97.4	14.7	50.8	20.5
Unpaid work	5.8	3.7	4.6	3.9	6.0	3.7
Either paid or unpaid work	59.3	20.7	98.2	17.4	54.1	22.9
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 4.1: (Cont'd)

Economic activity	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Duration of paid work in last 12 months						
Most of the year (6 months or more)	88.1	76.3	97.0	74.3	86.3	77.3
Part of the year (3–5 months)	7.8	12.3	2.5	14.8	8.7	11.0
Rarely (less than 3 months)	4.0	10.5	0.4	9.5	4.9	11.1
Main occupation (paid work)						
Cultivator	1.0	0.7	1.0	1.3	1.0	0.4
Agricultural labourer	1.9	6.2	2.1	10.9	2.2	4.1
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	13.1	26.3	11.7	14.7	14.4	31.9
Business	7.7	2.0	10.1	1.6	7.5	2.1
Skilled manual/machinery	40.8	30.5	43.5	36.7	40.2	27.4
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	32.8	32.2	29.2	33.4	31.9	31.6
Other	2.3	1.5	1.9	1.1	2.4	1.7
Number engaged in paid work in last 12 months	**4,077**	**2,326**	**3,420**	**838**	**3,120**	**1,488**
Rural						
Ever worked						
Paid work	65.1	43.7	91.6	47.6	57.9	37.7
Unpaid work	27.9	27.8	38.1	33.0	24.8	20.0
Either paid or unpaid work	73.6	57.9	97.4	64.5	67.0	47.9
Started working before age 15	32.5	37.5	43.2	43.9	28.7	27.8
Ever worked in last 12 months						
Paid work	62.1	35.5	89.5	35.9	54.6	34.9
Unpaid work	16.8	20.8	16.5	23.3	16.3	17.1
Either paid or unpaid work	71.2	48.1	96.4	50.5	64.1	44.6
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Duration of paid work in last 12 months						
Most of the year (6 months or more)	75.0	59.7	87.7	61.1	70.4	57.4
Part of the year (3–5 months)	14.7	22.4	10.0	23.3	16.1	20.9
Rarely (less than 3 months)	10.0	16.7	2.1	14.4	13.3	20.3
Main occupation (paid work)						
Cultivator	7.3	3.9	11.1	4.8	6.1	2.4
Agricultural labourer	27.2	69.8	25.2	73.6	28.4	64.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	4.2	3.3	4.0	2.2	4.8	4.9
Business	3.7	0.4	4.2	0.4	3.7	0.4
Skilled manual/machinery	26.9	12.9	25.5	10.7	27.5	16.4
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	29.1	9.1	28.6	8.1	27.8	10.7
Other	1.1	0.3	1.0	0.2	1.1	0.5
Number engaged in paid work in last 12 months	**4,104**	**5,832**	**3,960**	**2,720**	**2,659**	**3,112**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Percentages of youth who had worked in the last 12 months largely mirrored lifetime economic activity for young men. Among young women, this was true for the unmarried. Fewer married young women, however, reported economic activity in the last 12 months compared to lifetime economic activity, a finding that may be attributed to conflict with childbearing and childrearing activities, on the one hand, and the tendency of married young women to be secluded from outside work, on the other.

Findings also suggest that among young men who had worked for remuneration in the year prior to the interview, four-fifths (79%) had worked for at least six months of the year. In contrast, young women worked for shorter periods; just 63% had worked for at least six months. While more married than unmarried young men had worked for most of the year, irrespective of rural-urban residence, no such differences were evident among young women. Finally, rural-urban differences suggest that larger proportions of young men and women in urban than rural areas reported working for most of the year (88% versus 75% of young men and 76% versus 60% of young women).

Occupational distributions of those reporting remunerated work in the 12 months preceding the interview differed widely among youth in rural and urban areas. Among young men and women in urban areas, leading occupations were unskilled non-agricultural labour (32–33%), skilled manual labour (31–41%) and administrative, executive, managerial and clerical occupations (13–26%), together reported by 87–89%. Findings suggest, moreover, that while young men in urban areas were more likely than young women to report skilled manual labour, young women were more likely than young men to report administrative, executive, managerial and clerical occupations. Among rural youth, leading occupations differed between young men and young women. Unskilled non-agricultural labour (29%), skilled manual labour (27%), and agricultural labour (27%) were leading occupations among young men, together reported by 83%; a similar proportion (83%) of young women reported agricultural labour (70%) and skilled manual labour (13%) as leading occupations.

Differences by marital status were not wide among young men in both rural and urban areas. Among young women, however, the differences were notable; in both rural and urban areas, the married were more likely than the unmarried to report that they worked as agricultural labourers (74% versus 64% in rural areas; 11% versus 4% in urban areas). While the married were more likely to have worked as skilled manual labourers in urban areas (37% versus 27%), the reverse was evident in rural areas (11% versus 16%). Additionally in urban areas, the married were less likely than the unmarried to report in administrative, executive, managerial and clerical occupations (15% versus 32%).

Among youth reporting unpaid work in the 12 months preceding the interview, findings suggest that the large majority of young women (73%) and about half of young men (53%) were engaged in agricultural activities, that is, on the family farm (not shown in tabular form). As expected, more rural than urban youth were engaged in such activities.

Table 4.2 presents economic activity profiles of youth in each state. Between three-fifths and three-quarters of young men (62–76%) and between two-fifths and three-fifths of young women (39–60%) reported that they had ever worked. In general, young men in Andhra Pradesh and Bihar and women in Andhra Pradesh were most likely, and young men in Rajasthan and young women in Maharashtra were least likely, to have ever worked. Among youth in urban areas, a regional pattern was evident, with those in the southern states more likely than those in the other states to have ever worked (62–68% versus 55–62% among young men; 37% versus 22–30% among young women). Patterns were less evident among youth in rural areas.

As far as child labour patterns are concerned, regional patterns were not evident, however young men in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh were more likely than others to have had initiated either paid or unpaid work before they were aged 15. A similar pattern was observed in both rural and urban areas. Among young women, while just one-sixth of those from Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu had initiated work in childhood or early adolescence, between one-third and two-fifths in the remaining states reported so (Table 4.2). While this pattern was evident in rural areas, the differences were narrow in urban areas.

Table 4.2: Economic activity by state

Percentage of youth who ever worked, who had initiated work before age 15 and who worked in the last 12 months by state, according to residence

Economic activity	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Ever worked—paid or unpaid work						
Bihar	74.9	47.2	97.8	52.9	67.1	38.0
Jharkhand	67.7	50.7	96.7	55.9	60.1	44.9
Rajasthan	61.9	54.9	94.1	65.7	48.5	38.3
Maharashtra	68.9	38.6	98.6	47.0	64.3	31.8
Andhra Pradesh	76.0	60.4	99.4	70.1	70.7	48.4
Tamil Nadu	65.7	46.8	99.8	54.3	62.1	41.9
Total	**70.0**	**49.6**	**97.7**	**58.0**	**63.6**	**40.2**
Started working before age 15						
Bihar	36.9	35.3	45.7	39.8	33.9	28.5
Jharkhand	28.8	34.8	37.8	38.5	25.0	30.9
Rajasthan	21.7	36.0	30.1	44.8	18.2	22.9
Maharashtra	19.2	17.0	27.8	22.4	16.5	12.6
Andhra Pradesh	37.2	38.6	53.9	50.6	31.7	23.4
Tamil Nadu	21.4	16.7	40.6	22.2	18.8	13.0
Total	**27.6**	**29.2**	**39.4**	**37.4**	**23.9**	**20.1**
Worked in the last 12 months						
Bihar	72.7	36.8	96.8	38.0	64.3	36.0
Jharkhand	65.1	44.1	95.5	46.6	56.8	41.8
Rajasthan	61.3	49.5	93.3	58.3	48.0	36.8
Maharashtra	66.6	31.5	97.6	35.5	61.8	28.5
Andhra Pradesh	72.6	47.4	98.4	50.5	66.6	44.1
Tamil Nadu	62.5	33.8	99.7	28.5	58.5	37.4
Total	**67.6**	**40.0**	**96.8**	**43.2**	**60.8**	**36.9**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Ever worked—paid or unpaid work						
Bihar	62.4	22.3	96.7	25.9	57.6	20.0
Jharkhand	55.1	27.4	93.9	33.7	51.0	23.9
Rajasthan	57.9	29.8	96.8	36.0	48.9	24.3
Maharashtra	60.8	22.7	99.5	24.8	55.5	21.5
Andhra Pradesh	68.1	36.8	100.0	45.4	63.4	29.7
Tamil Nadu	62.0	37.0	99.6	43.4	58.5	33.3
Total	**61.7**	**29.9**	**98.8**	**35.1**	**56.7**	**26.4**
Started working before age 15						
Bihar	24.7	10.4	32.6	14.1	23.3	7.7
Jharkhand	17.0	12.4	27.9	18.6	15.2	8.8
Rajasthan	14.5	12.5	19.3	17.1	13.0	8.3
Maharashtra	9.2	4.2	17.8	6.9	7.3	2.4
Andhra Pradesh	26.0	15.0	42.7	24.0	22.3	7.7
Tamil Nadu	18.7	10.5	37.4	14.6	16.5	8.1
Total	**16.1**	**9.5**	**27.5**	**14.5**	**14.1**	**6.1**

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Table 4.2: (Cont'd)

Economic activity	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Worked in the last 12 months						
Bihar	58.8	15.1	94.6	12.6	53.7	17.0
Jharkhand	51.9	19.7	92.4	18.2	47.7	20.5
Rajasthan	57.1	23.9	96.6	25.3	48.3	22.7
Maharashtra	59.0	16.3	98.9	13.2	53.5	18.3
Andhra Pradesh	65.0	24.5	99.7	23.1	59.9	25.6
Tamil Nadu	59.0	24.0	99.4	15.3	55.2	29.0
Total	**59.3**	**20.7**	**98.2**	**17.4**	**54.1**	**22.9**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Ever worked—paid or unpaid work						
Bihar	77.0	50.4	97.9	54.7	69.0	41.3
Jharkhand	72.5	58.7	97.3	60.4	64.1	56.1
Rajasthan	63.3	63.8	93.4	71.5	48.3	45.4
Maharashtra	75.3	51.0	97.9	59.8	71.6	42.1
Andhra Pradesh	79.2	70.3	99.2	77.3	73.9	58.9
Tamil Nadu	68.6	54.6	100.0	61.7	65.0	49.4
Total	**73.6**	**57.9**	**97.4**	**64.5**	**67.0**	**47.9**
Started working before age 15						
Bihar	39.0	38.5	46.8	41.4	36.0	32.3
Jharkhand	33.2	42.5	39.6	42.5	29.5	42.6
Rajasthan	24.2	44.3	32.6	50.3	20.5	30.3
Maharashtra	27.2	27.1	34.8	31.3	24.1	22.7
Andhra Pradesh	41.6	48.5	57.0	58.3	35.8	32.3
Tamil Nadu	23.5	21.5	42.9	27.4	20.6	17.4
Total	**32.5**	**37.5**	**43.2**	**43.9**	**28.7**	**27.8**
Worked in the last 12 months						
Bihar	75.0	39.6	97.0	39.7	66.4	39.5
Jharkhand	70.1	52.6	96.0	52.4	60.9	53.1
Rajasthan	62.7	58.6	92.6	64.8	47.8	43.9
Maharashtra	72.7	43.4	96.9	48.2	68.7	38.5
Andhra Pradesh	75.5	57.0	98.2	58.4	69.6	54.5
Tamil Nadu	65.2	41.7	99.9	37.4	61.2	44.7
Total	**71.2**	**48.1**	**96.4**	**50.5**	**64.1**	**44.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Percentages of youth who had worked in the last 12 months ranged from 61% to 73% among young men and 32% to 50% among young women in the six states. No regional patterns were evident, however, young men in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu were least likely (61–63%), and those in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh most likely (73%), to have worked in the last 12 months; similarly, young women in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu were least likely (32–34%), and those in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh were most likely (47–50%), to so report. These differences were not consistently observed when rural and urban youth were considered separately.

4.2 Unemployment

To measure unemployment rates among respondents, the Youth Study assessed (a) whether youth had worked in the 12 months preceding the interview and if so, the number of months worked; and (b) whether youth were seeking work and if so, the number of months during which they had been searching for work. Table 4.3 reports unemployment rates, defined as those seeking employment for the major part of the year preceding the interview as a fraction of those in the labour force. Labour force refers to those who were working or seeking work for the major part of the year. It does not, therefore, include those exclusively studying, those who may have worked for a short period in the year preceding the interview, or those who had sought work for a short period in the year preceding the interview.

Measured in this way, one in seven young men (14%) and one in six young women (16%) reported unemployment. In comparison, unemployment rates observed by the National Sample Survey (NSS), using the principal status definition in the six states under study (NSSO, 2006) ranged from 2% to 6% and 4% to 22% among young men aged 15–29 in rural and urban areas respectively, and from 0% to 6% and 4% to 13%, respectively, among young women. We note, however, that rates obtained in the Youth Study are not quite comparable to the NSS not only because questions were not identical, but also because of differences in the frequency with which information was obtained and corresponding differences in the recall period (quarterly in the NSS as compared to a 12-month recall period in the Youth Study) and differences in the household member eligible to provide information on youth unemployment (any household member in the NSS compared to the individual herself or himself in the Youth Study).

Findings suggest, moreover, that while gender differences were negligible for the overall and rural populations, variation did exist in urban areas; 23% of young women compared to 13% of young men reported unemployment. Differences by marital status indicate that unmarried young men were more likely than married young men to report unemployment (17% and 5%, respectively); similar differences were evident in both rural and urban areas. Among young women, differences in unemployment were negligible; however, among urban women, the married were somewhat more likely than the unmarried to report unemployment (27% and 21%, respectively). Differences by rural-urban residence were observed only among young women (23% and 14% of young women in urban and rural areas, respectively, reported unemployment).

Table 4.3: Unemployment

Percentage of youth in the labour force who were unemployed, according to residence

Unemployment[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Unemployed	14.1	16.0	4.8	14.6	17.4	17.8
Number in labour force	**8,275**	**7,404**	**7,421**	**3,424**	**5,873**	**3,980**
Urban						
Unemployed	12.8	22.9	1.8	26.7	15.1	20.9
Number in labour force	**4,236**	**2,541**	**3,429**	**985**	**3,276**	**1,556**
Rural						
Unemployed	14.7	14.2	5.8	12.9	18.5	16.5
Number in labour force	**4,039**	**4,863**	**3,992**	**2,439**	**2,597**	**2,424**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Unemployment rate: Youth who were seeking work for the major part of the year preceding the interview as a proportion of those in the labour force (namely, those who were employed and/or seeking work for the major part of the year).

Table 4.4 describes socio-economic and demographic differentials in reported unemployment among young men and women. While unemployment appeared to be higher among younger (aged 15–19) than older (aged 20–24) men, the reverse was true among young women. Differences by religion and caste were negligible among young men, but somewhat more Muslim young women, and more young women belonging to general castes reported unemployment than did those from other religions and castes, respectively.

Table 4.4: Unemployment by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth in the labour force who were unemployed by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	19.0	13.4	10.0	11.9	19.8	14.2
20–24	11.4	18.0	5.7	15.6	15.4	25.3
25–29	NA	NA	4.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	14.2	15.7	4.7	14.4	17.7	17.5
Muslim	12.1	20.5	5.0	19.4	14.3	21.3
Other[1]	16.6	15.0	8.2	12.0	19.0	16.8
Caste						
SC	14.6	13.8	6.4	12.5	17.6	15.4
ST/VJNT	13.3	10.6	5.3	8.6	18.9	13.8
OBC	13.2	16.1	4.3	15.5	16.2	16.9
General[2]	16.6	22.7	3.9	20.3	19.7	25.4
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	5.7	5.9	4.1	6.2	5.4	4.6
1–7	5.9	8.4	3.0	10.1	7.2	6.1
8–11	15.0	24.1	5.3	27.7	17.6	21.2
12 and above	31.5	40.6	8.1	52.8	35.6	36.1
Wealth quintile						
First	13.4	12.7	7.3	13.1	16.5	11.6
Second	12.2	11.9	5.8	10.7	14.1	13.9
Third	13.0	13.1	3.1	11.9	17.1	14.6
Fourth	14.2	18.5	4.4	17.3	17.4	19.9
Fifth	17.9	27.6	4.0	26.0	21.3	29.1
State						
Bihar	22.4	35.7	9.8	34.5	28.8	37.6
Jharkhand	21.9	25.6	12.7	28.1	26.1	22.2
Rajasthan	6.0	6.1	3.0	5.4	8.2	7.3
Maharashtra	19.5	16.7	4.6	12.1	23.2	21.3
Andhra Pradesh	6.8	10.1	1.1	7.7	9.1	13.5
Tamil Nadu	7.0	14.6	0.9	15.5	7.9	14.0
Total	**14.1**	**16.0**	**4.8**	**14.6**	**17.4**	**17.8**

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Table 4.4: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	16.6	16.5	(5.9)	16.9	16.8	16.5
20–24	11.3	26.3	3.5	28.3	14.2	24.6
25–29	NA	NA	1.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	13.4	22.0	1.7	25.4	16.0	20.1
Muslim	8.9	24.5	1.7	26.8	10.5	23.6
Other[1]	15.4	27.5	2.2	37.2	16.8	23.4
Caste						
SC	14.0	24.1	2.4	31.3	17.0	20.7
ST/VJNT	25.0	29.5	2.1	21.9	29.7	36.4
OBC	10.7	20.3	1.7	22.7	12.3	19.0
General[2]	14.2	26.3	1.3	34.8	17.3	22.6
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	2.1	7.8	0.6	8.2	2.3	6.0
1–7	3.4	7.8	0.6	11.4	4.6	5.3
8–11	11.5	27.5	2.1	36.3	13.0	22.1
12 and above	26.4	32.5	3.0	44.7	29.2	29.1
Wealth quintile						
First	7.9	13.2	1.3	16.1	9.7	11.4
Second	11.0	15.1	2.7	18.9	13.3	12.0
Third	8.3	16.3	1.8	18.9	9.9	14.7
Fourth	11.8	22.8	1.7	30.5	13.8	18.3
Fifth	16.8	29.3	1.7	33.3	19.5	27.8
State						
Bihar	21.7	58.3	7.1	68.2	24.6	51.2
Jharkhand	25.4	38.5	9.4	49.2	27.5	33.1
Rajasthan	4.9	12.8	0.9	15.3	6.9	10.6
Maharashtra	17.8	25.6	1.4	24.1	21.1	26.3
Andhra Pradesh	6.3	23.3	0.7	27.1	7.8	20.5
Tamil Nadu	6.5	15.0	0.8	22.9	7.4	12.4
Total	**12.8**	**22.9**	**1.8**	**26.7**	**15.1**	**20.9**
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	19.8	12.8	10.7	11.6	20.9	13.6
20–24	11.5	15.4	6.3	13.5	16.2	25.9
25–29	NA	NA	5.3	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	14.5	14.2	5.5	13.0	18.5	16.5
Muslim	14.6	18.4	7.2	17.4	18.4	19.7
Other[1]	17.2	10.2	10.4	6.5	20.1	13.8

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Table 4.4: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Caste						
SC	14.8	11.5	7.5	10.5	17.9	13.4
ST/VJNT	11.6	8.5	5.7	7.7	16.7	10.2
OBC	14.2	15.0	5.2	14.4	18.2	16.0
General[2]	18.2	21.1	5.8	16.9	21.3	27.3
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	6.4	5.8	4.5	6.1	6.0	4.5
1–7	6.7	8.5	3.7	9.9	8.2	6.3
8–11	16.5	23.1	6.6	25.5	19.9	20.9
12 and above	35.2	51.4	11.8	58.8	41.0	46.7
Wealth quintile						
First	13.9	12.6	7.7	13.1	17.2	11.6
Second	12.3	11.6	6.1	10.0	14.2	14.1
Third	14.5	12.4	3.5	10.9	19.6	14.6
Fourth	15.7	16.5	5.8	13.8	20.0	21.1
Fifth	19.5	25.8	6.6	22.6	24.3	31.7
State						
Bihar	22.7	33.7	10.0	33.2	29.6	35.3
Jharkhand	20.7	22.0	13.5	24.8	25.4	17.7
Rajasthan	6.4	4.9	3.5	4.5	9.0	6.2
Maharashtra	20.7	13.2	7.1	9.4	24.9	18.1
Andhra Pradesh	6.9	7.2	1.2	5.0	9.6	11.2
Tamil Nadu	7.2	14.3	1.1	12.6	8.3	15.3
Total	**14.7**	**14.2**	**5.8**	**12.9**	**18.5**	**16.5**

Note: ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Differences by education were, in contrast, wide and consistent. Better educated youth were more likely to report unemployment than other categories of youth, suggesting the relative dearth of opportunities for the educated. Young men and women who had completed Class 12 reported the highest rates of unemployment (32% and 41%, respectively), a finding reiterated in other studies (Chandrasekhar, Ghosh and Roychowdhury, 2006; NSSO, 2006). Differences by household economic status, measured in wealth quintiles, were less consistent among young men; even so, unemployment rates were the highest among those belonging to households in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile. Among young women, unemployment rates increased uniformly and sharply with household economic status.

Finally, state-wise differences suggest that unemployment rates were higher among young men in Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra than in the other states (20–22% versus 6–7%). Of particular note is that although Maharashtra is economically more developed than Bihar and Jharkhand, as many young men in Maharashtra as in Bihar and Jharkhand reported unemployment. Among young women, those from Bihar and Jharkhand reported unemployment rates higher than those reported in Maharashtra and the southern states (26–36% versus 10–17%). Indeed, with 6% unemployment, Rajasthan recorded the lowest unemployment rate among all states.

Patterns by marital status were similar to patterns described above for young men and women in general; however, differences by educational level were narrow among married young men. Similar patterns were observed, moreover, among the rural and urban samples, with some notable exceptions among urban youth. For example, fewer Muslim young men than those belonging to Hindu and other religions reported unemployment (9% versus 13–15%). Moreover, among both young men and women, those belonging to scheduled tribes were more likely than others to report unemployment (25% versus 11–14% among young men; 30% versus 20–26% among young women).

4.3 Economic activity and schooling status

While the period of transition to adulthood is marked by discontinuation of schooling and entry into the labour market for many young people, some combine schooling and work and others are neither in school nor working. Data collected through the Life Event Calendar component of the Youth Study provided an opportunity to explore the pattern of these events (that is, studying, working, both studying and working, and neither studying nor working) in young people's lives from the age of 12, and these are presented in Figures 4.1a-4.1c. We note that for married youth, Figures 4.1a and 4.1b convey the situation both prior to and following marriage.

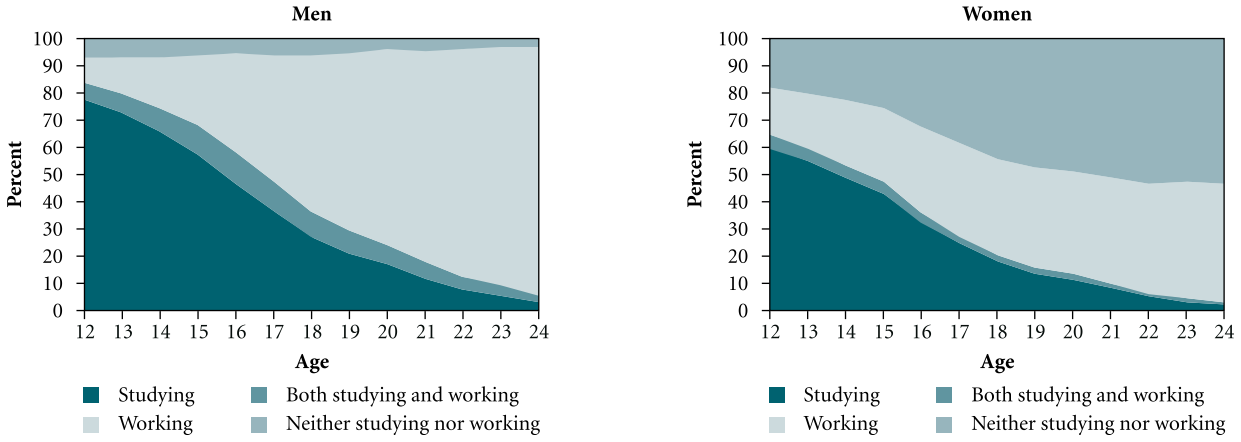
Patterns varied widely by sex and marital status of the respondent. A comparison of the two panels of Figure 4.1a shows, first, that the proportion of youth reporting school attendance declined across all groups as young people transitioned out of childhood or early adolescence into late adolescence and young adulthood. For example, while 83% of young men and 65% of young women were in school (a small minority of these were also working) at age 12, the percentage who remained in school at age 15 fell to 68% for young men and 48% for young women. Second, very few young people—12% or fewer young men and 5% or fewer young women—reported having combined studying and working at any age. Third, exit from school was accompanied by a steady rise in work participation over the ages among young men, and a much more gradual rise among young women. Moreover, while more young women than men were working at early ages (12–13), a reverse pattern was evident by age 15, and the gender gap widened with age thereafter. Fourth, the age at which more youth were working than in school occurred at age 17 for both young women and young men. Finally, significant proportions of young women but not young men were neither in school nor working from age 12 onwards. Among young men, small proportions (7% or fewer) were neither working nor in school at any age. Among young women, there was a steady increase by age. At age 12, 18% of young women were neither working nor in school; percentages increased to 25 at age 15 and 49 at age 20.

Figures 4.1b and 4.1c suggest that patterns differed between married and unmarried youth. For one, the married were less likely than the unmarried to be in school at each age. For example, 68% and 49% of married young men and women, respectively, and 88% and 82% of the unmarried, respectively, were in school (a small minority of these were also working) at age 12, and the percentages of those who remained in school fell thereafter. At age 20, for example, only 12% of married young men and 5% of married young women were pursuing their education compared to 33% and 46% of unmarried young men and women, respectively. Second, more married than unmarried young women were neither in school nor working from age 12 onward; marital status differences were negligible among young men. Finally, the age from which more youth were working than in school was 15 years among married young men and women; this crossover occurred at considerably older ages among the unmarried (18 and 22 years among young men and women, respectively).

4.4 Participation in vocational training programmes

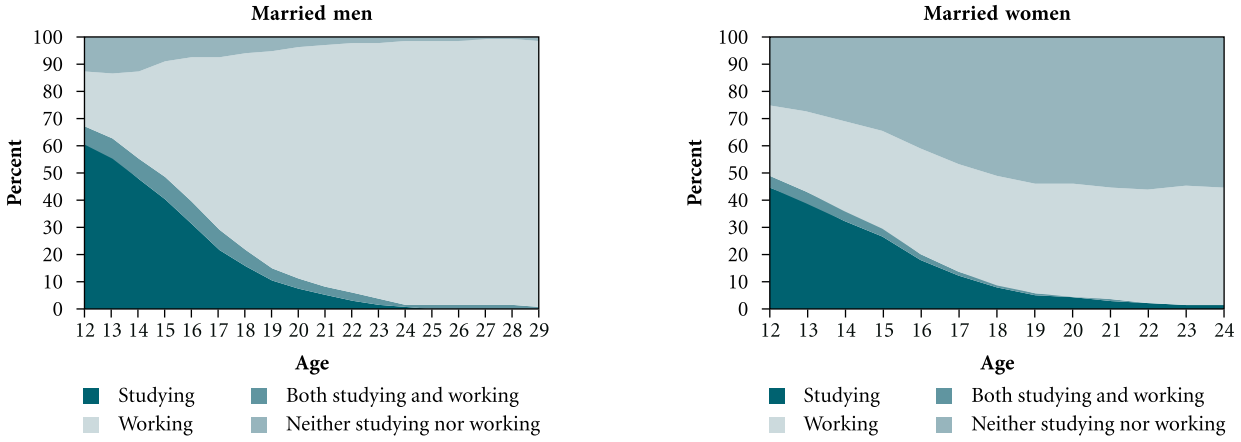
A number of vocational training opportunities are available to youth through government, non-government and private organisations. Our survey inquired whether respondents had attended any such programmes, and the kinds of programmes they would like to attend, if offered. Findings, presented in Table 4.5 indicate that 21% of young men and 25% of young women had ever attended a vocational training programme. While marital status differences were negligible among young men (19–22%), unmarried young women were more likely to have received training than their married counterparts (30% versus 20%). Similarly, urban youth were considerably more likely to have received training than their rural counterparts (32% versus 16% among young men; 43% versus 17% among young women).

Figure 4.1a: Economic activity and schooling status among youth aged 15–24, by age



Note: For married youth, the figure conveys the situation prior to and following marriage.

Figure 4.1b: Economic activity and schooling status among married men aged 15–29 and married women aged 15–24, by age



Note: The figure conveys the situation prior to and following marriage.

Figure 4.1c: Economic activity and schooling status among unmarried men and women aged 15–24, by age

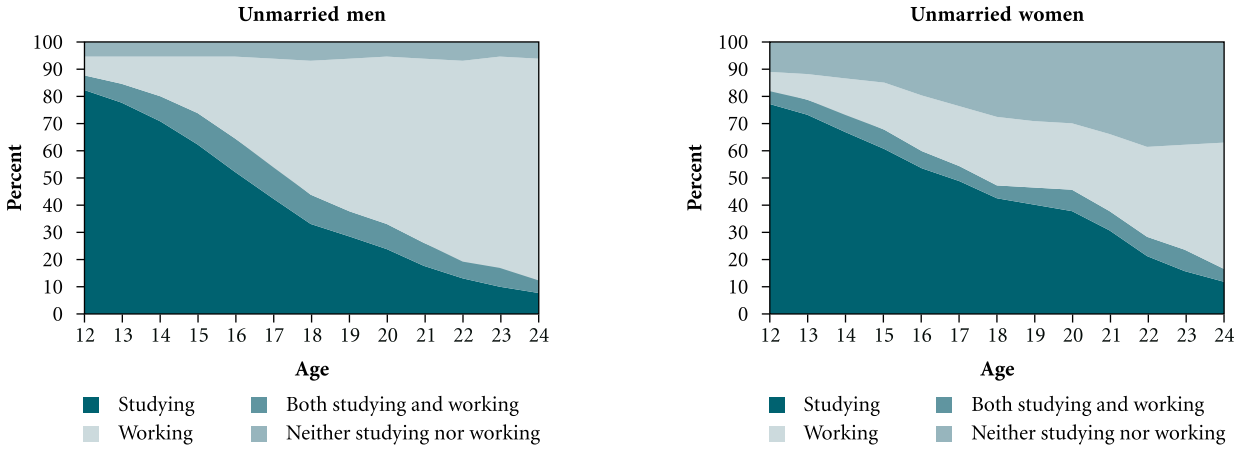


Table 4.5: Participation in vocational training programmes

Percentage of youth who ever attended a vocational training programme and type of programme attended, according to residence

Programmes/courses attended	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Ever attended a vocational training programme	20.5	24.7	19.0	19.5	21.9	30.1
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Types of programmes/courses attended						
Tailoring	4.5	58.6	8.6	74.9	3.5	47.2
Auto mechanics/electrical work	19.8	0.1	21.4	0.0	19.1	0.2
Driving	13.4	0.4	26.9	0.2	11.1	0.5
Plumbing/masonry	6.8	0.1	14.7	0.1	5.6	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	0.6	0.1	1.2	0.1	0.4	0.1
Beauty parlour/salon	1.0	7.3	1.5	5.2	0.8	8.7
Nurse's aid	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.5
Computer training	45.8	26.5	20.1	11.3	51.1	37.0
English language/typing/shorthand	9.3	11.0	6.5	6.4	10.4	14.1
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	7.0	23.6	8.0	25.7	6.4	22.1
Number ever attended any vocational training	**3,339**	**8,207**	**1,701**	**3,055**	**2,861**	**5,152**
Urban						
Ever attended a vocational training programme	31.8	42.6	27.4	35.1	32.9	47.7
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Types of programmes/courses attended						
Tailoring	2.5	46.2	5.3	67.2	2.3	35.7
Auto mechanics/electrical work	16.3	0.2	20.7	0.0	15.4	0.2
Driving	10.2	0.6	26.1	0.4	8.7	0.7
Plumbing/masonry	3.7	0.1	9.1	0.2	2.9	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1
Beauty parlour/salon	0.8	10.2	0.9	8.5	0.8	11.0
Nurse's aid	0.4	1.4	0.8	1.7	0.4	1.3
Computer training	61.6	39.1	36.0	20.3	65.4	48.4
English language/typing/shorthand	12.9	16.3	9.9	11.0	13.8	19.0
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	4.5	22.6	8.0	26.6	4.0	20.6
Number ever attended any vocational training	**2,312**	**5,248**	**1,007**	**1,879**	**2,049**	**3,369**
Rural						
Ever attended a vocational training programme	15.6	17.2	16.3	15.1	16.3	20.5
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Types of programmes/courses attended						
Tailoring	6.2	71.4	10.3	79.9	4.8	61.9
Auto mechanics/electrical work	22.9	0.1	21.8	0.0	22.9	0.1
Driving	16.1	0.1	27.4	0.1	13.5	0.2
Plumbing/masonry	9.4	0.1	17.5	0.1	8.2	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	1.0	0.1	1.8	0.1	0.7	0.0
Beauty parlour/salon	1.2	4.3	1.8	3.1	0.8	5.6
Nurse's aid	1.6	1.6	1.2	1.3	2.0	1.8
Computer training	31.8	13.5	11.6	5.4	36.7	22.5
English language/typing/shorthand	6.1	5.5	4.8	3.4	7.0	7.9
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	9.3	24.6	8.0	25.2	8.8	24.0
Number ever attended any vocational training	**1,027**	**2,959**	**694**	**1,176**	**812**	**1,783**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

The kind of training received varied widely by sex of the respondent and rural-urban residence. Among young men, leading training programmes reported were computer skills (46%), auto mechanics or electrical work (20%), driving (13%) and English language or secretarial skills (9%). Key training received by young women was quite different: 59% reported training in tailoring, 27% in computer skills, 24% in handicrafts and 11% in English language or secretarial skills. Wide differences were observed by marital status, with the married more likely to report training in more traditional activities, such as, for example, driving and plumbing or masonry among young men and tailoring among young women. In contrast, the unmarried were more likely than the married to report training in new technologies. For example, 51% of unmarried young men compared to 20% of married young men reported computer training; corresponding figures for young women were 37% and 11%, respectively. Unmarried young women were, in addition, more likely to report training in English language or secretarial skills than their married counterparts (14% versus 6%). Finally, training received by rural and urban youth also differed, with urban youth considerably less likely than rural youth to report training in more traditional activities. For example, fewer urban than rural youth reported training in auto mechanics or electrical work and driving among young men and tailoring among young women. Conversely, urban youth were far more likely than rural youth to report computer training, and training in English or secretarial skills, and young women in urban areas also somewhat more likely to report training in beauty parlour skills than their rural counterparts.

Large proportions of youth—56% of young men and 68% of young women—reported interest in attending vocational training programmes, as shown in Table 4.6. Although more unmarried than married youth expressed interest in attending such vocational training, it is notable that 38% of married men and 60% of married women were interested in developing vocational skills. Rural-urban differences were negligible, except that more married men in rural areas than in urban areas expressed interest in acquiring vocational skills. Skills in which youth wished to be trained virtually mirrored the patterns revealed above. The majority of young women continued to wish to be trained in areas such as tailoring and handicrafts, although substantial proportions—particularly those in urban areas—reported a preference for computer training and training in beauty parlour activities. Young men's preferences, in contrast, were focused on computer training, auto mechanics or electrical work, driving, and English language or secretarial skills.

Table 4.6: Willingness of youth to participate in vocational training programmes

Percentage of youth interested in participating in vocational training programmes and type of programme they were interested in participating in, according to residence

Programmes/courses	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Interested in participating in a vocational training programme	56.0	67.7	38.2	59.9	59.0	76.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Types of programmes in which youth wished to participate						
Tailoring	5.2	72.1	6.5	84.6	4.7	61.5
Auto mechanics/electric work	30.7	0.2	39.3	0.1	29.0	0.2
Driving	20.4	0.5	30.3	0.1	18.6	0.8
Plumbing/masonry	7.7	0.1	17.7	0.0	5.9	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	2.9	0.2	6.6	0.4	2.6	0.0
Beauty parlour/salon	0.4	11.7	0.6	8.0	0.4	14.9
Nurse's aid	0.5	2.2	0.7	1.4	0.6	3.1
Computer training	50.5	23.1	17.8	7.6	57.0	36.8
English language/typing/shorthand	16.3	8.8	4.7	3.0	18.7	13.9
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	6.9	38.5	8.2	41.4	6.7	36.0
Number interested in participating in a vocational training programme	**7,914**	**22,049**	**2,753**	**8,475**	**6,773**	**13,574**

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Table 4.6: (Cont'd)

Programmes/courses	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Interested in participating in a vocational training programme	55.0	70.5	28.4	59.2	57.9	78.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Types of programmes in which youth wished to participate						
Tailoring	1.8	51.0	3.5	71.0	1.8	40.7
Auto mechanics/electric work	25.1	0.3	34.7	0.2	23.9	0.3
Driving	17.6	1.2	31.8	0.3	16.3	1.7
Plumbing/masonry	4.1	0.1	10.2	0.1	3.2	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	1.2	0.0	4.6	0.1	0.9	0.0
Beauty parlour/salon	0.3	18.7	0.5	16.5	0.3	19.9
Nurse's aid	0.3	2.0	0.4	2.3	0.3	1.8
Computer training	66.0	40.4	32.7	17.1	69.1	52.5
English language/typing/shorthand	21.1	15.1	9.9	5.8	22.3	19.8
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	7.2	33.1	12.1	37.3	6.9	30.9
Number interested in participating in a vocational training programme	**4,281**	**10,307**	**1,099**	**3,863**	**3,884**	**6,444**
Rural						
Interested in participating in a vocational training programme	56.5	66.6	41.2	60.1	59.6	76.3
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Types of programmes in which youth wished to participate						
Tailoring	6.7	81.5	7.2	88.4	6.1	73.3
Auto mechanics/electric work	33.1	0.1	40.2	0.0	31.5	0.2
Driving	21.5	0.2	30.0	0.0	19.7	0.4
Plumbing/masonry	9.2	0.0	19.3	0.0	7.2	0.0
Poultry/goat farm	3.7	0.3	7.0	0.4	3.4	0.1
Beauty parlour/salon	0.5	8.6	0.6	5.6	0.4	12.1
Nurse's aid	0.7	2.4	0.8	1.2	0.7	3.8
Computer training	43.9	15.5	14.6	4.9	51.1	28.0
English language/typing/shorthand	14.3	6.0	3.5	2.2	16.9	10.5
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	6.7	40.9	7.3	42.5	6.6	38.9
Number interested in participating in a vocational training programme	**3,633**	**11,742**	**1,654**	**4,612**	**2,889**	**7,130**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Table 4.7 presents the extent to which youth had participated in vocational training programmes and their willingness to participate in such programmes in each state. Findings suggest a clear regional divide. Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to have ever attended a vocational training programme (22–31% versus 12–18% of young men; 30–33% versus 10–22% of young women). A similar pattern was observed, for the most part, among both married and unmarried, and urban and rural youth.

Far larger percentages of youth—56% of young men and 68% of young women—reported interest in attending vocational training programmes. State-wise differences show that youth from Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra (64–66% and 71–82% among young men and women, respectively) were more likely than their counterparts in Rajasthan and the southern states (43–48% and 53–63% among young men and women, respectively) to report

Table 4.7: Extent of participation and willingness of youth to participate in vocational training programmes by state

Percentage of youth who had participated in vocational training programmes, who were interested in participating in vocational training programmes and who were interested in acquiring computer skills by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Ever attended a programme						Interested in attending a programme						Interested in computer training[1]					
Combined																		
Bihar	14.0	10.0	18.9	9.3	13.7	10.4	66.2	82.3	52.7	77.1	70.0	91.9	38.7	7.3	13.8	1.7	45.6	15.0
Jharkhand	17.7	13.5	15.5	9.2	18.6	18.4	66.1	74.2	53.4	67.1	68.9	82.9	35.6	12.8	11.6	3.8	41.4	21.1
Rajasthan	11.6	22.3	11.0	17.9	12.6	28.1	46.4	63.4	29.7	57.5	50.8	74.1	48.5	13.3	23.5	4.4	57.9	24.2
Maharashtra	21.9	33.0	17.9	26.8	23.4	38.3	64.4	71.1	48.3	58.6	66.4	81.7	53.4	30.3	17.9	12.0	58.1	41.3
Andhra Pradesh	31.0	30.1	27.6	24.8	32.0	36.4	47.6	63.2	25.8	53.1	51.9	76.4	62.5	31.7	23.6	10.9	68.5	50.3
Tamil Nadu	24.9	32.4	21.9	26.2	25.4	36.6	42.5	52.6	14.2	39.8	45.1	61.1	65.4	45.9	24.1	21.7	68.1	56.3
Total	**20.5**	**24.7**	**19.0**	**19.5**	**21.9**	**30.1**	**56.0**	**67.7**	**38.2**	**59.9**	**59.0**	**76.9**	**50.5**	**23.1**	**17.8**	**7.6**	**57.0**	**36.8**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**7,914**	**22,049**	**2,753**	**8,475**	**6,773**	**13,574**
Urban																		
Bihar	25.8	24.8	28.3	23.2	26.2	25.9	64.2	87.3	43.5	81.7	66.1	91.3	56.4	24.3	32.5	7.8	58.6	35.0
Jharkhand	30.9	30.1	31.5	23.7	31.4	33.8	69.9	84.0	47.7	77.2	71.8	87.7	53.4	28.8	22.3	9.5	56.8	38.5
Rajasthan	22.7	40.0	19.8	34.1	24.1	45.2	47.7	64.5	22.7	55.3	52.7	72.8	59.1	28.9	35.4	11.8	62.0	40.7
Maharashtra	31.7	47.3	25.8	37.0	33.5	53.9	60.3	76.8	33.8	62.0	63.1	86.3	68.5	39.4	34.5	16.4	71.8	49.9
Andhra Pradesh	42.4	44.8	39.9	39.4	41.8	49.1	50.3	71.7	24.1	62.7	54.0	79.1	70.1	47.5	35.1	21.0	73.0	64.5
Tamil Nadu	31.0	42.7	23.2	34.7	31.9	47.4	46.4	56.7	16.2	44.1	48.6	64.0	69.5	51.2	27.0	24.9	72.3	61.8
Total	**31.8**	**42.6**	**27.4**	**35.1**	**32.9**	**47.7**	**55.0**	**70.5**	**28.4**	**59.2**	**57.9**	**78.1**	**66.0**	**40.4**	**32.7**	**17.1**	**69.1**	**52.5**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**4,281**	**10,307**	**1,099**	**3,863**	**3,884**	**6,444**
Rural																		
Bihar	12.0	8.1	18.1	8.4	11.2	7.6	66.6	81.7	53.6	76.9	70.8	92.0	35.9	5.0	12.2	1.4	43.1	11.4
Jharkhand	12.7	7.7	12.5	6.2	13.0	10.2	64.8	70.9	54.4	65.1	67.5	80.4	28.4	6.2	9.9	2.5	34.0	11.0
Rajasthan	7.7	16.1	9.0	14.7	7.7	19.4	46.0	62.9	31.2	58.0	50.0	74.7	44.8	7.7	21.6	3.1	55.9	16.1
Maharashtra	14.2	21.9	12.3	20.9	15.0	22.8	67.7	66.7	58.4	56.5	69.2	77.1	42.8	22.1	11.4	9.3	47.8	31.7
Andhra Pradesh	26.5	23.9	24.1	20.6	27.8	29.1	46.7	59.6	26.3	50.4	50.9	74.9	59.3	23.7	20.7	7.2	66.3	41.7
Tamil Nadu	20.3	24.3	21.1	20.5	20.1	27.0	39.5	49.4	12.8	36.8	42.2	58.5	61.6	41.0	22.0	19.1	64.1	51.0
Total	**15.6**	**17.2**	**16.3**	**15.1**	**16.3**	**20.5**	**56.5**	**66.6**	**41.2**	**60.1**	**59.6**	**76.3**	**43.9**	**15.5**	**14.6**	**4.9**	**51.1**	**28.0**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**3,633**	**11,742**	**1,654**	**4,612**	**2,889**	**7,130**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Of those interested in attending a vocational training programme.

interest in attending vocational training programmes. These patterns were observed for both married and unmarried, and urban and rural youth.

A regional divide was, however, evident in the skills in which youth wished to be trained. For example, larger proportions of youth in the southern states and Maharashtra than in the northern states reported a preference for computer training; 63–65% of young men from the southern states and 53% of those from Maharashtra, compared to 36-49% of those from the northern states, wished to be trained in computer skills. The corresponding percentages among young women were 32–46%, 30% and 7–13%, respectively.

4.5 Summary

Work profiles suggest that over two-thirds of young men and one-half of young women had at some time engaged in paid or unpaid work. Indeed, almost all married young men and almost two-thirds of unmarried young men had done so, compared with three-fifths and two-fifths of married and unmarried young women, respectively. Likewise, more youth in rural than urban areas had ever worked: differences were mild among men (74% versus 62%) and considerable among young women (58% versus 30%). Young men and women were far less likely to have engaged in unpaid than in paid work. Economic activity was often initiated at an early age: over one in four young men and women reported initiating work in childhood or early adolescence (by age 15).

Data on work participation in the 12 months prior to the interview indicate that the majority of young men (61% of unmarried and 97% of married) and a substantial proportion of young women (37% and 43%, respectively) had engaged in paid or unpaid work at some point in the 12 months preceding the interview. The majority of young men and women who had worked in the year prior to interview had done so for the major part (at least six months) of the year.

Occupational profiles among those working for wages differed widely among youth in rural and urban areas. Among young men and women in urban areas, leading occupations were unskilled non-agricultural labour, skilled manual labour and administrative, executive, managerial and clerical occupations, together reported by 87–89%. Among rural youth, leading occupations differed between young men and young women. Unskilled non-agricultural labour, skilled manual labour and agricultural labour were leading occupations among young men, together reported by 83%; among young women, agricultural labour and skilled manual labour were the leading occupations, together reported by 83%.

Findings also suggest substantial levels of unemployment among youth: 14% among young men and 16% among young women. Unemployment was particularly high among the educated—young men and women who had completed Class 12 reported considerably higher rates of unemployment than those who had completed fewer years of schooling.

Youth were clearly interested in acquiring skills that would enable employment generation; over half of young men and two-thirds of young women reported interest in vocational skills training. However, far fewer—just 21% of young men and 25% of young women—had attended at least one vocational training programme.

Finally, while no clear regional patterns were evident in terms of young people's work profiles, findings suggest a regional divide with regard to young people's participation in vocational training programmes. Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to have ever attended vocational training programmes. While this regional pattern was not as consistently observed with regard to young people's interest in attending vocational training programmes in general, those from the northern states were consistently less likely than their counterparts from Maharashtra and the southern states to express a preference for training in new technologies, namely, computer skills.

Chapter 5

Media exposure and access to pornographic materials

Media may play an important role in shaping the attitudes and behaviours of youth. Youth gain access to new information through a variety of sources, including print and visual media and, increasingly, the internet. Many are also exposed to pornography through these channels. The Youth Study probed young people's exposure to various media sources, the extent of their exposure to pornographic materials by way of books/magazines, films and the internet, and their perceptions about the influence of television and films on youth behaviours.

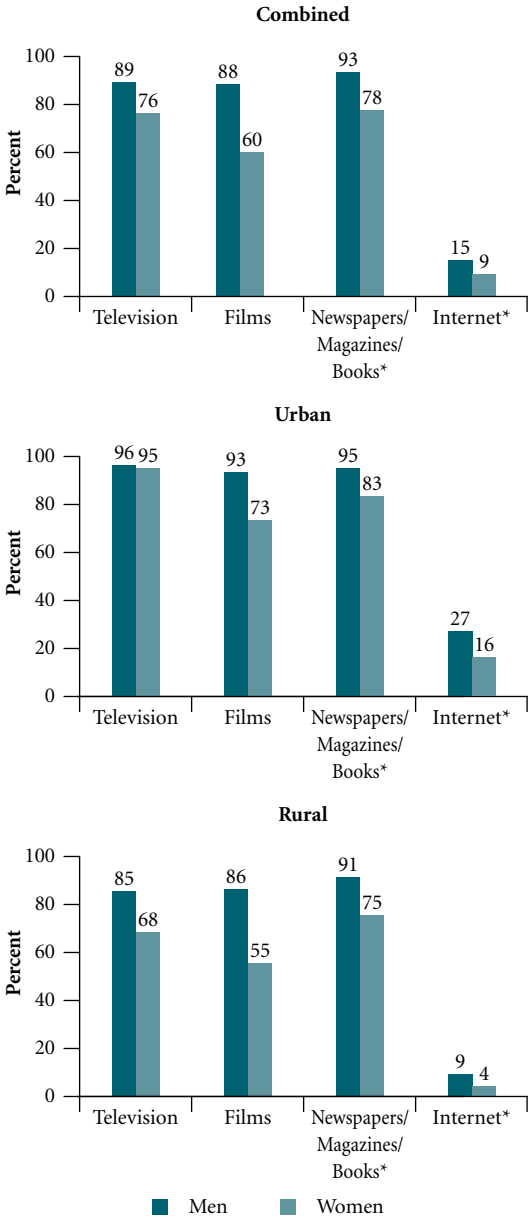
5.1 Mass media exposure

The survey asked a number of questions regarding youth exposure to mass media. These included whether and how frequently young people read newspapers, magazines or books, watched films or television programmes other than movies, and accessed the internet. Questions regarding exposure to print media and the internet were asked only to those who had attained at least five years of education, as this was considered a prerequisite for basic literacy and, thus, understanding of such materials. Youth were asked to rate the frequency of their exposure to each medium according to the categories "never," "sometimes" and "often". If any young person did not respond in this format but rather, in terms of days per week, three or more exposures per week were classified as "often" and less frequent exposure as "sometimes".

Findings are presented in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1. They suggest that youth were exposed to a variety of media, but that typically, more young men than women reported media exposure. Exposure to television was reported by as many as 89% of all young men and 76% of all young women. About as many young men (88%) and three-fifths of young women (60%) watched films either on CD/DVD or at a theatre or video parlour. Of those who had completed five or more years of education, moreover, 93% of young men and 78% of young women were exposed to print materials (newspapers, magazines or books) and much smaller proportions had accessed the internet: 15% of young men and 9% of young women.

Marital status differences were, for the most part, mild among young men, except that the unmarried were more likely than the married to report exposure to the internet

Figure 5.1: Percentage of youth exposed to television, films, print media and the internet



*Note: *Question asked only of respondents who had completed five or more years of education.*

Table 5.1: Mass media exposure

Percent distribution of youth exposed to various mass media by frequency of exposure, according to residence

Exposure indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Frequency of watching television						
Never	11.2	24.0	16.5	31.1	9.5	16.2
Sometimes	68.7	46.4	68.8	44.5	68.5	48.8
Often	19.8	29.5	14.4	24.4	21.8	34.9
Frequency of watching films						
Never	11.7	39.6	14.0	44.4	11.1	34.4
Sometimes	84.3	57.0	83.0	52.9	84.6	61.4
Often	3.9	3.2	2.7	2.4	4.2	4.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Frequency of reading newspapers/magazines/ books[1]						
Never	7.1	21.6	8.3	30.7	6.5	14.9
Sometimes	58.0	56.9	63.3	57.6	56.6	56.7
Often	34.6	21.2	28.2	11.3	36.6	28.1
Frequency of accessing the internet[1]						
Never	85.0	91.0	92.6	96.1	83.0	87.7
Sometimes	13.1	7.1	6.2	3.0	14.9	9.8
Often	1.6	1.4	0.9	0.3	1.9	2.1
Number with 5 or more years of education	**12,378**	**22,200**	**5,972**	**7,969**	**10,377**	**14,231**
Urban						
Frequency of watching television						
Never	3.6	5.5	5.7	8.1	3.2	3.7
Sometimes	64.6	45.9	69.7	46.9	63.8	45.2
Often	31.8	48.6	24.5	44.9	32.9	51.0
Frequency of watching films						
Never	7.0	26.4	7.3	30.0	7.1	24.0
Sometimes	88.3	69.0	89.5	66.1	88.1	70.9
Often	4.6	4.3	3.0	3.4	4.8	4.8
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Frequency of reading newspapers/magazines/ books[1]						
Never	4.5	16.4	5.7	26.4	4.2	10.8
Sometimes	54.7	53.4	58.8	56.6	54.4	51.7
Often	40.7	29.9	35.4	16.6	41.3	37.4
Frequency of accessing the internet[1]						
Never	72.7	83.5	84.8	93.1	70.7	78.1
Sometimes	23.5	13.0	13.1	5.6	25.2	17.1
Often	3.7	3.3	2.1	0.8	4.0	4.6
Number with 5 or more years of education	**6,732**	**11,380**	**2,889**	**4,139**	**5,939**	**7,241**

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Table 5.1: (Cont'd)

Exposure indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Frequency of watching television						
Never	14.5	31.8	19.9	37.6	12.6	23.1
Sometimes	70.6	46.6	68.5	43.8	70.9	50.8
Often	14.6	21.5	11.3	18.6	16.2	26.1
Frequency of watching films						
Never	13.7	45.1	16.1	48.5	13.0	40.1
Sometimes	82.6	52.0	81.0	49.2	82.9	56.1
Often	3.5	2.7	2.6	2.1	3.9	3.5
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Frequency of reading newspapers/magazines/ books[1]						
Never	8.3	24.7	9.3	32.6	7.8	17.6
Sometimes	59.6	59.0	65.1	58.0	57.8	60.0
Often	31.7	15.8	25.4	8.8	34.0	22.0
Frequency of accessing the internet[1]						
Never	90.9	95.7	95.7	97.5	89.6	94.0
Sometimes	8.1	3.5	3.6	1.9	9.3	5.0
Often	0.6	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.7	0.5
Number with 5 or more years of education	**5,646**	**10,820**	**3,083**	**3,830**	**4,438**	**6,990**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Question asked only of respondents who had completed five or more years of education.

(17% versus 7% of those who had completed five or more years of education). Among young women, in contrast, the unmarried were consistently more likely to be exposed to each medium than the married; for example, 84% of the unmarried, compared to 69% of the married were exposed to television, and 12% and 3% of those who had completed five or more years of education, respectively, had accessed the internet. Rural-urban differences were also apparent, with urban youth—particularly young women—more likely than rural youth to be exposed to the media. Notably, of those who had completed five or more years of education, some 27% of young men and 16% of young women in urban settings had accessed the internet, compared to 9% and 4%, respectively, of rural youth.

Table 5.2 presents percentages of youth exposed sometimes or often to print and visual media, and the internet, respectively, in each state. State-wise differences were narrow with regard to exposure to the print media: 88–96% of young men and 74–81% of young women with five or more years of education reported that they sometimes or frequently read a newspaper, magazine or book. Differences were wider with respect to the remaining two media; youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were, by and large, more likely than their counterparts in the northern states to report exposure to television and the internet. For example, 90–96% of young men and 85–94% of young women in Maharashtra and the southern states reported exposure to television, compared to 78–90% and 48–66%, respectively, in the northern states. Notably, youth in Bihar and Jharkhand were least likely to report exposure to television (78–79% of young men; 48% and 62%, respectively, of young women). Likewise, of those who had completed five or more years of education, 14–26% of young men and 9–14% of young women in Maharashtra and the southern states, compared to 6–11% and 3–6%, respectively, in the northern states, had accessed the internet. Notably, between one-fifth and one-quarter of young men in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu and one-seventh of young women in Tamil Nadu (14%) had accessed the internet. Moreover, state-wise differences were more pronounced in rural than urban areas.

Table 5.2: State-wise exposure to mass media

Percentage of youth exposed to various mass media by state, according to residence

State	Men 15–24	Women 15–24	Men 15–24	Women 15–24	Men 15–24	Women 15–24
	Watched television		Read newspaper/ magazines/books[1]		Accessed internet[1]	
Combined						
Bihar	78.3	47.9	89.0	80.7	6.0	2.5
Jharkhand	79.4	62.0	87.9	73.7	10.9	5.7
Rajasthan	89.5	65.7	94.6	76.6	7.5	5.6
Maharashtra	93.5	85.1	92.1	79.3	13.6	8.9
Andhra Pradesh	90.3	93.6	94.3	77.5	22.1	8.9
Tamil Nadu	96.4	91.7	95.9	78.1	26.2	13.7
Total	**88.5**	**75.9**	**92.6**	**78.1**	**14.7**	**8.5**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**12,378**	**22,200**	**12,378**	**22,200**
Urban						
Bihar	92.9	86.0	95.7	89.0	17.8	9.1
Jharkhand	93.9	92.2	95.2	85.1	25.0	10.8
Rajasthan	98.2	91.4	98.4	85.2	17.9	12.0
Maharashtra	96.8	95.9	94.7	83.5	22.9	15.3
Andhra Pradesh	94.2	97.2	93.7	84.0	37.8	17.5
Tamil Nadu	97.9	94.5	96.1	80.6	34.5	20.2
Total	**96.4**	**94.5**	**95.4**	**83.3**	**27.2**	**16.3**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**6,732**	**11,380**	**6,732**	**11,380**
Rural						
Bihar	75.8	43.0	87.7	78.4	3.8	0.7
Jharkhand	73.9	51.5	84.4	66.3	4.6	2.5
Rajasthan	86.5	56.7	93.3	71.5	3.8	1.8
Maharashtra	90.9	76.7	90.0	75.8	5.9	3.4
Andhra Pradesh	88.7	92.2	94.5	74.1	15.4	4.0
Tamil Nadu	95.3	89.6	95.9	76.0	19.6	8.2
Total	**85.2**	**68.1**	**91.3**	**74.8**	**8.7**	**3.8**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**5,646**	**10,820**	**5,646**	**10,820**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Question asked only of respondents who had completed five or more years of education.

5.2 Exposure to pornographic materials

Youth were asked whether they were exposed to pornographic materials by way of films, books and magazines, and the internet (for those who accessed the internet). Table 5.3 highlights that considerable proportions of young men, and few young women, reported such exposure. Among young men, 35% of young men had watched "blue" or pornographic films, 23% had been exposed to—read or looked at—pornographic books and magazines, and 37% of those exposed to the internet had accessed pornographic materials on the internet. Among young women, just 3–5% reported exposure to pornographic materials in films, in books and magazines, or on the internet.

Table 5.3: Exposure to pornographic materials

Percentage of youth exposed to different pornographic materials by state, according to residence

State	Men 15–24	Women 15–24	Men 15–24	Women 15–24	Men 15–24	Women 15–24
	Watched blue/ pornographic film		Read/looked at pornographic books/magazines		Accessed pornographic material on the internet[1]	
Combined						
Bihar	26.0	4.1	20.9	5.7	32.6	10.9
Jharkhand	31.6	4.1	20.7	5.0	31.0	6.3
Rajasthan	18.8	5.0	10.2	2.5	19.8	7.1
Maharashtra	39.4	1.9	25.2	9.5	39.6	3.6
Andhra Pradesh	47.2	1.0	31.9	3.8	50.4	7.2
Tamil Nadu	39.3	0.5	23.8	2.5	28.5	2.8
Total	**34.5**	**2.5**	**22.8**	**5.2**	**37.1**	**4.6**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**2,235**	**2,089**
Urban						
Bihar	35.1	6.4	26.1	7.8	50.0	7.3
Jharkhand	43.5	5.4	26.4	7.1	40.5	6.6
Rajasthan	28.8	8.1	14.7	3.7	20.3	8.3
Maharashtra	50.4	2.3	27.3	10.7	46.7	4.3
Andhra Pradesh	56.2	1.4	37.4	4.7	55.6	6.5
Tamil Nadu	40.6	0.5	25.2	2.7	33.5	2.4
Total	**45.2**	**2.7**	**26.9**	**6.4**	**42.9**	**4.6**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**1,733**	**1,610**
Rural						
Bihar	24.5	3.7	20.0	5.4	*	*
Jharkhand	27.2	3.6	18.6	4.2	(11.4)	(7.3)
Rajasthan	15.4	3.9	8.6	2.1	17.8	(2.7)
Maharashtra	30.7	1.7	23.5	8.6	18.1	1.2
Andhra Pradesh	43.6	0.8	29.7	3.5	45.1	8.8
Tamil Nadu	38.2	0.5	22.7	2.4	22.0	3.6
Total	**29.8**	**2.4**	**21.0**	**4.6**	**28.3**	**4.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**502**	**479**

*Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Question asked only of respondents who had ever accessed the internet. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases.*

State-wise differences were evident for young men, with more young men in Maharashtra and the southern states than in the northern states reporting exposure to pornographic materials. For example, between two-fifths and one-half of young men (39–47%) in Maharashtra and the southern states had watched a pornographic film, compared to between one-fifth and one-third of young men (19–32%) in the northern states. Likewise, while between one-quarter and one-third of young men in Maharashtra and the southern states (24–32%) reported exposure to pornographic materials by way of books and magazines, only between one-tenth and one-fifth in the northern states (10–21%) reported so. Exposure to pornographic materials among those who ever accessed the internet was, likewise, reported by a larger proportion of young men in Maharashtra and the southern states (29–50%) than

in the northern states (20–33%). Of particular note is that among young men, the largest proportions accessing pornographic materials through any source came from Andhra Pradesh: indeed, almost half of young men from the state had watched a pornographic film (47%), one-third had accessed a pornographic book or magazine (32%) and half of those exposed to the internet had accessed pornographic materials on the internet (50%). Least likely to report exposure to pornographic materials were young men from Rajasthan, among whom 19% and 10% of all young men and 20% of those who had ever accessed the internet, respectively, reported exposure to pornographic materials by ways of blue films, books and magazines and the internet. In contrast, state-wise differences were mild and inconsistent among young women: 1–10% of young women reported exposure to pornographic materials by way of films, books and magazines, and 3–11% of those who had ever accessed the internet had been exposed to pornographic materials on the internet.

Differences by rural-urban residence suggest that more urban than rural young men had ever watched a pornographic film (45% versus 30%), accessed a pornographic book or magazine (27% versus 21%) or accessed pornographic materials on the internet (43% versus 28% of those who had ever accessed the internet). Among young women, differences were, in contrast, negligible.

5.3 Youth perceptions about the influence of television and films on youth behaviours

The survey also questioned youth about their perceptions of the influence of television and films on youth behaviours. Specifically, they were asked whether they believed that television and films influenced the way in which their friends dressed and whether violence on television and in films could make youth aggressive. Table 5.4 suggests that considerable proportions of youth felt that television and films influenced their friends' behaviours; gender differences were mild. For example, more than three-fifths (62%) of young men and over half (54%) of young women believed that television and films influenced the way their friends dressed. Likewise, 62% of young men and 60% of young women reported that violence on television and in films could make youth aggressive.

Marital status differences in perceptions that television and films influenced the way youth dress and youth aggressiveness were mild. However, more unmarried than married youth agreed that television and films influenced the way their friends dressed. Differences by rural-urban residence indicate that more urban than rural youth felt that television and films influenced the way youth dress and could make youth aggressive.

Table 5.4: Perceptions about the influence of television and films on youth behaviours

Percentage of youth reporting perceptions regarding the influence of television and films on youth behaviours, according to residence

Perceptions about the influence of television and films	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
TV/films influence the way friends dress	62.4	53.6	55.1	49.6	63.3	58.3
Violence on TV and in films can make youth aggressive	62.4	60.3	60.5	58.0	63.4	62.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
TV/films influence the way friends dress	66.4	60.8	59.3	58.8	67.0	62.1
Violence on TV and in films can make youth aggressive	68.5	67.7	67.8	67.0	68.7	68.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
TV/films influence the way friends dress	60.7	50.6	53.8	46.9	61.4	56.2
Violence on TV and in films can make youth aggressive	59.8	57.3	58.1	55.4	60.8	60.0
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

5.4 Summary

Findings suggest that large proportions of all youth were exposed to the media, typically television (89% of all young men and 76% of all young women), and, among youth with five or more years of education, newspapers, magazines or books (93% of young men and 78% of young women). Exposure to the internet, among those with five or more years of education, was reported by considerably fewer youth (15% of young men and 9% of young women). Gender differences were apparent, with young men typically more likely to be exposed to each medium than young women. State-level differences were narrow with regard to exposure to the print media, but wider in the case of the remaining two media; youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were, by and large, more likely than their counterparts in the northern states to report exposure to television and the internet. For example of those who had completed five or more years of education, 14–26% of young men and 9–14% of young women in Maharashtra and the southern states, compared to 6–11% and 3–6%, respectively, in the northern states, had accessed the internet. Indeed, internet exposure was most likely to be reported by young men in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu than by those in the other states (22–26% versus 6–14% with five or more years of education in the remaining states); among young women, differences were narrower, but young women in Tamil Nadu (14%) were considerably more likely than those in the other states (3–9%) to report internet exposure.

Findings also suggest that about one in three young men (35%) and hardly any (3%) young women watched pornographic films, and 23% of young men and 5% of young women accessed pornographic books and magazines. State-level differences were inconsistent but highlight that young men in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those in the northern states to report exposure to pornographic materials. Notably, young men in Andhra Pradesh were consistently more likely than those in the other states to access pornographic materials on films, in books and magazines, and on the internet.

Finally, between half and three-fifths of young men and women (54–62%) acknowledged the influence that media have on youth behaviours, in terms of influencing the way youth dress or the extent to which they exhibit aggressive behaviours.

Chapter 6

Growing up

This chapter focuses on such experiences as puberty as well as youth interaction with parents and peers while growing up. Globally, studies have suggested a declining age at puberty for young men and women and stress that this, along with rising ages at marriage, provides a longer window in which young people can make same- and opposite-sex friends (National Research Council and Institute of Medicine, 2005). Several studies have highlighted the importance of close parental interaction for the healthy development of young people (Laird et al., 2003; Marta, 1997; Sroufe, 1991). Others note that young people's interaction with parents is particularly limited when it comes to discussion of sensitive issues such as, for example, girl-boy relations or sexual and reproductive matters (Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b; Lambert and Wood, 2005; Mehra, Savithri and Coutinho, 2002). In addition, a few studies have shown that the peer group is, for many youth, a central source of both information and support, but at the same time, a source of misinformation and pressure to adopt risky behaviours (Bhuiya et al., 2003; Sachdev, 1998; Ul Haque and Faizunnisa, 2003).

The Youth Study included several questions relating to each of these issues. This chapter begins by describing the ages at which young people experienced signs of puberty. It then explores aspects of their family life and interaction with parents on various matters of importance to youth. It also addresses peer networks and interaction, specifically, the size of the same- and opposite-sex peer networks, and peer activities in which respondents participated. Finally, the chapter discusses young people's access to support networks for discussing personal matters.

6.1 Puberty

In order to examine ages at which puberty occurs among young men and women, the Youth Study included questions on age at menarche for young women and age at which voice change and growth of pubic hair were noticed for young men. Table 6.1a shows that mean age at menarche was 13.5 years for young women. Urban-rural differences were moderate—however, somewhat more urban than rural young women had experienced menarche at or below age 13 (56% and 47%, respectively). State-wise differences were moderate; mean age at menarche ranged from 12.9 years in Andhra Pradesh to 14.0 in Rajasthan, and similar narrow differences were observed for young women in rural and urban areas.

Voice change and appearance of pubic hair for young men occurred about one year later than did menarche for young women. Table 6.1b shows that the average age at which young men reported both these changes was 15 years. State-wise differences were also narrow; the mean age at which voice change was noticed ranged from 14.1 years in Bihar to 15.3 years in Rajasthan and Maharashtra, and the mean age at which pubic hair was noticed ranged from 14.5 years in Bihar and Jharkhand to 15.7 years in Andhra Pradesh. There was, moreover, hardly any difference between rural and urban respondents in the age at which voice change or pubic hair were first noticed.

6.2 Family life and interaction with parents

The Youth Study explored a variety of issues that capture the nature of family life and youth interaction with parents in particular. Married respondents were specifically asked to recall the period before marriage.

Table 6.1a: Age at puberty among young women

Percent distribution of young women aged 15–24 by age at puberty and mean age at puberty by state, according to residence

Puberty indicators	Combined	Urban	Rural
Age at menarche (years)			
Below 12	1.6	2.8	1.1
12	13.5	17.9	11.6
13	34.7	34.8	34.7
14	23.4	26.4	22.2
15 and above	17.6	16.0	18.3
Not yet menstruated	1.0	0.4	1.3
Mean age at menarche (years)[1]			
Bihar	13.7	13.6	13.7
Jharkhand	13.4	13.3	13.5
Rajasthan	14.0	14.0	14.0
Maharashtra	13.8	13.6	14.0
Andhra Pradesh	12.9	12.9	12.9
Tamil Nadu	13.5	13.3	13.6
Total	**13.5**	**13.4**	**13.6**
Number of respondents	**31,274**	**13,976**	**17,298**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Excludes those who had not menstruated at the time of the interview.

6.2.1 Socialisation experiences

Table 6.2 presents findings on the socialisation experiences of youth during their teenage years as compared with their opposite-sex siblings, or cousins of the opposite-sex if the respondent did not have an opposite-sex sibling. Findings suggest that young women were indeed socialised differently from their brothers and male cousins. For example, 69% of young men reported that they had more freedom to go out than their sisters or female cousins did, and half (52%) of young women agreed that they had less freedom to go out than their brothers or male cousins. Likewise, half (52%) of young men reported that they were expected to do less housework than their sisters or female cousins, and an almost equal proportion (51%) of young women agreed that they were expected to do more housework than their brothers or male cousins. In short, half or more young men and women acknowledged that the young men in their family were socialised with more freedom of movement and limited housework expectations than were young women.

Differences by marital status were muted among young men, irrespective of rural-urban residence. Among young women, in contrast, the married were more likely than the unmarried to report gendered socialisation experiences and this pattern was evident in both rural and urban areas (see also Figure 6.1).

Rural-urban patterns differed for young men and women. For example, more young men in urban than rural areas reported gendered socialisation experiences: for example, 73% and 60% of young men in urban areas reported that they had more freedom to go out and were expected to do less housework, respectively, than their sisters or female cousins, compared to 67% and 49%, respectively, of their rural counterparts. Among young women, in contrast, differences were wider and more of those from rural than urban areas reported gender unequal socialisation experiences: they had less freedom to go out (58% versus 38%) and were more likely to have to perform housework responsibilities (57% versus 37%) than their brothers or male cousins.

Table 6.1b: Age at puberty among young men

Percent distribution of young men aged 15–24 by age at puberty and mean age at puberty by state, according to residence

Puberty indicators	Combined	Urban	Rural
Age at which voice change noticed (years)			
Below 14	10.6	8.4	11.5
14	15.1	15.3	15.0
15	22.7	28.0	20.4
16	13.5	16.9	12.0
17 and above	8.2	7.6	8.5
No voice change yet	4.7	4.5	4.8
Did not notice/don't remember	25.2	19.1	27.8
Mean age at which voice change noticed (years)[1]			
Bihar	14.1	14.5	14.1
Jharkhand	14.3	14.3	14.4
Rajasthan	15.3	15.4	15.2
Maharashtra	15.3	15.3	15.4
Andhra Pradesh	15.1	15.1	15.0
Tamil Nadu	14.6	14.6	14.6
Total	**14.9**	**15.0**	**14.9**
Age at which pubic hair noticed (years)			
Below 14	7.4	4.9	8.5
14	17.7	16.7	18.1
15	30.4	34.4	28.7
16	21.5	28.1	18.6
17 and above	11.8	9.8	12.6
No pubic hair yet	2.9	2.0	3.3
Did not notice/don't remember	8.2	4.1	10.0
Mean age at which pubic hair noticed (year)[1]			
Bihar	14.5	14.6	14.5
Jharkhand	14.5	14.4	14.6
Rajasthan	15.3	15.4	15.3
Maharashtra	15.4	15.4	15.4
Andhra Pradesh	15.7	15.6	15.7
Tamil Nadu	15.1	15.1	15.1
Total	**15.2**	**15.3**	**15.1**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**7,483**	**6,798**

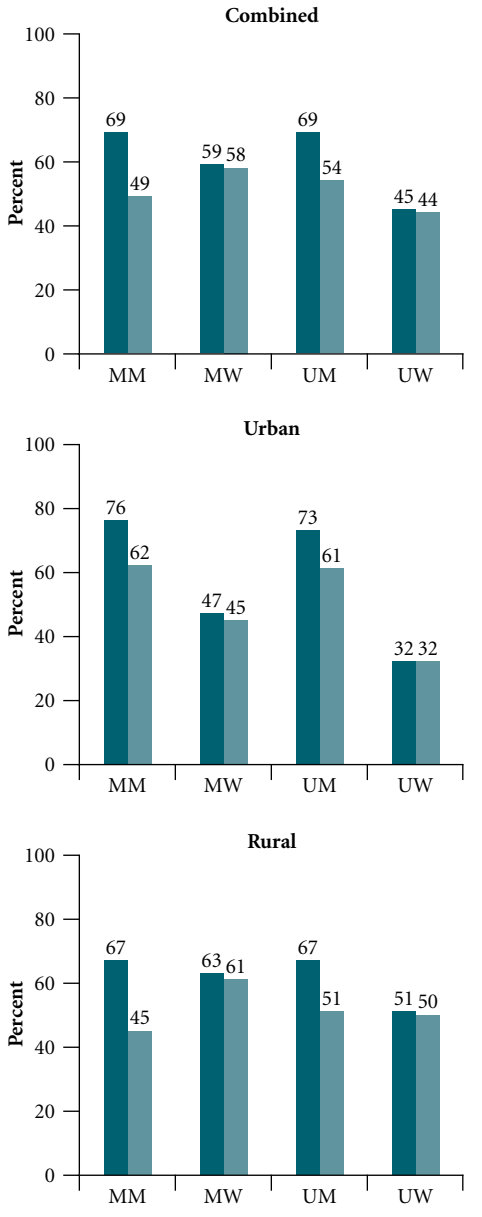
Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Excludes those who had not noticed voice change/appearance of pubic hair at the time of the interview or did not remember age at the time of voice change/appearance of pubic hair.

Parental attitudes towards youth friendships and social activities were probed by asking young men and women about whether their mother and father, respectively, would disapprove if they engaged in a series of activities, such as, for example, bringing a same-sex friend home, bringing an opposite-sex friend home, and having a love marriage. Married youth were asked to respond according to their experience prior to marriage. Findings, presented in Panels A, B and C of Table 6.3, suggest considerable variation in youth perceptions by activity. What is clearly noticeable is that parents were most likely to be perceived to disapprove of love marriages for their children, as reported by 83–84% of young men and 93–94% of young women. Also noticeable is that youth perceived parents to be far more likely to disapprove of activities conducted with members of the opposite-sex than those conducted with same-sex individuals. For example, just 8–9% of young men and 3–5% of young women reported that their mother and father would be angry if they brought same-sex friends home. In contrast, 69% of young men and 82–84% of young women expected their father and mother to disapprove if they brought an opposite-sex friend home.

State-wise differences in percentages of youth perceiving that their parents would disapprove if they brought same-sex friends home were negligible, with most youth reporting that neither parent would disapprove. Differences were evident with regard to parental disapproval if youth brought opposite-sex friends home: Among young men, for example, 60–64% of those from Maharashtra and the southern states perceived disapproval from their mother and father if they brought opposite-sex friends home, compared to considerably more (71–80%) of those from the northern states. The corresponding percentages among young women were 74–85% and 82–97%, respectively. With regard to perceived parental reactions to a love marriage, state-wise differences were evident for young men, with those from the southern states considerably less likely than those from other states to perceive disapproval (67–78% versus 85–94%). Among young women, in contrast, state-wise differences were negligible; over 90% of young women in all the states reported parental disapproval of a love marriage.

Differences by marital status were negligible with respect to perceived reactions of both the father and mother to two of the three activities (bringing a same-sex friend home and having a love marriage). With regard to bringing opposite-sex friends home however, the married were consistently more likely than the unmarried to perceive parental disapproval, and these differences were observed, for the most part, in all six states and in both urban and rural settings. While rural-urban differences were negligible with respect to perceived reactions of both the father and mother to bringing a same-sex friend home, rural youth were considerably more likely than urban youth to report parental disapproval of bringing an opposite-sex friend home; they were also slightly more likely to report parental disapproval of a love marriage.

Figure 6.1: Percentage of youth reporting gendered socialisation experiences relative to an opposite-sex sibling/ cousin, according to residence



Note: For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

Table 6.2: Socialisation experiences

Percent distribution of youth by degree of mobility and housework responsibilities relative to an opposite-sex sibling/cousin, according to residence

Socialisation experiences	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Respondent had less freedom (W)/more freedom (M) to roam/go out than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	68.5	52.2	68.6	59.2	69.0	44.5
No	27.9	46.6	26.6	39.7	27.9	54.4
Respondent was expected to do more housework (W)/less housework (M) than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	52.2	51.0	49.0	57.8	54.2	43.5
No	43.1	47.0	45.2	39.8	41.6	55.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Respondent had less freedom (W)/more freedom (M) to roam/go out than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	73.1	38.2	75.5	47.1	73.2	32.1
No	24.6	60.8	21.9	52.0	24.6	66.8
Respondent was expected to do more housework (W)/less housework (M) than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	60.3	37.3	61.6	45.4	60.8	31.8
No	36.8	61.5	34.8	53.3	36.6	67.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Respondent had less freedom (W)/more freedom (M) to roam/go out than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	66.6	58.1	66.5	62.6	66.9	51.2
No	29.3	40.7	28.0	36.2	29.5	47.5
Respondent was expected to do more housework (W)/less housework (M) than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	48.7	56.8	45.0	61.3	50.8	49.9
No	45.8	40.9	48.4	36.0	44.1	48.3
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to "unsure" responses. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

Youth were also asked about the extent to which family life was characterised by quarrels and domestic violence between parents, and whether they had witnessed their father beating their mother or vice versa. Findings presented in Table 6.4 suggest that one-quarter of young men and young women (24–26%) reported ever witnessing their father beating their mother. In contrast, just 2% of young men and women reported that they had witnessed their mother beating their father (not shown in tabular form). Differences by state were wide: young men and women in the southern states were more likely than others to report that they had witnessed their father beating their mother (reported by 37–43% of young men and 31–36% of young women, compared to 19–20% in Maharashtra and 14–28% and 15–23%, respectively, in the northern states). Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence suggest that married respondents were slightly more likely than the unmarried and the rural slightly more likely than the urban to report witnessing their father beating their mother.

Table 6.3: Perceptions of parental reactions to selected activities

Percentage of youth who perceived that their parents would disapprove of their engaging in selected activities by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
A: Brought same-sex friends home												
Combined												
Bihar	10.3	2.3	11.8	2.8	10.1	1.4	9.4	1.5	9.7	1.6	8.9	1.3
Jharkhand	12.5	3.5	14.0	3.6	11.3	3.4	9.6	2.9	11.1	3.6	8.7	2.0
Rajasthan	10.5	4.2	11.0	5.0	9.9	2.9	9.1	2.8	10.9	3.3	8.1	2.0
Maharashtra	7.1	7.3	8.3	9.4	6.8	5.7	5.9	3.7	7.2	4.9	5.5	2.8
Andhra Pradesh	6.8	4.7	6.3	5.6	6.7	3.6	5.4	1.6	5.8	2.0	5.1	1.3
Tamil Nadu	12.1	7.7	13.8	8.1	11.5	7.5	9.3	3.8	12.7	4.7	8.8	3.3
Total	**9.2**	**5.2**	**10.2**	**5.7**	**8.8**	**4.6**	**7.7**	**2.7**	**9.0**	**3.1**	**7.1**	**2.3**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	10.4	1.9	11.3	1.7	10.3	2.0	8.8	1.3	9.9	1.6	8.3	1.5
Jharkhand	11.8	1.9	10.3	1.9	11.3	1.9	10.7	1.3	10.3	1.8	10.2	1.1
Rajasthan	6.9	2.8	7.6	3.5	6.7	2.2	5.3	2.0	7.3	3.0	5.3	1.2
Maharashtra	4.9	5.7	4.3	8.2	5.0	4.3	4.7	1.9	4.0	2.5	4.6	1.5
Andhra Pradesh	6.7	3.8	6.4	4.8	6.6	3.1	5.2	1.4	6.3	1.9	4.8	1.0
Tamil Nadu	11.3	6.1	13.4	5.5	10.6	6.4	9.7	2.7	12.7	3.7	9.0	2.2
Total	**7.6**	**4.7**	**7.5**	**5.6**	**7.4**	**4.2**	**6.5**	**2.0**	**7.2**	**2.6**	**6.3**	**1.5**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	10.2	2.4	11.9	2.9	10.1	1.3	9.5	1.5	9.6	1.6	9.0	1.3
Jharkhand	12.8	4.0	14.6	3.9	11.3	4.1	9.2	3.4	11.3	4.0	8.0	2.6
Rajasthan	11.8	4.7	11.7	5.3	11.3	3.3	10.4	3.1	11.7	3.4	9.4	2.4
Maharashtra	8.7	8.5	10.8	10.1	8.3	7.0	6.9	5.1	9.4	6.2	6.3	4.0
Andhra Pradesh	6.8	5.0	6.3	5.8	6.7	3.8	5.5	1.7	5.7	1.9	5.3	1.4
Tamil Nadu	12.6	9.0	14.1	9.8	12.3	8.4	9.1	4.7	12.8	5.5	8.6	4.2
Total	**9.9**	**5.4**	**10.9**	**5.8**	**9.5**	**4.8**	**8.2**	**3.1**	**9.6**	**3.3**	**7.5**	**2.7**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

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Table 6.3: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
B: Brought opposite-sex friends home												
Combined												
Bihar	79.6	97.1	82.1	98.0	77.9	95.8	78.7	96.6	79.9	98.3	76.8	94.1
Jharkhand	71.2	89.7	74.8	93.3	69.1	85.7	71.3	87.7	74.8	92.1	68.8	82.7
Rajasthan	79.2	83.7	79.7	86.9	78.6	79.7	79.8	81.6	80.4	84.6	78.9	77.5
Maharashtra	64.0	77.5	65.7	86.1	63.7	70.6	63.9	73.6	66.8	81.5	63.4	67.0
Andhra Pradesh	59.6	84.6	62.3	86.0	59.7	83.0	60.5	80.7	60.0	83.5	60.9	77.1
Tamil Nadu	61.2	76.1	66.1	80.5	60.9	73.4	60.0	73.7	66.1	79.7	59.6	69.9
Total	**68.8**	**84.4**	**72.4**	**88.9**	**67.4**	**79.8**	**68.5**	**81.6**	**71.4**	**86.8**	**67.0**	**76.1**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	70.8	90.3	76.1	95.1	69.5	86.9	70.5	87.7	76.5	94.6	69.3	82.8
Jharkhand	57.9	82.0	60.4	88.7	56.7	78.7	56.9	78.2	61.1	86.3	55.8	74.0
Rajasthan	71.1	74.2	73.6	78.9	71.0	70.3	72.3	72.6	74.3	77.6	71.7	68.2
Maharashtra	55.4	67.5	58.8	79.4	55.5	60.5	57.0	63.1	60.1	73.3	56.7	56.7
Andhra Pradesh	57.8	81.4	65.0	85.6	57.2	78.4	57.4	77.3	60.5	82.5	58.3	73.3
Tamil Nadu	57.1	72.8	65.3	79.6	56.1	69.2	57.2	71.4	63.8	77.4	56.3	68.0
Total	**59.2**	**74.3**	**64.6**	**82.0**	**58.7**	**69.4**	**59.8**	**71.1**	**64.1**	**78.6**	**59.3**	**66.2**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	81.0	97.9	82.6	98.2	79.4	97.4	80.0	97.7	80.2	98.5	78.2	96.1
Jharkhand	76.2	92.4	77.5	94.2	74.6	89.5	76.7	91.1	77.5	93.3	74.7	87.5
Rajasthan	81.9	87.2	81.0	88.5	81.9	84.5	82.5	84.8	81.8	86.0	82.0	82.1
Maharashtra	70.8	85.1	70.3	89.9	70.5	80.4	69.3	81.7	71.3	86.0	69.0	77.3
Andhra Pradesh	60.4	85.9	61.6	86.1	60.8	85.6	61.7	82.1	59.8	83.8	62.0	79.4
Tamil Nadu	64.3	78.7	66.8	81.1	64.7	77.1	62.1	75.5	67.9	81.2	62.3	71.6
Total	**72.9**	**88.6**	**74.7**	**90.8**	**71.7**	**85.4**	**72.3**	**86.0**	**73.8**	**89.1**	**70.9**	**81.7**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

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Table 6.3: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
C: Had a love marriage												
Combined												
Bihar	93.2	98.5	93.0	98.9	92.9	98.2	93.9	98.0	93.5	98.3	93.6	97.5
Jharkhand	85.3	92.6	84.3	94.1	84.5	91.0	84.5	90.3	83.4	92.4	83.9	87.9
Rajasthan	88.9	93.0	88.8	93.8	88.6	92.0	87.9	91.2	88.3	92.1	87.4	90.0
Maharashtra	88.3	91.2	86.7	94.2	88.4	88.9	87.9	90.7	86.1	93.9	88.2	88.1
Andhra Pradesh	68.5	93.2	69.4	93.9	68.7	92.3	67.3	93.0	67.7	93.8	66.8	92.0
Tamil Nadu	78.4	91.7	77.1	92.5	79.0	91.3	77.2	90.9	77.8	91.1	77.5	90.7
Total	**84.2**	**93.5**	**84.2**	**94.9**	**83.8**	**92.1**	**83.4**	**92.7**	**83.5**	**94.1**	**82.9**	**91.2**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	89.2	96.1	90.1	96.7	88.3	95.4	88.9	95.5	91.4	96.9	88.7	94.3
Jharkhand	80.1	90.0	80.6	92.3	79.6	88.8	79.2	87.3	82.3	90.9	78.5	85.4
Rajasthan	84.8	90.5	87.4	93.8	84.7	87.9	84.2	88.5	87.8	92.0	83.4	85.4
Maharashtra	85.6	86.6	84.6	90.1	85.7	84.6	86.2	85.6	83.5	91.1	86.5	82.2
Andhra Pradesh	69.9	92.2	75.0	93.8	70.1	91.1	67.3	92.0	71.2	94.7	67.2	90.1
Tamil Nadu	74.6	89.6	77.2	91.0	75.0	88.8	74.0	89.2	76.8	90.0	74.4	88.6
Total	**80.6**	**89.6**	**82.4**	**92.1**	**80.5**	**88.0**	**80.0**	**88.7**	**81.3**	**92.1**	**79.9**	**86.5**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	93.8	98.8	93.2	98.9	93.7	98.7	94.7	98.3	93.7	98.4	94.6	98.2
Jharkhand	87.2	93.5	85.0	94.4	86.7	92.1	86.5	91.4	83.7	92.7	86.5	89.2
Rajasthan	90.3	93.9	89.0	93.9	90.3	94.1	89.1	92.2	88.5	92.1	89.1	92.4
Maharashtra	90.4	94.7	88.0	96.4	90.6	93.1	89.2	94.7	87.9	95.5	89.5	94.0
Andhra Pradesh	67.9	93.6	67.9	93.9	68.2	92.9	67.3	93.4	66.9	93.7	66.6	93.1
Tamil Nadu	81.3	93.5	77.1	93.5	82.3	93.4	79.6	92.2	78.7	91.8	80.2	92.5
Total	**85.7**	**95.2**	**84.8**	**95.7**	**85.4**	**94.3**	**84.9**	**94.4**	**84.3**	**94.7**	**84.4**	**93.9**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. [1]Includes only those respondents reporting that their father or mother, respectively, was alive at the time of the interview.

Table 6.4: Experience of domestic violence

Percentage of youth reporting violence between parents and being beaten by parents by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father ever beat mother[1]						Beaten by father and/or mother since age 12[2]					
Combined												
Bihar	19.8	19.6	28.1	22.0	17.4	15.8	55.4	11.4	57.0	10.0	55.4	13.7
Jharkhand	28.0	23.4	36.5	24.4	25.4	22.7	44.9	15.4	41.6	14.6	45.5	16.3
Rajasthan	13.9	15.4	15.5	18.0	12.4	11.8	35.3	11.9	34.0	12.9	35.9	10.5
Maharashtra	18.7	20.4	20.5	23.2	17.5	18.2	39.2	17.2	36.1	16.0	38.4	18.2
Andhra Pradesh	36.6	35.8	42.8	39.7	34.6	31.5	48.2	22.5	50.6	21.8	47.6	23.3
Tamil Nadu	43.2	30.6	52.6	34.4	42.1	28.3	61.8	33.3	64.1	34.9	61.8	32.3
Total	**25.6**	**24.4**	**29.6**	**26.7**	**24.6**	**22.1**	**47.1**	**18.8**	**46.5**	**17.4**	**47.3**	**20.3**
Number of respondents	**12,079**	**26,246**	**5,778**	**10,957**	**9,915**	**15,289**	**14,094**	**30,774**	**7,705**	**13,548**	**11,411**	**17,226**
Urban												
Bihar	13.3	15.4	19.0	18.9	12.4	13.0	55.3	14.2	60.2	10.1	55.0	17.1
Jharkhand	18.0	14.8	26.9	16.7	16.8	13.8	45.5	17.5	43.2	14.7	45.7	19.0
Rajasthan	10.5	10.5	10.5	13.4	9.2	8.0	35.3	9.3	37.0	10.3	34.3	8.4
Maharashtra	8.8	17.8	11.9	22.2	7.4	15.1	35.6	21.4	32.9	22.3	34.7	20.9
Andhra Pradesh	35.7	27.7	44.1	32.0	33.8	24.7	46.0	25.6	50.2	25.0	44.6	26.1
Tamil Nadu	38.3	24.1	52.7	28.4	36.6	21.9	62.3	32.0	62.1	33.7	61.9	31.0
Total	**20.5**	**20.0**	**25.7**	**23.9**	**19.5**	**17.6**	**45.0**	**22.9**	**44.2**	**22.8**	**44.7**	**22.9**
Number of respondents	**6,285**	**11,716**	**2,502**	**4,641**	**5,493**	**7,075**	**7,385**	**13,744**	**3,427**	**5,778**	**6,370**	**7,966**
Rural												
Bihar	20.9	20.2	28.9	22.2	18.3	16.3	55.4	11.0	56.7	10.0	55.5	13.1
Jharkhand	31.8	26.6	38.4	25.9	29.2	27.6	44.7	14.7	41.4	14.6	45.4	14.8
Rajasthan	15.1	17.2	16.6	18.9	13.7	13.8	35.3	12.9	33.4	13.4	36.6	11.6
Maharashtra	26.4	22.4	25.7	23.8	25.6	21.1	42.0	14.0	38.3	12.5	41.4	15.6
Andhra Pradesh	36.9	39.3	42.5	41.9	35.0	35.5	49.0	21.2	50.7	20.8	48.9	21.7
Tamil Nadu	46.9	35.9	52.6	38.5	46.4	34.1	61.4	34.4	65.5	35.8	61.6	33.4
Total	**27.9**	**26.3**	**30.7**	**27.5**	**27.2**	**24.6**	**48.0**	**17.1**	**47.2**	**15.9**	**48.6**	**18.9**
Number of respondents	**5,794**	**14,530**	**3,276**	**6,316**	**4,422**	**8,214**	**6,709**	**17,030**	**4,278**	**7,770**	**5,041**	**9,260**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Domestic violence refers exclusively to physical violence. [1]Includes only those respondents reporting that their father and mother were alive at the time of the interview. [2]Includes only those respondents reporting that at least one parent was alive at the time of the interview.

Youth were also asked whether one or both parents had ever beaten them since the age of 12. Findings, shown in Table 6.4, suggest that sizeable proportions of youth with at least one parent alive at the time of the interview reported being beaten by a parent at any time since the age of 12. Gender differences were evident, with young men considerably more likely to have experienced beatings than young women (47% compared to 19%). State-wise differences were less consistent; even so, young men in Rajasthan were least likely (35%) and young men in Tamil Nadu most likely (62%) to report that a parent had beaten them. Among young women, the regional pattern was more apparent, with young women in the northern states less likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to have experienced beatings at the hands of their parents (11–15% versus 17–33%). Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow, although young women in urban areas were slightly more likely than their rural counterparts to have experienced beating at the hands of their parents.

6.2.2 Communication with parents

Information regarding communication with parents on issues relevant to youth, including school performance, romantic relationships, growing up matters and reproductive processes—was elicited from all respondents reporting that their mother or father was alive at the time of the interview. Findings, presented in Table 6.5 reveal that communication on school performance, a non-sensitive topic, was far from universal (Panel A). In contrast, sensitive topics—such as romantic relationships and reproduction—were rarely discussed with either parent (Panels B and D, respectively), and growing up matters were reported to have been discussed only by young women (Panel C).

The majority of youth had discussed schooling issues with their father and mother: 67% and 59% of young men, and 56% and 62% of young women had discussed schooling with their father and mother, respectively. In contrast, romantic relationships and reproductive processes were rarely discussed with either parent (0–2% of young men and 1–6% of young women). Hardly any young men (6–7%) reported discussing growing up matters with their parents. Among young women, while just 4% reporting discussing these matters with their father, more than three-quarters (77%) reported doing so—largely in relation to menstruation—with their mother. While young men were about as likely to discuss each issue with their mother as their father, with the exception of school performance, young women were generally more likely to discuss all four matters with their mother than with their father.

State-wise differences were generally mild with some exceptions. For one, young women in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to have discussed schooling issues with their father and mother (61–63% versus 38–53% with father; 68–75% versus 39–59% with mother). Second, young women in Andhra Pradesh, especially the married, were more likely than those in the other states to have discussed reproductive processes with their mother (12% among all young women and 17% among the married, compared with 2–6% and 3–8%, respectively among those from the other states). Third, young men in the southern states were somewhat more likely than those from the other states to have discussed growing up matters with their parents (11–14% compared to 2–8% in the other states). Finally, somewhat larger proportions of young women from Maharashtra and the southern states than those form the northern states had discussed growing up matters with their father (5–11% versus 1–2%) and mother (71–84% versus 60–75%).

Differences by marital status were wide with regard to schooling matters, with the unmarried consistently more likely than the married to report communication with their father and mother, a finding observed in each of the six states as well. Differences by marital status were negligible with regard to the remaining three matters; however, among young women, the unmarried were consistently more likely than the married to have discussed growing up matters with their mother, and this pattern was observed in all the states.

Differences by rural-urban residence suggest, likewise, greater openness with a parent among urban compared to rural youth with regard to schooling matters, a finding observed in each of the six states as well. Again, differences with regard to the remaining three matters were less pronounced and less consistently observed. However, young women in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to have discussed growing up matters with their mother and these differences were observed in all the states, except Andhra Pradesh. Also, among unmarried

Table 6.5: Parental communication

Percentage of youth who discussed selected matters with parents by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
A: School performance												
Combined												
Bihar	72.9	52.2	64.3	41.8	77.1	68.9	62.3	59.3	53.2	50.0	66.0	74.6
Jharkhand	73.8	52.6	62.2	41.7	75.8	64.8	67.4	56.0	55.2	47.3	70.1	65.7
Rajasthan	63.5	38.4	51.1	26.8	67.8	56.0	49.4	39.2	36.9	28.4	54.4	56.0
Maharashtra	61.0	60.5	41.7	49.9	64.1	68.9	53.3	68.0	33.7	57.9	56.7	76.3
Andhra Pradesh	66.5	62.6	49.1	52.7	70.9	74.5	62.3	68.1	45.8	57.9	66.2	80.6
Tamil Nadu	69.1	62.9	52.5	53.5	71.3	68.7	70.6	75.3	53.2	66.1	72.2	81.1
Total	**66.7**	**55.6**	**52.7**	**44.3**	**70.0**	**67.7**	**59.4**	**62.2**	**44.4**	**51.2**	**63.2**	**74.4**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	79.3	75.3	66.2	62.3	80.8	83.8	68.7	80.5	51.9	69.0	71.4	88.3
Jharkhand	79.7	72.3	69.4	60.2	80.5	78.3	74.8	74.6	61.1	64.6	76.7	79.8
Rajasthan	77.7	55.9	67.8	43.1	80.3	66.7	64.9	57.7	50.2	46.0	69.4	67.8
Maharashtra	62.9	70.1	43.8	58.3	65.5	77.0	53.1	80.7	31.8	71.8	56.2	86.2
Andhra Pradesh	74.7	73.8	57.1	65.1	77.3	80.1	67.0	81.0	52.4	73.3	69.8	86.9
Tamil Nadu	72.4	65.3	56.7	56.3	74.4	70.1	74.0	78.3	57.5	67.9	75.0	84.1
Total	**70.8**	**68.4**	**54.8**	**57.5**	**72.9**	**75.1**	**63.5**	**77.3**	**45.4**	**67.4**	**66.4**	**83.7**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	71.9	49.2	64.2	40.4	76.3	66.3	61.2	56.6	53.3	48.8	65.0	72.1
Jharkhand	71.6	45.7	60.8	38.1	73.7	57.5	64.6	49.4	54.0	43.9	67.1	58.1
Rajasthan	58.6	32.0	47.5	23.6	62.4	50.5	44.0	32.5	33.9	25.0	47.8	50.0
Maharashtra	59.6	53.3	40.6	45.2	63.0	61.2	53.6	58.3	34.9	50.3	57.1	66.5
Andhra Pradesh	63.3	58.0	47.0	49.3	68.2	71.4	60.5	62.5	44.1	53.3	64.7	77.0
Tamil Nadu	66.6	61.0	49.7	51.6	68.8	67.5	68.0	72.9	50.1	64.9	69.9	78.4
Total	**64.9**	**50.2**	**52.1**	**40.7**	**68.6**	**63.7**	**57.6**	**55.8**	**44.0**	**46.6**	**61.7**	**69.2**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

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Table 6.5: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
B: Romantic relationships												
Combined												
Bihar	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.8	0.5	0.8	7.2	0.2	5.6	1.0	9.5
Jharkhand	2.6	1.1	1.6	0.8	2.7	1.6	3.6	10.6	2.3	7.6	4.1	13.7
Rajasthan	1.3	0.4	0.7	0.2	1.4	0.6	1.1	3.8	0.9	2.8	1.1	5.2
Maharashtra	2.6	1.5	1.9	1.1	2.7	1.9	2.8	5.2	2.3	4.5	2.8	5.7
Andhra Pradesh	1.4	0.2	1.4	0.1	1.3	0.3	0.9	4.6	0.7	6.1	1.0	2.7
Tamil Nadu	4.9	3.3	4.0	2.9	4.7	3.5	6.2	9.2	6.3	7.3	5.8	10.4
Total	**2.1**	**1.1**	**1.4**	**0.7**	**2.2**	**1.5**	**2.3**	**6.2**	**1.6**	**5.3**	**2.5**	**7.0**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	2.1	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.3	1.8	2.3	14.5	0.0	10.1	2.6	17.6
Jharkhand	3.7	1.9	2.1	0.8	3.8	2.4	5.9	19.5	2.3	12.4	6.4	23.3
Rajasthan	2.5	0.7	1.8	0.5	2.4	0.8	1.2	6.4	1.2	4.7	1.4	7.9
Maharashtra	1.9	1.8	2.2	1.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	6.7	2.5	5.0	2.2	7.8
Andhra Pradesh	1.3	0.2	0.9	0.0	1.3	0.4	1.3	4.2	1.5	5.3	1.1	3.4
Tamil Nadu	6.1	4.4	5.2	3.4	6.2	4.9	8.2	12.0	7.7	8.5	7.8	13.9
Total	**2.9**	**2.0**	**2.3**	**1.3**	**3.0**	**2.4**	**3.3**	**8.7**	**2.9**	**6.4**	**3.5**	**10.1**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	6.2	0.2	5.3	0.7	8.1
Jharkhand	2.2	0.9	1.5	0.8	2.2	1.1	2.7	7.4	2.3	6.6	3.0	8.6
Rajasthan	0.8	0.2	0.5	0.2	1.0	0.4	1.0	2.8	0.8	2.4	1.0	3.8
Maharashtra	3.2	1.3	1.8	1.1	3.1	1.5	3.4	3.9	2.2	4.3	3.3	3.5
Andhra Pradesh	1.4	0.1	1.5	0.1	1.4	0.2	0.8	4.7	0.6	6.3	0.9	2.4
Tamil Nadu	3.9	2.4	3.3	2.5	3.5	2.3	4.7	7.0	5.4	6.4	4.1	7.4
Total	**1.7**	**0.7**	**1.1**	**0.6**	**1.9**	**1.0**	**1.9**	**5.1**	**1.2**	**5.0**	**2.0**	**5.3**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

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Table 6.5: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
C: Growing up issues												
Combined												
Bihar	4.1	1.1	2.0	1.1	4.7	1.1	3.8	74.2	2.7	71.8	4.2	78.0
Jharkhand	7.9	1.9	4.8	1.5	8.6	2.4	7.3	59.6	4.6	56.9	8.1	62.2
Rajasthan	4.9	0.7	4.0	0.6	5.0	0.9	3.4	74.9	3.0	72.0	3.2	78.7
Maharashtra	2.3	5.0	1.4	3.3	2.4	6.3	1.7	84.4	1.7	80.4	1.7	87.5
Andhra Pradesh	11.0	4.7	10.8	4.8	10.8	4.5	12.1	83.3	11.4	81.8	11.6	85.2
Tamil Nadu	13.5	10.7	11.5	9.2	13.8	11.7	14.1	70.6	12.3	68.4	14.2	72.0
Total	**6.6**	**4.2**	**5.0**	**3.2**	**6.9**	**5.4**	**6.4**	**76.9**	**5.4**	**74.4**	**6.7**	**79.5**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	7.5	1.6	4.2	0.8	8.0	2.2	7.3	83.0	3.7	78.3	7.8	86.4
Jharkhand	8.1	2.9	6.3	1.7	8.4	3.4	7.9	73.8	5.7	68.9	8.1	76.4
Rajasthan	6.8	1.0	4.7	0.3	7.7	1.6	4.8	83.7	3.1	79.8	5.4	87.1
Maharashtra	2.2	6.3	0.6	3.4	2.5	8.0	1.3	92.3	1.0	89.9	1.5	93.7
Andhra Pradesh	11.6	3.7	10.5	2.9	11.1	4.4	11.8	83.7	10.3	80.7	11.0	86.1
Tamil Nadu	14.0	9.7	11.1	6.3	14.0	11.5	14.8	75.5	12.3	72.4	14.7	77.3
Total	**7.5**	**5.6**	**5.3**	**3.3**	**7.8**	**7.1**	**7.1**	**84.1**	**5.4**	**81.1**	**7.4**	**86.0**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	3.6	1.1	1.9	1.2	4.0	0.9	3.3	73.0	2.6	71.3	3.5	76.5
Jharkhand	7.9	1.6	4.7	1.5	8.6	1.9	7.0	54.6	4.5	54.6	8.0	54.6
Rajasthan	4.2	0.6	3.8	0.6	3.8	0.6	2.9	71.7	2.9	70.5	2.1	74.5
Maharashtra	2.4	3.9	2.0	3.2	2.4	4.6	2.1	78.2	2.0	75.2	1.9	81.3
Andhra Pradesh	10.8	5.0	10.9	5.3	10.7	4.6	12.2	83.1	11.7	82.1	11.8	84.7
Tamil Nadu	13.1	11.6	11.6	11.2	13.4	11.9	13.6	66.7	12.3	65.7	13.7	67.4
Total	**6.2**	**3.7**	**5.0**	**3.1**	**6.5**	**4.4**	**6.1**	**73.9**	**5.3**	**72.4**	**6.3**	**75.9**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

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Table 6.5: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Father						Mother					
D: Reproductive processes												
Combined												
Bihar	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	3.0	0.3	3.7	0.1	1.6
Jharkhand	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.3	6.3	0.5	7.1	0.2	5.4
Rajasthan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	2.6	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.9
Maharashtra	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.3	6.3	0.7	8.3	0.4	4.7
Andhra Pradesh	0.3	2.7	0.8	4.7	0.2	0.2	1.3	11.5	1.7	16.9	1.2	4.7
Tamil Nadu	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	2.0	0.1	3.7	0.1	1.0
Total	**0.3**	**0.6**	**0.3**	**1.0**	**0.3**	**0.2**	**0.4**	**5.5**	**0.6**	**7.5**	**0.4**	**3.1**
Number of respondents[1]	**12,462**	**27,398**	**6,201**	**11,660**	**10,182**	**15,738**	**13,708**	**29,616**	**7,282**	**12,843**	**11,141**	**16,773**
Urban												
Bihar	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.4	3.7	0.0	4.6	0.4	3.4
Jharkhand	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1	0.3	5.1	0.0	5.1	0.3	5.2
Rajasthan	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	3.4	0.0	4.3	0.2	2.7
Maharashtra	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	5.1	0.8	5.7	0.2	4.8
Andhra Pradesh	0.7	1.2	0.5	2.4	0.6	0.3	2.4	9.5	3.3	14.6	1.8	5.6
Tamil Nadu	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.1	0.2	1.8	0.0	2.9	0.3	1.2
Total	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.1**	**0.5**	**0.4**	**0.2**	**0.5**	**4.8**	**0.9**	**6.5**	**0.5**	**3.7**
Number of respondents[1]	**6,480**	**12,197**	**2,684**	**4,937**	**5,647**	**7,260**	**7,189**	**13,262**	**3,245**	**5,482**	**6,215**	**7,780**
Rural												
Bihar	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.2	3.7	0.0	1.2
Jharkhand	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.3	6.7	0.5	7.5	0.2	5.5
Rajasthan	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.4
Maharashtra	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.5	7.2	0.9	9.8	0.6	4.5
Andhra Pradesh	0.2	3.4	0.8	5.4	0.0	0.2	0.9	12.3	1.3	17.6	0.9	4.1
Tamil Nadu	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.1	4.3	0.0	0.8
Total	**0.2**	**0.7**	**0.4**	**1.2**	**0.2**	**0.1**	**0.3**	**5.8**	**0.5**	**7.8**	**0.3**	**2.8**
Number of respondents[1]	**5,982**	**15,201**	**3,517**	**6,723**	**4,535**	**8,478**	**6,519**	**16,354**	**4,037**	**7,361**	**4,926**	**8,993**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. [1]Includes only those respondents reporting that their father or mother, respectively, was alive at the time of the interview.

young women, those in urban areas were somewhat more likely to report discussing romantic relationships with their mother than were those in rural areas (10% versus 5%). State-wise differences were wide in Bihar (18% versus 8%), Jharkhand (23% versus 9%) and Tamil Nadu (14% versus 7%), but narrow in the remaining three states.

6.3 Peer networks

In order to assess the size of peer networks and the nature of peer interaction, the Youth Study asked young people about the number of same-sex friends they had and whether they had opposite-sex friends. Married respondents were asked to recall the situation prior to marriage.

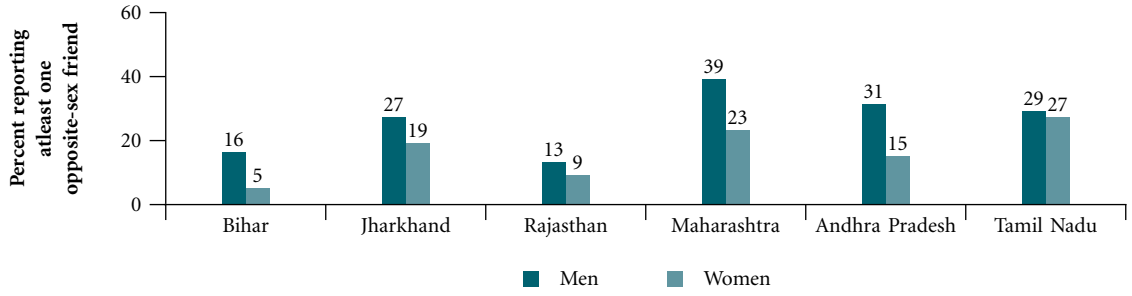
Table 6.6 reports findings on the size of peer networks. Same-sex peer networks were clearly larger among young men than young women (average of 4 and 3 same-sex friends, respectively). Indeed, an average of three friends was reported by all young women, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence. Among young men, the unmarried reported a larger peer network than did the married (4 versus 3), and those in urban areas reported a larger network than did those in rural areas (5 versus 3). More young men than women reported 5 or more friends (42% versus 22%), and gender differences were apparent among the married and the unmarried, and among those in both urban and rural areas.

Opposite-sex peer networks were reported by smaller proportions of young people and gender differences were apparent. Young men were considerably more likely than young women to report having at least one opposite-sex friend (27% and 16%, respectively). The unmarried were, likewise, more likely than the married to report an opposite-sex friend—29% and 20%, respectively, among young men, and 23% and 10%, respectively, among young women (also see Figure 6.2). Finally, rural young men and women were less likely than their urban counterparts to report an opposite-sex friend—24% versus 33% among young men, and 12% versus 26% among young women.

Table 6.7 presents findings on peer networks of same- and opposite-sex friends reported by youth in each state and confirms wide variation across states. Youth in the northern states were less likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to report five or more same-sex friends. Between one-seventh and two-fifths of young men in the northern states (15–41%), compared to between two-fifths and almost three-fifths in Maharashtra and the southern states (43–58%), reported five or more same-sex peers. The corresponding percentages among young women were 16–22 and 18–36. These patterns were observed, for the most part, among the married and the unmarried as well as those in rural and urban areas.

With regard to opposite-sex friends, a less consistent regional picture emerges. In comparison with youth from Maharashtra and the southern states, fewer youth in two of the three northern states (Bihar and Rajasthan) reported opposite-sex friends. Youth in Jharkhand were, in contrast, about as likely as those from Maharashtra and

Figure 6.2: Percentage of youth reporting at least one opposite-sex friend by state



Note: For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

Table 6.6: Size of peer networks

Percent distribution of youth by number of same-sex friends and percentage of youth reporting at least one opposite-sex friend, according to residence

Number of friends	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Number of same-sex friends						
None	1.9	2.8	3.3	3.6	1.6	1.9
1	9.7	15.8	12.3	15.8	8.7	15.7
2	20.9	28.1	23.4	30.2	19.8	25.6
3	14.2	18.4	14.5	18.3	14.1	18.4
4	11.4	12.8	11.8	12.9	11.2	12.6
5 or more	41.9	22.3	34.7	19.2	44.6	25.8
Median number of same-sex friends	4.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0
At least one opposite-sex friend (%)	26.9	16.2	19.6	9.9	28.8	23.3
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Number of same-sex friends						
None	0.8	1.9	1.3	2.3	0.8	1.7
1	6.5	16.5	8.3	16.8	6.2	16.3
2	15.2	26.4	17.9	29.1	14.7	24.6
3	14.2	18.6	14.7	19.8	14.2	17.8
4	10.8	11.8	11.5	12.5	10.7	11.3
5 or more	52.4	24.7	46.4	19.5	53.5	28.3
Median number of same-sex friends	5.0	3.0	4.0	3.0	5.0	3.0
At least one opposite-sex friend (%)	33.2	25.5	24.1	16.3	34.9	31.8
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Number of same-sex friends						
None	2.4	3.1	3.9	3.9	2.0	2.0
1	11.1	15.5	13.6	15.5	10.0	15.4
2	23.4	28.7	25.1	30.5	22.3	26.1
3	14.2	18.3	14.4	17.9	14.0	18.8
4	11.6	13.2	11.9	13.1	11.5	13.3
5 or more	37.4	21.2	31.1	19.1	40.2	24.5
Median number of same-sex friends	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	3.0
At least one opposite-sex friend (%)	24.1	12.3	18.2	8.1	25.8	18.6
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

Table 6.7: Size of peer networks by state

Percentage of youth having five or more same-sex friends and at least one opposite-sex friend by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Having five or more same-sex friends						Having at least one opposite-sex friend					
Combined												
Bihar	29.4	18.8	29.4	19.4	28.7	17.7	16.2	4.8	14.7	3.2	16.2	7.3
Jharkhand	40.5	21.9	29.3	21.1	44.0	22.6	26.5	19.4	22.1	13.8	27.7	26.3
Rajasthan	15.2	15.7	13.3	14.7	16.2	17.3	13.3	9.0	8.0	5.3	15.6	14.9
Maharashtra	55.7	17.5	46.3	14.4	57.7	20.2	39.2	23.3	29.2	13.4	40.9	31.6
Andhra Pradesh	57.9	24.9	48.6	21.1	60.5	29.8	31.4	15.3	21.9	9.7	33.1	22.6
Tamil Nadu	42.9	36.4	40.0	29.2	43.4	41.2	28.9	27.0	27.8	22.8	28.3	29.7
Total	**41.9**	**22.3**	**34.7**	**19.2**	**44.6**	**25.8**	**26.9**	**16.2**	**19.6**	**9.9**	**28.8**	**23.3**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban												
Bihar	39.3	19.7	34.4	18.3	39.8	20.4	27.6	12.4	23.9	8.5	28.2	15.4
Jharkhand	55.1	27.1	50.5	25.5	55.5	28.0	37.9	27.3	30.1	18.8	39.1	32.1
Rajasthan	18.2	17.2	11.8	15.7	19.6	18.5	17.2	14.8	9.5	8.6	19.3	20.3
Maharashtra	65.7	16.3	58.9	12.1	66.5	18.9	40.7	31.7	29.2	18.4	43.4	40.1
Andhra Pradesh	64.7	26.8	57.2	22.7	65.6	30.1	37.2	21.5	24.8	12.0	38.1	29.0
Tamil Nadu	42.4	38.7	40.7	28.7	42.4	44.6	27.0	27.8	23.4	23.1	26.8	30.5
Total	**52.4**	**24.7**	**46.4**	**19.5**	**53.5**	**28.3**	**33.2**	**25.5**	**24.1**	**16.3**	**34.9**	**31.8**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural												
Bihar	27.8	18.7	28.9	19.4	26.5	17.2	14.3	3.8	13.9	2.9	13.8	5.8
Jharkhand	35.0	20.1	25.4	20.2	38.9	19.8	22.3	16.7	20.6	12.8	22.7	23.2
Rajasthan	14.2	15.1	13.5	14.5	14.8	16.6	11.9	6.9	7.6	4.7	14.1	12.1
Maharashtra	47.7	18.5	37.6	15.7	50.3	21.4	38.0	16.7	29.2	10.5	38.6	23.1
Andhra Pradesh	55.2	24.1	46.2	20.7	58.4	29.6	29.1	12.7	21.1	8.9	31.0	18.9
Tamil Nadu	43.3	34.6	39.4	29.6	44.2	38.2	30.4	26.3	30.8	22.6	29.5	29.0
Total	**37.4**	**21.2**	**31.1**	**19.1**	**40.2**	**24.5**	**24.1**	**12.3**	**18.2**	**8.1**	**25.8**	**18.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

the southern states to report opposite-sex friends. For example, just 13–16% of young men in Bihar and Rajasthan reported an opposite-sex friend, compared to 27% in Jharkhand and 29–39% in Maharashtra and the southern states. The corresponding percentages among young women were 5–9% in Bihar and Rajasthan, 19% in Jharkhand, and 15–27% in Maharashtra and the southern states. Similar patterns were observed among both the married and the unmarried, and for the most part, among youth in rural and urban areas.

6.4 Support networks

The Youth Study also asked respondents about the individual with whom they would most likely discuss a range of personal matters, namely, taking a job, menstrual problems (females) and nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh* (males), and boy–girl relationships. All those aged 20 and above were asked to think back to the time they were aged 15–18 while responding to these questions.

Findings, reported in Table 6.8, indicate that the person with whom youth would most likely discuss personal matters varied considerably by sex of the respondent and type of topic. Young women tended to consider their mother as their leading confidante on two matters: those relating to taking a job (38%) and menstrual problems (72%); fewer young women (28%) considered their father as their leading confidante on matters relating to taking a job and hardly considered their father as their leading confidante on those relating to menstrual problems. Matters pertaining to boy-girl relationships, in contrast, were rarely confided in a parent, and most likely to be confided in peers (46%). Patterns among young men were different. As far as the non-sensitive issue of taking a job is concerned, the leading confidante was their father, cited by 39% of young men; mothers, in contrast, were about as likely to be cited as the leading confidante as were friends (21% and 22%, respectively). Parents were rarely cited as key confidantes (0–2%) by young men on such issues as anxiety about nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh*, and boy-girl relationships, for which most young men reported peers as their leading confidante (70% and 85%, respectively). It is notable, moreover, that many young men reported that they would not confide in anyone about anxiety regarding nocturnal emission or boy-girl relationships (24% and 13%, respectively); while just 3% of young women reported that they would not confide in anyone about menstrual matters, almost one in five young women (18%) reported that they would not confide in anyone about boy-girl relationships.

Differences by marital status were negligible among young men, although married young men were somewhat less likely than the unmarried to confide in their father and more likely to confide in their friends about taking a job. Differences were more apparent for young women. Indeed, among young women, the unmarried were more likely than the married to report a parent as a confidante on all three matters, and a friend as a confidante on boy-girl relationship issues. Notably, while considerable percentages of married young women reported their spouse as a leading confidante on all three matters—taking a job (27%), menstrual problems (21%) and boy-girl relationship issues (22%), less than 1% of married young men reported so, reflecting the fact that many more young women than men were married at ages 15–18, the ages about which these questions were posed.

Patterns in rural and urban settings suggest that young men in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to cite a friend as a leading confidante on such matters as anxiety about nocturnal emission and boy-girl relationships and correspondingly somewhat less likely to report that they would not confide in anyone on these matters. More differences were observed among young women. As far as taking a job is concerned, more young women in urban than rural areas reported confiding in their father (34% versus 25%) or mother (43% versus 36%). At the same time, more young women in urban than rural areas reported their mother as their confidante on menstrual matters, and a friend as their leading confidante on boy-girl matters.

Table 6.9 presents the state-wise percentages of youth reporting a family member or friend as a leading confidante, and those reporting that they would not confide in anyone about each of the three matters discussed above. A relatively consistent regional pattern is observed among young men. Somewhat more young men from Maharashtra and the southern states cited a friend as their leading confidante on all three matters than those from the northern

Table 6.8: Leading confidante on personal matters

Percent distribution of youth by person with whom they were most likely to discuss selected personal matters, according to topic and residence

Leading confidante	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Taking a job[1]						Menstrual problems (W)/anxiety about nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh* (M)[1]						Boy-girl relationships[1]					
Combined																		
Mother	21.1	38.1	18.7	31.9	21.7	45.5	0.7	72.3	0.7	59.8	0.6	87.0	0.3	12.1	0.2	10.0	0.2	14.5
Father	38.6	27.7	33.7	20.4	38.8	36.2	1.6	0.2	1.0	0.2	1.6	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.5
Sibling	6.6	5.3	6.7	3.8	6.8	7.1	0.6	2.8	0.4	2.9	0.7	2.7	0.4	7.4	0.3	7.5	0.5	7.3
Friend	21.8	3.7	27.7	3.0	20.9	4.6	69.6	3.0	67.6	2.9	70.9	3.1	85.2	45.6	84.5	37.0	85.5	55.8
Spouse	NA	NA	0.3	27.4	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.3	20.5	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.2	22.3	NA	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	2.2	0.4	2.4	0.3	2.2	0.5	2.8	0.2	3.6	0.3	2.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	4.3	4.5	4.2	5.7	4.3	3.0	0.9	7.7	0.9	10.4	1.0	4.7	0.7	4.4	0.9	5.3	0.7	3.4
None	5.5	5.4	6.1	7.4	5.4	3.1	23.6	2.6	25.4	3.0	22.3	2.1	12.9	17.8	13.4	17.4	12.6	18.3
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban																		
Mother	20.7	42.6	19.5	39.7	21.0	44.5	0.7	84.4	0.5	74.7	0.7	90.9	0.4	14.4	0.2	12.1	0.4	16.0
Father	40.8	34.3	31.0	27.0	41.8	39.3	1.5	0.3	0.5	0.2	1.6	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5
Sibling	8.6	6.6	9.5	5.3	8.4	7.5	0.5	3.1	0.7	3.5	0.5	2.8	0.4	9.2	0.6	9.7	0.4	8.9
Friend	20.6	4.0	28.8	3.5	19.8	4.3	75.7	2.2	77.3	2.3	75.6	2.1	89.1	50.8	90.6	44.6	88.8	54.9
Spouse	NA	NA	0.3	16.2	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.1	9.9	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.1	10.8	NA	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	1.3	0.2	1.1	0.2	1.3	0.3	2.7	0.2	3.2	0.4	2.7	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Other	4.7	2.7	5.5	2.9	4.5	2.5	0.8	4.3	0.9	6.8	0.9	2.6	0.8	3.0	0.7	3.4	0.8	2.7
None	3.2	3.1	4.3	5.2	3.2	1.6	18.0	1.6	16.9	2.2	18.0	1.1	8.8	17.5	7.4	18.7	9.0	16.7
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural																		
Mother	21.2	36.3	18.5	29.7	22.0	46.1	0.6	67.3	0.7	55.6	0.6	84.8	0.2	11.1	0.2	9.4	0.2	13.7
Father	37.6	24.9	34.6	18.6	37.2	34.5	1.6	0.2	1.2	0.2	1.6	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4
Sibling	5.8	4.8	5.9	3.4	5.9	6.8	0.7	2.7	0.4	2.7	0.8	2.7	0.4	6.6	0.3	6.8	0.4	6.4
Friend	22.3	3.6	27.4	2.8	21.5	4.8	67.0	3.3	64.6	3.1	68.6	3.7	83.5	43.4	82.5	34.8	83.9	56.3
Spouse	NA	NA	0.3	30.5	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.4	23.4	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.2	25.6	NA	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	2.5	0.5	2.8	0.4	2.7	0.6	2.8	0.2	3.6	0.2	2.8	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Other	4.1	5.2	3.8	6.5	4.2	3.3	0.9	9.2	0.9	11.4	1.0	5.8	0.7	5.0	1.0	5.8	0.7	3.8
None	6.5	6.4	6.7	8.1	6.4	3.9	26.1	3.0	28.1	3.3	24.5	2.7	14.6	17.9	15.2	17.0	14.4	19.2
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.
[1]Those aged 20 or above were asked to recall the period when they were aged 15–18 years. HCP: Health care provider. NA: Not applicable.

states—taking a job (23–26% versus 15–21%); nocturnal emission (77%–82% versus 54–59%) and to a lesser extent, boy-girl relationships (83–93% versus 74–82%). Among young women, a similar regional divide is evident: those from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to report a family member as their leading confidante on matters related to taking a job (70–85% versus 56–66%) and menstrual problems (84–88% versus 51–71%), and were somewhat more likely than their northern counterparts to report a friend as their leading confidante on boy-girl matters (44–57% versus 39–42%). These patterns were more or less observed among both urban and rural youth.

Table 6.9: Leading confidante on personal matters by state

Percentage of youth who reported that they would confide in a family member or friend on selected personal matters by state, according to topic and residence

State	Men (15–24)					
	Taking a job[1]		Anxiety about nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh*[1]		Boy-girl relationships[1]	
	Family member	Friend	Family member	Friend	Family member	Friend
Combined						
Bihar	71.1	14.5	3.7	54.1	0.5	78.5
Jharkhand	59.9	21.4	4.8	58.5	1.2	82.0
Rajasthan	69.0	18.2	1.6	55.4	0.3	73.6
Maharashtra	61.2	25.7	4.0	82.1	2.3	93.4
Andhra Pradesh	66.6	23.4	2.4	78.6	0.9	93.2
Tamil Nadu	68.7	26.4	1.3	77.2	0.8	82.7
Total	**66.3**	**21.8**	**2.9**	**69.6**	**1.1**	**85.2**
Urban						
Bihar	67.6	19.4	6.1	61.6	1.5	83.9
Jharkhand	65.8	19.5	5.7	58.8	1.6	86.0
Rajasthan	75.0	15.5	1.4	56.1	0.5	78.4
Maharashtra	69.5	20.4	2.5	85.8	1.1	95.9
Andhra Pradesh	70.8	20.6	3.1	76.6	2.1	91.5
Tamil Nadu	70.3	24.3	1.6	76.8	1.0	83.4
Total	**70.1**	**20.6**	**2.7**	**75.7**	**1.2**	**89.1**
Rural						
Bihar	71.6	13.6	3.2	52.8	0.2	77.7
Jharkhand	57.6	22.1	4.3	58.3	1.0	80.6
Rajasthan	66.9	19.2	1.8	55.1	0.2	72.0
Maharashtra	54.5	29.9	5.2	79.2	3.2	91.4
Andhra Pradesh	65.0	24.4	2.0	79.3	0.4	93.9
Tamil Nadu	67.4	28.2	1.1	77.3	0.5	82.1
Total	**64.6**	**22.3**	**2.9**	**67.0**	**0.9**	**83.5**

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Table 6.9: (Cont'd)

State	Women (15–24)					
	Taking a job[1]		Menstrual problems[1]		Boy-girl relationships[1]	
	Family member	Friend	Family member	Friend	Family member	Friend
Combined						
Bihar	55.8	1.0	51.0	3.0	8.9	38.6
Jharkhand	61.3	3.2	58.2	5.6	14.7	41.8
Rajasthan	66.3	0.7	71.0	2.0	18.1	41.1
Maharashtra	82.0	3.9	88.3	1.3	39.8	43.7
Andhra Pradesh	69.9	6.6	84.3	2.4	17.9	57.0
Tamil Nadu	85.2	6.2	86.9	5.9	10.9	48.8
Total	**71.1**	**3.7**	**75.3**	**3.0**	**20.0**	**45.6**
Urban						
Bihar	73.6	1.7	73.2	1.6	17.1	47.7
Jharkhand	75.1	2.8	74.3	4.6	23.9	49.6
Rajasthan	78.1	0.7	81.8	1.3	22.3	43.2
Maharashtra	89.4	2.7	92.2	0.7	39.2	48.3
Andhra Pradesh	77.0	6.7	89.1	1.5	17.8	64.2
Tamil Nadu	86.5	5.9	89.6	4.9	11.3	48.5
Total	**83.5**	**4.0**	**87.8**	**2.2**	**24.1**	**50.8**
Rural						
Bihar	53.4	0.9	48.1	3.2	7.8	37.4
Jharkhand	56.5	3.3	52.5	5.9	11.4	39.2
Rajasthan	61.9	0.7	67.1	2.2	16.6	40.4
Maharashtra	76.2	4.8	85.3	1.7	40.4	40.1
Andhra Pradesh	67.0	6.6	82.3	2.8	18.0	54.0
Tamil Nadu	84.1	6.4	84.6	6.8	10.6	49.0
Total	**66.0**	**3.6**	**70.2**	**3.3**	**18.2**	**43.4**

Note: Unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined: Young men (total):14,281; Young men (urban): 7,483; Young men (rural): 6,798; Young women (total): 31,274; Young women (urban): 13,976; Young women (rural): 17,298. [1]Those aged 20 or above were asked to recall the period when they were aged 15–18 years.

6.5 Summary

Youth Study findings confirm that puberty occurs in the early teens among both young men and women. The mean age at menarche was 13.5 years, and young men typically reported voice change and the appearance of pubic hair at age 15.

Findings underscore, in general, the gendered socialisation of youth. For example, responses of both young men and women indicate that unequal gender norms regarding freedom of movement prevailed in most study households, with more than two-thirds of young men acknowledging that they had more freedom to go out than their sisters or female cousins did, and more than half of young women agreeing that they had less freedom to go out than their brothers or male cousins. At the same time, more than half of young men and women reported that young men in their family were expected to do less housework than were young women. Findings also suggest that parents controlled both young men's and women's social interactions, particularly those involving members of the opposite-sex: For example, 69% of young men and 82–84% of young women expected parental disapproval if they brought an opposite-sex friend home.

Findings regarding communication with parents on issues relevant to youth—such as school performance, romantic relationships, growing up matters and reproductive processes—reiterate those from other studies, showing that such communication is far from universal. Indeed, sensitive topics—such as romantic relationships and reproductive processes—were rarely discussed with either parent, and growing up matters were discussed only by young women with their mother.

That parent-child communication was restricted was also evident from responses to questions probing the most likely confidante on a range of topics from taking a job to boy-girl relationships. While a parent was mentioned as the leading confidante on the subject of taking a job, a parents was rarely cited as a leading confidante on the more sensitive matter of boy-girl relationships. Moreover, while young women identified their mothers as the most likely confidante on menstrual problems, young men rarely identified a parent as a leading confidante on matters relating to nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh*.

Young people's family lives were marked by violence, both witnessed and experienced. As many as one-quarter of young men and women had observed their father beating their mother. Many respondents reported experiencing a beating by a parent during adolescence; gender differences were marked, with almost half of young men and one-fifth of young women reporting such experiences.

In contrast, growing up was associated with close peer networks. Almost all youth reported having some same-sex friends. Young men typically reported a somewhat larger network of friends than did young women. Opposite-sex peer networks were less common but nonetheless reported by 27% of young men and 16% of young women. Indeed, findings suggest that youth derived an important measure of support from their peer networks on personal matters: friends were by far the leading confidante on boy-girl relationships for both young men and women, and on nocturnal emission for young men.

Our findings also suggest the familiar north-south divide with regard to the growing up experiences of young men and women, although these differences were not consistently observed. Of note were findings that fewer young men from Maharashtra and the southern states than from the northern states perceived disapproval from their parents if they brought opposite-sex friends home. And more young women from Maharashtra and the southern states than those from the northern states cited a parent or family member as their leading confidante on matters related to taking a job or menstrual problems. Even so, evidence of domestic violence did not follow this pattern: youth in the southern states were most likely to have witnessed their father beating their mother and to have been beaten by a parent.

Peer relations also differed by state. Youth in the northern states were less likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to report five or more same-sex friends or an opposite-sex friend. Moreover, young men in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to cite a friend as their leading confidante on such matters as taking a job, anxiety about nocturnal emission and boy-girl relationships; so too, young women in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to cite a friend as a leading confidante on boy-girl relationships.

Chapter 7

Agency and gender role attitudes

Evidence on agency and gender role attitudes among youth, although sparse, suggests that in traditional settings such as India, young women and even some young men have limited agency in terms of decision-making on matters affecting their own lives, freedom of movement and access to resources. Gender role attitudes, similarly, tend to be traditional, assigning greater value to young men than young women (Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b; Ram et al., 2006; Santhya, Jejeebhoy and Ghosh, 2008; Sebastian, Grant and Mensch, 2005). This chapter discusses Youth Study findings on agency and gender role attitudes.

7.1 Decision-making

In order to assess young people's involvement in decision-making, the Youth Study asked all respondents about their involvement in decisions related to three specific matters: choice of friends, spending one's own money and buying clothes for oneself. If youth reported that they were involved in decision-making on any issue, they were asked whether they made the decision entirely on their own or jointly with other family members.

Findings, presented in Table 7.1 and Figure 7.1, reveal that irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence, youth were overwhelmingly likely to choose their friends on their own; 95% of young men and 90% of young women reported that they decided on their own who their friends would be.

Fewer youth were involved in making decisions on spending their own money than on choice of friends, and this was particularly evident among young women. For example, while 73% of young men reported that they made independent decisions about spending money, only 49% of young women so reported. Indeed, as many as 22% of young women and far fewer young men (9%) reported that it was other family members who made such decisions without involving them. As shown also in Figure 7.1, marital status differences varied by sex of the respondent. Among young women, somewhat more unmarried than married young women made independent decisions about spending money (52% versus 47%); conversely, among young men, the married were more likely than the unmarried to do so (84% versus 70%). Rural-urban differences were negligible among young men, but urban young women were considerably more likely than those in rural areas to make independent decisions related to spending their own money (56% versus 46%).

Even fewer youth were involved in making decisions about the purchase of clothes for themselves. Again, gender differences were wide; for example, while two-thirds (66%) of young men decided independently about purchasing clothes for themselves, only one-third (33%) of young women did so. Conversely, about one-eighth (13%) of young men compared to one-quarter (26%) of young women reported that they did not have any say in the matter and it was other family members who made this decision for them. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence resembled those observed above for decision-making on spending money. Married young men were far more likely than those who were unmarried to make independent decisions related to buying clothes (85% versus 62%); differences among young women were mild (35% of the unmarried and 32% of the married decided independently). Rural-urban differences were apparent and suggest that both young men and women in urban areas were more likely than those in rural areas to be involved in such decisions.

Table 7.1: Decision-making

Percent distribution of youth by participation in decision-making on selected matters, according to residence

Participation in decision-making	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
A. Choice of friends						
Combined						
Respondent only	94.5	90.4	96.8	89.9	94.1	91.0
Jointly with others	3.0	4.6	1.6	4.8	3.3	4.2
Others only	2.4	5.0	1.5	5.3	2.5	4.8
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Respondent only	95.2	90.6	97.9	89.7	95.1	91.2
Jointly with others	3.2	4.4	1.4	4.7	3.2	4.2
Others only	1.6	5.0	0.7	5.5	1.7	4.6
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Respondent only	94.2	90.3	96.5	89.9	93.6	90.9
Jointly with others	3.0	4.6	1.7	4.9	3.4	4.3
Others only	2.8	5.1	1.7	5.2	3.0	4.9
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
B. Spending money						
Combined						
Respondent only	72.5	49.1	84.3	46.8	70.1	51.5
Jointly with others	18.2	28.7	11.5	30.7	19.5	26.4
Others only	9.4	22.2	4.2	22.4	10.4	22.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Respondent only	74.2	55.5	87.8	51.3	72.7	58.4
Jointly with others	18.7	25.3	10.4	27.7	19.6	23.7
Others only	7.1	19.2	1.8	21.1	7.7	17.9
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Respondent only	71.7	46.4	83.2	45.6	68.8	47.8
Jointly with others	17.9	30.1	11.8	31.6	19.5	27.9
Others only	10.4	23.4	4.9	22.8	11.7	24.3
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

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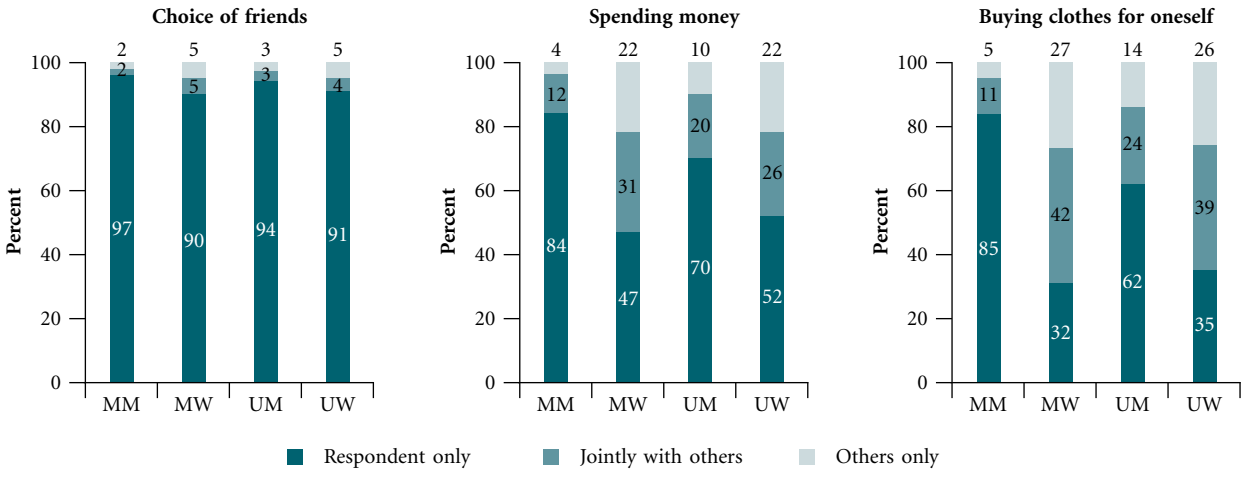
Table 7.1: (Cont'd)

Participation in decision-making	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
C. Buying clothes for oneself						
Combined						
Respondent only	65.8	33.3	84.5	31.5	62.0	35.0
Jointly with others	21.2	40.2	10.5	41.7	23.6	38.6
Others only	12.9	26.4	5.0	26.7	14.4	26.4
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Respondent only	70.5	41.0	87.7	37.8	68.4	43.3
Jointly with others	20.5	38.3	9.8	39.7	21.7	37.3
Others only	9.0	20.6	2.5	22.5	9.8	19.4
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Respondent only	63.8	30.0	83.5	29.7	58.8	30.5
Jointly with others	21.6	41.1	10.7	42.3	24.5	39.2
Others only	14.7	28.8	5.7	27.9	16.7	30.2
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Figure 7.1: Percent distribution of youth by participation in decision-making on selected matters



Note: Percentages may not equal 100.0 because of rounding.

In order to assess the extent to which youth had independent decision-making authority on all three matters, Table 7.2 presents the percentage of youth who reported that they independently made decisions on choice of friends, spending money and purchase of clothes for themselves. In total, 56% of young men compared to only 27% of young women reported independent decision-making on all three issues. Differences by marital status were negligible

among young women, whereas married young men displayed considerably higher levels of decision-making than did their unmarried counterparts. So too, youth residing in urban areas were considerably more likely to display decision-making authority than their rural counterparts.

Table 7.2 also presents combined responses on independent decision-making by selected background characteristics and state of residence. Findings reveal that independent decision-making on all three matters was indeed higher among older than younger respondents, irrespective of sex, marital status or rural-urban residence. Differences by religion were narrow among young men; among young women, Muslim women were least likely and those belonging

Table 7.2: Decision-making autonomy by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who independently made decisions on choice of friends, spending money and buying clothes for themselves by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	44.0	23.1	56.2	19.5	43.4	24.5
20–24	70.4	31.0	73.8	27.9	68.3	42.1
25–29	NA	NA	79.5	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	56.4	26.9	76.3	25.4	52.4	28.5
Muslim	55.9	22.9	80.0	22.9	52.4	22.5
Other[1]	57.8	32.1	74.1	27.9	55.3	35.1
Caste						
SC	56.5	23.6	73.5	23.3	51.7	23.8
ST/VJNT	62.7	25.9	77.5	22.0	58.0	30.6
OBC	54.1	24.6	75.8	24.1	50.2	25.0
General[2]	58.9	36.1	81.9	32.9	56.5	38.4
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	57.5	18.2	75.5	19.4	46.0	13.0
1–7	53.6	19.9	73.5	21.7	47.1	16.8
8–11	53.6	29.1	77.0	31.0	50.5	27.7
12 and above	66.5	48.4	82.8	47.4	64.7	48.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	60.2	23.3	76.8	22.4	55.7	24.2
No	48.2	29.3	68.2	27.5	47.7	30.8
Wealth quintile						
First	51.7	20.0	74.0	21.7	42.7	16.6
Second	51.1	20.4	74.6	21.4	44.7	18.7
Third	55.2	23.1	74.4	23.4	52.0	22.8
Fourth	59.4	27.5	78.4	26.9	56.5	28.2
Fifth	61.1	40.2	81.7	35.3	58.8	43.2
State						
Bihar	46.0	24.5	73.4	24.7	38.3	22.7
Jharkhand	58.5	25.9	74.6	21.1	54.7	31.3
Rajasthan	64.8	25.1	84.4	22.0	58.0	29.1
Maharashtra	63.0	34.9	83.0	30.5	60.8	38.6
Andhra Pradesh	54.8	26.3	72.1	25.8	52.4	26.6
Tamil Nadu	51.8	22.1	64.7	24.0	50.7	20.9
Total	**56.4**	**26.9**	**76.6**	**25.3**	**52.6**	**28.4**

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Table 7.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	48.9	30.2	66.7	25.0	48.7	31.2
20–24	76.7	38.7	80.0	33.1	75.7	48.4
25–29	NA	NA	84.0	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	63.0	35.3	82.0	32.2	60.8	37.4
Muslim	64.5	27.1	87.7	25.9	61.7	28.0
Other[1]	62.7	40.7	79.8	36.9	60.3	42.8
Caste						
SC	61.4	30.9	81.1	31.6	57.6	30.5
ST/VJNT	74.7	37.8	87.2	25.7	74.1	47.5
OBC	61.2	30.1	80.3	28.2	59.4	31.3
General[2]	66.3	44.7	86.5	39.8	63.8	47.5
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	70.4	19.2	83.0	20.0	66.0	16.4
1–7	63.5	21.5	82.4	22.6	59.2	19.8
8–11	57.1	31.5	82.4	32.0	54.5	31.3
12 and above	72.4	52.2	83.3	53.1	71.7	51.9
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	71.2	34.9	82.8	31.5	69.0	36.7
No	51.6	34.5	76.7	31.6	51.3	36.6
Wealth quintile						
First	64.3	22.4	81.3	22.7	57.1	22.0
Second	63.4	21.8	79.9	21.5	58.3	22.3
Third	61.9	24.6	81.3	24.3	59.0	24.9
Fourth	65.0	29.5	84.6	31.1	62.6	28.1
Fifth	62.5	44.1	82.8	39.4	60.8	46.2
State						
Bihar	55.7	41.0	73.9	34.5	53.3	45.5
Jharkhand	66.9	40.2	78.7	31.3	66.1	45.3
Rajasthan	67.6	37.2	86.8	33.5	63.6	40.5
Maharashtra	69.6	38.7	90.9	32.9	67.1	42.5
Andhra Pradesh	59.0	33.1	80.1	31.0	56.7	34.7
Tamil Nadu	54.5	26.2	69.8	28.2	54.0	25.1
Total	**63.2**	**34.6**	**82.8**	**31.6**	**60.9**	**36.6**
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	42.1	20.4	55.8	18.6	41.2	21.5
20–24	67.2	27.4	72.2	26.0	63.2	35.4
25–29	NA	NA	77.8	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	53.8	23.8	74.7	23.7	48.6	24.0
Muslim	48.7	19.6	75.2	21.1	43.6	17.5
Other[1]	55.5	26.7	71.8	23.7	52.4	29.6
Caste						
SC	54.8	20.8	71.7	21.2	49.3	20.2
ST/VJNT	60.9	23.5	76.4	21.5	54.7	26.4
OBC	51.1	22.5	74.4	23.0	45.8	21.8
General[2]	53.4	30.5	78.8	29.8	51.0	31.2

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Table 7.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	55.6	18.1	74.6	19.3	42.3	12.5
1–7	50.7	19.4	71.0	21.5	43.1	15.9
8–11	52.0	27.7	75.1	30.5	48.6	25.7
12 and above	61.3	42.8	82.3	40.9	58.0	43.8
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	56.3	21.2	74.9	21.5	50.0	20.6
No	46.1	25.9	66.8	25.6	45.4	26.4
Wealth quintile						
First	50.8	19.9	73.5	21.6	41.6	16.1
Second	49.8	20.3	74.1	21.4	43.2	18.4
Third	53.4	22.7	72.6	23.2	49.9	22.2
Fourth	56.2	26.3	75.4	24.7	52.5	28.3
Fifth	59.0	34.3	80.6	31.5	55.2	37.3
State						
Bihar	44.5	22.3	73.3	24.1	35.3	18.6
Jharkhand	55.4	20.9	73.8	19.1	49.7	23.9
Rajasthan	63.8	20.8	83.9	19.7	55.6	23.3
Maharashtra	57.7	31.9	77.7	29.1	55.6	34.8
Andhra Pradesh	53.2	23.5	69.9	24.3	50.6	22.1
Tamil Nadu	49.7	18.8	61.1	21.1	48.1	17.2
Total	**53.4**	**23.6**	**74.6**	**23.5**	**48.4**	**23.8**

Note: NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

to other religions most likely to report decision making authority (23% and 32%, respectively). These patterns were observed irrespective of marital status or rural-urban residence.

Differences by caste were evident. Among young men, independent decision-making was most likely to be reported by those belonging to scheduled tribes (63%) and least likely to be displayed among those belonging to other backward castes (54%); differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were, by and large, similar. Among young women, those in general castes were more likely than other women (36% versus 24–26%) to report decision-making authority, and this difference prevailed, for the most part, among both the married and the unmarried, and those from rural and urban areas.

Independent decision-making increased consistently with level of education among young women but not young men. Among young women, for example, 48% of those with 12 or more years of schooling decided independently on all three issues, compared with just 18% of non-literate young women or those without any formal education. These differences persisted among the married and the unmarried and among those in both urban and rural settings. Among young men, in contrast, differences between those with no formal education and those with 8–11 years of education were negligible, while those with 12 or more years of education revealed considerably higher levels of decision-making. This pattern was observed among both the married and the unmarried, and among those in rural areas; among young men in urban areas, however, the uneducated were about as likely to make decisions as those with 12 or more years of education. Interestingly, even the least educated young men were more likely than the most educated young women to report independent decision-making on all three matters.

Economic activity status was consistently associated with independent decision-making among young men and young women, but in opposite directions. Among young men, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence, those who had worked in the last 12 months were more likely than others to make decisions independently. Among young women in contrast, those who had worked in the last 12 months were less likely than those who had not worked to report independent decision-making; this pattern was observed among both the married and the unmarried and those residing in rural areas; differences were not observed among those in urban areas.

Associations between the economic status of households and independent decision-making were positive among both young men and women. Differences were relatively narrow among young men, irrespective of marital status; however, the differences among those residing in rural and urban areas were less consistent. Among young women, the positive association was observed irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence: on the whole, about twice as many young women belonging to the wealthiest (fifth) quintile made independent decisions about these selected matters than did those belonging to the poorest (first) quintile. As in the case of education, even young men from households in the poorest (first) quintile were typically more likely to report independent decision-making than young women in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile.

Although in each state, young women were far less likely to report decision-making authority than were young men, state-wise patterns varied considerably. Among young men, the largest percentage reporting independent decision-making came from Rajasthan and Maharashtra (63–65%), and the smallest from Bihar (46%). While several previous studies that examined adult women's decision-making autonomy have observed a north-south dichotomy, with women in the southern states displaying more autonomy than their counterparts in the northern states (Basu, 1992; Dyson and Moore, 1983; Jejeebhoy, 2001), Youth Study findings suggest little variation in young women's decision-making autonomy by state. One-third (35%) of young women from Maharashtra and about one-quarter of those from the remaining states (22–26%) reported independent decision-making. Marital status differences among young men suggest that the married were considerably more likely than the unmarried to make decisions independently in every state. Among young women, the reverse was true among those in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra; in these states, the unmarried were more likely than the married to report independent decision-making. Differences by marital status were mild in the remaining states. At the same time, urban-rural differences suggest that youth in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts, in every state, to report independent decision-making.

7.2 Freedom of movement

Freedom of movement was assessed only for all young women and unmarried young men because married young men generally have unrestricted mobility. Mobility was measured by a number of questions relating to whether the respondent was permitted to visit places within and outside the village (rural) or neighbourhood (urban) unescorted, only if accompanied by someone else, or was not permitted to visit the place at all. Places within the village or neighbourhood included a shop/market, the home of a friend/relative and a community programme. Places outside the village or neighbourhood included the home of a relative or friend, a movie theatre, video parlour or other place of entertainment, and a community programme. Finally, all respondents were asked if they could go to a health facility unescorted, if required. Table 7.3 and Figure 7.2 report findings relating to mobility.

Findings confirm that freedom of movement even within the village or neighbourhood was not universal, although the mobility of young women, both married and unmarried, was far more limited than that of young men. For example, findings suggest that 67% of young women—63% and 72% of the married and the unmarried, respectively—could go unescorted to a shop or market within the village or neighbourhood compared with 94% of unmarried young men. Freedom to attend programmes within the village or neighbourhood was far more restricted among young women and moderately so among young men. Only 17% of young women compared with 70% of unmarried young men were allowed to attend community programmes within the village or neighbourhood unescorted.

Table 7.3: Freedom of movement

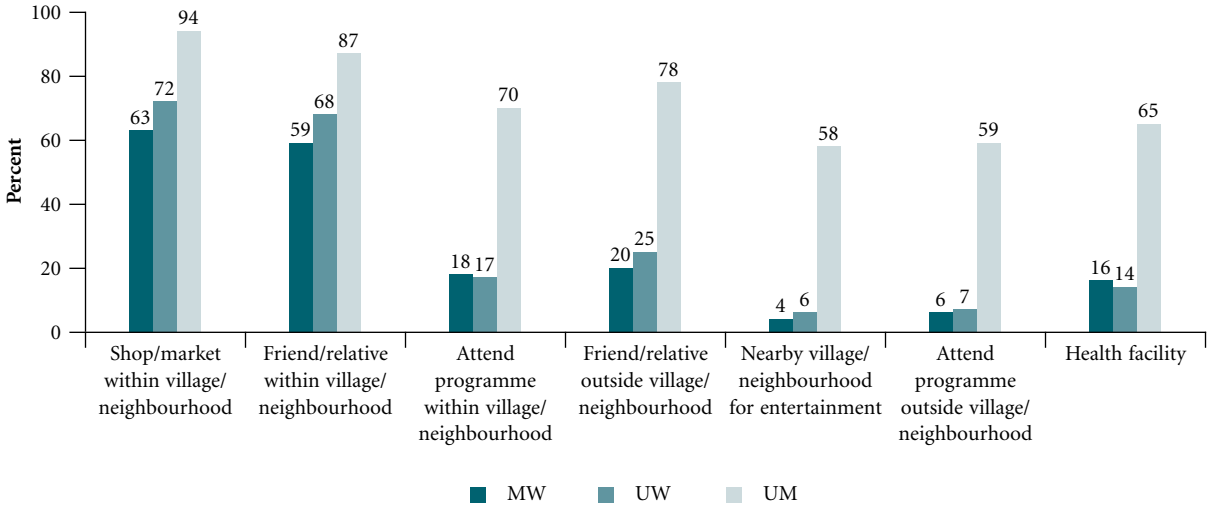
Percent distribution of youth by extent of freedom to visit selected locations within or outside the village/neighbourhood, according to residence

Mobility indicators	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24
	Combined				Urban				Rural			
Permitted to:												
Visit shop/market within village/neighbourhood												
Alone	67.0	62.9	71.7	93.6	74.4	70.1	77.2	94.6	64.0	60.9	68.6	93.1
Only with someone else	23.2	25.3	20.9	6.1	19.6	22.8	17.4	5.1	24.7	26.0	22.8	6.7
Not allowed	9.7	11.8	7.4	0.2	6.1	7.1	5.4	0.3	11.3	13.1	8.6	0.2
Visit friend/relative within village/neighbourhood												
Alone	63.1	58.7	68.1	87.4	68.1	62.0	72.3	88.8	60.9	57.7	65.8	86.7
Only with someone else	32.2	35.9	28.0	11.7	27.5	33.0	23.8	10.9	34.2	36.8	30.3	12.2
Not allowed	4.7	5.3	3.9	0.9	4.4	5.0	3.9	0.3	4.8	5.4	4.0	1.1
Attend programme within village/neighbourhood												
Alone	17.3	17.5	17.0	69.8	17.7	16.0	18.8	72.3	17.2	17.9	16.1	68.5
Only with someone else	71.9	70.8	73.2	27.2	74.0	75.3	73.1	25.5	71.1	69.6	73.4	28.0
Not allowed	10.7	11.7	9.7	3.0	8.4	8.7	8.1	2.2	11.7	12.5	10.5	3.4
Visit friend/relative outside village/neighbourhood												
Alone	22.4	20.1	24.7	77.5	31.8	28.4	34.0	81.0	18.4	17.7	19.5	75.8
Only with someone else	70.9	73.6	68.2	20.4	62.3	65.6	60.1	18.0	74.6	75.9	72.6	21.6
Not allowed	6.7	6.3	7.2	2.1	5.9	5.9	5.9	1.1	7.0	6.4	7.9	2.6
Visit nearby village/ neighbourhood for entertainment												
Alone	5.1	4.2	5.9	57.7	8.4	6.8	9.5	66.6	3.7	3.5	4.0	53.2
Only with someone else	69.1	68.1	70.0	32.5	76.3	76.7	75.9	28.8	66.0	65.6	66.7	34.3
Not allowed	25.9	27.7	24.1	9.8	15.4	16.5	14.6	4.6	30.3	30.9	29.3	12.5
Attend programme outside village/neighbourhood												
Alone	6.1	5.5	6.5	58.9	9.4	7.8	10.5	65.6	4.7	4.9	4.3	55.6
Only with someone else	76.0	75.4	76.7	33.7	77.8	79.0	77.0	29.9	75.2	74.4	76.5	35.7
Not allowed	17.9	19.0	16.9	7.3	12.7	13.2	12.5	4.5	20.1	20.7	19.3	8.7
Visit health facility												
Alone	15.3	16.1	14.1	64.6	20.1	20.6	19.7	69.0	13.3	14.8	11.0	62.3
Only with someone else	83.5	82.8	84.5	35.0	79.1	78.5	79.4	30.7	85.3	84.0	87.3	37.1
Not allowed	1.2	1.0	1.4	0.4	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.2	1.3	1.1	1.6	0.4
Number of respondents	**31,274**	**13,912**	**17,362**	**11,522**	**13,976**	**5,950**	**8,026**	**6,435**	**17,298**	**7,962**	**9,336**	**5,087**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. Questions regarding freedom of movement were not asked of married men, as their mobility is generally unrestricted.

Freedom to visit places outside the village or neighbourhood unescorted was even more restricted than mobility within the village. Of the three sites, freedom to visit a place of entertainment or to attend a programme was more curtailed than freedom to visit a friend or relative residing outside the village or neighbourhood. Young women's mobility was particularly limited: for example, just 5–6% were permitted to visit a place of entertainment or to attend a programme conducted outside the village or neighbourhood unescorted. While 69% and 76% of

Figure 7.2: Percentage of youth allowed to visit selected places within and outside the village/neighbourhood unescorted



Note: Questions regarding freedom of movement were not asked of married men, as their mobility is generally unrestricted.

young women were allowed to visit a place of entertainment or attend a programme, respectively, if accompanied, 26% and 18%, respectively, were not allowed to visit these places under any circumstances. Young men's mobility was far less likely to be curtailed; three in five young men were allowed to attend a place of entertainment or programme conducted outside their village or neighbourhood (58–59%) unescorted.

With regard to freedom to visit a health facility unescorted, findings, presented in Table 7.3, reveal that just 15% of young women, compared with 65% of unmarried young men, reported that they could do so.

Among young women, differences by marital status were evident only with respect to freedom to visit selected locations within the village or neighbourhood; the unmarried were more likely than the married to report freedom to visit a shop or market, and friends or relatives within the village or neighbourhood.

Rural-urban differentials were evident with respect to freedom of movement of young women; those in rural areas were consistently but modestly less likely than their urban counterparts to be permitted to visit such locations as a shop/market within their village or neighbourhood, the home of a friend/relative within or outside their village or neighbourhood and a health facility. For example, 61% of rural young women compared to 68% of their urban counterparts were permitted to make unescorted visits to a friend or relative within the village or neighbourhood. At the same time, only 18% of rural women and 32% of their urban counterparts were permitted to make such visits outside the village or neighbourhood. In contrast, rural young women were about as likely as urban young women to be restricted from visiting a place of entertainment and attending community programmes within or outside the village or neighbourhood unescorted. Among young men too, rural-urban differentials were muted with respect to mobility within their village or neighbourhood; however, urban young men were more likely than their rural counterparts to be permitted to visit locations outside the home village or neighbourhood and a health facility.

Summary measures have been created from the range of questions relating to freedom to visit places unescorted within and outside the village or neighbourhood—namely, the percentage who were free to visit at least one place within the village or neighbourhood, on the one hand, and outside the village or neighbourhood, on the other—and a health facility. Table 7.4 presents percentages of youth reporting each of these summary measures of freedom of movement by selected socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and state of residence.

As shown in Table 7.4, 96% and 82% of unmarried young men had freedom to visit unescorted at least one place within and outside the village or neighbourhood, respectively, and 65% to visit a health facility. In comparison, only 73% and 24% of young women reported freedom to visit unescorted at least one place within and outside the village or neighbourhood, respectively, and 15% to visit a health facility. Differences among young women by marital status suggest that the unmarried were more likely than the married to report freedom of movement within and outside the village or neighbourhood and about as likely to have the freedom to visit a health facility unescorted. Rural-urban differences were evident among both young men and women, but far more consistently so among young women. While young men in urban areas were somewhat more likely than those in rural areas to report freedom of movement to visit places outside the village or urban neighbourhood or a health facility, young women in urban areas were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to report freedom of movement to visit all three places.

Findings reveal that among unmarried young men, socio-demographic differentials were negligible in the case of mobility within the village or neighbourhood. Most differentials were narrow with regard to freedom to visit places outside the village or neighbourhood and to visit a health centre unescorted as well. However, differences were observed by age and work status, with young men aged 20–24 and those who were working, reporting somewhat more mobility than those aged 15–19 and non-working young men, respectively. State-wise patterns suggest, surprisingly, that young men in the southern states were less likely than those in the other states to report freedom to visit places outside the village or neighbourhood (71–76% versus 74–92%) and to visit a health centre (42% versus 63–83%) unescorted. These associations were observed among both rural and urban young men.

Among young women, in contrast, socio-demographic differentials were wide for each indicator of mobility. Young women's freedom to visit locations outside the village or neighbourhood and health facilities increased with age, but no such association was evident with regard to mobility within the village or neighbourhood. Differences by religion suggest that Muslim women were least likely to report freedom of movement, irrespective of the location. Caste-wise differences were less consistent, except that those belonging to general castes displayed greater freedom to visit places outside the village or neighbourhood and a health facility than other youth. The association between education and mobility suggests that mobility increased fairly steadily with years of schooling, and that those who had completed 12 or more years of schooling were considerably more likely than even those who had completed 8–11 years to report freedom of movement, irrespective of the measure of mobility. Associations between wealth quintile and mobility were also positive for each measure of mobility. As far as differentials by work status are concerned, working women were somewhat more likely to report mobility within the village or neighbourhood, but with regard to the remaining two places, young women's mobility was unrelated to their work status. Finally, state-wise differences suggest that those from the southern states were more likely than others to report freedom to visit places within the village or neighbourhood (79–84% versus 62–77%). With regard to mobility outside the village or neighbourhood, findings suggest that larger proportions of young women from Maharashtra and the southern states than those from northern states so reported (23–35% versus 10–23%). No such regional patterns were evident with regard to freedom to visit a health facility unescorted; even so, young women in Rajasthan and Maharashtra were more likely than those in the remaining states to so report (21–25% versus 10–12%).

These patterns of socio-demographic differentials were, for the most part, also observed among married and unmarried young women. Some exceptions were, however, notable, particularly with regard to mobility within the village or neighbourhood. For one, although mobility within the village or neighbourhood was unrelated with age when all women were considered, a positive association was observed when married and unmarried young women were analysed separately. Second, caste-wise differences suggest that married young women belonging to general castes and other backward castes were less likely than others to report mobility within the village or neighbourhood, however, no such differences were evident among unmarried young women. Third, the positive association between mobility and education and economic status were more pronounced among the unmarried than the married. For example, freedom to move within or outside the village or neighbourhood and to visit a health facility increased far more steeply with education and economic status of the household among the unmarried than the married.

Table 7.4: Freedom of movement by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who could visit various places unescorted by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24
	Within village/neighbourhood				Outside village/neighbourhood				Health facility			
Combined												
Age (years)												
15–19	72.3	63.3	76.4	95.8	19.0	12.1	21.9	78.4	10.7	8.8	11.3	60.7
20–24	74.4	72.0	83.1	96.7	28.8	25.4	40.9	87.3	20.4	19.3	23.9	71.1
Religion												
Hindu	74.8	70.4	80.1	96.3	24.3	21.6	27.2	81.6	15.7	16.4	14.5	64.1
Muslim	58.4	56.2	61.0	95.2	13.8	13.9	13.4	84.0	9.5	11.7	7.1	67.1
Other[1]	77.2	76.3	77.5	94.7	30.8	29.8	31.0	78.1	19.1	18.9	18.7	67.4
Caste												
SC	76.0	73.5	79.2	96.9	23.5	22.3	24.8	81.6	13.9	15.7	11.2	64.1
ST/VJNT	76.9	75.9	78.1	96.1	25.2	24.5	25.6	81.9	16.5	17.4	15.1	69.0
OBC	72.1	68.0	77.4	95.6	20.8	18.8	23.1	80.5	12.9	14.6	10.7	60.8
General[2]	73.0	66.5	78.3	96.8	30.2	25.8	33.3	84.3	21.9	20.6	22.6	70.8
Educational level (years)												
None[3]	69.9	70.1	69.3	97.2	16.0	17.7	8.4	84.1	12.9	14.6	4.9	65.8
1–7	70.3	68.3	73.6	96.0	17.1	19.1	13.6	80.8	10.9	13.4	6.8	61.4
8–11	73.6	67.7	77.4	96.0	25.1	24.0	25.5	79.4	15.2	18.1	13.1	63.2
12 and above	83.8	75.5	87.2	96.2	45.1	37.6	48.0	87.6	27.3	26.3	27.7	70.7
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	78.0	76.9	79.3	96.8	23.9	23.6	23.9	85.0	16.2	18.5	12.5	68.4
No	70.2	63.6	77.0	95.2	23.5	19.5	27.4	76.6	14.7	14.3	15.0	58.7
Wealth quintile												
First	69.9	69.5	70.7	96.8	15.1	16.4	12.2	79.8	10.7	12.9	6.0	63.9
Second	70.9	68.7	74.6	95.9	17.5	18.6	15.8	79.4	12.8	15.6	8.0	60.8
Third	73.0	70.0	76.9	96.4	21.7	22.0	21.3	80.1	13.5	16.2	10.0	62.3
Fourth	73.5	69.1	78.1	95.7	25.6	23.6	27.5	82.7	15.3	16.8	13.7	65.9
Fifth	77.9	69.4	83.5	96.2	35.3	27.3	40.3	84.5	22.6	19.9	24.3	67.9
State												
Bihar	63.9	58.7	73.3	98.9	9.5	9.8	8.3	85.9	9.5	11.2	5.9	70.3
Jharkhand	62.1	58.0	67.1	92.9	12.5	10.9	14.1	73.5	10.3	9.3	11.4	62.6
Rajasthan	76.5	74.0	80.8	99.5	23.4	21.7	25.4	92.3	20.8	19.8	21.2	83.0
Maharashtra	70.1	63.0	76.1	97.9	35.4	30.5	39.4	86.6	25.2	23.8	26.3	82.4
Andhra Pradesh	83.8	82.2	85.9	92.8	23.2	23.6	22.8	76.3	10.4	12.8	7.3	42.4
Tamil Nadu	78.6	78.1	78.9	92.9	30.1	30.0	30.1	70.9	11.8	17.3	8.1	41.8
Total	**73.3**	**69.4**	**77.9**	**96.1**	**23.7**	**21.3**	**26.1**	**81.7**	**15.3**	**16.1**	**14.1**	**64.6**
Urban												
Age (years)												
15–19	76.9	65.4	79.0	95.8	29.1	20.2	30.8	79.6	15.9	13.3	16.4	62.4
20–24	78.2	74.8	84.1	96.6	37.1	31.9	46.2	91.0	24.0	22.4	26.9	77.0
Religion												
Hindu	81.2	76.6	84.3	96.0	35.3	31.3	37.9	84.6	21.0	21.5	20.7	68.0
Muslim	56.2	54.3	57.6	97.9	17.6	17.2	18.0	85.8	11.3	13.7	9.3	73.9
Other[1]	82.3	75.8	85.8	93.4	42.2	39.4	43.7	83.6	26.9	26.3	27.3	70.1
Caste												
SC	79.6	75.9	82.1	96.7	31.3	30.9	31.6	85.0	18.2	20.6	16.5	68.4
ST/VJNT	80.1	75.5	83.5	96.9	38.2	28.1	46.2	90.1	22.3	21.6	23.1	79.6
OBC	76.2	72.6	78.9	95.2	27.9	25.1	29.9	82.8	15.5	17.5	14.0	62.7
General[2]	79.0	72.2	82.9	97.1	43.0	38.1	45.8	86.7	28.9	27.1	29.9	76.9
Educational level (years)												
None[3]	68.9	69.7	66.4	97.0	16.4	18.4	10.5	87.0	15.1	17.4	8.2	70.7
1–7	72.0	72.7	71.2	96.5	22.3	24.7	19.1	84.8	14.0	17.8	8.9	69.1
8–11	75.6	71.0	78.0	96.3	30.4	30.2	30.4	81.2	17.4	19.6	16.2	66.2
12 and above	86.7	80.3	89.0	95.6	49.6	45.0	51.3	90.3	29.5	29.5	29.5	73.3

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Table 7.4: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24	W 15–24	MW 15–24	UW 15–24	UM 15–24
	Within village/neighbourhood				Outside village/neighbourhood				Health facility			
Urban												
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	83.1	80.9	84.3	96.9	36.5	34.6	37.5	88.8	24.6	26.3	23.7	74.1
No	76.1	71.3	79.5	95.2	32.4	28.6	35.1	80.0	18.9	19.5	18.5	63.0
Wealth quintile												
First	70.4	69.9	71.1	95.2	20.1	21.8	18.1	89.4	10.9	10.5	11.3	71.4
Second	70.8	74.2	66.2	93.8	22.8	24.4	20.8	76.3	14.6	15.9	12.3	60.7
Third	73.8	75.0	72.7	97.5	24.0	25.5	22.5	86.0	14.4	20.1	9.0	66.7
Fourth	75.9	71.4	79.4	96.2	29.6	29.7	29.6	86.0	18.0	21.7	15.1	70.7
Fifth	81.4	73.4	85.1	96.0	41.2	34.1	44.5	84.4	24.9	22.3	26.0	69.5
State												
Bihar	70.0	57.0	79.4	99.6	20.1	13.4	24.9	86.9	13.7	14.7	13.0	74.2
Jharkhand	68.6	60.3	73.3	94.2	20.1	17.3	21.6	81.8	13.8	13.7	13.9	71.3
Rajasthan	79.0	73.8	83.5	99.7	31.2	26.2	35.6	94.2	29.7	27.3	32.0	87.2
Maharashtra	75.5	67.9	80.3	97.9	46.8	40.9	50.6	91.5	30.9	27.6	33.1	90.2
Andhra Pradesh	85.7	83.4	87.6	94.6	21.7	21.1	22.1	77.7	10.0	12.6	8.0	44.4
Tamil Nadu	77.5	77.6	77.4	92.2	30.3	30.3	30.3	74.8	11.5	17.3	8.1	42.2
Total	**77.5**	**73.0**	**80.6**	**96.1**	**33.2**	**29.6**	**35.7**	**84.8**	**20.1**	**20.6**	**19.7**	**69.0**
Rural												
Age (years)												
15–19	70.6	63.0	75.2	95.8	15.2	10.9	17.9	77.9	8.7	8.1	9.0	60.0
20–24	72.6	71.1	82.1	96.8	24.9	23.1	35.4	84.8	18.7	18.3	20.8	67.1
Religion												
Hindu	72.4	68.9	78.0	96.5	20.3	19.2	21.9	80.3	13.7	15.2	11.4	62.3
Muslim	60.2	57.3	64.1	92.7	10.8	12.0	9.2	82.1	8.2	10.4	5.1	60.5
Other[1]	73.9	76.3	71.6	95.4	23.6	25.3	22.0	74.9	14.1	15.5	12.7	65.7
Caste												
SC	74.6	72.8	77.7	96.9	20.5	20.2	21.1	80.2	12.2	14.5	8.3	62.4
ST/VJNT	76.3	75.9	76.7	95.9	22.5	23.9	20.4	80.1	15.3	16.8	13.1	66.8
OBC	70.6	66.8	76.7	95.8	18.1	17.2	19.6	79.3	12.0	13.8	9.0	60.0
General[2]	69.0	63.9	74.8	96.7	21.8	20.3	23.6	82.6	17.3	17.7	16.9	66.3
Educational level(years)												
None[3]	70.0	70.1	69.7	97.2	16.0	17.6	8.1	83.5	12.6	14.3	4.5	64.9
1–7	69.8	67.1	74.3	95.9	15.6	17.6	12.0	79.5	10.0	12.3	6.2	58.9
8–11	72.5	66.1	77.1	95.9	22.1	21.1	22.8	78.6	13.9	17.3	11.4	61.7
12 and above	79.6	70.2	84.6	96.7	38.4	29.2	43.2	85.0	24.2	22.7	25.1	68.2
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	77.0	76.5	77.9	96.7	21.6	22.6	20.0	83.4	14.6	17.7	9.4	65.9
No	66.4	60.0	75.1	95.2	17.9	15.2	21.5	74.4	12.1	11.9	12.3	56.0
Wealth quintile												
First	69.9	69.5	70.7	96.9	14.7	16.1	11.8	79.1	10.6	13.0	5.6	63.4
Second	70.9	68.1	75.6	96.2	16.9	18.0	15.2	79.7	12.6	15.6	7.5	60.8
Third	72.8	68.8	78.1	96.1	21.1	21.2	20.9	78.4	13.2	15.2	10.4	61.0
Fourth	72.0	67.9	77.1	95.3	22.9	20.5	26.0	80.5	13.5	14.2	12.7	62.9
Fifth	72.7	65.7	80.3	96.6	26.3	21.0	32.1	84.6	19.3	17.6	21.1	65.2
State												
Bihar	63.1	58.8	72.2	98.9	8.2	9.5	5.2	85.6	8.9	11.0	4.6	69.6
Jharkhand	59.9	57.5	63.8	92.2	9.8	9.6	10.2	69.8	9.1	8.4	10.2	58.6
Rajasthan	75.6	74.0	79.3	99.5	20.6	20.8	20.3	91.5	17.6	18.4	15.7	81.3
Maharashtra	66.0	60.2	72.0	97.8	26.5	24.6	28.4	82.5	20.7	21.7	19.6	75.9
Andhra Pradesh	83.0	81.9	85.0	92.0	23.9	24.4	23.1	75.6	10.6	12.9	6.9	41.5
Tamil Nadu	79.5	78.4	80.3	93.6	29.9	29.7	30.0	67.7	12.0	17.4	8.1	41.6
Total	**71.5**	**68.3**	**76.4**	**96.1**	**19.7**	**19.0**	**20.8**	**80.2**	**13.3**	**14.8**	**11.0**	**62.3**

Note: Questions regarding freedom of movement were not asked of married men, as their mobility is generally unrestricted. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

The fact that differences by education were wider among the unmarried suggests that marriage may have limited the positive association between education and mobility. Finally, while work status was positively associated with mobility within the village or neighbourhood among married young women, no such association was apparent among unmarried young women.

The patterns of socio-demographic differentials observed for the overall sample were, by and large, observed among rural and urban samples as well, as seen in Table 7.4.

7.3 Access to money

In order to understand access to financial resources among youth, information was obtained on whether they had any savings, whether they owned an account in a bank or a post office and if so, whether they operated the account themselves. Findings are presented in Table 7.5.

Wide gender differences were observed. For example, young women were far more likely than young men to have reported savings (36% versus 23%). Differences by marital status were narrow among young women but wide among young men (36% and 37% of married and unmarried young women, respectively, and 35% and 21% of married and unmarried young men, respectively, reported some savings). More urban than rural youth reported some savings (27% versus 21% among young men, and 43% versus 34% among young women).

Findings on ownership of a bank/post office account reveal a different picture. Only a minority of youth reported owning a bank/post office account, either independently or jointly with someone else—15% of young men and 11% of young women. Gender differences were narrow for the overall population, but pronounced among the married (25% versus 9% of young men and women, respectively). Differences by marital status suggest that married young men were more likely than unmarried young men to own an account (25% and 14%, respectively). Among young women, the situation was reversed: somewhat larger percentages of unmarried than married young women reported owning an account (13% and 9%, respectively). Rural-urban differences were apparent as well, with urban residents considerably more likely than the rural to own a bank account (21% versus 12% among young men, and 17% versus 9% among young women).

With regard to operation of the account, gender differences were stark. Almost all young men who owned an account (90%) reported operating it themselves. In contrast, only 54% of young women who owned an account did so. Marital status differences suggest that married young men were somewhat more likely than the unmarried to operate their account on their own; no such differences were evident among young women. Rural-urban differences were negligible for young men; however, young women in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to operate their account on their own (59% versus 49%) and this pattern was evident for both the married and the unmarried.

State-wise differences in access to savings are reported in Table 7.6. Across the six states, similar percentages of young men reported access to savings (19–27%) and ownership of a bank account (11–19%); however, those from Bihar appeared somewhat less likely than those from the remaining states to operate their account independently (77% versus 87–94% of those who owned an account). Among young women, differences were wider. Young women in the southern states were less likely than those in the other states to report savings (25–31% versus 38–44%), hypothesised to have occurred because gift-giving is more likely to be in kind in the south and in cash in the north, and because parents in the southern states are more likely than those in the northern states to draw on the savings of their daughters. Nevertheless, young women in the southern states were about as likely as those from the other states to own an account (9–17% versus 5–15%) and among those who owned an account, considerably more were likely to operate it independently (61–75% versus 38–51%).

Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence within each state were largely similar to those observed for all states discussed above. However, there were some notable differences with regard to independent operation of

Table 7.5: Access to money

Percentage of youth who reported having any savings, owning an account in a bank or post office and operating the account themselves, according to residence

Savings indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Has savings of any amount	22.9	36.4	35.1	35.6	21.1	37.1
Ownership of a bank/post office account:						
In own (respondent's) name	13.8	8.4	23.2	6.0	13.3	11.0
Jointly with someone else	1.2	2.8	1.3	3.3	1.1	2.1
No account	85.1	88.8	75.5	90.7	85.7	86.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Operates bank/post office account themselves	90.2	53.5	95.3	52.6	88.9	53.9
Number with an account	**2,368**	**3,830**	**2,212**	**1,449**	**1,843**	**2,381**
Urban						
Has savings of any amount	27.3	43.2	47.0	38.8	25.5	46.2
Ownership of a bank/post office account:						
In own (respondent's) name	20.1	13.8	39.9	9.4	18.6	16.9
Jointly with someone else	1.2	3.1	1.0	3.8	1.3	2.7
No account	78.7	83.1	59.2	86.9	80.2	80.5
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Operates bank/post office account themselves	91.7	59.2	96.8	58.4	90.7	59.6
Number with an account	**1,556**	**2,327**	**1,346**	**778**	**1,272**	**1,549**
Rural						
Has savings of any amount	21.0	33.6	31.3	34.6	18.9	32.0
Ownership of a bank/post office account:						
In own (respondent's) name	11.0	6.1	18.0	5.1	10.6	7.7
Jointly with someone else	1.2	2.6	1.4	3.2	1.0	1.8
No account	87.8	91.2	80.7	91.7	88.4	90.5
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Operates bank/post office account themselves	89.1	48.9	94.3	49.9	87.5	47.6
Number with an account	**812**	**1,503**	**866**	**671**	**571**	**832**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

bank accounts among young women who owned one. For example, while marital status differences in the operation of accounts were negligible for the combined population, married young women were considerably more likely to report independent operation of their account than were the unmarried in five of the six states. Likewise, while rural-urban differences suggest that on the whole, young women in urban areas were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to operate their account on their own, this was evident in only two of the six states (Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh).

Table 7.6: Access to money by state

Percentage of youth who reported having any savings, owning an account in a bank or post office and operating the account themselves by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Has savings						Owns bank/post office account (jointly or independently)						Operates bank/post office account[1]					
Combined																		
Bihar	19.5	44.3	30.3	45.2	16.4	41.8	11.4	4.9	17.4	4.3	10.4	5.4	76.8	38.2	89.7	46.0	70.8	27.7
Jharkhand	22.4	44.3	27.4	43.3	22.1	44.9	13.1	11.3	20.2	9.5	12.4	13.2	86.8	51.1	94.5	57.3	83.0	45.4
Rajasthan	23.0	38.4	40.5	39.2	18.3	35.9	13.6	9.2	25.1	6.7	11.3	13.1	92.2	40.2	97.7	47.1	89.9	33.7
Maharashtra	27.0	40.8	39.1	33.8	25.6	46.6	17.9	14.6	35.0	11.1	16.6	17.5	94.3	47.6	95.7	50.2	93.5	46.2
Andhra Pradesh	24.2	25.2	37.2	24.0	22.7	26.6	18.5	17.1	22.8	15.8	19.4	18.9	93.3	60.8	98.1	49.6	92.8	72.8
Tamil Nadu	18.9	31.0	27.2	30.6	19.1	31.2	12.7	9.0	23.0	8.7	12.9	9.2	88.5	74.6	92.8	77.8	89.3	72.3
Total	**22.9**	**36.4**	**35.1**	**35.6**	**21.1**	**37.1**	**15.0**	**11.2**	**24.5**	**9.3**	**14.4**	**13.1**	**90.2**	**53.5**	**95.3**	**52.6**	**88.9**	**53.9**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**2,368**	**3,830**	**2,212**	**1,449**	**1,843**	**2,381**
Urban																		
Bihar	23.7	56.4	32.6	55.9	22.5	56.7	20.8	14.3	33.7	12.6	20.0	15.8	73.7	32.2	90.3	35.3	70.8	31.2
Jharkhand	28.9	60.8	42.1	59.4	28.6	61.7	18.6	20.2	34.5	16.4	18.2	22.4	81.3	50.4	95.6	58.9	80.5	47.1
Rajasthan	33.8	44.9	61.8	44.6	30.3	45.3	21.6	15.7	46.9	10.0	19.0	20.6	94.6	40.4	98.8	41.9	93.3	39.9
Maharashtra	27.8	52.8	50.9	45.4	25.4	57.5	22.9	20.0	48.6	15.3	20.2	23.0	94.5	55.1	97.2	56.1	93.0	54.7
Andhra Pradesh	28.8	29.9	45.1	25.1	27.3	33.8	25.4	20.1	34.2	15.6	26.0	23.8	95.0	74.0	99.0	63.0	94.5	79.9
Tamil Nadu	22.4	32.6	35.2	29.4	22.1	34.4	15.8	11.3	30.5	9.4	15.7	12.4	89.3	72.9	92.8	77.3	89.7	71.0
Total	**27.3**	**43.2**	**47.0**	**38.8**	**25.5**	**46.2**	**21.3**	**16.9**	**40.9**	**13.2**	**19.9**	**19.6**	**91.7**	**59.2**	**96.8**	**58.4**	**90.7**	**59.6**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**1,556**	**2,327**	**1,346**	**778**	**1,272**	**1,549**
Rural																		
Bihar	18.8	42.8	30.1	44.5	15.2	39.1	9.7	3.7	16.0	3.9	8.6	3.4	77.9	41.2	89.6	(48.8)	70.5	24.2
Jharkhand	20.0	38.6	24.7	40.1	19.2	36.1	11.0	8.1	17.5	8.2	9.9	8.2	90.2	51.4	94.6	56.6	85.0	43.5
Rajasthan	19.3	36.1	35.6	38.2	13.1	31.1	10.8	6.9	20.2	5.9	7.9	9.3	90.5	40.0	97.4	48.4	86.4	27.1
Maharashtra	26.3	31.5	30.8	27.2	25.8	35.9	13.9	10.4	25.4	8.8	13.7	12.1	93.4	36.6	93.8	44.4	94.0	30.3
Andhra Pradesh	22.5	23.3	34.9	23.7	20.6	22.6	15.8	15.9	19.7	15.9	16.5	16.1	92.3	53.9	97.2	46.0	91.7	67.1
Tamil Nadu	16.3	29.7	21.7	31.4	16.8	28.4	10.4	7.2	17.8	8.3	10.7	6.4	87.6	76.7	92.0	79.0	88.8	74.5
Total	**21.0**	**33.6**	**31.3**	**34.6**	**18.9**	**32.0**	**12.2**	**8.7**	**19.4**	**8.3**	**11.6**	**9.5**	**89.1**	**48.9**	**94.3**	**49.9**	**87.5**	**47.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**812**	**1,503**	**866**	**671**	**571**	**832**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Of those who owned an account. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases.

7.4 Gender role attitudes

In order to understand gender role attitudes, youth were asked seven questions reflecting attitudes, including the relative importance attached to educating boys versus girls, the role of husbands as main decision-makers with regard to spending money, girls' participation in decisions about their own marriage, a woman's need to take permission from her husband for any activity, the comparative performance of girls versus boys in studies, gender roles in domestic work, and whether girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased. Findings, presented in Table 7.7, suggest a mixed scenario.

Questions that were most likely to elicit egalitarian attitudes from both young men and women included whether girls are usually as good as boys in studies, whether husbands alone should make decisions about spending money and whether educating boys is more important than educating girls; 63–77% of young men and 75–81% of young women expressed egalitarian views on these matters. Almost three-quarters of young women (74%), in addition—and fewer young men (57%)—expressed egalitarian views about whether girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage; and almost three-fifths of young women (58%) and fewer young men (46%) expressed egalitarian attitudes on whether girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased. Questions that were least likely to elicit egalitarian responses from youth included whether boys should do as much housework as girls (43–44%) and whether women should obtain their husband's permission for most things (28% of young men and 35% of young women disagreed with the statement). Variations in reporting of egalitarian attitudes by topic are highlighted in Figure 7.3.

Young men were consistently more likely than young women to report unequal gender role attitudes in relation to most topics, and differences were pronounced on several statements. For example, even though large proportions of youth believed that educating boys is no more important than educating girls, more young men than women (36% and 20%, respectively) expressed the traditional attitude that educating boys is more important. Similarly, 40% of young men compared to 24% of young women reported that girls should not be allowed to make marriage-related decisions. Patterns remained, by and large, the same in both urban and rural settings.

Differences by marital status were more pronounced among young women than men. Among young men, the unmarried were as likely as the married to express gender egalitarian attitudes in relation to most of the seven questions. In contrast among young women, the responses of the unmarried were consistently more likely than those of the married to reflect egalitarian attitudes. Differences by rural-urban residence were also more consistently

Figure 7.3: Percentage of youth who expressed egalitarian gender role attitudes on selected issues

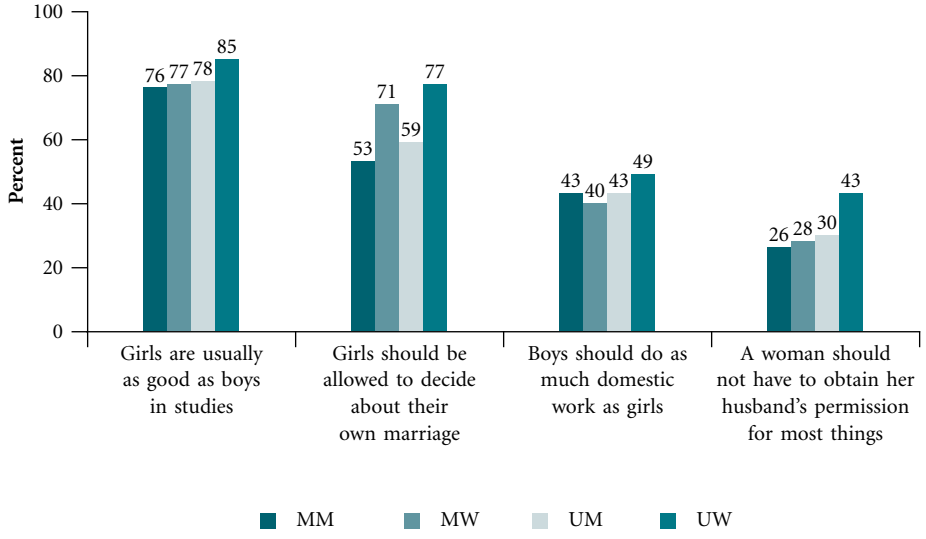

Table 7.7: Gender role attitudes

Percent distribution of youth by attitudes towards gender roles, according to residence

Gender role attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Educating boys is more important than educating girls						
Yes	35.6	20.3	35.1	22.3	35.7	18.1
No	62.5	77.7	62.4	75.2	62.7	80.6
Husband alone/mainly should decide about spending money						
Yes	31.0	24.2	38.0	29.7	28.6	17.9
No	66.8	74.5	61.3	69.7	68.9	80.0
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage						
Yes	57.2	73.7	52.8	70.6	59.4	77.1
No	40.3	23.7	44.9	26.2	38.1	20.9
A woman should obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Yes	69.5	63.9	73.3	71.2	68.0	55.6
No	28.4	34.9	26.0	28.2	29.6	42.5
Girls are usually as good as boys in studies						
Yes	76.5	81.1	75.5	77.4	77.5	85.3
No	19.5	13.9	18.4	15.6	19.4	12.0
Boys should do as much domestic work as girls						
Yes	42.8	44.2	42.6	39.7	42.5	49.4
No	56.1	54.9	56.4	59.2	56.4	49.9
Girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased						
Yes	49.3	36.5	48.5	38.5	49.1	34.1
No	46.1	57.6	45.6	54.2	46.7	61.5
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Educating boys is more important than educating girls						
Yes	37.7	17.0	38.4	19.0	37.5	15.6
No	61.2	82.3	60.8	80.2	61.4	83.8
Husband alone/mainly should decide about spending money						
Yes	29.1	16.5	35.4	22.0	27.9	12.8
No	69.5	82.6	64.3	77.7	70.6	85.9
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage						
Yes	67.3	82.0	64.6	79.8	68.4	83.5
No	31.1	16.9	34.5	19.0	29.9	15.5
A woman should obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Yes	63.6	53.1	67.6	63.7	62.9	45.9
No	35.0	45.8	32.1	35.9	35.6	52.6
Girls are usually as good as boys in studies						
Yes	81.8	87.2	82.0	84.3	82.3	89.2
No	15.8	11.0	14.7	13.0	15.6	9.7

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Table 7.7: (Cont'd)

Gender role attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Boys should do as much domestic work as girls						
Yes	42.0	49.0	40.7	41.2	42.0	54.2
No	57.4	50.5	58.9	58.2	57.4	45.3
Girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased						
Yes	51.7	33.7	51.4	34.6	51.7	33.2
No	46.1	63.7	46.8	62.5	46.1	64.6
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Educating boys is more important than educating girls						
Yes	34.7	21.7	34.1	23.2	34.8	19.5
No	63.0	75.8	63.0	73.7	63.4	78.8
Husband alone/mainly should decide about spending money						
Yes	31.8	27.3	38.8	31.8	29.0	20.6
No	65.7	71.2	60.3	67.5	68.0	76.8
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage						
Yes	52.8	70.2	49.0	68.0	54.9	73.5
No	44.3	26.5	48.2	28.2	42.2	23.8
A woman should obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Yes	72.1	68.4	75.1	73.3	70.5	61.0
No	25.6	30.4	24.1	26.0	26.7	37.0
Girls are usually as good as boys in studies						
Yes	74.2	78.5	73.5	75.4	75.1	83.2
No	21.1	15.1	19.5	16.3	21.2	13.3
Boys should do as much domestic work as girls						
Yes	43.2	42.2	43.2	39.3	42.7	46.7
No	55.5	56.7	55.6	59.5	55.9	52.5
Girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased						
Yes	48.3	37.6	47.6	39.6	47.8	34.6
No	46.1	55.0	45.3	51.8	47.1	59.8
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases, "don't know" or "unsure" responses.

observed among young women than men. For example, young men in urban areas were about as likely as those from rural areas men to express egalitarian attitudes in relation to four of the seven questions; they were, however, more likely than their rural counterparts to express gender egalitarian attitudes in relation to three topics, namely, whether girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage, whether women should obtain their husband's permission for most things and whether girls are usually as good as boys in studies. In contrast, urban young women were consistently more likely than their rural counterparts to express gender egalitarian attitudes in relation to all the topics.

State-wise differences in percentages of young people expressing gender egalitarian attitudes on two issues, namely, whether girls' should be allowed to make decisions about their own marriage and whether a woman should take

Table 7.8: Gender role attitudes by state

Percentage of youth who expressed egalitarian gender role attitudes on selected issues by state, according to residence

Gender role attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage						
Bihar	35.9	64.9	33.4	62.6	36.8	68.5
Jharkhand	41.9	64.7	37.6	59.6	44.9	70.7
Rajasthan	54.7	70.4	51.0	66.3	56.1	76.6
Maharashtra	65.3	76.0	63.3	73.6	66.4	78.0
Andhra Pradesh	63.6	77.8	60.8	76.1	64.6	80.0
Tamil Nadu	74.5	83.6	73.4	84.5	75.0	83.0
Total	**57.2**	**73.7**	**52.8**	**70.6**	**59.4**	**77.1**
A woman should not have to obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Bihar	14.5	30.9	14.3	28.1	15.1	35.7
Jharkhand	23.7	32.2	22.3	26.9	24.8	38.4
Rajasthan	23.2	29.7	21.4	26.0	24.5	35.2
Maharashtra	33.7	42.0	28.0	34.8	34.5	48.1
Andhra Pradesh	44.3	30.8	42.8	22.6	45.0	41.3
Tamil Nadu	25.6	41.9	26.3	31.4	25.5	48.8
Total	**28.4**	**34.9**	**26.0**	**28.2**	**29.6**	**42.5**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage						
Bihar	46.6	77.1	44.6	72.7	47.5	80.0
Jharkhand	56.6	78.6	53.0	74.1	58.2	81.1
Rajasthan	61.2	80.8	55.7	77.8	63.8	83.5
Maharashtra	70.5	80.8	67.9	77.4	71.3	83.0
Andhra Pradesh	68.5	83.3	66.3	81.9	68.5	84.4
Tamil Nadu	74.0	85.1	73.1	85.4	74.3	84.9
Total	**67.3**	**82.0**	**64.6**	**79.8**	**68.4**	**83.5**
A woman should not have to obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Bihar	17.3	38.5	14.0	33.8	18.0	41.9
Jharkhand	25.4	44.6	21.3	39.5	26.3	47.6
Rajasthan	27.3	38.9	25.2	33.5	28.1	43.8
Maharashtra	39.3	52.6	32.6	43.2	39.8	58.6
Andhra Pradesh	50.8	40.2	47.7	27.4	51.9	50.5
Tamil Nadu	27.9	46.0	30.3	34.3	27.8	52.7
Total	**35.0**	**45.8**	**32.1**	**35.9**	**35.6**	**52.6**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 7.8: (Cont'd)

Gender role attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage						
Bihar	34.1	63.3	32.4	61.9	34.7	66.4
Jharkhand	36.4	59.9	34.7	56.7	39.0	65.2
Rajasthan	52.4	66.7	49.9	64.0	52.9	73.0
Maharashtra	61.3	72.3	60.1	71.5	62.4	73.1
Andhra Pradesh	61.7	75.5	59.2	74.4	62.8	77.4
Tamil Nadu	74.9	82.4	73.7	83.8	75.4	81.4
Total	**52.8**	**70.2**	**49.0**	**68.0**	**54.9**	**73.5**
A woman should not have to obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Bihar	14.1	29.9	14.4	27.7	14.5	34.6
Jharkhand	23.1	27.8	22.5	24.5	24.1	33.5
Rajasthan	21.8	26.4	20.5	24.5	22.9	30.8
Maharashtra	29.3	33.8	24.6	30.0	30.0	37.8
Andhra Pradesh	41.7	26.8	41.5	21.1	42.0	36.0
Tamil Nadu	23.8	38.7	23.6	29.4	23.7	45.4
Total	**25.6**	**30.4**	**24.1**	**26.0**	**26.7**	**37.0**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

permission from her husband for any activity are reported in Table 7.8. Findings suggest a regional divide. Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their counterparts in the northern states to express egalitarian attitudes. For example, only 36–55% of young men and 65–70% of young women in the northern states agreed that girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriage; in comparison, 64–75% and 76–84% of young men and women, respectively, from Maharashtra and the southern states, expressed this attitude. Few youth, in general held gender egalitarian views about whether a woman should have her husband's permission for most activities; however, those in the northern states were somewhat less likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to report that women do not need their husband's permission for most activities. For example, 15–24% of young men and 30–32% of young women in the northern states, compared to 26–44% and 31–42%, respectively, in Maharashtra and the southern states, perceived that a woman need not obtain her husband's permission. Marital status and rural-urban differences mirrored those observed for the entire population, with the married in each state, by and large, less likely than the unmarried, and those in rural areas of each state less likely than those in urban areas to report gender egalitarian attitudes.

7.5 Attitudes towards wife beating

Youth were asked a number of questions to gauge the extent to which beating one's wife was perceived to be an acceptable behaviour. Young people were asked whether they agreed that wife beating was a way of expressing love, and whether wife beating was justified in four situations, including refusal to have sex with the husband. Findings are presented in Table 7.9. Although large proportions of youth (75% of young men and 82% of young women) disagreed that wife beating was a sign of love, it is notable that one quarter of young men and almost one-fifth of young women did conform to this view or were unsure about their attitude. Marital status and rural-urban differences were negligible.

Figure 7.4: Percentage of youth who believed wife beating is justified in at least one situation by state

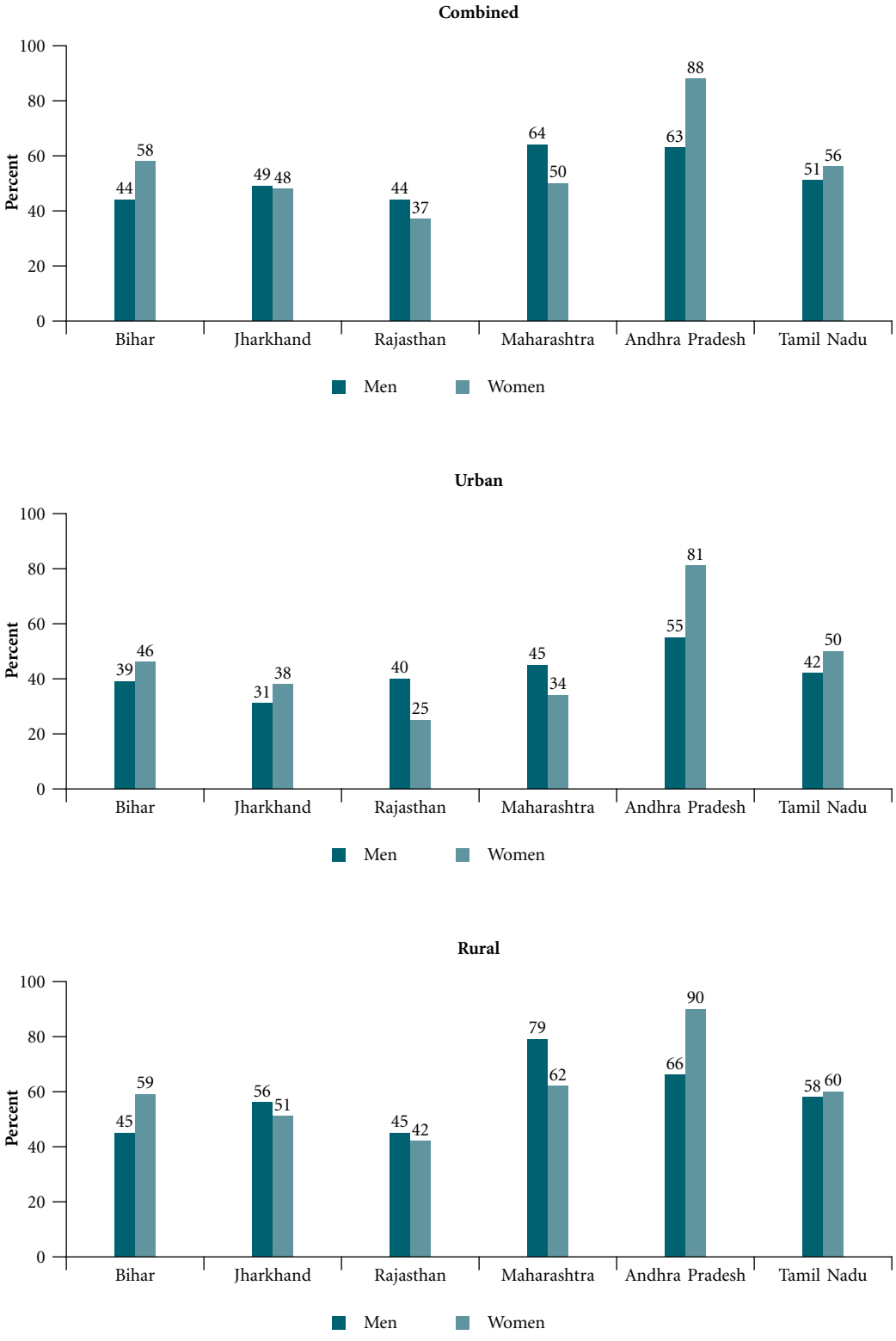

Table 7.9: Attitudes towards wife beating

Percent distribution of youth by attitudes towards wife beating in selected situations, according to residence

Attitudes towards wife beating	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Beating wife means husband loves her						
Agree	16.4	14.2	18.2	14.6	16.7	13.8
Disagree	75.2	81.5	76.4	81.9	74.4	80.8
Don't know/can't say	7.9	4.0	4.4	3.2	8.5	5.1
Beating wife is justified if:						
Husband suspects wife has been unfaithful						
Yes	38.1	38.4	40.2	42.7	37.3	33.5
No	58.4	60.3	58.1	56.6	58.7	64.4
Don't know/can't say	3.5	1.3	1.7	0.7	3.9	2.1
Wife goes out without telling husband						
Yes	32.8	37.0	33.0	40.2	32.6	33.7
No	63.3	61.7	64.4	59.0	63.4	64.4
Don't know/can't say	3.9	1.3	2.6	0.8	3.9	1.9
Wife disagrees with husband's opinion						
Yes	32.4	33.8	33.6	36.7	31.9	30.8
No	63.2	64.2	63.6	62.0	63.5	66.3
Don't know/can't say	4.3	2.0	2.8	1.3	4.6	2.9
Wife refuses to have sexual relations with husband						
Yes	19.7	14.5	18.9	16.9	19.6	11.8
No	73.8	80.3	78.7	80.9	73.0	79.3
Don't know/can't say	6.5	5.2	2.3	2.1	7.5	8.9
Believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the above situations	**54.3**	**58.1**	**55.1**	**61.8**	**53.8**	**54.2**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Beating wife means husband loves her						
Agree	16.4	14.2	17.2	17.6	16.6	11.9
Disagree	77.0	82.3	79.8	79.8	76.5	83.9
Don't know/can't say	6.1	3.2	2.2	2.1	6.5	4.0
Beating wife is justified if:						
Husband suspects wife has been unfaithful						
Yes	30.2	29.4	30.3	34.4	29.9	26.1
No	66.7	69.6	68.7	65.3	66.8	72.5
Don't know/can't say	3.1	1.0	1.0	0.3	3.3	1.4
Wife goes out without telling husband						
Yes	23.4	27.0	24.7	31.6	22.9	24.0
No	73.5	71.9	73.9	68.0	73.9	74.5
Don't know/can't say	3.1	1.1	1.4	0.5	3.2	1.5
Wife disagrees with husband's opinion						
Yes	22.2	22.9	23.4	27.0	21.8	20.1
No	74.3	75.4	75.2	72.1	74.5	77.5
Don't know/can't say	3.5	1.7	1.5	0.8	3.7	2.3
Wife refuses to have sexual relations with husband						
Yes	14.1	8.8	12.4	12.2	13.9	6.5
No	81.1	86.3	86.0	86.2	80.9	86.3
Don't know/can't say	4.8	4.9	1.6	1.6	5.2	7.1
Believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the above situations	**44.3**	**46.7**	**44.2**	**52.7**	**43.8**	**42.6**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 7.9: (Cont'd)

Attitudes towards wife beating	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Beating wife means husband loves her						
Agree	16.4	14.2	18.5	13.8	16.8	14.8
Disagree	74.5	81.1	75.4	82.4	73.4	79.1
Don't know/can't say	8.7	4.4	5.1	3.4	9.4	5.8
Beating wife is justified if:						
Husband suspects wife has been unfaithful						
Yes	41.6	42.1	43.3	45.1	41.0	37.6
No	54.7	56.4	54.7	54.1	54.7	59.9
Don't know/can't say	3.6	1.5	1.9	0.8	4.2	2.4
Wife goes out without telling husband						
Yes	36.9	41.2	35.5	42.6	37.4	39.0
No	58.9	57.4	61.4	56.5	58.2	58.8
Don't know/can't say	4.2	1.4	3.0	0.9	4.3	2.1
Wife disagrees with husband's opinion						
Yes	36.9	38.3	36.8	39.4	36.9	36.6
No	58.4	59.5	59.9	59.1	58.0	60.1
Don't know/can't say	4.7	2.2	3.2	1.5	5.0	3.2
Wife refuses to have sexual relations with husband						
Yes	22.1	16.8	20.9	18.3	22.4	14.7
No	70.6	77.9	76.4	79.4	69.0	75.5
Don't know/can't say	7.3	5.3	2.6	2.3	8.6	9.8
Believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the above situations	**58.6**	**62.9**	**58.5**	**64.4**	**58.8**	**60.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

Table 7.10: Attitudes towards wife beating by state

Percentage of youth justifying wife beating in at least one situation by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
At least one situation[1]						
Bihar	44.3	57.7	46.5	60.5	44.2	53.3
Jharkhand	49.3	47.6	50.3	49.0	49.4	46.3
Rajasthan	43.7	37.3	49.4	41.1	40.6	31.9
Maharashtra	64.2	49.8	64.6	56.5	63.0	44.2
Andhra Pradesh	63.3	87.5	65.4	89.9	61.5	84.7
Tamil Nadu	50.8	55.5	50.5	60.4	50.6	52.1
Total	**54.3**	**58.1**	**55.1**	**61.8**	**53.8**	**54.2**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**

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Table 7.10: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
At least one situation[1]						
Bihar	38.7	46.1	42.4	52.1	38.5	41.9
Jharkhand	30.6	38.1	32.0	42.4	30.2	35.8
Rajasthan	39.7	25.2	44.3	29.5	38.0	21.2
Maharashtra	45.2	34.1	41.1	41.7	44.6	29.3
Andhra Pradesh	55.2	81.2	54.2	84.6	54.6	78.5
Tamil Nadu	41.9	49.5	44.6	55.3	42.2	46.2
Total	**44.3**	**46.7**	**44.2**	**52.7**	**43.8**	**42.6**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
At least one situation[1]						
Bihar	45.2	59.3	46.9	61.1	45.3	55.5
Jharkhand	56.4	50.9	53.7	50.3	57.9	51.8
Rajasthan	45.1	41.6	50.6	43.4	41.7	37.3
Maharashtra	79.3	62.0	81.0	65.0	78.3	59.0
Andhra Pradesh	66.4	90.2	68.5	91.4	64.5	88.3
Tamil Nadu	57.6	60.2	54.6	64.0	57.4	57.5
Total	**58.6**	**62.9**	**58.5**	**64.4**	**58.8**	**60.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]If husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful; if wife goes out without telling her husband; if wife disagrees with her husband's opinion; and if wife refuses to have sexual relations with her husband.

Findings show, moreover, that considerable proportions of youth did justify wife beating and perceptions of young men and women were very similar. Both young men and women, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence, were most likely to believe that wife beating was justified if the husband suspected that his wife had been unfaithful (38% each). In addition, about one-third of young men and women (32–33% and 34–37%, respectively) agreed that wife beating was justified if a wife went out without telling her husband or disagreed with his opinion. They were least likely, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence, to justify wife beating if a woman refused to have sexual relations with her husband (20% and 15%, respectively).

Table 7.10 and Figure 7.4 present the percentage of youth who justified wife beating in at least one situation. Well over half of young men and women—54% and 58%, respectively—believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the four situations posed. Marital status differences were not observed among young men, but unmarried young women were less likely than their married counterparts to justify wife beating (54% versus 62%). Moreover, urban youth were far less likely than rural youth to justify wife beating (44% versus 59% among young men; 47% versus 63% among young women).

Table 7.10 and Figure 7.4 show considerable state-wise variation in percentages of youth justifying wife beating. Young men in the northern states were less likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to justify wife beating (44–49% versus 51–64%). A regional pattern was difficult to discern among young women: indeed, it was women in the southern states (notably Andhra Pradesh) and Bihar who were most likely to justify wife beating (56–88% and 58%, respectively); in contrast, 37–50% of those in the remaining three states (Jharkhand, Rajasthan

and Maharashtra) justified wife beating. Within each state, differences by marital status and rural-urban residence resembled those observed for all states: in almost every state, marital status differences were not observed among young men, but unmarried young women were considerably less likely than the married, and urban young men and women were considerably less likely than their respective rural counterparts to justify wife beating.

7.6 Summary

Findings clearly highlight young women's limited agency. For example, just one in four young women (27%) reported independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey, namely, decisions on choice of friends, spending money and purchase of clothes for oneself. Likewise, freedom of movement even within the village or neighbourhood was not universal among young women; only three-quarters of young women (73%) had the freedom to visit locations within their own village or neighbourhood unescorted. Moreover, just one-quarter of young women reported freedom to visit at least one place outside the village or neighbourhood unescorted, and 15% could visit a health facility unescorted. Access to and control over financial resources tended to be limited among young women; fewer than two in five reported some savings and one in 10 owned a bank or post office savings account. Of those who owned an account, just 54% operated it themselves. While in each state, women's agency was limited, a clear state-wise pattern was not discernible. For example, young women from Maharashtra displayed considerably higher levels of decision-making than did those from the other states. However, young women from the southern states were more likely than those from the other states to report freedom to visit places within the village or neighbourhood, and those from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the other states to report mobility outside the village or neighbourhood. Although young women in the southern states were about as likely as those from the other states to own an account, they were considerably more likely to operate the account independently.

Also notable from the findings is the striking gender divide in all the dimensions of young people's agency explored in the survey. Young women were far more disadvantaged than young men, and this was apparent in each state. For example, even the least educated young men and young men belonging to the poorest (first) wealth quintile were more likely than the most educated women and those in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile to report independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey. Likewise, although young women were more likely than young men to have money saved (36% and 23%, respectively), they were slightly less likely than young men to own a bank or post office savings account (11% and 15%, respectively). Moreover, young women were much less likely than their male counterparts to operate these accounts themselves (54% versus 90% of those who had an account).

While young men were not as disadvantaged as young women, findings indicate that many young men were also not able to exercise agency in their everyday lives, and this was evident in each state as well. For example, only 56% of young men reported independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey. Unmarried young men had considerable freedom of movement, yet more than one-third were not permitted to visit a place of entertainment or attend a programme conducted outside their village or neighbourhood, or visit a health facility unescorted.

More than half of young men and women (54% and 58%, respectively) justified wife beating in at least one situation. At the same time, relatively large proportions of youth espoused egalitarian gender role attitudes on other issues explored. It is notable that young men were consistently more likely than young women to report unequal gender role attitudes on these issues. State-wise differences suggest that youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their counterparts in the northern states to express egalitarian gender role attitudes. While a similar regional pattern was observed with regard to attitudes to wife beating among young men, regional patterns in attitudes towards wife beating were difficult to discern among young women.

Chapter 8

Awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters

A considerable body of research, including the NFHS (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a), has highlighted relatively low levels of awareness regarding selected sexual and reproductive health issues in both the general and youth populations. The Youth Study sought to explore awareness of a wide range of issues relating to sex, pregnancy, contraception and STIs, including HIV/AIDS, as well as knowledge of laws governing age at marriage and abortion. Where possible, further questions were posed to assess the extent of in-depth awareness of these matters. Along with the results of these items, this chapter presents findings on communication about and sources of information for sexual and reproductive health matters, as well as youth perceptions and experiences of family life or sex education.

8.1 Awareness of sex and pregnancy, contraception, STIs and HIV

In this section, we present evidence of the extent to which young people were aware of or held misconceptions about various issues related to sex and pregnancy, contraception, STIs and HIV.

8.1.1 Sex and pregnancy

In order to assess young people's knowledge about sex and pregnancy, the Youth Study asked youth whether they agreed or disagreed with four statements: (a) a woman can get pregnant after kissing or hugging; (b) a woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods; (c) a woman has to bleed at first intercourse; and (d) a woman can get pregnant at first sex. Given the prevalence of sex-selective abortions in the country (Bhat and Zavier, 2007; Dagar, 2007), we also asked whether youth were aware of any tests that could determine the sex of the foetus.

Findings, presented in Table 8.1, clearly suggest that awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters was limited. The one exception was knowledge that women cannot become pregnant after kissing or hugging; 96% of young men and 94% of young women were aware of this. Even so, it is notable that 5% of unmarried young men and as many as 10% of unmarried young women (and 1–3% of married youth) were either unsure or believed it to be possible.

Awareness of other matters was reported by far smaller proportions of youth. About two-fifths of young men (39%) and women (38%) were aware that women are most likely to become pregnant if they engage in sexual relations mid-cycle. More married than unmarried youth (58% and 35% of married and unmarried young men, respectively, and 51% and 23% of married and unmarried young women, respectively) reported correct knowledge of this issue. Differences by rural-urban residence were narrow. Awareness that a woman can get pregnant at first sex was also limited, correctly reported by just 37% of young men and 45% of young women. More married than unmarried youth (47–53% compared to 35%) reported correctly that a woman can become pregnant at first sex. Rural-urban differences were narrow among young women, but among young men, those in urban areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to report correctly about this matter (45% versus 33%). Finally, awareness that a woman does not have to bleed at first intercourse was reported by one-third of both young men and women (31–32%). Marital status differences were notable, with more married than unmarried youth so reporting (39–41% compared to 23%–30%). Rural-urban differences suggest that more urban than rural youth were aware of this issue (41% versus 26% among young men; 34% versus 30% among young women).

Table 8.1: Awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters

Percent distribution of youth by awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters, according to residence

Awareness indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
A woman can get pregnant after kissing/hugging						
True	0.6	1.4	0.6	1.5	0.6	1.2
False	95.7	93.9	98.6	97.2	95.0	89.7
Don't know/not sure	3.8	4.8	0.7	1.3	4.5	9.0
A woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods						
True	38.5	38.4	58.4	51.1	34.5	23.2
False	20.3	15.7	21.4	16.9	20.3	14.3
Don't know/not sure	41.2	45.9	20.1	32.0	45.2	62.5
A woman has to bleed at first intercourse						
True	37.2	33.2	51.1	49.4	33.0	14.0
False	30.9	31.5	40.5	38.7	29.6	22.7
Don't know/not sure	32.0	35.4	8.5	11.9	37.4	63.4
A woman can get pregnant at first sex						
True	36.5	45.1	46.7	53.3	34.6	35.3
False	37.6	31.8	43.1	37.7	36.0	24.8
Don't know/not sure	25.8	23.1	10.2	9.0	29.5	39.9
It is possible to do a medical test to know the sex of a foetus						
True	72.1	75.1	74.3	76.5	72.9	73.3
False	15.7	16.8	15.4	16.0	15.2	17.5
Don't know/not sure	12.0	7.9	10.2	7.3	11.6	8.9
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	**7.9**	**6.6**	**12.2**	**8.8**	**7.5**	**3.9**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
A woman can get pregnant after kissing/hugging						
True	0.3	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.5
False	96.5	95.0	99.3	98.5	96.0	92.7
Don't know/not sure	3.3	4.4	0.4	0.8	3.7	6.7
A woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods						
True	40.1	41.0	64.8	63.0	36.9	26.1
False	23.6	15.7	22.4	17.3	24.1	14.6
Don't know/not sure	36.3	43.3	12.8	19.8	39.0	59.3
A woman has to bleed at first intercourse						
True	29.8	25.1	43.3	44.3	27.6	12.0
False	41.4	34.4	51.0	45.9	40.4	26.6
Don't know/not sure	28.8	40.6	5.7	9.9	32.0	61.4
A woman can get pregnant at first sex						
True	45.2	46.9	59.5	61.6	43.6	36.9
False	31.3	27.3	33.7	32.2	30.6	24.0
Don't know/not sure	23.5	25.8	6.8	6.2	25.7	39.1
It is possible to do a medical test to know the sex of a foetus						
True	78.5	75.5	83.8	76.2	78.3	75.0
False	13.6	20.9	13.0	21.1	13.3	20.8
Don't know/not sure	7.7	3.3	3.0	2.3	8.2	4.0
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	**13.2**	**8.8**	**23.0**	**14.6**	**12.4**	**4.8**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 8.1: (Cont'd)

Awareness indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
A woman can get pregnant after kissing/hugging						
True	0.7	1.7	0.7	1.8	0.7	1.6
False	95.3	93.3	98.4	96.8	94.5	88.1
Don't know/not sure	4.0	4.9	0.8	1.4	4.9	10.3
A woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods						
True	37.8	37.4	56.4	47.8	33.2	21.7
False	18.9	15.7	21.2	16.8	18.4	14.1
Don't know/not sure	43.3	46.9	22.4	35.5	48.4	64.2
A woman has to bleed at first intercourse						
True	40.4	36.6	53.5	50.9	35.7	15.0
False	26.3	30.2	37.2	36.7	24.3	20.5
Don't know/not sure	33.3	33.2	9.3	12.5	40.0	64.5
A woman can get pregnant at first sex						
True	32.8	44.4	42.7	51.0	30.0	34.4
False	40.4	33.7	46.1	39.2	38.6	25.2
Don't know/not sure	26.8	22.0	11.2	9.8	31.3	40.4
It is possible to do a medical test to know the sex of a foetus						
True	69.4	74.9	71.4	76.5	70.3	72.4
False	16.6	15.0	16.1	14.5	16.1	15.7
Don't know/not sure	13.8	9.8	12.4	8.7	13.4	11.6
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	**5.6**	**5.7**	**8.8**	**7.2**	**5.1**	**3.4**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

As many as 72–75% of young men and women were aware of the availability of tests to determine the sex of the foetus. Differences by marital status were negligible; so too were differences by rural-urban residence among young women. However, considerably larger percentages of young men in urban than rural areas reported awareness of sex determination tests (79% and 69%, respectively).

8.1.2 Socio-demographic differentials in awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters

Differentials in awareness, measured with respect to the percentage aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex, are presented in Table 8.2. Levels of awareness increased consistently with age and household economic status, irrespective of sex, marital status and place of residence. Differences in awareness by religion and caste suggest that more Muslim than other men and more of those from general castes than others were aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex, and this pattern was observed among both the married and the unmarried, as well as among those in urban, but not rural areas. Among young women, the differences were narrow; even so, Hindu and Muslim young women were somewhat less likely than those belonging to other religions to report so, irrespective of marital status; a similar pattern was observed in rural but not urban areas. While levels of awareness increased consistently with education among young men, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence, differences were negligible among young women in general. A positive association was, however, evident when the married and the unmarried were considered separately. Awareness was, moreover, about as likely to be reported by youth who had worked in the 12 months prior to the interview as those who had not done so.

State-wise differentials in awareness suggest a regional pattern among young women but not among young men. Among young men, those in Bihar and Tamil Nadu were least likely to be aware that a woman can get pregnant

Table 8.2: Awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who were aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	31.0	38.2	35.8	48.5	30.8	33.3
20–24	42.8	52.7	45.7	55.5	41.0	42.4
25–29	NA	NA	48.0	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	35.4	44.8	45.8	52.5	33.1	35.0
Muslim	45.2	45.0	54.4	56.1	45.5	33.0
Other[1]	38.7	49.8	47.7	62.1	37.2	40.4
Caste						
SC	34.7	46.2	42.9	53.5	32.1	36.6
ST/VJNT	36.3	45.6	40.0	51.6	35.3	37.7
OBC	35.3	44.9	47.9	53.1	32.8	34.2
General[2]	41.0	44.6	52.8	54.8	39.4	35.5
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	30.4	43.6	40.8	48.0	24.0	23.8
1–7	33.8	46.0	46.3	55.4	29.3	30.8
8–11	36.0	44.6	47.2	57.8	34.5	36.0
12 and above	43.7	47.6	53.2	57.2	42.2	43.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	37.7	45.9	46.7	53.3	35.1	35.3
No	34.0	44.6	44.4	53.3	33.7	35.2
Wealth quintile						
First	30.0	38.5	39.7	43.7	26.4	27.7
Second	31.4	43.2	42.3	49.6	28.2	32.8
Third	36.9	46.4	47.5	55.3	34.6	35.2
Fourth	38.3	48.6	48.2	59.7	37.0	37.1
Fifth	42.0	47.1	55.6	59.8	39.9	38.6
State						
Bihar	27.4	33.2	40.0	37.0	24.2	25.6
Jharkhand	36.2	35.4	46.2	41.0	32.9	28.6
Rajasthan	34.0	46.9	47.1	57.8	27.6	26.6
Maharashtra	45.4	39.2	51.6	45.8	45.1	33.5
Andhra Pradesh	42.2	61.9	48.5	70.4	41.0	50.6
Tamil Nadu	28.6	50.0	45.9	68.4	26.8	37.9
Total	**36.5**	**45.1**	**46.7**	**53.3**	**34.6**	**35.3**

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Table 8.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	38.4	38.5	45.8	57.8	38.3	34.9
20–24	51.5	54.7	56.4	62.5	50.0	41.2
25–29	NA	NA	60.9	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	43.7	47.0	57.9	61.2	42.2	37.4
Muslim	52.8	47.5	67.5	62.6	51.2	35.7
Other[1]	45.3	44.8	60.6	63.0	43.9	34.7
Caste						
SC	39.6	46.6	57.4	62.3	38.1	35.9
ST/VJNT	49.5	41.4	60.2	51.8	48.8	32.8
OBC	42.5	46.6	56.2	61.1	41.3	35.8
General[2]	51.8	48.5	65.9	64.1	49.4	39.6
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	39.4	51.7	48.5	60.5	33.3	24.5
1–7	43.4	47.5	57.5	60.8	40.3	29.2
8–11	43.3	45.3	60.3	62.6	42.1	35.8
12 and above	50.0	47.5	64.2	61.6	48.5	42.4
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	48.0	45.0	59.6	60.8	45.8	36.9
No	41.1	47.3	45.2	61.8	41.1	36.8
Wealth quintile						
First	39.8	42.1	48.1	53.8	38.8	28.9
Second	39.9	48.7	55.8	61.1	36.5	31.6
Third	42.5	46.8	61.0	60.2	41.0	34.1
Fourth	47.0	46.8	59.2	61.0	45.7	35.6
Fifth	45.8	47.0	61.1	64.0	44.1	39.1
State						
Bihar	31.5	39.8	46.7	45.8	30.7	35.4
Jharkhand	31.1	30.2	47.2	41.0	30.0	24.0
Rajasthan	40.7	46.7	61.0	65.3	35.6	29.9
Maharashtra	61.7	42.9	73.1	55.2	60.8	35.1
Andhra Pradesh	37.5	61.1	44.0	72.2	37.6	52.1
Tamil Nadu	32.9	47.0	52.3	67.9	31.1	34.9
Total	**45.2**	**46.9**	**59.5**	**61.6**	**43.6**	**36.9**

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Table 8.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	28.2	38.1	35.2	47.0	27.7	32.6
20–24	38.4	51.7	43.0	53.1	34.8	43.6
25–29	NA	NA	43.2	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	32.1	43.9	42.4	50.3	29.0	33.9
Muslim	39.0	43.0	46.2	52.1	39.9	30.6
Other[1]	35.1	53.0	42.6	61.8	33.2	44.4
Caste						
SC	33.0	46.0	39.4	51.3	29.6	37.0
ST/VJNT	34.2	46.5	37.8	51.6	32.7	38.9
OBC	32.2	44.3	45.3	51.1	28.7	33.5
General[2]	33.1	42.0	43.9	50.6	31.9	32.3
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	29.1	42.7	39.9	46.7	22.3	23.8
1–7	31.1	45.6	43.3	53.9	25.8	31.2
8–11	32.8	44.2	42.5	55.5	31.0	36.1
12 and above	38.3	47.7	46.3	52.2	36.0	45.3
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	34.1	46.1	42.6	52.6	30.6	34.8
No	29.7	42.8	44.2	49.4	29.0	34.0
Wealth quintile						
First	29.3	38.3	39.2	43.2	25.5	27.5
Second	30.5	42.6	40.9	48.4	27.3	32.9
Third	35.4	46.2	44.0	54.1	32.8	35.5
Fourth	33.2	49.8	42.8	59.1	31.3	38.2
Fifth	36.1	47.1	49.9	55.9	32.5	37.5
State						
Bihar	26.8	32.4	39.4	36.4	23.0	23.8
Jharkhand	38.1	37.2	46.0	41.0	34.2	31.0
Rajasthan	31.7	47.0	44.0	56.3	24.1	24.9
Maharashtra	32.5	36.2	36.7	40.5	32.1	31.8
Andhra Pradesh	44.0	62.2	49.8	69.9	42.5	49.8
Tamil Nadu	25.4	52.4	41.4	68.8	23.3	40.5
Total	**32.8**	**44.4**	**42.7**	**51.0**	**30.0**	**34.4**

Note: NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

at first sex (27–29%) and those in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (42–45%) were most likely to so report. These patterns were less consistently observed when the responses of married and unmarried, and rural and urban respondents were considered separately. Young women from the southern states, in contrast, were more likely than those in the others to be aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex (50–62% versus 33–47%), irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

8.1.3 Awareness of contraceptive methods

The Youth Study explored young people's awareness of contraceptive methods in several ways. First, youth were asked to list all contraceptive methods about which they had heard; second, interviewers gave respondents a brief description of a variety of non-terminal contraceptive methods not mentioned spontaneously and inquired whether the respondent had heard of each; and third, further questioning probed for specific knowledge regarding the use of oral pills, emergency contraception, condoms, the intra-uterine device (IUD) and withdrawal. Table 8.3 presents percentages of youth reporting awareness—spontaneously or on prompting—of condoms, oral contraceptives, emergency contraception, the IUD and withdrawal; and those spontaneously reporting awareness of such methods as sterilisation, implants, vaginal methods, injectables, and herbal and other traditional methods. Also presented are percentages of respondents reporting correct specific knowledge of the five methods indicated above.

Panel A of Table 8.3 presents percentages of youth reporting awareness of contraceptive methods. Findings show that the vast majority of youth (95% of both young men and women) reported awareness (spontaneous or prompted) of at least one method of contraception and a virtually identical percentage of youth were aware of at least one modern contraceptive method. Even so, it is notable that 8% of all unmarried young women and 12% of unmarried young women in rural areas were not aware of even one contraceptive method. The most widely known spacing methods were oral contraceptives (reported by 70% and 76% of young men and women, respectively) and condoms (reported by 93% and 68%, respectively). Fewer youth reported awareness of the IUD (21% of young men and 41% of young women), emergency contraception (15% and 10%, respectively) or implants, vaginal methods or injectables (4% and 9%, respectively). Terminal method awareness was not probed, hence, while female sterilisation was spontaneously reported by 58% of young men and 83% of young women, just 37–38% of young men and women spontaneously reported awareness of male sterilisation. Differences in awareness of any method and, specifically, any modern method, by marital status and place of residence of the respondent were narrow, with married and urban youth slightly more likely to report awareness than their respective unmarried and rural counterparts.

Compared to awareness of modern methods, awareness of traditional methods was reported by far fewer youth—13% of young men and 17% of young women. The most widely known traditional method was withdrawal, reported by 10% of young men—18% and 9% of the married and the unmarried, respectively—and 14% of young women—24% and 2% of the married and the unmarried, respectively. We note that the surprisingly high levels of awareness of withdrawal reported by married women are corroborated by findings from the NFHS-3 (21% in NFHS-3 compared to 24% in the Youth Study); in contrast, it appears that awareness levels reported by married young men in the Youth Study are considerably lower than those reported by young men of similar ages in the NFHS-3 (18% and 31%, respectively). Differences by marital status indicate that married youth were much more likely than the unmarried to report awareness of at least one traditional method (24% versus 11% of married and unmarried young men, respectively; 27% and 5% among young women, respectively). Rural-urban differences were narrow; however young women in rural areas were more likely than their rural counterparts to report awareness of traditional methods (18% versus 13%).

Findings also show significant gender differences in terms of awareness of individual contraceptive methods; larger percentages of young women than men were aware of most methods (oral contraceptives, IUDs, female sterilisation, implants/vaginal methods/injectables and withdrawal). Young men, in contrast, were more likely than young women to be aware of the condom and emergency contraception. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were evident, with considerably larger proportions of married youth and those in urban areas reporting awareness of most methods than unmarried and rural youth, respectively.

In order to assess the extent to which youth had correct specific knowledge of contraceptive methods, and had not just heard of various methods, the Youth Study inquired whether youth were aware of the frequency with which oral contraceptives must be consumed (daily or weekly); the number of sex acts for which one condom could be used (one); the number of hours following sex that emergency contraceptive pills could be consumed (72 hours); where the IUD is placed (uterus); and when a man practising withdrawal should pull out of a woman (prior to ejaculation). Panel B of Table 8.3 presents percentages of youth reporting correct specific knowledge of these five methods. Findings suggest that correct specific knowledge of even one method was not universal and that while

Table 8.3: Awareness of contraceptive methods

Percentage of youth who reported awareness and correct specific knowledge of various contraceptive methods, according to residence

Awareness indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
A. Awareness						
Combined						
Any method	**94.6**	**94.6**	**96.8**	**96.9**	**94.2**	**91.6**
Any modern method	**94.6**	**94.5**	**96.7**	**96.8**	**94.2**	**91.6**
Oral pills	69.6	75.6	78.4	80.3	68.1	69.7
Emergency contraceptive pills	15.0	9.9	18.6	10.1	15.3	9.5
Condom	92.6	67.9	93.6	69.6	92.5	65.3
IUD	21.3	41.1	32.1	47.9	20.2	32.7
Female sterilisation	58.3	83.2	70.1	87.1	56.7	78.2
Male sterilisation	36.5	37.9	43.8	42.1	36.4	32.6
Implant/vaginal methods/injectables	4.4	8.5	5.7	9.8	4.5	6.9
Any traditional method	**12.6**	**16.6**	**24.3**	**26.6**	**10.8**	**4.6**
Withdrawal	9.7	14.0	17.9	23.7	8.9	2.4
Safe period	3.2	4.0	7.6	5.5	2.1	2.0
Traditional/herbal methods	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.1	0.6	0.7
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Any method	**96.8**	**98.2**	**98.7**	**99.4**	**96.5**	**97.5**
Any modern method	**96.8**	**98.2**	**98.7**	**99.2**	**96.5**	**97.5**
Oral pills	73.2	81.7	85.4	86.8	71.6	78.2
Emergency contraceptive pills	17.6	14.0	24.7	15.8	17.7	12.8
Condom	96.4	80.5	98.1	83.0	96.2	78.7
IUD	24.8	49.7	41.1	65.0	24.0	39.4
Female sterilisation	61.1	86.5	74.1	89.7	60.2	84.4
Male sterilisation	43.5	40.9	54.1	45.9	43.2	37.6
Implant/vaginal methods/injectables	6.4	9.5	8.8	11.1	6.5	8.4
Any traditional method	**14.0**	**13.0**	**29.2**	**23.9**	**12.9**	**5.6**
Withdrawal	11.7	10.3	23.0	21.1	11.0	3.0
Safe period	3.3	4.0	9.3	5.8	2.8	2.8
Traditional/herbal methods	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.3	0.5
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Any method	**93.6**	**93.1**	**96.1**	**96.2**	**93.1**	**88.4**
Any modern method	**93.6**	**93.0**	**96.1**	**96.1**	**93.0**	**88.4**
Oral pills	68.1	73.1	76.2	78.5	66.3	65.0
Emergency contraceptive pills	13.9	8.2	16.7	8.5	14.1	7.7
Condom	90.9	62.7	92.1	65.9	90.6	58.0
IUD	19.8	37.5	29.2	43.0	18.3	29.1
Female sterilisation	57.1	81.7	68.8	86.4	54.9	74.8
Male sterilisation	33.4	36.6	40.6	41.1	33.0	29.9
Implant/vaginal methods/injectables	3.5	8.1	4.8	9.4	3.6	6.0
Any traditional method	**12.0**	**18.1**	**22.7**	**27.4**	**9.7**	**4.0**
Withdrawal	8.8	15.5	16.3	24.4	7.8	2.1
Safe period	3.1	3.9	7.0	5.5	1.7	1.6
Traditional/herbal methods	0.8	1.0	1.4	1.2	0.7	0.8
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

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Table 8.3: (Cont'd)

Awareness indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
B. Correct specific knowledge[1]						
Combined						
Any method	**78.0**	**50.4**	**85.6**	**60.9**	**76.7**	**37.5**
At least one modern method	**77.7**	**48.7**	**84.7**	**57.8**	**76.5**	**37.4**
Oral pills	25.0	35.1	38.4	43.1	22.7	25.4
Emergency contraceptive pills	4.2	3.4	5.3	3.7	4.5	3.0
Condoms	76.4	30.4	83.2	37.1	75.3	22.0
IUD	8.8	20.3	16.8	25.8	8.2	13.6
Any traditional method						
Withdrawal	7.7	9.8	15.7	17.3	6.9	0.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Any method	**84.2**	**56.6**	**93.7**	**71.7**	**83.1**	**46.3**
At least one modern method	**84.0**	**55.9**	**93.1**	**70.2**	**82.9**	**46.3**
Oral pills	27.9	39.4	45.0	51.5	26.3	31.2
Emergency contraceptive pills	6.1	5.7	8.7	6.8	6.3	5.0
Condoms	83.3	37.1	92.7	49.0	82.3	28.9
IUD	13.2	26.3	25.0	38.8	12.7	17.8
Any traditional method						
Withdrawal	9.3	7.0	20.6	15.8	8.5	1.0
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Any method	**75.3**	**47.8**	**83.0**	**57.9**	**73.5**	**32.6**
At least one modern method	**74.9**	**45.7**	**82.1**	**54.3**	**73.2**	**32.6**
Oral pills	23.8	33.3	36.3	40.7	21.0	22.1
Emergency contraceptive pills	3.4	2.5	4.2	2.9	3.6	2.0
Condoms	73.4	27.5	80.2	33.8	71.8	18.1
IUD	6.9	17.8	14.2	22.1	5.9	11.2
Any traditional method						
Withdrawal	7.0	11.0	14.1	17.8	6.1	0.7
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Correct specific knowledge was assessed for oral pills, emergency contraceptive pills, condoms, IUDs and withdrawal. The following questions were asked (correct answers in brackets)—Oral pills: How often should a woman take pills? [Daily/Weekly]; Emergency contraceptive pills: How soon after sexual intercourse should these pills be taken? [72 hours]; Condoms: For how many acts of sexual intercourse can one condom be used? [One]; IUD: Where is the IUD placed? [Uterus]; Withdrawal: When should a man pull out of a woman during sexual intercourse? [Prior to ejaculation].

men and women were about as likely to be aware of at least one method of contraception, far more men than women—78% and 50%, respectively—reported correct specific knowledge of at least one of the five methods about which detailed questions were asked, and similar percentages were correctly informed about at least one modern non-terminal method (78 and 49, respectively).

Differentials in correct specific knowledge of contraceptive methods by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence were evident. More young women than men reported correct specific knowledge of female-oriented methods such as oral contraceptives (35% versus 25%) and the IUD (20% versus 9%); conversely, more young men than women reported correct specific knowledge of condoms (76% versus 30%); gender differences in awareness of emergency

contraception and withdrawal were negligible. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence suggest that the married and the urban were typically more likely than the unmarried and the rural, respectively, to report correct specific knowledge of almost every method and differences were pronounced for both young men and young women (see also Figure 8.1).

Awareness of any modern contraceptive method was reported by 89% or more youth in each state, as seen in Panel A of Table 8.4. State-wise differences became apparent when correct specific knowledge about modern non-terminal methods was probed (Panel B of Table 8.4). Young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were considerably less likely than those in the remaining four states to report correct specific knowledge about selected modern non-terminal method (65–70% versus 78–84%). Among young women, a different picture emerges: young women in Andhra Pradesh, a state in which tubal ligation is known to take place among women at a young age, were far less likely than those in any other state to report correct specific knowledge of modern non-terminal methods (29% versus 50–57%). Gender differences were evident, with young men in each state considerably more likely than young women to report correct specific knowledge of at least one modern non-terminal method. In each state, moreover, the married and the urban were more likely than others to report correct specific knowledge of at least one modern non-terminal method of contraception.

8.1.4 Condom-related perceptions

Among youth who reported awareness of condoms, the Youth Study probed perceptions regarding various aspects of this method, namely, whether condoms can slip off a man and disappear inside a woman's body and whether condoms reduce sexual pleasure. Findings, presented in Table 8.5, show that just 46% of young men and 24% of young women were aware that condoms cannot disappear inside a woman's body and just 31% of young men and 25% of young women felt that condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure. State-wise differences suggest that young men and women in Maharashtra were consistently more likely than those in the other states to hold pro-condom perceptions: 62% and 44% of young men and women in Maharashtra, respectively, reported that condoms do not slip off a man and disappear inside a woman's body, compared to fewer than half of young men and one-quarter or fewer young women in the remaining states. Correspondingly, 46–47% of young men and women in Maharashtra reported that condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure, compared to fewer than one-third of those in the remaining states.

Marital status differences suggest that the married were better informed about condoms than were the unmarried. For example, 57% of married young men compared to 44% of unmarried young men were aware that condoms

Figure 8.1: Percentage of youth who reported correct specific knowledge of oral pills and condoms, according to residence

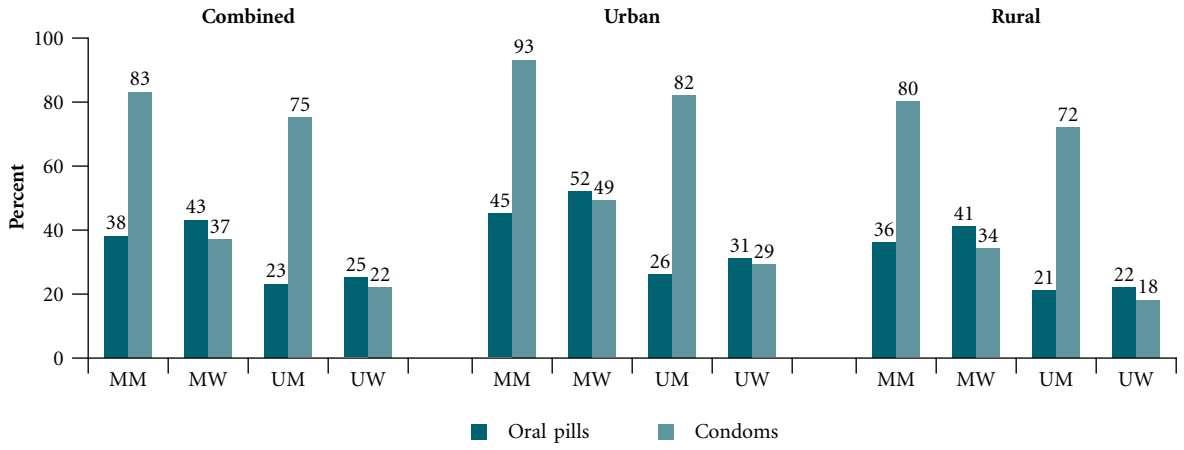

Table 8.4: Awareness of modern contraceptive methods

Percentage of youth who reported awareness of modern contraceptive methods and correct specific knowledge of modern non-terminal methods by state, according to residence

Knowledge	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
A: Awareness						
Combined						
Any modern method						
Bihar	93.2	98.8	97.5	99.6	91.8	97.1
Jharkhand	89.1	89.7	89.0	92.8	89.5	85.3
Rajasthan	93.4	91.7	96.0	93.9	92.3	86.6
Maharashtra	95.1	90.0	96.3	94.6	94.8	86.1
Andhra Pradesh	96.9	97.5	98.2	97.9	96.7	97.1
Tamil Nadu	96.7	97.8	99.2	99.8	96.5	96.6
Total	**94.6**	**94.5**	**96.7**	**96.8**	**94.2**	**91.6**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Any modern method						
Bihar	97.8	99.4	98.9	100.0	97.6	99.2
Jharkhand	95.9	97.1	99.0	98.4	95.5	96.3
Rajasthan	97.7	97.6	99.4	98.6	97.2	96.6
Maharashtra	96.6	97.9	98.2	99.3	96.4	97.0
Andhra Pradesh	96.9	98.7	98.7	98.9	96.7	98.7
Tamil Nadu	96.5	98.3	98.7	99.9	96.3	97.4
Total	**96.8**	**98.2**	**98.7**	**99.2**	**96.5**	**97.5**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Any modern method						
Bihar	92.5	98.7	97.3	99.6	90.6	96.8
Jharkhand	86.6	87.1	87.1	91.7	86.8	79.5
Rajasthan	91.9	89.6	95.3	93.0	90.3	81.5
Maharashtra	93.8	83.8	95.1	91.9	93.4	75.4
Andhra Pradesh	96.9	97.0	98.0	97.6	96.8	96.1
Tamil Nadu	96.9	97.4	99.5	99.7	96.5	95.8
Total	**93.6**	**93.0**	**96.1**	**96.1**	**93.0**	**88.4**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

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Table 8.4: (Cont'd)

Knowledge	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
B: Correct specific knowledge[1]						
Combined						
Any modern method						
Bihar	64.9	57.3	76.8	64.0	61.4	43.7
Jharkhand	69.9	50.4	73.9	58.3	69.8	39.9
Rajasthan	83.0	53.1	89.7	58.2	80.2	41.4
Maharashtra	84.0	53.5	91.3	68.9	83.1	40.7
Andhra Pradesh	80.8	29.4	82.6	32.4	80.6	25.2
Tamil Nadu	78.3	52.4	91.1	72.2	77.3	39.4
Total	**77.7**	**48.7**	**84.7**	**57.8**	**76.5**	**37.4**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Any modern method						
Bihar	71.7	69.5	87.0	81.0	69.4	61.1
Jharkhand	79.4	64.5	89.8	79.6	78.1	55.9
Rajasthan	88.6	67.0	97.4	78.2	86.7	57.0
Maharashtra	88.7	61.4	95.4	75.8	88.1	52.1
Andhra Pradesh	81.2	36.0	87.9	42.1	81.0	31.1
Tamil Nadu	80.4	53.3	92.8	77.6	79.5	39.2
Total	**84.0**	**55.9**	**93.1**	**70.2**	**82.9**	**46.3**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Any modern method						
Bihar	63.8	55.7	75.9	62.9	59.8	40.5
Jharkhand	66.3	45.5	71.0	54.0	66.1	31.4
Rajasthan	81.0	48.1	87.9	54.3	77.4	33.4
Maharashtra	80.3	47.5	88.4	65.0	78.9	29.4
Andhra Pradesh	80.7	26.6	81.1	29.5	80.5	21.9
Tamil Nadu	76.7	51.8	90.0	68.6	75.5	39.6
Total	**74.9**	**45.7**	**82.1**	**54.3**	**73.2**	**32.6**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Correct specific knowledge was assessed for IUDs, EC (Emergency contraceptives), OC (Oral contraceptives) or condoms.

cannot disappear into a woman's body; the corresponding percentages among young women were 29% and 17%. A similar pattern was observed in every state. Rural-urban differences were negligible for young women; however, young men in urban areas were somewhat more likely than rural men to report pro-condom perceptions, for example, that condoms do not slip off the man and disappear inside the woman's body (52% and 43%, respectively) and that condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure (37% and 28%, respectively). Rural-urban differences in each state were narrow and inconsistent for both young men and women.

Table 8.5: Perceptions of selected issues related to condom use

Percentage of youth who believed that condoms cannot slip off a man and that condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure by state, according to residence

Perceptions	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Condoms cannot slip off man and disappear inside woman's body						
Bihar	32.9	25.1	44.4	29.8	29.4	13.0
Jharkhand	41.9	22.0	51.3	30.4	41.1	11.1
Rajasthan	40.0	22.6	55.9	25.2	32.9	16.7
Maharashtra	61.9	44.2	73.3	49.9	60.2	38.8
Andhra Pradesh	42.2	13.2	51.8	16.8	40.0	9.2
Tamil Nadu	45.8	12.0	66.9	19.0	44.2	6.9
Total	**45.8**	**23.7**	**57.1**	**28.7**	**43.8**	**17.3**
Condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure						
Bihar	18.1	19.9	28.5	22.7	15.9	12.7
Jharkhand	24.6	22.0	32.8	30.6	23.4	10.8
Rajasthan	30.9	27.2	43.9	31.5	27.3	17.5
Maharashtra	46.6	46.2	46.5	50.3	46.2	42.2
Andhra Pradesh	22.9	11.3	29.7	14.4	21.1	7.8
Tamil Nadu	31.2	20.6	41.1	30.8	31.1	13.3
Total	**30.7**	**25.2**	**37.3**	**29.6**	**29.8**	**19.5**
Number aware of condoms	**13,359**	**22,120**	**7,620**	**10,311**	**10,777**	**11,809**
Urban						
Condoms cannot slip off man and disappear inside woman's body						
Bihar	35.8	27.0	55.6	41.8	32.6	15.4
Jharkhand	40.0	18.5	62.7	35.4	37.7	8.2
Rajasthan	40.3	25.6	68.6	33.9	34.8	17.6
Maharashtra	65.5	43.7	79.7	51.8	63.2	38.1
Andhra Pradesh	42.8	12.2	58.3	17.2	40.5	8.3
Tamil Nadu	48.2	12.5	71.8	20.9	46.6	7.1
Total	**51.6**	**25.0**	**70.4**	**33.7**	**49.1**	**18.8**
Condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure						
Bihar	23.2	23.0	35.2	33.6	21.1	14.9
Jharkhand	27.4	18.8	43.8	32.5	26.0	10.2
Rajasthan	31.3	30.6	56.4	41.5	27.7	20.3
Maharashtra	51.5	46.4	52.4	53.7	50.2	41.2
Andhra Pradesh	22.0	11.4	30.1	17.0	21.0	7.2
Tamil Nadu	34.2	18.7	45.3	27.6	34.1	13.0
Total	**37.3**	**27.7**	**46.3**	**36.3**	**35.9**	**21.6**
Number aware of condoms	**7,212**	**11,439**	**3,524**	**5,012**	**6,185**	**6,427**

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Table 8.5: (Cont'd)

Perceptions	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Condoms cannot slip off man and disappear inside woman's body						
Bihar	32.3	24.7	43.3	28.7	28.8	12.3
Jharkhand	42.8	24.0	48.7	28.8	42.8	14.0
Rajasthan	39.9	21.3	52.9	23.1	32.0	16.0
Maharashtra	59.0	44.8	68.6	48.5	57.5	39.9
Andhra Pradesh	42.0	13.7	49.8	16.7	39.8	9.7
Tamil Nadu	44.0	11.5	63.4	17.6	42.3	6.7
Total	**43.2**	**22.9**	**52.6**	**26.9**	**41.0**	**16.1**
Condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure						
Bihar	17.2	19.4	27.9	21.7	14.8	11.9
Jharkhand	23.2	23.9	30.4	29.9	22.1	11.4
Rajasthan	30.7	25.6	41.0	29.0	27.2	15.3
Maharashtra	42.5	46.0	42.2	47.7	42.7	43.8
Andhra Pradesh	23.2	11.2	29.6	13.4	21.1	8.2
Tamil Nadu	28.8	22.2	38.2	33.2	28.6	13.4
Total	**27.7**	**23.8**	**34.3**	**27.2**	**26.6**	**17.9**
Number aware of condoms	**6,147**	**10,681**	**4,096**	**5,299**	**4,592**	**5,382**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

8.1.5 Awareness of contraception prior to marriage

Married youth were specifically asked whether they had been aware of contraception or had known from where to obtain contraceptives prior to their marriage. Findings, presented in Table 8.6, suggest that of those who were aware of at least one method of contraception at the time of the interview, two-thirds of young men (67%) compared to one-quarter of young women (25%) had been aware of a contraceptive method before marriage. Likewise, urban youth had been considerably more aware than rural youth in this respect, although differences were wider among young men than young women (80% and 63% of urban and rural young men, respectively; and 30% and 23% of urban and rural young women, respectively).

Marginally fewer young men (64%) and considerably fewer young women (18%) knew, before marriage, about where contraceptives could be obtained. Rural-urban differentials, noted above, persisted.

8.1.6 Awareness of medical abortion

Given that medical abortion, that is, the mifepristone-misoprostol regimen, has been legal since 2002, youth were asked if they were aware of "any pills" that a woman could take to terminate a pregnancy. As evident from Table 8.7, 23% of young men and 28% of young women reported that they were aware of such a method (since we did not probe further, some of these positive responses may not have specifically referred to the mifepristone-misoprostol combination, but rather to the variety of herbal and ayurvedic medications and other home remedies available). Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow; however, married youth and youth residing in urban areas were somewhat more likely than their unmarried and rural counterparts to report awareness of medical abortion.

State-wise differences were wider and suggest a consistent pattern. They suggest that awareness was most likely to be reported by young men and women in the southern states: for example, 36–42% of young men and 44–54% of

Table 8.6: Awareness of contraception prior to marriage

Percentage of married youth aware of any contraceptive method prior to marriage and percentage aware of a source of contraceptive supplies at that time, according to residence

Knowledge	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Aware of any contraceptive method before marriage	67.1	24.6	80.3	29.5	62.8	23.1
Aware of a contraceptive source before marriage	64.2	17.6	79.1	20.7	59.4	16.6
Number currently aware of at least one contraceptive method	**7,807**	**13,534**	**3,554**	**5,904**	**4,253**	**7,630**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

young women in the southern states were aware of medical abortion, compared to 5–19% and 7–21%, respectively, in the remaining states. We note that this state-wise pattern was evident, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

8.1.7 Awareness of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV/AIDS

The Youth Study inquired whether youth had ever heard of infections that were transmitted through sexual contact. Findings, presented in Table 8.8, suggest that awareness of STIs other than HIV/AIDS was limited. Indeed, just 19% of young men and 15% of young women reported awareness of STIs, mostly vaginal discharge. Differences by marital status were evident, with more married than unmarried youth reporting awareness of STIs. Rural-urban differences were narrow.

Among those who were aware of STIs other than HIV, the large majority of young men and women (79–80%) were aware of at least one symptom of infection. While differences by marital status were mild among young men, more married than unmarried young women could identify at least one symptom (83% versus 73%). Differences by rural-urban residence suggest that more urban than rural young men could identify a symptom of infection (85% versus 76%); however among young women, those residing in rural areas were somewhat more likely than their urban counterparts to be aware of at least one symptom of infection (81% versus 76%).

State-wise differences in percentages reporting awareness of STIs are presented in Figure 8.2. Findings suggest that young men in the southern states were more likely than those in the other states to be aware of STIs (30–31% versus 8–17%). No such regional pattern was evident among young women; however, a larger percentage of young women in Rajasthan (27%) than in other states (8–16%) reported awareness of STIs other than HIV/AIDS.

Questions exploring young people's awareness of HIV/AIDS were adapted from those used in the NFHS (IIPS and Macro International, 2007b). Findings, presented in Table 8.8, show that 91% of young men, compared to 73% of young women, had heard of HIV/AIDS. While marital status differences were negligible among young men (88–92%), considerably more unmarried than married young women reported awareness of HIV/AIDS (80% and 66%, respectively) and these differences were particularly marked among young women in rural areas. Urban youth were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to report awareness of HIV/AIDS, and the differences were much wider among young women (90% versus 65%) than among young men (97% versus 88%).

Among those who reported awareness of HIV/AIDS, knowledge of specific aspects of the disease was by no means complete. For example, just 82–88% of youth who had heard of HIV/AIDS were aware that one can reduce the chances of getting HIV by being faithful to a single partner. Awareness that one can reduce the chances of contracting

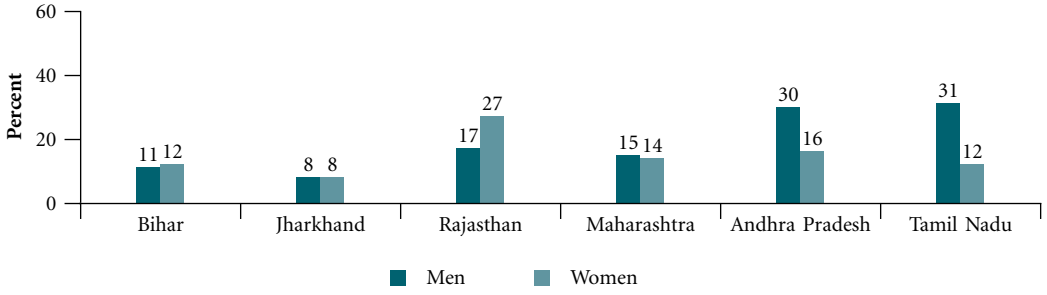
Table 8.7: Awareness of medical abortion

Percentage of youth who reported awareness of medical abortion[1] by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Bihar	19.1	20.1	24.9	23.2	17.2	13.9
Jharkhand	13.6	12.4	14.9	14.9	14.1	9.3
Rajasthan	5.0	6.9	8.1	8.0	4.3	4.3
Maharashtra	17.0	21.0	25.8	25.7	15.8	17.1
Andhra Pradesh	42.3	43.8	46.3	46.5	41.8	39.9
Tamil Nadu	36.0	54.3	43.2	67.0	35.7	45.9
Total	**22.9**	**28.0**	**27.2**	**30.5**	**22.9**	**24.9**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Bihar	21.9	24.5	30.1	32.4	21.3	18.7
Jharkhand	15.4	14.9	22.8	20.0	14.9	12.0
Rajasthan	5.3	9.9	10.6	14.0	5.2	6.3
Maharashtra	15.2	19.7	21.5	22.7	14.6	17.7
Andhra Pradesh	43.0	48.0	51.6	52.9	42.0	44.0
Tamil Nadu	38.3	50.8	46.2	65.1	38.2	42.5
Total	**24.1**	**31.8**	**30.4**	**38.0**	**24.1**	**27.5**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Bihar	18.6	19.5	24.4	22.6	16.4	13.0
Jharkhand	12.9	11.6	13.6	13.9	13.8	7.8
Rajasthan	5.0	5.7	7.4	6.8	4.0	3.3
Maharashtra	18.4	22.0	28.9	27.4	16.8	16.4
Andhra Pradesh	42.1	42.0	44.9	44.7	41.8	37.6
Tamil Nadu	34.2	57.1	41.1	68.3	33.5	49.0
Total	**22.4**	**26.5**	**26.2**	**28.4**	**22.2**	**23.5**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Abortion through medication taken orally; the exact question posed was "Are there any pills that a woman can swallow soon after she misses her periods for an abortion if she wants to terminate a pregnancy?" Responses do not necessarily refer to knowledge of the mifepristone-misoprostol combination.

Figure 8.2: Percentage of youth who reported awareness of STIs* by state



*Note: *Other than HIV.*

Table 8.8: Awareness of STIs and HIV/AIDS

Percentage of youth who had heard of and had specific knowledge about STIs and HIV/AIDS, according to residence

Awareness among young men	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Heard about STIs[1]	19.0	24.8	18.9	21.5	30.3	21.4	17.9	23.0	17.7
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**8,052**	**11,522**	**7,483**	**3,590**	**6,435**	**6,798**	**4,462**	**5,087**
Could identify at least one symptom of STIs	79.0	81.2	78.7	85.1	87.3	85.0	75.8	78.7	75.0
Number who had heard about STIs	**2,686**	**2,090**	**2,133**	**1,451**	**1,042**	**1,232**	**1,235**	**1,048**	**901**
Heard about HIV/AIDS	90.7	88.1	91.7	96.6	95.8	96.9	88.2	85.7	89.1
Had comprehensive knowledge about HIV/AIDS[2]	45.4	41.8	47.1	58.7	58.3	59.7	39.6	36.6	40.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**8,052**	**11,522**	**7,483**	**3,590**	**6,435**	**6,798**	**4,462**	**5,087**
Of respondents who had heard about HIV/AIDS, those reporting that:									
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by having a single sexual partner	87.8	89.1	87.7	91.4	93.1	91.6	86.0	87.8	85.6
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by consistent use of condoms	83.0	84.2	82.9	88.2	90.8	88.0	80.5	81.9	80.2
One cannot get HIV through mosquito bites	73.3	69.2	75.2	80.2	78.7	81.3	70.0	65.8	71.9
One cannot get HIV by sharing food with an HIV-positive person	83.2	80.1	84.5	89.8	89.5	90.2	80.1	76.8	81.4
One cannot get HIV by hugging an HIV-positive person	85.5	83.3	86.5	90.3	89.8	90.8	83.2	81.0	84.2
One cannot tell if a person is HIV-positive by just looking at him/her	83.9	82.3	84.5	86.2	84.7	86.5	82.8	81.4	83.4
Number who had heard about HIV/AIDS	**13,070**	**7,173**	**10,665**	**7,165**	**3,422**	**6,177**	**5,905**	**3,751**	**4,488**
Awareness among young women	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Heard about STIs[1]	14.9	17.6	11.6	16.2	19.0	14.3	14.4	17.3	10.1
Number of respondents	**31,274**	**13,912**	**17,362**	**13,976**	**5,950**	**8,026**	**17,298**	**7,962**	**9,336**
Could identify at least one symptom of STIs	79.5	82.9	73.4	76.2	78.3	74.3	81.0	84.2	72.7
Number who had heard about STIs	**4,494**	**2,468**	**2,026**	**2,200**	**1,123**	**1,077**	**2,294**	**1,345**	**949**
Heard about HIV/AIDS	72.5	65.8	79.9	90.2	87.1	92.3	65.0	59.8	73.0
Had comprehensive knowledge about HIV/AIDS[2]	28.4	23.9	33.3	43.0	40.6	44.6	22.3	19.1	27.1
Number of respondents	**31,274**	**13,912**	**17,362**	**13,976**	**5,950**	**8,026**	**17,298**	**7,962**	**9,336**
Of respondents who had heard about HIV/AIDS, those reporting that:									
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by having a single sexual partner	82.0	83.6	80.5	82.8	85.0	81.4	81.6	83.0	79.9
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by consistent use of condoms	62.2	62.8	61.4	66.8	70.1	64.7	59.6	59.8	59.2
One cannot get HIV through mosquito bites	71.5	66.4	76.1	79.9	76.1	82.3	66.6	62.4	71.7
One cannot get HIV by sharing food with an HIV-positive person	80.9	76.6	84.8	87.9	84.5	90.1	76.8	73.3	81.1
One cannot get HIV by hugging an HIV-positive person	82.6	79.3	85.6	88.3	86.2	89.7	79.3	76.5	82.8
One cannot tell if a person is HIV-positive by just looking at him/her	88.4	87.2	89.4	90.5	89.9	90.9	87.1	86.1	88.3
Number who had heard about HIV/AIDS	**23,199**	**9,527**	**13,672**	**12,086**	**4,847**	**7,239**	**11,113**	**4,680**	**6,433**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Other than HIV. [2]Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS includes: (1) identifying two major ways of preventing HIV (using condoms and limiting sex to one partner); (2) rejecting three common misconceptions about HIV transmission (that HIV can be transmitted through mosquito bites, sharing food with a person who has HIV, and hugging someone who has HIV); and (3) knowing that a healthy looking person can be HIV-positive.

HIV by using a condom every time one has sex was reported by 83% of young men and 62% of young women. Differences by marital status were negligible. Rural-urban differences suggest that young men in urban areas were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to report awareness of both these matters (88–91% versus 81–86%). Among young women, differences were evident with regard to awareness of consistent condom use as a preventive measure, with more young women in urban areas than in rural areas reporting so (67% versus 60%).

Reflecting their limited in-depth awareness of HIV/AIDS, rejection of common misconceptions was far from universal among youth. Indeed, just 72–73% of young men and women were aware that HIV cannot be transmitted through mosquito bites, 81–83% that one cannot acquire HIV by sharing food with an HIV infected person, 83–86% that one cannot get HIV by hugging an HIV-positive person; and 84–88% that one cannot tell if a person is HIV-positive by looking at him/her. By and large, the unmarried were more likely than the married to reject misconceptions: For example, only 69% of married young men compared to 75% of unmarried young men were aware that one cannot acquire HIV through mosquito bites; the corresponding percentages among young women were 66% and 76%, respectively. Rural-urban differences suggest that more urban than rural youth had rejected these misconceptions.

8.1.8 Comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS

Comprehensive awareness was defined as knowledge of two ways of preventing HIV (specifically, condom use and single partner relations), rejection of common misconceptions about HIV transmission (namely, that HIV can be transmitted through mosquito bites, sharing food or hugging) and awareness that one cannot tell by looking at a person whether he or she has HIV. Findings by selected background characteristics are presented in Table 8.9 and suggest limited comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS and considerable variation by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence. For example, while 45% of young men reported comprehensive awareness, only 28% of young women did so. Marital status differences suggest that more unmarried than married youth reported comprehensive awareness: 47% versus 42% among young men and 33% versus 24% among young women. Wide rural-urban differences were observed: urban youth were far more likely to report comprehensive awareness than rural youth (59% and 40% of young men in urban and rural settings, respectively, compared to 43% and 22% of young women, respectively).

Comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS was consistently greater among older, better educated and economically better off youth than others, irrespective of marital status and place of residence. For example, as shown in Figure 8.3a, just 16% of married young men with no formal education displayed comprehensive HIV/AIDS awareness compared to 74% of those with 12 or more years of education; similarly, among married young women, comprehensive HIV/AIDS awareness was reported by 5% and 65%, respectively. Likewise, Figure 8.3b shows that comprehensive awareness increased from 20% among unmarried young men in the poorest (first) wealth quintile to 66% among those in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile, and from 10% to 51%, respectively, among unmarried young women.

Comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS was also consistently greater among non-working than working youth, irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence, perhaps because many of those who were not working were in school or college and therefore more likely to be exposed to HIV-related information. Differentials by religion were mild among young men, although in urban areas, Hindu and Muslim young men were less likely than those belonging to other religions to report comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS. Among young women, Muslims were less likely than Hindus and those belonging to other religions to report comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS, irrespective of rural-urban residence. Caste-wise differences indicate that comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS was most likely to be reported by youth belonging to general castes, and least likely to be reported by those belonging to scheduled tribes, and again, this pattern was observed, for the most part, irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence.

State-wise differences were wider and suggest a consistent pattern. They suggest that young men in the southern states and young women in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those in the others to report comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS (50–62% versus 27–49% among young men; 33–46% versus 15–20% among young women). We note that this state-wise pattern was evident, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Table 8.9: Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who had comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	42.3	25.1	31.7	16.1	42.8	28.9
20–24	48.9	32.0	39.6	27.3	54.4	48.8
25–29	NA	NA	43.6	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	45.3	28.6	41.7	23.7	47.2	34.3
Muslim	43.8	22.9	42.9	22.0	44.2	23.4
Other[1]	50.1	33.5	41.1	30.2	52.0	35.6
Caste						
SC	43.0	26.2	39.2	21.9	45.2	31.4
ST/VJNT	34.0	17.9	26.7	13.2	36.1	23.7
OBC	45.0	27.4	42.6	22.8	46.4	32.7
General[2]	53.3	36.8	52.8	33.9	53.8	38.8
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	13.2	4.7	15.6	5.2	11.5	2.7
1–7	26.0	18.0	30.9	21.0	25.5	12.9
8–11	49.8	38.6	51.1	41.5	49.6	36.4
12 and above	71.0	62.2	73.5	65.4	70.6	60.7
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	41.3	19.7	41.5	15.6	42.7	25.0
No	54.0	34.2	55.2	30.2	54.0	38.1
Wealth quintile						
First	20.7	8.8	19.8	8.3	20.0	9.8
Second	31.0	16.5	28.5	15.5	32.6	18.1
Third	43.5	26.2	41.1	23.1	44.4	30.0
Fourth	51.5	35.0	51.2	32.1	52.2	38.0
Fifth	65.4	48.5	67.2	45.0	65.7	50.5
State						
Bihar	27.8	15.4	27.0	13.2	27.6	18.0
Jharkhand	26.5	16.6	20.0	12.2	29.6	21.6
Rajasthan	49.0	20.3	47.5	15.3	49.9	27.0
Maharashtra	48.1	33.4	43.7	32.9	49.5	33.6
Andhra Pradesh	61.8	33.0	55.2	26.6	64.4	41.1
Tamil Nadu	49.6	45.5	48.3	44.7	49.9	46.0
Total	**45.4**	**28.4**	**41.8**	**23.9**	**47.1**	**33.3**

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Table 8.9: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	55.1	37.7	41.7	28.0	55.3	39.5
20–24	62.1	48.0	52.4	43.6	65.0	55.6
25–29	NA	NA	60.7	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	59.3	44.8	58.2	41.9	60.5	46.5
Muslim	51.8	31.9	56.8	31.9	51.4	32.0
Other[1]	69.5	46.3	64.9	46.2	70.6	46.5
Caste						
SC	54.6	39.1	53.9	38.0	55.9	39.9
ST/VJNT	54.9	31.4	42.6	25.0	59.3	36.6
OBC	57.1	43.1	58.7	41.0	57.9	44.7
General[2]	63.9	48.0	63.1	45.9	64.6	49.2
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	21.4	11.2	24.8	12.1	22.2	8.2
1–7	37.4	24.8	41.8	28.5	37.3	19.7
8–11	58.7	43.4	63.3	48.6	58.3	40.6
12 and above	75.5	63.5	79.6	65.9	75.5	62.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	54.8	39.1	58.1	32.7	55.7	42.4
No	64.5	44.0	67.7	42.3	64.5	45.2
Wealth quintile						
First	25.9	18.8	28.8	18.0	23.8	19.5
Second	41.2	25.2	35.1	25.1	43.1	25.3
Third	47.3	31.0	46.5	30.6	47.9	31.4
Fourth	55.5	39.3	57.9	40.4	56.3	38.5
Fifth	68.5	53.8	72.4	52.9	68.5	54.2
State						
Bihar	41.9	36.9	40.2	32.4	42.0	40.1
Jharkhand	39.6	33.7	34.5	28.8	41.0	36.5
Rajasthan	61.8	37.7	69.6	34.0	62.8	41.1
Maharashtra	62.8	40.7	58.7	41.2	64.0	40.3
Andhra Pradesh	66.1	46.1	63.1	40.6	67.8	50.5
Tamil Nadu	54.6	49.4	56.0	48.3	55.3	50.1
Total	**58.7**	**43.0**	**58.3**	**40.6**	**59.7**	**44.6**

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Table 8.9: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	37.3	20.4	31.3	14.2	37.8	24.2
20–24	42.4	24.5	36.4	21.7	47.1	41.7
25–29	NA	NA	37.2	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	39.8	22.7	37.0	19.2	41.1	28.1
Muslim	37.1	15.9	34.3	16.1	37.3	15.6
Other[1]	39.9	25.4	31.9	22.7	41.1	28.0
Caste						
SC	38.9	21.2	35.7	17.8	40.8	26.7
ST/VJNT	30.8	15.1	24.9	11.3	31.4	20.5
OBC	39.8	21.4	37.7	18.1	40.9	26.8
General[2]	45.4	29.5	45.9	28.5	45.5	30.6
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	11.9	4.0	14.4	4.5	9.6	2.0
1–7	22.7	16.1	27.9	19.1	21.5	10.9
8–11	45.9	35.8	46.8	38.2	45.5	34.1
12 and above	67.2	60.3	69.6	64.9	65.9	57.9
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	36.5	16.2	36.1	13.9	37.3	20.1
No	47.5	28.0	52.9	24.5	47.2	32.7
Wealth quintile						
First	20.4	8.2	19.2	7.9	19.7	9.0
Second	29.9	15.6	27.8	14.5	31.3	17.3
Third	42.5	24.8	39.7	21.3	43.4	29.6
Fourth	49.1	32.2	48.1	27.9	49.6	37.6
Fifth	60.5	40.4	61.9	37.6	60.7	43.5
State						
Bihar	25.4	12.6	25.8	12.0	24.8	13.9
Jharkhand	21.5	10.7	17.3	8.8	24.6	13.8
Rajasthan	44.6	14.1	42.5	11.6	44.3	19.8
Maharashtra	36.5	27.6	33.2	28.2	37.5	27.0
Andhra Pradesh	60.1	27.5	53.0	22.5	62.9	35.7
Tamil Nadu	45.7	42.3	43.0	42.4	45.6	42.3
Total	**39.6**	**22.3**	**36.6**	**19.1**	**40.9**	**27.1**

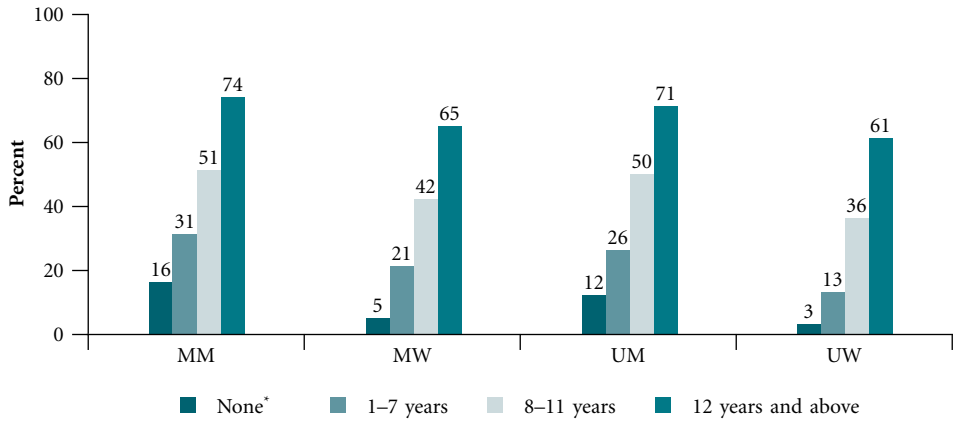
Note: Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS includes: (1) identifying two major ways of preventing HIV (using condoms and limiting sex to one partner); (2) rejecting three common misconceptions about HIV transmission (that HIV can be transmitted through mosquito bites, sharing food with a person who has HIV, and hugging someone who has HIV); and (3) knowing that a healthy looking person can be HIV-positive. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

A comparison of awareness of HIV and other STIs, presented in Figure 8.4, shows that awareness of STIs other than HIV among youth was far more limited than awareness of HIV/AIDS. Indeed, more youth—irrespective of sex and marital status—reported comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS than STIs.

8.2 Knowledge of legal issues related to marriage and abortion

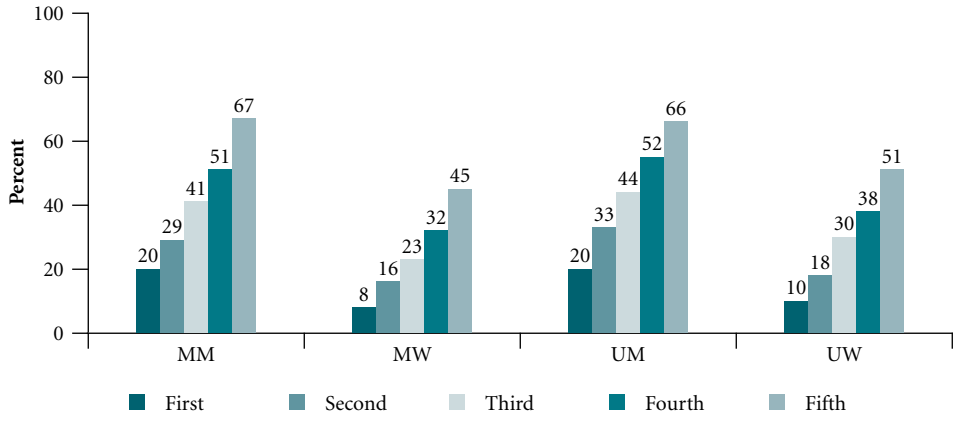
Lack of awareness of such issues as the legal minimum age at marriage and the fact that abortion services are legally available may pose barriers to health promoting behaviours. In this section, we present young people's awareness about the law on each of these issues.

Figure 8.3a: Percentage of youth who reported comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by educational level



*Note: *Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.*

Figure 8.3b: Percentage of youth who reported comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by wealth quintile



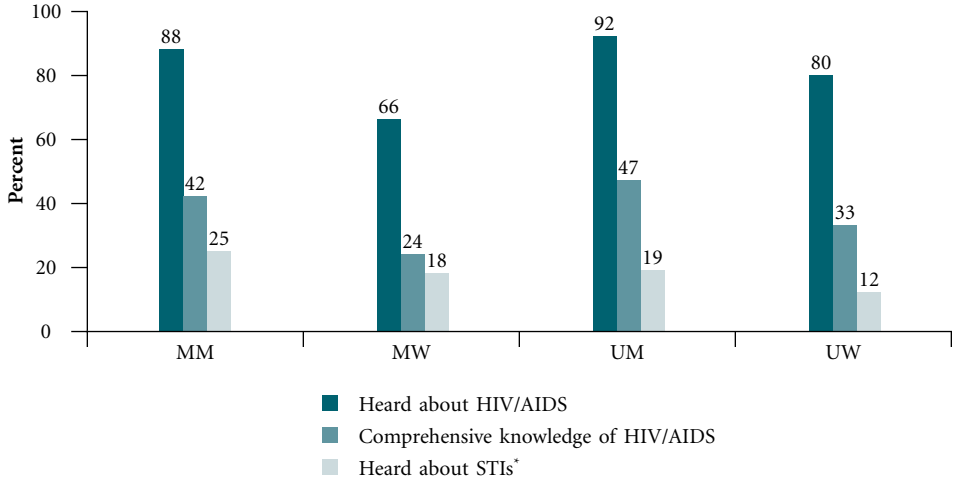
8.2.1 Knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage

The Youth Study collected information on whether youth were aware of the existence of laws relating to the legal minimum age at marriage for males and females in India and probed specific knowledge of these laws. Findings presented in Table 8.10 report percentages of youth aware of the correct legal minimum age at marriage for both males and females.

Awareness of the correct legal minimum age at marriage for females, and especially males, was limited. Moreover, young women were less likely than young men to be aware of the correct legal minimum age at marriage. For example, 70% of young men compared to 59% of young women correctly reported that 18 years is the legal minimum age at marriage for females; fewer young men (53%) and young women (41%) correctly reported that 21 is the legal minimum age at marriage for males. Unmarried youth were somewhat more likely than married youth to report the correct legal minimum age at marriage for males (54% and 49%, respectively, among young men; 47% and 36%, respectively, among young women); marital status differences in awareness of the correct legal minimum age at marriage for females were, in contrast, observed only among young women (63% versus 56% among unmarried and married young women, respectively). Rural-urban differences suggest that urban young women were considerably better informed about the correct legal minimum age at marriage than were rural young women; rural-urban differences were narrow among young men.

State-wise differences in awareness of the correct legal minimum age at marriage were wide. Youth in Rajasthan and Maharashtra were most likely to be aware that 21 and 18 were the legal minimum ages at marriage for males and females, respectively in India. For example, 78% and 69% of young men in Rajasthan and Maharashtra, respectively (compared to 30–49% of those in the other states) and 53% and 62% of young women in these two states, respectively (compared to 24–36% of those in the other states) reported 21 as the legal minimum age at marriage for males. Likewise, 85–86% of young men in these two states (compared to 42–72% of those in the other states) and 66% and 84% of young women in Rajasthan and Maharashtra, respectively (compared to 33–58% in the other states) reported 18 as the legal minimum age at marriage for females. Surprisingly, the most limited level of awareness about the legal minimum age at marriage was reported by young men and women in Tamil Nadu. This finding may be explained by the fact that programmes in the state have actively encouraged marriage to be delayed beyond the legal minimum age—to 25 and 21 years, respectively, among young men and women—leading many youth to perceive these as minimum legal ages at marriage. Indeed, 27% of young men and 34% of young women in Tamil Nadu reported 25 as the legal minimum age at marriage for males, and 39% and 49%, respectively, reported 21 as the legal minimum age at marriage for females (not shown in tabular form, IIPS and Population Council, 2009b).

Figure 8.4: Percentage of youth by awareness of HIV/AIDS, comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS and awareness of STIs



*Note: *Other than HIV.*

Table 8.10: Knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage

Percentage of youth who had correct knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage in India by state, according to residence

Knowledge	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Males						Females					
Combined												
Aware of correct legal age at marriage												
Bihar	48.6	36.1	39.6	29.0	51.1	48.5	71.7	58.1	68.3	52.5	73.5	67.5
Jharkhand	39.7	33.7	33.0	27.5	42.6	41.0	63.5	52.7	58.5	45.0	65.2	61.8
Rajasthan	78.4	53.0	72.3	43.7	81.1	67.6	85.5	65.6	81.0	58.4	87.0	76.8
Maharashtra	68.8	61.8	65.4	57.5	69.9	65.3	85.0	83.7	85.0	82.7	85.5	84.4
Andhra Pradesh	37.6	30.5	34.7	29.1	38.7	32.0	61.8	50.7	58.6	49.2	62.9	52.5
Tamil Nadu	30.3	23.8	29.3	21.0	30.7	25.7	42.1	32.7	39.6	33.0	41.7	32.5
Total	**52.9**	**41.1**	**48.9**	**36.1**	**53.6**	**46.7**	**70.4**	**59.0**	**68.8**	**56.0**	**70.6**	**62.5**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban												
Aware of correct legal age at marriage												
Bihar	50.9	53.5	46.7	45.1	51.8	59.3	77.8	78.6	77.2	73.2	77.9	82.8
Jharkhand	46.4	51.1	45.7	42.4	47.2	56.0	71.4	74.4	68.4	66.2	72.0	79.1
Rajasthan	84.8	72.0	83.7	64.6	86.4	78.7	89.9	82.2	90.5	76.6	90.5	87.2
Maharashtra	69.8	64.3	68.5	58.3	70.9	68.1	84.6	85.6	86.3	84.4	84.8	86.4
Andhra Pradesh	42.9	35.8	41.2	33.9	44.1	37.4	64.9	52.9	62.2	52.6	65.5	53.0
Tamil Nadu	31.3	22.8	31.5	20.5	31.7	24.2	40.7	30.6	39.2	31.9	40.4	29.9
Total	**56.1**	**48.1**	**56.6**	**43.9**	**56.3**	**50.9**	**71.3**	**64.3**	**72.5**	**63.3**	**70.8**	**64.9**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural												
Aware of correct legal age at marriage												
Bihar	48.2	33.9	38.9	27.9	51.0	46.5	70.7	55.5	67.4	51.1	72.7	64.7
Jharkhand	37.2	27.7	30.6	24.5	40.6	33.0	60.5	45.2	56.7	40.8	62.1	52.5
Rajasthan	76.2	46.2	69.8	39.6	78.8	61.9	84.0	59.7	78.9	54.8	85.6	71.5
Maharashtra	67.9	59.8	63.2	57.1	69.0	62.6	85.4	82.1	84.1	81.8	86.1	82.5
Andhra Pradesh	35.5	28.2	32.8	27.8	36.4	29.0	60.5	49.7	57.7	48.3	61.8	52.1
Tamil Nadu	29.6	24.6	28.0	21.2	30.0	27.0	43.1	34.4	39.8	33.8	42.8	34.8
Total	**51.4**	**38.1**	**46.5**	**34.0**	**52.3**	**44.4**	**70.1**	**56.8**	**67.6**	**53.9**	**70.5**	**61.2**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

8.2.2 Awareness of the conditions under which abortion is legal

The Youth Study posed a number of questions to gauge youth awareness of conditions under which abortion is legal, for example, whether they believed it is legal for a married and unmarried woman, respectively, to terminate a pregnancy, whether they believed it is legal for a woman to terminate a pregnancy that exceeds 20 weeks and whether they believed it is legal to terminate a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son. Findings are presented in Table 8.11.

Of the four conditions probed, the largest percentages of youth—78% of young men and 81% of young women—were aware that sex-selective abortion is illegal, presumably the result of widespread information campaigns against sex-selective abortion. A second condition about which large percentages of respondents were aware was that it is illegal to terminate a pregnancy that has gone beyond 20 weeks, reported by 61% of young men and 73% of young women. Fewer youth were aware that an unmarried woman is legally entitled to undergo an abortion (39% and 46% of young men and women, respectively) and even fewer were aware that a married woman is legally entitled to undergo an abortion (23–26%). Differences in perceptions about the married and unmarried women's entitlement to abortion may reflect a normative attitude rather than an awareness of the legal situation.

Differences by marital status were generally narrow, with married youth about as likely as their unmarried counterparts to report awareness of the legal status of abortion (see also Figure 8.5).While urban youth were more likely to report awareness about the legal status of abortion than rural youth, differences were generally narrow.

As is evident from Table 8.11, few youth (7% of both young men and women) could correctly report the legality of all four conditions probed. Differences were mild by marital status and rural-urban residence.

In Table 8.12, we present state-wise differences in young people's awareness of the legality of abortion, namely, whether they were aware that a married woman is legally entitled to terminate a pregnancy, and whether they were aware that sex-selective abortion is not legally permissible. Findings suggest that few youth in each state were aware that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy: 20–32% of young men and 16–32% of young women. State-wise variation was more pronounced with reference to awareness that abortion following sex determination is against the law. Young men in Maharashtra and the southern states, and young women in the southern states were more likely than those in the others to be correctly informed about this matter (87–88% versus 58–71% among young men; 89–92% versus 71–79% among young women). These state-wise patterns were evident, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

8.3 Sources of information on sex and reproduction

The Youth Study questionnaire asked respondents about their sources of information on sexual matters and contraception. For the married, questions about sources of information on sexual matters referred to the situation prior to marriage; in contrast, questions relating to sources of information about contraception referred to the current situation, that is, around the time of the interview.

8.3.1 Sources of information on sexual matters

Findings, presented in Table 8.13, suggest that young women had few sources of information about sex and reproduction. Indeed, almost half (47%) of young women reported that they had never received any information on sexual matters (prior to marriage among the married). While young men were far more likely to have been informed, 16% reported that they had never received information on sex or reproduction (prior to marriage among the married). Differences by marital status were muted among young men (15–18%) but wide among young women: married young women were considerably more likely than the unmarried to report that they had never received such information (56% versus 37%). At the same time, more rural than urban youth reported that they had never received information about sexual matters (18% versus 12% among young men, 50% versus 41% among young women).

Table 8.11: Awareness of the conditions under which abortion is legal

Percentage of youth who were aware of the conditions under which abortion is legal[1], according to residence

Knowledge	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy	25.7	22.9	27.1	23.2	25.1	22.4
Agree that it is legal for an unmarried woman to terminate a pregnancy	39.0	45.5	41.2	45.3	38.4	45.6
Agree that it is illegal to undergo abortion after 20 weeks of gestation	61.3	72.5	64.0	74.6	61.2	69.8
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son	77.6	81.1	78.8	80.8	78.0	81.2
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	**6.8**	**6.9**	**7.1**	**6.9**	**6.7**	**6.8**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy	27.7	25.5	30.8	26.2	27.4	25.0
Agree that it is legal for an unmarried woman to terminate a pregnancy	40.9	51.4	43.9	53.0	40.4	50.3
Agree that it is illegal to undergo abortion after 20 weeks of gestation	64.7	77.7	67.8	81.5	64.4	75.2
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son	83.8	85.4	86.6	85.0	83.9	85.6
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	**9.4**	**9.7**	**10.8**	**10.5**	**9.3**	**9.2**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy	24.8	21.8	26.0	22.4	24.0	20.9
Agree that it is legal for an unmarried woman to terminate a pregnancy	38.2	43.1	40.3	43.1	37.3	43.0
Agree that it is illegal to undergo abortion after 20 weeks of gestation	59.8	70.3	62.8	72.7	59.6	66.8
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son	75.0	79.3	76.3	79.6	75.1	78.8
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	**5.7**	**5.7**	**6.0**	**5.8**	**5.4**	**5.4**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Questions included whether youth believed it is legal for a married and unmarried woman, respectively, to terminate a pregnancy, whether they believed it is legal for a woman to terminate a pregnancy that exceeds 20 weeks and whether they believed it is legal to terminate a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son.

Leading sources of information on sex and reproduction among both young men and women were friends and neighbours and the media, although percentages of young men and women so reporting varied widely. For example, 66% of young men and 19% of young women reported that their leading source of information was friends and neighbours. Likewise, 47% of young men and 23% of young women cited the media as their main source of information, and 8% of young men but hardly any women cited billboards. Considerably more young women than men (9% versus 2%) reported that they obtained their information from a family member (other than the husband). Notably, just 10% of young men and women cited teachers and schools, and 3–7% cited health care providers, as a source of information on sex and reproduction. Differences by marital status were evident.

Table 8.12: Awareness of the conditions under which abortion is legal by state

Percentage of youth who were aware of selected conditions under which abortion is legal by state, according to residence

Knowledge	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy						
Bihar	24.7	16.2	22.9	16.7	24.8	15.2
Jharkhand	32.1	23.5	35.1	23.6	31.5	23.4
Rajasthan	29.0	26.8	31.8	28.0	27.9	24.6
Maharashtra	28.6	32.1	33.8	33.1	27.9	31.2
Andhra Pradesh	20.0	15.7	19.8	15.9	19.7	15.4
Tamil Nadu	22.5	22.6	22.9	25.4	22.7	20.8
Total	**25.7**	**22.9**	**27.1**	**23.2**	**25.1**	**22.4**
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son						
Bihar	71.2	78.5	76.5	78.7	69.4	77.6
Jharkhand	58.1	71.2	59.1	71.9	58.2	70.2
Rajasthan	57.4	70.5	60.6	70.7	55.2	69.1
Maharashtra	86.9	78.1	89.0	77.9	86.7	78.3
Andhra Pradesh	87.0	92.3	89.3	92.2	86.6	92.3
Tamil Nadu	87.8	88.9	90.0	89.3	87.5	88.6
Total	**77.6**	**81.1**	**78.8**	**80.8**	**78.0**	**81.2**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy						
Bihar	27.5	16.0	25.0	15.5	27.9	16.6
Jharkhand	27.2	22.6	33.0	22.2	26.5	22.8
Rajasthan	30.7	26.9	34.5	28.6	29.5	25.6
Maharashtra	32.2	33.9	37.8	33.3	31.9	34.3
Andhra Pradesh	19.5	16.1	19.9	17.0	19.7	15.5
Tamil Nadu	24.8	23.4	25.6	26.7	24.8	21.6
Total	**27.7**	**25.5**	**30.8**	**26.2**	**27.4**	**25.0**
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son						
Bihar	74.2	86.0	76.1	84.6	73.5	86.8
Jharkhand	69.4	77.2	75.1	78.3	69.1	76.5
Rajasthan	59.2	76.6	64.8	77.3	58.5	75.9
Maharashtra	90.4	82.2	92.7	81.3	90.2	82.9
Andhra Pradesh	88.2	92.2	92.2	91.2	87.8	93.0
Tamil Nadu	88.8	90.0	92.1	90.6	88.9	89.7
Total	**83.8**	**85.4**	**86.6**	**85.0**	**83.9**	**85.6**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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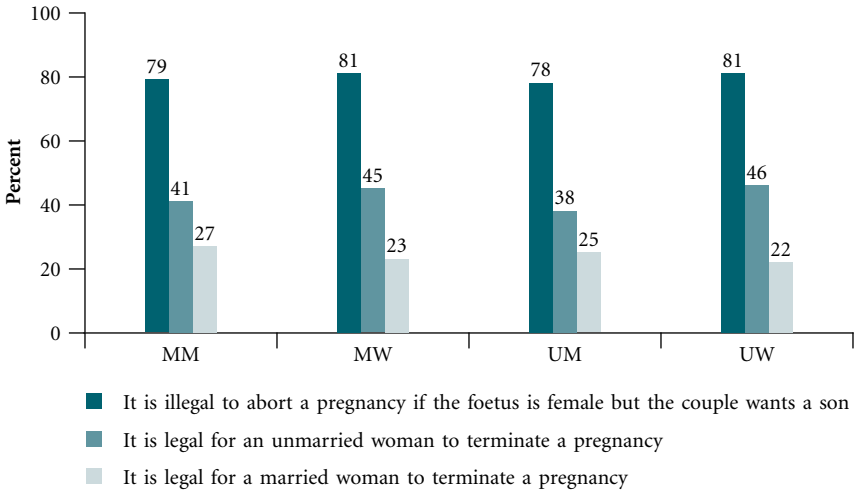
Table 8.12: (Cont'd)

Knowledge	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy						
Bihar	24.3	16.2	22.6	16.8	24.3	15.0
Jharkhand	34.0	23.8	35.6	23.9	33.7	23.8
Rajasthan	28.4	26.8	31.2	27.9	27.2	24.2
Maharashtra	25.8	30.6	30.9	32.9	24.5	28.3
Andhra Pradesh	20.2	15.5	19.7	15.6	19.7	15.4
Tamil Nadu	20.7	22.0	21.1	24.4	21.0	20.2
Total	**24.8**	**21.8**	**26.0**	**22.4**	**24.0**	**20.9**
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son						
Bihar	70.7	77.5	76.4	78.3	68.5	75.9
Jharkhand	53.9	69.2	56.1	70.5	53.3	66.9
Rajasthan	56.8	68.3	59.6	69.4	53.8	65.7
Maharashtra	84.1	74.9	86.4	76.0	83.8	73.7
Andhra Pradesh	86.4	92.4	88.5	92.5	86.1	91.9
Tamil Nadu	87.0	88.0	88.4	88.4	86.3	87.7
Total	**75.0**	**79.3**	**76.3**	**79.6**	**75.1**	**78.8**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Figure 8.5: Percentage of youth who were aware of selected conditions under which abortion is legal



The married were considerably less likely than the unmarried to report that they obtained this information from the mass media (41% versus 50% among young men; 14% versus 34% among young women) or from a teacher or school (4% versus 12% among young men; 4% versus 17% among young women). In addition, married young women were somewhat less likely than their unmarried counterparts to have obtained this information from a friend or neighbour (17% versus 22%).

Table 8.13: Sources of information on sexual matters

Percentage of youth by sources of information on sexual matters (before marriage among the married), according to residence

Sources of information	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Never received information	16.1	47.1	18.2	55.9	14.7	36.8
A family member other than spouse	1.9	9.1	3.1	9.0	1.4	9.4
Spouse/partner	0.3	1.1	1.0	2.0	0.1	0.1
Friend/neighbour	65.5	18.8	67.0	16.6	66.0	21.5
Teacher/school	9.8	10.1	3.8	4.2	11.5	17.0
Health care provider	7.2	3.3	9.8	2.6	6.9	4.1
Mass media[1]	47.3	23.3	40.7	14.4	50.2	33.5
Youth/*mahila mandal*/NGO worker	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.9	1.0
Poster/billboard	8.2	0.9	7.2	0.7	8.9	1.3
Don't remember	3.0	8.2	3.0	9.8	3.0	6.4
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Never received information	11.7	41.3	11.8	51.5	11.1	34.4
A family member other than spouse	1.2	6.8	1.9	7.2	1.0	6.4
Spouse/partner	0.1	0.6	0.7	1.3	0.1	0.0
Friend/neighbour	70.9	16.9	75.3	15.4	70.9	17.9
Teacher/school	12.3	17.1	6.3	9.0	13.3	22.7
Health care provider	4.9	4.3	9.8	3.8	4.4	4.7
Mass media[1]	60.2	36.7	59.0	27.7	61.4	42.9
Youth/*mahila mandal*/NGO worker	0.6	0.6	1.1	0.5	0.7	0.6
Poster/billboard	14.4	1.4	14.2	1.3	14.8	1.5
Don't remember	1.9	4.9	1.6	6.0	2.0	4.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Never received information	18.0	49.6	20.2	57.2	16.5	38.1
A family member other than spouse	2.2	10.1	3.5	9.5	1.7	11.0
Spouse/partner	0.4	1.4	1.1	2.2	0.1	0.2
Friend/neighbour	63.2	19.5	64.4	16.9	63.6	23.5
Teacher/school	8.7	7.2	3.0	2.8	10.6	13.9
Health care provider	8.2	2.9	9.8	2.3	8.2	3.7
Mass media[1]	41.7	17.7	35.0	10.7	44.5	28.4
Youth/*mahila mandal*/NGO worker	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.4	1.0	1.2
Poster/billboard	5.6	0.7	4.9	0.5	6.0	1.2
Don't remember	3.5	9.6	3.5	10.8	3.5	7.7
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. [1]*Includes newspapers, books/magazines, radio/television and the internet.*

Rural-urban differences suggest that urban youth were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to have obtained information on sexual matters from the mass media (60% versus 42% among young men; 37% versus 18% among young women). Young men in urban areas were, moreover, somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to have obtained this information from friends and neighbours (71% versus 63%) and posters and billboards (14% versus 6%). Differences were narrow among young women; however, those in urban areas were more likely than those in rural areas to have obtained this information from teachers and schools (17% versus 7%).

8.3.2 Current sources of information on contraception

Table 8.14 describes current sources of information on contraception as reported by youth who were aware of at least one contraceptive method. Findings reiterate, as above, that friends and the media played an important role in conveying contraception-related information to young people.

Leading sources of information on contraception were, as above, friends and the media. Same-sex friends and neighbours were key sources of information for 73% of young men and 41% of young women. In addition, 65% of young men and 50% of young women cited the media as their leading source of information about contraception. Besides, family members other than the spouse (32%) were also commonly mentioned by young women, but not men. Of interest also is the finding that among married young women, a leading source of information was their husband (47%); married young men, in contrast, rarely reported their wife as a source of information on contraception (7%). Health care providers and teachers were relatively less likely to be a major source of information on contraception. Just 13–14% of young men and women had obtained such information from a health care provider and 7–9% had obtained this information from a teacher.

Differences by marital status were wide. Among young men, the unmarried were less likely than the married to obtain contraceptive information from health care providers (11% versus 24%) and friends and neighbours (72% versus 77%), but were more likely to obtain information from the media (68% versus 56%) and teachers and schools (10% versus 3%). Among young women, considerably larger proportions of the unmarried than the married had obtained such information from the media (66% and 36%, respectively) and teachers and schools (14% versus 2%); at the same time, considerably smaller proportions of the unmarried than the married had obtained such information from family members other than the husband (26% versus 36%), female friends and neighbours (38% versus 43%) and health care providers (7% versus 20%); as noted earlier, 47% of married young women reported that they had obtained information on contraception from their husband.

Rural-urban differences suggest that young men in rural settings were considerably less likely than those in urban settings to obtain information from the media (60% and 76%, respectively), somewhat less likely to obtain information from posters and billboards (10% and 18%, respectively), and somewhat more likely to do so from health care providers (15% and 8%, respectively). Among young women, rural-urban differences suggest that young women in rural settings were more likely than those in urban settings to rely on family members (35% versus 25%), their husband/partner (29% versus 20%) and female friends (45% versus 31%), and less likely to rely on the media (39% versus 75%) and teachers (6% versus 11%) for information on contraception.

It is evident that current leading sources of information on contraception among young people who were aware of at least one contraceptive method were largely similar to the sources of information on sexual matters reported by all youth (prior to marriage for the married) presented in the previous section. Among the leading sources of information on both contraception and sexual matters were peers and the media. In contrast, teachers and health care providers were not necessarily reported as such. Of note is the finding that health care providers reached only a small minority of young men and women, possibly a consequence of the lack of attention that the RCH Programme has paid, thus far, to young people. Likewise, teachers, charged with providing family life education to youth, were relatively infrequently cited as key sources of information, even among the unmarried. So too, family members, often considered a credible source of information, were almost never a source of information about sex or contraception to young men, although they played a significant role in providing information to young women.

Table 8.14: Current sources of information on contraception

Percentage of youth reporting awareness of contraceptives by current sources of information, according to residence

Current sources of information	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Family member other than spouse	3.3	31.7	5.1	36.4	2.6	26.1
Spouse/partner	1.5	26.3	7.3	47.2	0.2	0.1
Female friend/neighbour	2.0	40.5	1.0	43.1	2.2	37.6
Male friend/neighbour	73.1	0.7	76.9	0.6	72.0	0.8
Teacher/school/college	8.9	7.1	3.1	1.9	10.4	13.6
Health care provider	12.9	14.0	23.7	19.6	10.8	6.9
Mass media[1]	64.9	49.9	55.9	36.2	67.9	66.1
Poster/billboard	12.7	3.3	11.4	2.3	13.5	4.5
Youth/*mahila mandal*/NGO worker	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.9
Number aware of contraceptives	**13,579**	**29,596**	**7,807**	**13,530**	**10,930**	**16,066**
Urban						
Family member other than spouse	2.1	24.6	3.5	32.5	2.0	19.1
Spouse/partner	1.1	20.1	9.1	48.9	0.1	0.1
Female friend/neighbour	1.7	30.5	1.0	33.3	1.8	28.6
Male friend/neighbour	76.0	0.5	83.7	0.4	74.8	0.5
Teacher/school/college	10.7	10.5	4.8	3.3	11.6	15.5
Health care provider	7.5	13.9	16.9	24.2	6.3	6.8
Mass media[1]	76.0	75.0	70.3	62.3	77.2	83.8
Poster/billboard	18.1	5.8	18.3	4.4	18.4	6.8
Youth/*mahila mandal*/NGO worker	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.4	0.6	0.5
Number aware of contraceptives	**7,252**	**13,728**	**3,554**	**5,904**	**6,216**	**7,824**
Rural						
Family member other than spouse	3.8	34.8	5.7	37.5	3.0	30.4
Spouse/partner	1.7	29.1	6.7	46.7	0.3	0.1
Female friend/neighbour	2.1	44.9	1.0	46.0	2.5	43.0
Male friend/neighbour	71.8	0.8	74.7	0.6	70.6	1.0
Teacher/school/college	8.1	5.6	2.6	1.5	9.9	12.4
Health care provider	15.3	14.0	25.9	18.3	13.1	6.9
Mass media[1]	59.9	38.8	51.2	28.6	63.1	55.4
Poster/billboard	10.2	2.2	9.2	1.6	10.9	3.0
Youth/*mahila mandal*/NGO worker	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.7	1.0	1.1
Number aware of contraceptives	**6,327**	**15,868**	**4,253**	**7,626**	**4,714**	**8,242**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to multiple responses. [1]*Includes newspapers, books/magazines, radio/television and the internet.*

In short, health care providers, teachers and family members in the case of young men—often assumed to be more reliable sources of information than peers and the media—were infrequently cited as sources of information on these sensitive topics by young people.

8.4 Perceptions and experience of family life or sex education

In the Youth Study, we asked respondents about their views on the importance of imparting family life or sex education to youth, the ideal age at which youth should receive information about sexual matters and the best person to provide that information. We also asked youth whether they had received formal family life or sex education and if so, the source of this education and their opinion about its quality.

Table 8.15 presents findings on young people's perceptions of family life or sex education. About four-fifths of youth (83% of young men and 78% of young women) felt that it is important to impart family life or sex education to youth. Differences by marital status were narrow; slightly larger proportions of unmarried youth than the married reported so (84% versus 80% among young men, and 81% versus 76% among young women). Urban youth were more likely than their rural counterparts to report this perception (89% versus 80% among young men, and 85% versus 75% among young women), and these differences were observed among both the married and the unmarried.

More than two-fifths of youth who perceived family life or sex education to be important for young people reported that such education should be provided to young people between 15 and 17 years of age. Young women were more likely than young men (26% versus 15%) to believe that information on sexual matters should be provided from an earlier age, that is, before age 15. Conversely, fewer young women than young men (26% versus 35%) believed that this information should be provided to youth at age 18 or later. By and large, differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow.

In terms of youth perceptions about the best person to impart education on sex or family life matters, young men and women revealed fairly different preferences. As shown in Table 8.15, among young men who perceived family life or sex education to be important, 45% preferred teachers as the key source for such education; other preferred sources, mentioned by far fewer young men, were friends (21%), and health care providers and other professionals (23%). In contrast, among young women, the most commonly cited preferred sources were parents (34%); as in the case of young men, other leading persons included teachers (27%), health care providers and other professionals (15%) and friends (11%).

Differences by marital status were, by and large, modest, except that more unmarried than married youth considered teachers best equipped to provide family life or sex education (48% versus 37% among young men; 35% versus 20% among young women), somewhat more married young men than the unmarried considered health care providers and other professionals as the best person to provide such education (27% versus 22%) and somewhat more married than unmarried young women considered parents best suited for providing such education (37% versus 30%). Rural-urban differences were negligible, except that more urban than rural youth reported that teachers were best equipped to provide family life or sex education (54% versus 41% among young men; 36% versus 23% among young women), and slightly more rural than urban young men cited friends (23% and 18%, respectively) and health care providers (25% and 20%, respectively).

Table 8.16 presents the percentages of youth in each state who perceived family life or sex education to be important, and their perceptions of the best person to provide this education. The majority of youth in each state favoured the provision of sex education to young people. Most in favour of the provision of such education were young men and women from Maharashtra (93% and 87%, respectively) and least likely to favour such education were young men from Rajasthan (66%) and young women from Jharkhand (63%).

There was remarkable state-wise consistency in perceptions of young men about the best person to provide such education. Among young men, teachers—cited by 29–57% in the six states, followed by health care providers and

Table 8.15: Perceptions about family life or sex education

Percentage of youth by perceptions about family life or sex education, according to residence

Perceptions	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Perceived family life/sex education to be important	82.5	78.1	79.5	75.5	83.7	81.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Perceived that family life/sex education should be provided at age (years):						
Below 12	2.8	2.6	3.3	3.2	2.7	2.1
12–14	12.1	23.6	10.7	22.6	12.6	24.7
15–17	47.5	42.6	41.7	41.5	48.7	43.7
18 or above	35.4	25.5	41.4	25.6	34.3	25.2
Don't know	2.2	5.6	3.0	7.0	1.7	4.2
Perceived that the best person to provide family life/sex education was:						
Parent	5.9	33.8	7.4	36.7	5.7	30.4
Sibling/sister-in-law	0.4	5.6	0.4	6.5	0.4	4.8
Spouse/partner	0.2	2.4	0.3	4.2	0.2	0.3
Teacher	44.8	27.3	36.7	20.2	47.7	34.9
Friend	21.2	11.4	23.7	11.6	20.2	11.3
Health care provider/expert	23.2	14.5	27.1	14.7	21.9	14.2
Youth club/*mandal*/NGO worker	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.3	1.0	0.4
Don't know	3.0	4.4	2.9	5.4	2.7	3.4
Number who perceived family life/sex education to be important	**11,639**	**24,601**	**6,291**	**10,496**	**9,557**	**14,162**
Urban						
Perceived family life/sex education to be important	88.6	84.5	86.6	82.7	89.1	85.6
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Perceived that family life/sex education should be provided at age (years):						
Below 12	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.4
12–14	11.0	24.7	10.4	24.0	11.2	25.2
15–17	50.0	44.2	44.6	42.7	50.7	45.2
18 or above	36.0	27.4	41.8	29.0	35.3	26.3
Don't know	1.4	2.1	1.6	2.5	1.3	1.8
Perceived that the best person to provide family life/sex education was:						
Parent	5.2	32.7	6.4	35.0	4.9	31.1
Sibling/sister-in-law	0.2	3.2	0.2	3.7	0.2	2.9
Spouse/partner	0.1	1.0	0.2	2.1	0.1	0.2
Teacher	54.0	36.1	45.9	29.8	55.5	40.3
Friend	18.1	10.0	19.8	10.8	18.0	9.5
Health care provider/expert	20.1	14.4	26.0	15.3	18.9	13.8
Youth club/*mandal*/NGO worker	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.8	0.5
Don't know	1.4	1.9	1.1	2.5	1.3	1.5
Number who perceived family life/sex education to be important	**6,428**	**11,904**	**2,986**	**4,923**	**5,584**	**6,981**

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Table 8.15: (Cont'd)

Perceptions	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Perceived family life/sex education to be important	79.9	75.4	77.3	73.4	81.0	78.4
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Perceived that family life/sex education should be provided at age (years):						
Below 12	3.3	3.2	3.9	3.6	3.3	2.5
12–14	12.6	23.1	10.8	22.2	13.4	24.5
15–17	46.3	41.8	40.6	41.2	47.6	42.8
18 or above	35.1	24.6	41.2	24.6	33.8	24.6
Don't know	2.6	7.3	3.5	8.4	2.0	5.7
Perceived that the best person to provide family life/sex education was:						
Parent	6.3	34.3	7.8	37.3	6.1	30.0
Sibling/sister-in-law	0.5	6.8	0.5	7.4	0.5	5.9
Spouse/partner	0.3	3.0	0.4	4.9	0.3	0.4
Teacher	40.5	23.2	33.5	17.2	43.4	31.8
Friend	22.6	12.1	25.0	11.9	21.4	12.3
Health care provider/expert	24.7	14.5	27.5	14.6	23.5	14.3
Youth club/*mandal*/NGO worker	1.0	0.3	1.1	0.3	1.1	0.4
Don't know	3.7	5.6	3.5	6.3	3.5	4.6
Number who perceived family life/sex education to be important	**5,210**	**12,694**	**3,304**	**5,573**	**3,973**	**7,121**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

other professionals (12–32%) were considered to be best equipped to provide sex education; parents were mentioned only by small minorities in each state (2–11%). There was less state-wise consistency in the perceptions of young women. For example, percentages perceiving a parent to be the best person to provide this information ranged from a high of 52 in Rajasthan to just 12 in Tamil Nadu, with 31–39% of those in the remaining states so reporting. In contrast, teachers were cited as the best person to provide this education by half of young women in Tamil Nadu (49%), two-fifths of those in Maharashtra (39%) and one quarter of those from Andhra Pradesh (25%), compared to 7–18% of those in the northern states. Indeed, parents were the most preferred source for sex education in four of the six states (Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh); teachers were preferred in the remaining two states (Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu). In contrast, health care providers were perceived by relatively fewer young women in each state as best equipped to provide family life or sex education. Also notable is that in each state, young women were far more likely than young men to perceive parents as best equipped.

Few youth—just 15%—reported that they had received family life or sex education in school or through special programmes sponsored by the government or NGOs, as seen in Table 8.17. Marital status differences suggest that the unmarried were considerably more likely than the married to have received such education (17% versus 8% among young men; 23% versus 7% among young women). Rural-urban differentials were not observed among young men; among young women, twice as many urban as rural young women had received family life or sex education (23% and 11%, respectively).

The large majority of youth who had received family life or sex education had done so in school or college (80% of young men and 88% of young women). The married, however, were considerably less likely than the unmarried

to have done so—indeed, one-quarter of married young men (26%) and one-fifth of married young women (21%) had attended government sponsored programmes or camps (compared to 8–15% of unmarried youth). Although youth in both rural and urban areas were most likely to have obtained family life or sex education in school or college, rural-urban differences were evident, with fewer rural youth so reporting (77–82% versus 86–94% in urban areas), and considerably more rural than urban youth obtaining this education through government programmes and camps (16–19% versus 7–10%).

Of those who reported having received formal family life or sex education, the majority felt that it had answered many of their questions (87–90%), and that teachers or trainers had explained matters well (90–91%). Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents were mild. Despite the fact that youth gave a generally positive assessment of the education they had received, one-fifth of young men (21%) and almost two-fifths of young women (37%) reported feeling uncomfortable or embarrassed while receiving family life or sex education, raising questions about the extent to which they were indeed able to participate freely and clarify doubts. Differences by marital status were muted. However, while young women in rural areas were about as likely as their urban counterparts to report discomfort (37% versus 36%), young men in rural areas were considerably more likely than their urban counterparts to report discomfort (24% versus 17%).

Table 8.16: Perceptions about family life or sex education by state

Percentage of youth by perceptions about family life or sex education by state, according to residence

State	Men, 15-24			
	Perceived family life/ sex education to be important	Best person to provide family life/sex education[1]:		
		Parent	Teacher	Health care provider
Combined				
Bihar	81.3	11.2	29.1	22.3
Jharkhand	72.7	9.2	38.5	25.1
Rajasthan	65.9	10.0	56.9	12.3
Maharashtra	92.9	4.4	49.8	32.1
Andhra Pradesh	87.9	2.9	44.8	21.6
Tamil Nadu	80.9	1.9	49.4	16.2
Total	**82.5**	**5.9**	**44.8**	**23.2**
Urban				
Bihar	87.9	15.8	32.0	17.4
Jharkhand	84.6	11.9	40.9	23.1
Rajasthan	70.9	11.9	62.0	8.8
Maharashtra	96.7	3.4	60.5	27.2
Andhra Pradesh	91.8	4.0	47.5	16.3
Tamil Nadu	82.7	1.5	53.7	14.1
Total	**88.6**	**5.2**	**54.0**	**20.1**
Rural				
Bihar	80.2	10.4	28.5	23.1
Jharkhand	68.2	8.0	37.3	26.2
Rajasthan	64.1	9.3	55.1	13.5
Maharashtra	89.8	5.1	40.7	36.4
Andhra Pradesh	86.4	2.4	43.7	23.8
Tamil Nadu	79.6	2.3	46.0	17.9
Total	**79.9**	**6.3**	**40.5**	**24.7**

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Table 8.16: (Cont'd)

State	Women, 15-24			
	Perceived family life/ sex education to be important	Best person to provide family life/sex education[1]:		
		Parent	Teacher	Health care provider
Combined				
Bihar	76.8	34.1	7.3	9.0
Jharkhand	62.5	37.8	17.9	13.4
Rajasthan	80.7	52.1	17.6	5.3
Maharashtra	86.6	30.8	39.3	22.9
Andhra Pradesh	79.2	38.8	25.3	12.2
Tamil Nadu	71.1	12.4	48.9	18.9
Total	**78.1**	**33.8**	**27.3**	**14.5**
Urban				
Bihar	89.3	42.7	9.5	8.6
Jharkhand	84.6	44.6	19.2	10.7
Rajasthan	89.0	54.3	18.9	5.2
Maharashtra	91.4	30.6	45.5	19.9
Andhra Pradesh	83.1	39.0	29.2	8.6
Tamil Nadu	72.9	13.7	47.6	17.6
Total	**84.5**	**32.7**	**36.1**	**14.4**
Rural				
Bihar	75.2	32.8	7.0	9.1
Jharkhand	54.8	34.1	17.2	14.8
Rajasthan	77.7	51.1	17.1	5.4
Maharashtra	82.9	30.9	34.1	25.4
Andhra Pradesh	77.5	38.7	23.6	13.9
Tamil Nadu	69.7	11.3	49.9	19.9
Total	**75.4**	**34.3**	**23.2**	**14.5**

Note: [1]Of those who perceived family life or sex education to be important.

Table 8.17: Experiences of family life or sex education

Percentage of youth by experiences of family life or sex education, according to residence

Experiences	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Received formal family life/sex education	15.3	14.6	7.8	7.3	17.4	23.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Source of family life/sex education						
NGO programme/camp	6.4	5.1	13.6	8.9	6.1	3.7
Government programme/camp	16.3	11.8	26.2	21.2	15.3	8.3
School/college	80.0	87.9	64.5	77.1	81.6	91.8
Opinion about family life/sex education received						
It answered many queries	87.4	90.0	89.7	91.7	87.1	89.3
Teacher/trainer explained well	89.8	91.2	84.8	91.0	89.6	91.3
Respondent felt embarrassed	21.3	36.6	19.3	36.7	21.1	36.6
Number who received family life/sex education	**2,061**	**4,219**	**651**	**968**	**1,884**	**3,251**

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Table 8.17: (Cont'd)

Experiences	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Received formal family life/sex education	16.6	23.0	9.8	13.2	17.9	29.7
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Source of family life/sex education						
NGO programme/camp	5.9	2.5	15.8	4.0	5.1	2.0
Government programme/camp	10.2	7.4	18.4	12.3	10.0	6.0
School/college	86.4	94.2	68.4	90.6	87.4	95.3
Opinion about family life/sex education received						
It answered many queries	89.4	90.3	89.4	92.6	89.7	89.7
Teacher/trainer explained well	89.3	91.8	84.7	92.1	89.4	91.7
Respondent felt embarrassed	16.6	35.7	15.3	37.4	17.1	35.2
Number who received family life/sex education	**1,121**	**2,357**	**328**	**542**	**1,051**	**1,815**
Rural						
Received formal family life/sex education	14.7	11.1	7.2	5.7	17.1	19.3
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Source of family life/sex education						
NGO programme/camp	6.7	7.3	12.6	12.2	6.6	5.1
Government programme/camp	19.4	15.5	29.5	27.0	17.9	10.4
School/college	76.8	82.4	62.8	68.4	78.5	88.8
Opinion about family life/sex education received						
It answered many queries	86.5	89.7	89.9	91.2	85.8	88.9
Teacher/trainer explained well	90.0	90.7	84.9	90.2	89.7	90.8
Respondent felt embarrassed	23.7	37.4	21.2	36.2	23.2	37.9
Number who received family life/sex education	**940**	**1,862**	**323**	**426**	**833**	**1,436**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Table 8.18 displays the percentages of young men and women in each state who had received family life or sex education. In the northern states, ten percent or fewer young men and five percent or fewer young women had received such education. In the remaining three states, somewhat more youth had received such education (13–33% of young men and 17–26% of young women). These state-wise patterns were evident in both urban and rural areas.

Figure 8.6 compares the extent to which those who had received family life or sex education differed in terms of correct knowledge of selected sexual and reproductive health matters with those who had not (see Sections 8.1.1, 8.1.3 and 8.1.8 for details of items considered in each summary measure). Findings suggest that youth who had received family life or sex education were more likely than those who had not to report in-depth awareness of contraception, comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS, and awareness that a woman can become pregnant at first sex.

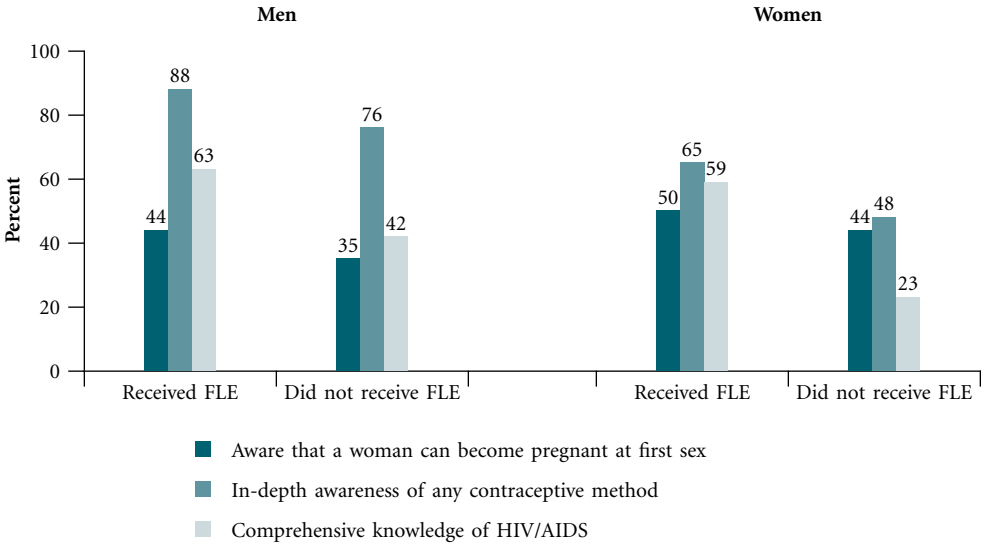
Table 8.18: Experiences of family life or sex education by state

Percentage of youth who had received formal family life or sex education by state, according to residence

State	Men 15–24	Women 15–24	Men 15–24	Women 15–24	Men 15–24	Women 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Bihar	7.2	2.5	10.8	8.5	6.6	1.7
Jharkhand	9.7	4.7	12.1	11.1	8.8	2.4
Rajasthan	3.2	3.2	3.1	6.9	3.2	1.9
Maharashtra	13.2	25.8	13.4	33.3	13.0	20.0
Andhra Pradesh	33.4	23.5	30.9	28.8	34.4	21.3
Tamil Nadu	21.4	17.0	21.8	18.1	21.1	16.1
Total	**15.3**	**14.6**	**16.6**	**23.0**	**14.7**	**11.1**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**6,798**	**17,298**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Figure 8.6: Percentage of youth reporting knowledge of selected sexual and reproductive health matters according to whether they had or had not received family life or sex education



Note: FLE: Family life or sex education.

8.5 Summary

Findings presented in this chapter underscore young people's limited awareness of most sexual and reproductive matters, ranging from how pregnancy occurs to contraception, HIV and safe sex practices. For example, just 37% of young men and 45% of young women were aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex, and 19% and 15%, respectively, of young men and women reported awareness of STIs other than HIV. Although awareness of HIV/AIDS was reported by the majority of young men and women, it was not universal, especially among young women (reported by 91% and 73% of young men and women, respectively). Likewise, although knowledge of the

legal minimum age at marriage was reported by large proportions of youth, three of ten young men and four of ten young women did not know that 18 years is the legal minimum age at marriage for females.

While most youth had heard of contraception and HIV/AIDS, in-depth awareness was limited. For example, 95% of young men and women had heard of at least one modern method of contraception. However, correct knowledge of even one modern non-terminal method such as the condom, the IUD, oral contraceptives and emergency contraception was reported by considerably fewer: 78% of young men and 49% of young women. Likewise, while 91% of young men and 73% of young women had heard about HIV/AIDS, just 45% of young men and 28% of young women had comprehensive awareness of HIV. Findings of considerable gender difference in comprehensive awareness about contraception and HIV/AIDS raise concerns about the vulnerability of young women.

Youth had few sources of information on sex and reproduction. Indeed, almost half of young women and one-sixth of young men reported that they had never received any information on sexual matters (prior to marriage among the married).

Leading sources of information on sexual matters were friends and the media for both young men and women. In contrast, just 10% of young men and women cited teachers and 3–7% cited health care providers as a source of information; just 2% and 9% of young men and women, respectively, cited a family member. Among the leading current sources of information on contraception among young people who were aware of at least one method were similarly, peers and the media, and, among young women, family members. Again, teachers and health care providers were relatively infrequently reported as such: Just 13–14% of young men and women had obtained this information from a health care provider and 7–9% from a teacher. In short, health care providers, teachers and family members—often assumed to be more reliable sources of information than peers or the media—were infrequently and inconsistently cited by young people as sources of information on sensitive topics such as sexual matters and contraception.

Few youth—just 15%—had attended family life or sex education programmes either in or outside the school setting. Indeed, even among the unmarried, just 17% of young men and 23% of young women reported exposure to family life or sex education. Further, although most (87–90%) reported that many of their questions had been answered, one-fifth of young men (21%) and almost two-fifths of young women (37%) reported feelings of discomfort or embarrassment while receiving such education, raising questions about the extent to which they were indeed able to participate freely and clarify doubts. Despite this, youth were overwhelmingly in favour of the provision of family life or sex education to young people (83% of young men and 78% of young women); typically, young men preferred to receive this education from a teacher, while young women preferred to obtain it from either a family member or a teacher. Findings suggest, moreover, that youth who had undergone family life or sex education were indeed more knowledgeable about sexual and reproductive matters than those not exposed to it.

Finally, a regional pattern was not apparent with respect to young people's levels of awareness about such matters as correct specific knowledge of modern contraceptive methods, the legal minimum age at marriage, and perceptions about the condom. However, youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were, by and large, more likely to report awareness of such matters as medical abortion, the fact that sex selective abortion is illegal, STIs other than HIV/AIDS and comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS. They were, moreover, more likely to have received family life or sex education.

Chapter 9

Pre-marital romantic and sexual relationships

While evidence is sparse, several studies have noted that despite socio-cultural taboos, youth in India do find opportunities to mix and form romantic relationships, and to engage in pre-marital sex with a range of partners and in a variety of situations (Abraham, 2001; 2002; Abraham and Kumar, 1999; Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b; Awasthi, Nichter and Pande, 2000). This chapter begins by describing the development of questions intended to capture these youth relationships. The chapter then explores young people's attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sex, and the extent and nature of their pre-marital romantic experiences, followed by a description of their pre-marital sexual experiences, including those within romantic partnerships and other situations. Finally, the chapter compares reports of pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences derived using three different methodological approaches, that is, face-to-face interviews, anonymous reporting of respondents' own experiences using a sealed envelope and anonymous third-party reporting of the experiences of respondents' friends.

9.1 Development of the questionnaire module on pre-marital romantic and sexual relationships

In view of the fact that social norms prohibiting pre-marital opposite-sex mixing may result in serious under-reporting of romantic and sexual relationships by youth, the Youth Study initiated the development of this module with a series of focus group discussions among married and unmarried young men and women in each state. In the course of these focus group discussions, youth confirmed that romantic relationships were indeed formed, and mapped a range of places in which they met their romantic partners secretly. They also listed the vocabulary used by youth to describe their romantic relationships, including the commonly used term "to give a proposal" to describe the act of conveying romantic intentions to opposite-sex individuals.

Building on these insights, a romantic relationship was defined as one comprising a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship (worded culturally appropriately) in which an emotional, physical or sexual relationship was experienced; one in which a "proposal" had been made or received and accepted, or one in which the couple spent time together alone and secretly. Correspondingly, all respondents were asked questions on whether or not they had ever had a boy- or girl-friend; whether they had "proposed" to anyone of the opposite sex or someone of the opposite sex had "proposed" to them and the "proposal" was accepted, and whether they had spent time alone and secretly with an opposite-sex person. Youth who reported any of the above experiences were considered to have experienced a romantic relationship. We note that our definition of romantic relationships precluded the possibility of reporting same-sex romantic relationships.

All respondents who had reported a romantic partner were then probed regarding the nature of the relationship and the extent of physical contact experienced in the relationship. Questions probing respondents' experience with physical intimacy were posed on a continuum, starting with hand-holding and extending to sexual relations. Thus, the instrument sought to ask potentially sensitive or embarrassing questions in a gradual way, thereby also enabling the interviewer to build rapport with the respondent. Detailed questions concerning the nature of the relationship were asked with reference to the first romantic partner as well as the most recent, if more than one was reported.

Pre-survey focus group discussions also probed the nature of situations in which sex was experienced. Participants discussed an array of partners with whom youth engaged in sexual relations, including romantic and casual,

heterosexual and homosexual, sex workers and older married women. Situations of forced and exchange sex were also discussed. Our survey, correspondingly, inquired about each of these different types of relationships after we had obtained detailed information on the nature of relationships with romantic partners.

Additionally, recognising the reluctance of youth to disclose sexual experiences in a survey situation, at the conclusion of the interview, all respondents were asked a single question: [*"Have you ever had sex with anyone?" (for the unmarried)/"Did you ever have sex with anyone before marriage?" (for the married)*], and asked to mark a blank card with a "✓" or a "**X**," place the card in an envelope, seal it and return it to the interviewer. Respondents were informed that the envelope would not be opened in the field, and that only the principal investigators would be able to link the information provided in the envelope with what was provided in the main body of the questionnaire.

We also recognised that despite significant rapport building and a well-developed sequence of questions eliciting sexual behaviours, young people may not have wished to disclose sexual activity in either of the above formats. Other researchers have observed that respondents may be more forthcoming about reporting sensitive behaviours among their peer networks than about themselves and that responses relating to the peer network correspond closely to their own experiences (Rossier, 2003). Hence the Youth Study incorporated anonymous third-party reporting questions, in which respondents reported the romantic and sexual experiences of up to five same-sex peers.

In addition, efforts were made to ensure that youth were comfortable revealing sensitive behaviours. Interviewers were young and trained to build rapport, discuss sensitive experiences in empathetic and matter-of-fact ways and generally make respondents feel comfortable about the topics to be discussed during the interview. As far as possible, interviews were held at times and places that assured the respondent maximum confidentiality. In cases in which family members attempted to participate in or overhear the interview, another interviewer was called upon to conduct an informal discussion or interview with other family members so as to ensure privacy for the respondent's interview. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that ensuring privacy may have been a problem, especially in low-income urban settings characterised by cramped housing conditions, or that some youth may not have felt entirely at ease despite the extensive efforts made to ensure confidentiality. While findings are indeed in line with those observed in other small-scale and less representative studies (see Jejeebhoy and Sebastian, 2004 for a review), we acknowledge that romantic and sexual experiences may have been under-reported in the survey, notably by young women, and suggest that percentages presented here may be interpreted as conservative estimates.

9.2 Attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual relations

The Youth Study included a number of questions to assess young people's attitudes regarding the acceptability of pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual activity. Findings, presented in Table 9.1, suggest that young people's attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sex were generally negative; that is, most disapproved of kissing a partner before marriage, and agreed that a young person's future—and particularly a girl's future—would be ruined if he or she had sex before marriage. Even so, notable proportions of young men and women considered pre-marital kissing and sexual activity acceptable, and among them, more young men than women so reported. For example, 29% of young men compared to 11% of young women felt that it is all right for an unmarried boy and girl to kiss each other; almost one-third of young men and women condoned pre-marital sexual activity among young men; and far fewer—13% of young men and 4% of young women—considered such behaviour acceptable among young women. It is notable that of the three situations, the largest proportions of young men and women disapproved of pre-marital sex among girls.

Differences by marital status of the respondent were negligible, so were rural-urban differences among young women. Among young men, those in urban areas reported more liberal attitudes to pre-marital physical intimacy and pre-marital sexual activity than those in rural areas. For example, 35–36% of urban young men compared to 25–28% of rural young men expressed the view that it is all right for a boy and girl to kiss each other before marriage, and that a boy's future would not be ruined if he has pre-marital sex. Differences were mild with regard to the acceptability of pre-marital sexual activity among young women.

Table 9.1: Attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual relations

Percent distribution of youth by attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual relations, according to residence

Attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Kissing before marriage is all right						
Agree	28.5	10.6	24.5	9.3	29.4	12.0
Disagree	66.7	88.0	71.4	89.4	65.7	86.3
A boy's future would be ruined if he has sex before marriage						
Agree	64.1	68.8	65.5	67.9	64.3	69.7
Disagree	30.4	28.5	29.9	29.7	30.4	27.0
A girl's future would be ruined if she has sex before marriage						
Agree	82.2	94.2	84.4	95.0	82.1	93.2
Disagree	12.9	4.4	11.5	3.9	13.0	5.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Kissing before marriage is all right						
Agree	35.8	13.4	32.5	11.6	36.5	14.6
Disagree	60.5	85.7	65.2	87.7	59.7	84.3
A boy's future would be ruined if he has sex before marriage						
Agree	60.4	70.7	61.6	70.5	60.4	70.8
Disagree	35.4	27.6	35.6	28.2	35.4	27.3
A girl's future would be ruined if she has sex before marriage						
Agree	80.8	95.0	83.6	96.0	80.7	94.3
Disagree	15.4	4.2	13.8	3.4	15.4	4.8
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Kissing before marriage is all right						
Agree	25.3	9.4	22.0	8.6	25.9	10.6
Disagree	69.4	88.9	73.3	89.9	68.7	87.4
A boy's future would be ruined if he has sex before marriage						
Agree	65.7	68.0	66.7	67.2	66.2	69.2
Disagree	28.2	28.8	28.2	30.1	27.9	26.9
A girl's future would be ruined if she has sex before marriage						
Agree	82.8	93.9	84.7	94.7	82.9	92.6
Disagree	11.8	4.5	10.9	4.1	11.8	5.2
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "can't say" responses.

9.3 Pre-marital romantic relationships

In this section, we present findings on the prevalence of pre-marital opposite-sex romantic relationships among youth and a profile of those who engaged in such relationships. The section also describes parent and peer awareness of pre-marital romantic relationships, youth intentions regarding marriage with their romantic partners and the extent of physical contact experienced in these relationships.

9.3.1 Prevalence of pre-marital romantic relationships

Despite the fact that youth tended to report relatively traditional attitudes, opportunities to form romantic relationships did exist for some of them, irrespective of rural-urban residence or sex. As shown in Table 9.2, several youth—23% of young men and 21% of young women—had either made a romantic "proposal" to an opposite-sex individual or had received such a "proposal". Very few young women reported "proposing" to a man (2%); among young men, however, almost as many reported making a "proposal" as receiving one (13% and 14%, respectively) (not shown in tabular form), suggesting the possibility that young men may have exaggerated the extent of their interaction with women, or young women may have concealed behaviour that may be considered socially unacceptable.

Patterns of experience in initiating pre-marital romantic relationships by marital status indicate that while unmarried young men were as likely as the married to have made or received a "proposal" (22–23%), more unmarried than married young women so reported (25% versus 18%), a difference attributable perhaps to the limited number of years young women had spent prior to marriage as an adolescent. Rural-urban differences were negligible among young men, but among young women, larger percentages of those in urban areas compared to their rural counterparts had made or received a "proposal" (30% versus 18%).

"Proposals" were often conveyed through an intermediary—a friend, relative or sibling. Indeed, 7% of young men and women reported that the "proposal" was conveyed through a mediator. This corresponds to more than one-quarter of young men and one-third of young women who had ever made or received a "proposal" (not shown in tabular form). Differences by marital status were negligible. Rural-urban differences were typically wider, particularly among young men; larger proportions of rural than urban youth reported having used an intermediary to make or receive a "proposal" (31% and 36% of young men and women, respectively, who had made or received a "proposal" in rural areas, compared to 24% and 32%, respectively, of those in urban areas, not shown in tabular form).

Compared to those who had made or received "proposals," fewer youth, particularly young women, reported the acceptance of such a "proposal". One-sixth of young men (17%) and almost one-tenth of young women (9%) reported that they had accepted a "proposal" or that their own "proposal" had been accepted. A somewhat equal percentage reported that they had met an opposite-sex individual secretly.

In total, in response to the direct or indirect questions, 19% of young men and 9% of young women acknowledged the experience of a romantic partnership. Few youth reported more than a single romantic partner—just 4% of young men and 0.3% of young women. Differences by marital status were muted, so were rural-urban differences. Even so, somewhat more married women in urban than rural areas reported the experience of a romantic partnership (14% versus 8%).

Table 9.3 presents the percentage of youth reporting pre-marital romantic relationships by background characteristics. We note that such characteristics as work status and household economic status reflect the situation of youth at the time of the interview, and not necessarily at the time when romantic relationships were formed. Age profiles indicate a positive association between age and the formation of romantic relationships among young men, irrespective of rural-urban residence; when analysed separately for the married and the unmarried, a similar pattern was observed among the unmarried but not among the married. Among young women, in contrast, age was not related to the formation of romantic relationships, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Table 9.2: Pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by relationship characteristics, according to residence

Characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
"Proposals" made/received and accepted						
Made or received a "proposal"	22.9	21.4	22.2	18.1	22.7	25.1
Made or received a "proposal" through a mediator	6.6	7.4	5.5	6.3	6.6	8.5
Accepted a "proposal"/"proposal" was accepted	17.2	8.5	17.7	8.6	16.7	8.4
Secret meetings with an opposite-sex individual						
Met secretly in any of five selected places[1]	17.4	7.8	17.8	8.0	16.9	7.6
Reported romantic relationships in one of the above or in direct question[2]						
Reported a romantic partner	18.7	9.0	18.9	8.9	18.3	9.1
Reported more than one romantic partner	4.0	0.3	3.3	0.3	4.1	0.4
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
"Proposals" made/received and accepted						
Made or received a "proposal"	22.6	30.1	23.4	28.0	22.3	31.6
Made or received a "proposal" through a mediator	5.5	9.7	4.8	9.7	5.6	9.6
Accepted a "proposal"/"proposal" was accepted	15.5	10.5	18.1	13.6	15.0	8.3
Secret meetings with an opposite-sex individual						
Met secretly in any of five selected places[1]	15.5	9.7	17.7	12.6	15.0	7.7
Reported romantic relationships in one of the above or in direct question[2]						
Reported a romantic partner	17.1	10.9	19.0	13.9	16.6	8.8
Reported more than one romantic partner	3.1	0.2	3.0	0.3	3.1	0.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
"Proposals" made/received and accepted						
Made or received a "proposal"	23.0	17.8	21.8	15.3	22.9	21.6
Made or received a "proposal" through a mediator	7.1	6.4	5.8	5.4	7.2	7.9
Accepted a "proposal"/"proposal" was accepted	17.9	7.7	17.5	7.2	17.5	8.4
Secret meetings with an opposite-sex individual						
Met secretly in any of five selected places[1]	18.3	7.0	17.8	6.7	17.8	7.6
Reported romantic relationships in one of the above or in direct question[2]						
Reported a romantic partner	19.4	8.2	18.8	7.5	19.1	9.2
Reported more than one romantic partner	4.4	0.4	3.4	0.3	4.6	0.5
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Behind or around a temple/mosque/church; around a school/college; at own or someone else's home in the absence of parents; in fields/grazing areas (rural) and restaurants (urban); or in a garden/park/maidan/market or haat. [2]Respondents were asked a direct question on whether or not they had ever had a boyfriend/girlfriend.

Differentials by religion suggest that Hindu and Muslim youth were considerably less likely than those belonging to other religions to report a pre-marital romantic relationship, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence. Caste-wise differences indicate that youth belonging to general castes and other backward castes were less likely than others to report a pre-marital romantic relationship, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Findings also show a positive association between schooling and the formation of romantic relationships, perhaps a consequence of the greater opportunities for mobility and social mixing offered by schooling. For example, the percentage of young men who reported a romantic partner increased from 11% among those without formal schooling to 24% among those who had completed 12 or more years of schooling; among young women, the corresponding percentages were 5 and 13, respectively. This pattern was consistently observed in all groups, except among urban young women.

Differences by work status indicate a positive association between work and the formation of romantic relationships among young men, irrespective of rural-urban residence; when analysed separately for the married and the unmarried, a similar pattern was observed among the unmarried but not among the married. Among young women, in contrast, work was not related to the formation of romantic relationships, irrespective of marital status. In urban areas, however, a positive association was evident among both married and unmarried young women.

Differentials by household economic status were narrow, irrespective of sex and marital status. In urban areas, however, the formation of romantic relationships was found to be inversely associated with household economic status; typically, those in the poorest (first) quintile were more likely than those in other quintiles to report a pre-marital romantic relationship. No such association was evident among rural youth.

State-specific data suggest no regional divide; even so, while one-tenth of young men in Rajasthan reported a pre-marital romantic partner, as many as one in six in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh and over one in five in the remaining three states so reported. Similarly, 5–7% of young women in Bihar, Rajasthan and Maharashtra reported a pre-marital romantic partner, as many as one in ten in Andhra Pradesh and one in seven in Jharkhand and Tamil Nadu so reported.

9.3.2 Characteristics of pre-marital romantic relationships

Selected characteristics of pre-marital romantic relationships are presented in Table 9.4; in cases in which more than one romantic partner was reported, only information relating to the respondent's first romantic relationship was included. Age at initiation of pre-marital romantic relationships was measured by the age at which youth first spent time alone with their partner.

Findings indicate that relationships were initiated at a young age for considerably large proportions of youth who had experienced pre-marital romantic relationships. Indeed, 26% of young men and 40% of young women reported that they had spent time alone with their first romantic partner at age 15 or below. Marital status differences were negligible; even so, somewhat more unmarried than married young men (25% versus 20%) and somewhat more married than unmarried young women (43% versus 37%) had initiated a romantic relationship at age 15 or below. Youth in rural areas were more likely than those in urban areas to have initiated a pre-marital romantic relationship at age 15 or below (29% compared to 17% among young men, and 46% compared to 31% among young women). The median age of respondents when they first spent time alone with their pre-marital romantic partner was one year older among young men than among young women (17 years and 16 years, respectively), one year older among married than unmarried young men (18 years and 17 years, respectively), but identical among married and unmarried young women. Rural-urban differences were apparent among young men, with rural young men initiating their romantic relationship one year earlier than urban young men. Information on the relative age of reported partners suggests that male partners were, for the most part, older than female partners. For example, 70% of young men reported a female partner who was younger than they were, while 87% of young women reported a male partner who was older than they were. Overwhelmingly, the partner was unmarried.

Table 9.3: Prevalence of pre-marital romantic relationships by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	14.1	8.2	18.0	8.1	13.9	8.3
20–24	24.0	9.8	20.9	9.3	25.8	11.7
25–29	NA	NA	18.0	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	18.4	8.7	18.8	8.6	17.9	8.9
Muslim	15.8	6.3	14.0	6.4	15.9	6.2
Other[1]	30.8	16.1	31.4	18.6	29.9	14.3
Caste						
SC	23.8	11.9	23.6	12.3	23.0	11.5
ST/VJNT	24.5	15.1	22.8	14.5	25.1	16.2
OBC	16.6	7.4	16.9	7.2	16.4	7.6
General[2]	16.5	8.0	15.8	8.0	16.0	8.0
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	10.9	5.1	12.4	4.7	10.3	6.8
1–7	18.0	9.2	20.2	9.1	16.4	9.3
8–11	18.1	10.1	19.8	12.6	17.4	8.6
12 or more	24.4	12.6	22.1	16.8	24.2	10.9
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	21.1	9.7	19.0	8.4	21.2	11.6
No	13.7	8.5	17.6	9.4	13.6	7.5
Wealth quintile						
First	19.5	7.2	16.5	6.0	19.3	9.7
Second	18.5	8.6	19.5	8.3	17.2	9.1
Third	19.7	9.9	21.1	10.2	19.1	9.4
Fourth	18.2	9.6	19.3	10.5	18.3	8.7
Fifth	18.1	9.2	17.3	9.8	17.9	8.8
State						
Bihar	17.0	4.9	16.8	3.6	16.0	7.1
Jharkhand	22.2	14.3	22.4	12.7	21.2	16.3
Rajasthan	11.0	6.7	7.5	5.0	12.6	9.5
Maharashtra	22.8	7.0	21.9	6.7	22.1	7.1
Andhra Pradesh	17.4	10.5	20.5	10.7	16.3	10.1
Tamil Nadu	22.7	15.4	34.8	24.0	19.9	9.8
Total	**18.7**	**9.0**	**18.9**	**8.9**	**18.3**	**9.1**

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Table 9.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	12.1	8.8	16.7	13.5	12.0	7.9
20–24	21.8	12.9	20.4	14.0	22.2	10.8
25–29	NA	NA	18.6	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	16.4	10.8	19.3	13.7	16.0	8.8
Muslim	16.7	7.5	14.0	8.3	16.6	6.8
Other[1]	27.8	17.8	30.9	28.0	26.3	12.1
Caste						
SC	24.8	14.9	29.8	22.9	23.5	9.4
ST/VJNT	19.8	14.1	23.4	17.3	19.8	11.3
OBC	16.0	9.5	17.4	11.5	15.7	8.0
General[2]	14.3	10.0	14.1	11.4	14.1	9.2
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	12.5	10.9	14.5	11.7	11.1	8.2
1–7	17.8	12.8	19.3	14.0	16.4	11.0
8–11	15.4	9.5	18.8	13.4	14.8	7.4
12 or more	20.1	11.7	20.6	16.6	20.2	10.0
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	19.9	15.9	19.1	19.4	19.8	14.1
No	12.9	9.6	16.1	12.8	12.9	7.2
Wealth quintile						
First	22.3	15.8	17.3	18.8	23.5	12.5
Second	18.4	13.4	22.7	16.7	16.6	8.9
Third	17.7	12.9	20.7	16.5	16.7	9.5
Fourth	16.8	10.7	20.9	13.9	16.5	8.1
Fifth	16.6	9.6	16.1	11.3	16.5	8.8
State						
Bihar	21.1	9.3	19.6	9.2	20.5	9.5
Jharkhand	24.7	14.9	26.4	16.9	24.3	13.8
Rajasthan	11.8	8.5	7.5	6.3	12.5	10.5
Maharashtra	15.7	9.0	15.8	11.5	16.0	7.5
Andhra Pradesh	17.0	12.5	23.1	15.0	15.1	10.3
Tamil Nadu	20.0	12.8	29.3	21.5	17.6	7.8
Total	**17.1**	**10.9**	**19.0**	**13.9**	**16.6**	**8.8**

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Table 9.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	14.8	8.0	18.1	7.3	14.6	8.5
20–24	25.0	8.4	21.0	7.7	28.2	12.7
25–29	NA	NA	17.7	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	19.2	8.0	18.7	7.4	18.7	9.0
Muslim	14.9	5.4	14.0	5.3	15.3	5.6
Other[1]	32.4	15.1	31.9	14.3	32.2	15.9
Caste						
SC	23.4	10.8	22.1	9.6	22.8	12.6
ST/VJNT	25.3	15.4	22.7	14.0	26.2	17.4
OBC	16.9	6.6	16.7	6.1	16.8	7.3
General[2]	18.1	6.8	16.9	6.4	17.5	7.1
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	10.7	4.5	12.1	4.0	10.2	6.6
1–7	18.0	8.2	20.5	7.7	16.3	8.9
8–11	19.4	10.5	20.2	12.2	18.6	9.3
12 or more	28.2	13.8	23.1	16.9	28.1	12.2
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	21.5	8.6	18.9	7.3	21.9	10.9
No	14.1	7.8	17.8	7.8	14.0	7.8
Wealth quintile						
First	19.3	6.7	16.5	5.4	18.9	9.4
Second	18.6	8.1	19.2	7.4	17.3	9.2
Third	20.3	9.0	21.1	8.8	19.7	9.4
Fourth	19.0	8.9	18.6	8.7	19.5	9.0
Fifth	20.5	8.6	18.6	8.4	20.5	8.9
State						
Bihar	16.3	4.4	16.5	3.3	15.1	6.7
Jharkhand	21.2	14.1	21.7	11.9	19.8	17.6
Rajasthan	10.7	6.0	7.5	4.8	12.7	8.9
Maharashtra	28.5	5.4	26.3	4.0	27.1	6.7
Andhra Pradesh	17.5	9.6	19.8	9.5	16.8	9.9
Tamil Nadu	24.9	17.5	38.6	25.7	21.9	11.5
Total	**19.4**	**8.2**	**18.8**	**7.5**	**19.1**	**9.2**

Note: NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Table 9.4: Characteristics of pre-marital romantic relationships and partners

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by age at initiation of relationship, partner's socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and nature and duration of prior acquaintance, according to residence

Characteristics[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age when respondent first spent time alone with partner (years)						
15 or below	26.0	40.2	20.3	43.2	25.2	37.0
Median age when respondent first spent time alone with partner	17.0	16.0	18.0	16.0	17.0	16.0
Age of partner						
Younger than respondent	70.1	0.7	78.1	0.6	68.2	0.8
Same age as respondent	22.6	5.1	14.9	3.3	24.9	7.3
Older than respondent	5.6	86.5	4.8	87.7	5.7	84.9
Don't remember	1.7	7.7	2.1	8.4	1.2	7.0
Partner's marital status						
Unmarried	98.1	97.4	96.0	97.3	98.6	97.5
Married	1.8	2.5	3.4	2.7	1.4	2.3
Nature of prior acquaintance with first partner						
Relative	8.6	26.7	11.4	29.8	8.1	23.2
Fellow student/colleague	30.1	16.3	16.6	12.2	34.2	20.8
Neighbour/friend	33.0	32.6	38.8	34.1	31.6	30.9
Family friend	1.4	2.2	1.6	2.0	1.1	2.4
Person from outside village/neighbourhood	25.1	19.3	29.8	18.9	23.3	19.9
Other[2]	1.7	3.0	1.7	3.1	1.7	2.9
Duration of acquaintance						
Less than 1 month	4.4	5.2	4.7	5.8	3.9	4.3
1–11 months	9.8	11.6	10.9	10.4	9.0	13.1
12 months or more	64.3	59.4	56.6	56.9	66.2	62.1
Since childhood	21.5	23.9	27.9	26.9	20.9	20.5
Partner's religion						
Same as respondent	82.1	81.9	84.3	85.9	81.0	77.4
Different from respondent	17.5	17.6	15.3	14.1	18.7	21.6
Partner's caste						
Same as respondent	55.1	67.2	58.7	72.0	53.7	62.1
Different from respondent	44.2	31.9	40.6	27.7	45.8	36.5
Partner's socio-economic status						
Same as respondent	53.1	44.6	51.9	47.2	53.8	41.2
Better than respondent	31.2	40.9	30.3	36.7	31.0	46.1
Worse than respondent	14.2	12.9	16.5	15.3	13.7	10.2
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**2,692**	**3,269**	**1,636**	**1,547**	**2,092**	**1,722**

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Table 9.4: (Cont'd)

Characteristics[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age when respondent first spent time alone with partner (years)						
15 or below	17.2	30.6	9.3	33.1	17.7	27.9
Median age when respondent first spent time alone with partner	18.0	16.0	19.0	16.0	18.0	17.0
Age of partner						
Younger than respondent	70.1	1.0	81.7	0.9	67.8	0.9
Same age as respondent	24.2	5.1	13.1	2.8	26.4	7.6
Older than respondent	5.0	87.9	4.6	88.0	5.2	88.0
Don't remember	0.7	6.0	0.5	8.2	0.6	3.5
Partner's marital status						
Unmarried	98.5	98.6	96.4	98.6	98.9	98.9
Married	1.5	1.3	3.0	1.4	1.1	1.1
Nature of prior acquaintance with first partner						
Relative	7.6	21.7	12.1	23.6	6.9	19.7
Fellow student/colleague	35.7	20.3	20.3	13.8	40.1	27.3
Neighbour/friend	31.2	32.3	35.3	34.8	29.3	29.5
Family friend	0.9	3.4	2.5	4.2	0.5	2.4
Person from outside village/neighbourhood	22.2	17.7	27.9	19.9	21.0	15.5
Other[2]	2.3	4.5	1.9	3.7	2.3	5.5
Duration of acquaintance						
Less than 1 month	3.1	5.7	3.3	5.4	2.8	5.9
1–11 months	10.6	12.3	11.5	12.4	10.2	12.0
12 months or more	73.0	60.7	65.3	56.8	75.2	64.9
Since childhood	13.4	21.3	19.9	25.4	11.8	17.2
Partner's religion						
Same as respondent	79.1	75.7	83.1	78.2	77.9	72.9
Different from respondent	20.6	23.8	16.7	21.8	21.8	26.0
Partner's caste						
Same as respondent	45.2	57.8	53.6	64.2	43.6	51.0
Different from respondent	53.7	41.0	46.2	35.6	55.2	46.8
Partner's socio-economic status						
Same as respondent	59.4	49.6	57.1	52.6	59.4	46.4
Better than respondent	27.6	35.9	30.3	30.8	27.3	41.6
Worse than respondent	10.9	13.1	12.0	16.4	11.0	9.4
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,394**	**1,580**	**741**	**786**	**1,152**	**794**

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Table 9.4: (Cont'd)

Characteristics[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age when respondent first spent time alone with partner (years)						
15 or below	29.4	45.5	23.8	48.5	28.4	41.8
Median age when respondent first spent time alone with partner	17.0	16.0	17.0	15.0	17.0	16.0
Age of partner						
Younger than respondent	70.0	0.6	77.0	0.5	68.4	0.7
Same age as respondent	21.9	5.1	15.5	3.5	24.3	7.1
Older than respondent	5.9	85.7	4.9	87.5	5.9	83.5
Don't remember	2.1	8.6	2.6	8.4	1.4	8.8
Partner's marital status						
Unmarried	98.0	96.7	95.9	96.7	98.4	96.8
Married	1.9	3.2	3.5	3.3	1.6	2.8
Nature of prior acquaintance with first partner						
Relative	8.9	29.5	11.2	33.0	8.6	25.0
Fellow student/colleague	28.0	14.0	15.4	11.4	31.6	17.3
Neighbour/friend	33.8	32.7	40.0	33.6	32.7	31.6
Family friend	1.6	1.5	1.3	0.9	1.4	2.4
Person from outside village/neighbourhood	26.2	20.1	30.4	18.5	24.4	22.2
Other[2]	1.4	2.2	1.6	2.7	1.4	1.5
Duration of acquaintance						
Less than 1 month	4.9	4.9	5.1	6.0	4.4	3.5
1–11 months	9.6	11.2	10.7	9.3	8.5	13.6
12 months or more	60.9	58.6	53.8	57.0	62.3	60.7
Since childhood	24.6	25.3	30.4	27.7	24.8	22.2
Partner's religion						
Same as respondent	83.3	85.3	84.8	89.7	82.4	79.9
Different from respondent	16.3	14.2	14.8	10.1	17.3	19.2
Partner's caste						
Same as respondent	58.9	72.4	60.3	76.0	58.1	67.9
Different from respondent	40.5	26.9	38.8	23.6	41.6	31.1
Partner's socio-economic status						
Same as respondent	50.6	41.8	50.3	44.4	51.4	38.6
Better than respondent	32.5	43.7	30.3	39.8	32.5	48.4
Worse than respondent	15.4	12.8	17.9	14.7	14.9	10.7
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,298**	**1,689**	**895**	**761**	**940**	**928**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]First romantic partner, if more than one romantic partner reported. [2]Includes employee, employer, teacher, other acquaintance and stranger.

The first reported romantic partner was typically a neighbour or friend (reported by 33% of young men and women), a fellow student or colleague (reported by 30% of young men and 16% of young women) or an acquaintance from outside the village/neighbourhood (reported by 25% of young men and 19% of young women).

In addition, 27% of young women compared to 9% of young men reported that their first pre-marital partner was a relative. This gender difference may be attributed to young women's relatively limited mobility and fewer opportunities for social mixing as compared to young men, described in Chapter 7.

This pattern was fairly consistent among both married and unmarried youth. Nonetheless, married young men were less likely than unmarried young men to report a fellow student or colleague (17% versus 34%) and more likely to report a neighbour or friend (39% versus 32%) and an acquaintance from outside the village/neighbourhood (30% versus 23%) as the first romantic partner. Among young women, the married were less likely than the unmarried to report a fellow student or colleague (12% versus 21%) but more likely to report a relative (30% versus 23%) as the first romantic partner. Rural-urban differences indicate that irrespective of sex and marital status, urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report a fellow student or colleague as the first romantic partner (36% versus 28% among young men; 20% versus 14% among young women). Urban young women, moreover, were less likely than rural young women to report a relative as the first romantic partner (22% versus 30%).

Youth had typically been acquainted with their first romantic partner for one year or more before becoming romantically linked; this was consistently observed in all groups, irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence. Many—22–24% of young men and young women—reported that they had been acquainted with their partner since childhood, a finding not surprising given that a sizeable proportion of partners were either from the same neighbourhood or, among young women, relatives. Notably, 14–17% of young men and women reported shorter duration acquaintances; that is, less than 12 months; marital status differences and rural-urban differences were negligible.

The majority of youth reported that their partners came from religious and caste backgrounds similar to their own. Nevertheless, it is notable that considerable proportions of young people did engage in a romantic relationship with someone of a different religion and caste. For example, the first romantic partner for 18% of young men and women was someone from a different religion, while for considerably more (44% of young men and 32% of young women), it was someone from a different caste. Finally, 53% of young men and 45% of young women reported a partner from the same socio-economic background as themselves. About one-third of young men (31%) and two-fifths of young women (41%) reported that their partner was from a family that was economically better-off than their own, and 13–14% from a family that was economically worse-off than their own.

Differentials by marital status were narrow. Unmarried youth were slightly more likely than the married to report a partner from a different caste (46% versus 41% among young men and 37% versus 28% among young women); unmarried young women, in addition, were slightly more likely than their married counterparts to report a partner from a different religion (22% versus 14%) and from an economically better-off family (46% versus 37%). Rural-urban differences were wide. Urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report a partner from a different religion (21% versus 16% of young men; 24% versus 14% of young women) and caste (54% versus 41% of young men; 41% versus 27% of young women) while more rural than urban youth reported a partner from a different socio-economic background (48% versus 39% of young men; 57% versus 49% of young women).

9.3.3 Parental and peer awareness of romantic partnerships

Table 9.5 reports findings on peer and parental awareness of young people's romantic partnerships. More than four in five youth (84% and 82% of young men and women, respectively) reported that their peers were aware of their romantic relationships. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were mild, although more urban than rural young men reported peer awareness of their romantic relationships (90% versus 82%). State-wise differences were mild; even so, young men in the southern states were more likely than those in the other states to report peer awareness of their romantic relationships (90–94% versus 78–83%). No such regional patterns were discernible among young women; those from Bihar and Jharkhand were, however, less likely than those in the other states to report peer awareness (75–77% versus 82–88%).

Relatively few youth, however, reported parental awareness of these partnerships. Young women were more likely than young men to report that parents were aware of their relationships (49% and 28%, respectively).

Gender differences may be attributed to the likelihood that young women, who tend to be more strictly supervised, have fewer opportunities to hide a relationship from their parents than young men. Marital status differences suggest that the married were more likely than the unmarried to report parental awareness (39% versus 26% among young men; 61% versus 34% among young women), a finding that may be attributed to the fact that revelation of the relationship could itself have triggered marriage, either to the same person or someone else. Similarly, urban youth were more likely than their rural counterparts to report parental awareness (35% versus 25% among young men; 53% versus 46% among young women, respectively), and these differences may be attributed to the fact that activities associated with rural life—fetching water and fuel, agricultural tasks and so on—required youth and their parents to be away from home for extended periods on a routine basis and may have provided rural youth more opportunities to pursue relationships without parental awareness. State-wise differences suggest a clear regional pattern; youth in the southern states were more likely than others to report parental awareness of their romantic relationships (40–49% versus 8–28% among young men; 59–62% versus 20–44% among young women).

9.3.4 Marriage intentions in pre-marital romantic relationships

The questionnaire probed, among youth who reported a pre-marital romantic relationship, intentions to marry their romantic partner. Findings are reported in Table 9.6 and suggest that almost three-fifths of young men (57%) and over four-fifths of young women (87%) intended to marry either their first or most recent partner. Gender differences in intentions to marry the romantic partner have been observed in other studies as well (Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b). Differences by marital status suggest that married youth were more likely than the unmarried to have reported this intention (64% versus 56% among young men; 92% versus 80% among young women). Rural-urban differences suggest that urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report marriage intentions (64% versus 54% among young men; 91% versus 84% among young women). State-wise differences suggest a clear regional pattern; youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those in the other states to report marriage intentions (59–76% versus 28–48% among young men; 92–94% versus 58–81% among young women). Similar patterns were observed among both married and unmarried, and rural and urban, youth.

Reality, in terms of outcomes of romantic relationships, was different from intention. For example, while 92% of married young women had intended to marry their pre-marital partner, fewer reported having done so (64%); among married young men, 64% reported such an intention, yet only 23% reported doing so. The rural-urban differences observed for intentions persisted in outcomes as well: among married young women, 78% of the urban compared to 56% of the rural had married their pre-marital romantic partner and among married young men, 42% and 17%, respectively, so reported. The regional patterns observed for intentions persisted in outcomes as well. While 22–55% of married young men in Maharashtra and the southern states had married their pre-marital romantic partner, just 4–20% of their northern counterparts so reported. Likewise, 70–82% of married young women in Maharashtra and the southern states had married their pre-marital partners, and this compares with 8% and 32–63% of young women in Rajasthan and the remaining two northern states, respectively. Similar patterns were observed in both rural and urban settings.

9.3.5 Pre-marital physical intimacy and sex with a romantic partner

Respondents who reported a pre-marital romantic relationship were asked whether they had engaged in a number of intimate behaviours with their romantic partner. These ranged from behaviours reflecting minimal physical intimacy (hand-holding, hugging) to those reflecting increased physical intimacy (kissing on the lips) and finally, engaging in sexual relations. Findings, presented in Table 9.7, refer to youth experiences of physical intimacy with their first and/or most recent romantic partner, if more than one partner was reported.

While the large majority of youth had held hands with a romantic partner, consistently fewer reported progressively more intimate behaviours. For example, while 88% of young men compared to 74% of young women had held hands with a romantic partner, 68% and 46%, respectively, had kissed a romantic partner, and 42% and 26%, respectively, had sex with a romantic partner. Gender differences were evident among married and unmarried as well as rural and urban youth.

Table 9.5: Peer and parental awareness of first pre-marital romantic relationship

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by peer and parental awareness of the first romantic relationship and by state, according to residence

Awareness[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Friends aware of relationship						
Bihar	78.1	77.3	76.5	75.3	77.8	78.9
Jharkhand	80.3	75.2	70.1	75.1	82.6	74.7
Rajasthan	82.7	87.5	75.9	93.1	82.5	83.1
Maharashtra	80.6	83.4	81.2	80.3	81.1	86.1
Andhra Pradesh	94.3	82.1	85.5	84.0	94.7	79.4
Tamil Nadu	89.9	84.3	86.5	81.3	90.7	89.1
Total	**84.1**	**82.3**	**80.8**	**81.9**	**84.8**	**82.6**
Parents aware of relationship						
Bihar	23.1	36.6	27.8	45.9	23.1	26.9
Jharkhand	27.7	42.3	32.4	58.1	28.4	26.7
Rajasthan	7.6	19.5	8.6	19.8	7.1	17.8
Maharashtra	17.9	43.5	32.1	55.3	15.5	33.9
Andhra Pradesh	40.2	59.4	48.8	74.4	34.9	37.9
Tamil Nadu	48.5	62.1	61.7	70.3	45.5	49.1
Total	**27.5**	**48.7**	**38.5**	**60.7**	**25.6**	**34.3**
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**2,692**	**3,269**	**1,636**	**1,547**	**2,092**	**1,722**
Urban						
Friends aware of relationship						
Bihar	84.7	78.0	83.3	76.9	84.0	78.3
Jharkhand	88.4	83.7	84.6	82.9	89.4	84.6
Rajasthan	91.1	86.5	(84.6)	85.2	91.3	86.7
Maharashtra	88.4	84.3	92.8	82.7	87.8	86.2
Andhra Pradesh	94.2	80.4	91.4	79.5	94.7	83.0
Tamil Nadu	89.2	87.7	82.5	83.3	90.9	94.5
Total	**89.7**	**84.3**	**87.5**	**82.2**	**89.8**	**86.9**
Parents aware of relationship						
Bihar	35.6	45.8	44.4	50.0	34.0	42.6
Jharkhand	32.8	43.3	35.3	59.2	31.9	32.3
Rajasthan	16.7	31.3	(16.0)	40.7	14.8	26.7
Maharashtra	23.3	51.1	50.7	60.5	19.7	42.6
Andhra Pradesh	43.3	57.9	59.2	73.8	35.8	39.4
Tamil Nadu	52.1	61.8	56.6	70.7	49.6	47.7
Total	**34.9**	**53.2**	**50.8**	**65.3**	**31.1**	**40.0**
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,394**	**1,580**	**741**	**786**	**1,152**	**794**

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Table 9.5: (Cont'd)

Awareness[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Friends aware of relationship						
Bihar	76.7	77.1	75.7	(75.3)	76.1	79.0
Jharkhand	76.5	72.0	67.0	72.9	79.0	70.8
Rajasthan	79.6	88.3	73.9	94.2	79.3	81.0
Maharashtra	77.2	82.2	76.5	(77.6)	77.9	86.0
Andhra Pradesh	94.3	82.9	83.9	87.1	94.7	76.9
Tamil Nadu	90.4	82.2	88.7	79.9	90.5	85.8
Total	**82.0**	**81.2**	**78.6**	**81.9**	**82.7**	**80.4**
Parents aware of relationship						
Bihar	20.4	34.1	26.6	(45.2)	19.8	22.8
Jharkhand	25.5	41.9	31.7	57.7	26.5	24.1
Rajasthan	4.2	13.2	7.0	14.4	4.2	12.0
Maharashtra	15.5	33.3	24.2	(46.9)	13.5	24.4
Andhra Pradesh	38.9	60.2	45.6	74.9	34.8	37.5
Tamil Nadu	46.3	62.3	64.5	69.8	43.0	50.0
Total	**24.7**	**46.2**	**34.6**	**58.2**	**23.1**	**31.3**
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,298**	**1,689**	**895**	**761**	**940**	**928**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases.
[1]First romantic partner, if more than one romantic partner reported.

Table 9.6: Marriage intentions in pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by intention[1] to marry partner, outcome (among the married) and state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Intended to marry pre-marital partner						
Bihar	39.8	80.6	47.1	83.5	40.8	77.9
Jharkhand	48.1	79.3	55.0	86.8	44.9	71.5
Rajasthan	28.2	58.4	29.1	64.9	28.3	51.3
Maharashtra	59.1	93.9	70.8	96.2	56.6	91.7
Andhra Pradesh	72.0	92.3	67.8	95.2	71.9	87.8
Tamil Nadu	76.1	92.9	85.9	98.1	72.6	84.6
Total	**57.0**	**86.5**	**63.6**	**91.5**	**56.3**	**80.4**
Married pre-marital partner						
Bihar	NA	NA	3.8	31.8	NA	NA
Jharkhand	NA	NA	20.3	62.8	NA	NA
Rajasthan	NA	NA	3.5	7.6	NA	NA
Maharashtra	NA	NA	21.9	70.2	NA	NA
Andhra Pradesh	NA	NA	22.9	70.4	NA	NA
Tamil Nadu	NA	NA	55.0	82.1	NA	NA
Total	**NA**	**NA**	**23.0**	**63.5**	**NA**	**NA**
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**2,692**	**3,269**	**1,636**	**1,547**	**2,092**	**1,722**

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Table 9.6: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Intended to marry pre-marital partner						
Bihar	50.8	79.7	61.1	84.6	47.1	78.3
Jharkhand	51.9	87.0	67.3	92.1	48.8	83.1
Rajasthan	34.4	59.0	(42.3)	67.9	35.0	54.2
Maharashtra	63.8	97.2	79.7	97.5	61.2	96.8
Andhra Pradesh	78.3	93.9	81.7	98.7	74.5	88.3
Tamil Nadu	72.9	95.8	86.2	98.9	69.7	90.9
Total	**63.8**	**91.1**	**77.6**	**95.6**	**61.0**	**86.3**
Married pre-marital partner						
Bihar	NA	NA	16.7	46.2	NA	NA
Jharkhand	NA	NA	25.5	73.7	NA	NA
Rajasthan	NA	NA	(11.5)	22.2	NA	NA
Maharashtra	NA	NA	44.1	85.4	NA	NA
Andhra Pradesh	NA	NA	42.3	79.7	NA	NA
Tamil Nadu	NA	NA	57.5	85.5	NA	NA
Total	**NA**	**NA**	**42.3**	**78.2**	**NA**	**NA**
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,394**	**1,580**	**741**	**786**	**1,152**	**794**
Rural						
Intended to marry pre-marital partner						
Bihar	37.5	80.8	45.6	(83.6)	38.8	77.8
Jharkhand	46.5	76.5	52.2	85.3	42.9	66.8
Rajasthan	25.8	57.9	26.1	64.4	25.5	49.8
Maharashtra	57.1	89.6	67.3	(95.9)	54.4	86.0
Andhra Pradesh	69.5	91.5	63.3	93.6	70.9	87.5
Tamil Nadu	77.8	91.2	85.7	97.7	74.1	80.9
Total	**54.4**	**84.0**	**59.2**	**89.4**	**54.2**	**77.3**
Married pre-marital partner						
Bihar	NA	NA	3.0	(30.1)	NA	NA
Jharkhand	NA	NA	19.1	60.0	NA	NA
Rajasthan	NA	NA	1.7	3.8	NA	NA
Maharashtra	NA	NA	12.7	(44.0)	NA	NA
Andhra Pradesh	NA	NA	16.6	65.5	NA	NA
Tamil Nadu	NA	NA	53.8	80.2	NA	NA
Total	**NA**	**NA**	**16.9**	**55.8**	**NA**	**NA**
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,298**	**1,689**	**895**	**761**	**940**	**928**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. [1]Data on marriage intentions were collected only with regard to the first and/or most recent partner.

Differences by marital status suggest that more married than unmarried youth reported each of these intimate behaviours. Rural-urban differences were less consistent among young men, except that those in rural settings were considerably more likely than their urban counterparts to report sex with a romantic partner; among young women, differences were apparent in relation to most of these behaviours, except holding hands. For both young men and women, differences were widest in regard to engaging in sex. Indeed, 47% of young men in rural areas, compared to 30% of those in urban areas, and 32% and 15% of young women, respectively, reported pre-marital sex with a romantic partner, a finding that may be attributed to the greater opportunities for privacy in rural than in urban areas.

Table 9.7: Physical intimacy and sexual experiences in pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by experiences of physical intimacy and sex with their partner, according to residence

Physical intimacy[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Ever held hands	88.3	73.6	91.8	75.9	87.6	70.7
Ever hugged	71.2	48.5	78.0	53.0	69.8	43.3
Ever kissed	67.9	45.9	75.1	50.7	66.0	40.3
Ever had sexual relations	42.3	25.6	51.2	28.9	39.2	22.0
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**2,692**	**3,269**	**1,636**	**1,547**	**2,092**	**1,722**
Urban						
Ever held hands	87.6	75.1	92.1	74.4	87.3	75.8
Ever hugged	70.5	42.7	76.8	44.7	70.3	40.4
Ever kissed	67.5	39.6	71.9	42.0	67.3	37.1
Ever had sexual relations	29.8	14.6	34.4	16.4	29.3	12.6
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,394**	**1,580**	**741**	**786**	**1,152**	**794**
Rural						
Ever held hands	88.5	72.8	91.7	76.7	87.7	68.0
Ever hugged	71.4	51.8	78.4	57.3	69.5	44.9
Ever kissed	68.1	49.3	76.1	55.3	65.4	41.9
Ever had sexual relations	47.1	31.7	56.5	35.5	43.6	27.0
Number reporting a romantic relationship	**1,298**	**1,689**	**895**	**761**	**940**	**928**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Data on ever held hands, ever hugged and ever kissed pertain to the first or most recent partner, if more than one partner was reported. Data on pre-marital sexual relations pertain not only to the first or most recent partner, but also to other romantic partners, if more than two romantic partners were reported.

In short, findings confirm that pre-marital romantic relationships among youth almost always included some form of physical intimacy. Indeed, more than two-fifths of young men and one-quarter of young women who reported a pre-marital romantic relationship had experienced sex with a romantic partner.

9.3.6 Characteristics of sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic relationships

The Youth Study asked all respondents reporting pre-marital sex with a romantic partner about fears of pregnancy or infection at the time of first sex, condom and contraceptive decision-making and use at first and subsequent sexual encounters with a romantic sexual partner, and the consensual nature of first sex. Findings are presented in Table 9.8.

Among those who reported sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic relationships, concerns about pregnancy and infection were reported by relatively small proportions. Moreover, many more young women than men reported fear of pregnancy or infection at the time of first sex. For example, fear of pregnancy was reported by 57% of young women and 35% of young men; and fear of infection by 25% and 11%, respectively. Unmarried young men were as likely as married young men to report fear of pregnancy (35% and 37%, respectively) and infection (9% and 12%, respectively). Among young women, however, the unmarried were more likely than the married to report fear of both pregnancy and infection (62% versus 55%, and 30% versus 21%, respectively). Rural-urban differences were mild; even so, somewhat more young women in urban than in rural areas reported fear of pregnancy (61% versus 56%), and somewhat more young men in rural than in urban areas reported fear of infection (12% versus 6%).

Reported contraceptive use at first pre-marital sex with a romantic partner and consistent condom use in subsequent sexual encounters were limited. In total, just 28% of young men and 12% of young women reported using contraception at first sex, and 21% and 9%, respectively, reported that contraception was consistently practised in all sexual encounters with their opposite-sex romantic partner(s). Unmarried youth were more likely than the married to report contraceptive use at first sex (30% versus 23% among young men; 17% versus 8% among young women) and consistent contraceptive use (21% versus 14% among young men; 15% versus 5% among young women). Likewise, urban youth were, by and large, more likely than the rural to report contraceptive use at first sex (35% versus 27% among young men; 16% versus 10% among young women) and consistent contraceptive use (26% versus 19% among young men; 10% versus 8% among young women).

Condom use was limited. Just 24% of young men and 7% of young women had used a condom during their first sexual encounter with a romantic partner. Even so, it is clear that the majority of those who practised contraception at first sex used a condom (83% of young men and 64% of young women, not shown in tabular form). Larger proportions of unmarried than married youth who practised contraception at first sex used a condom (87% and 71% of unmarried young men and women, respectively, compared to 75% and 54% of married young men and women, respectively, not shown in tabular form). Likewise, larger proportions of urban than rural youth, particularly young women who practised contraception at first sex used a condom (87% versus 82% among young men; 84% versus 57% among young women, not shown in tabular form). While almost all youth reporting condom use at first sex reported doing so to prevent pregnancy, somewhat fewer reported doing so to prevent infection.

Few youth reported consistent condom use. Just 18% of young men and 5% of young women reported that they had used a condom in all sexual encounters with their romantic partner(s).

Youth reports of decision-making regarding contraceptive use at first pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner reveal that young women were relatively disadvantaged. For example, responses of both young men and young women suggest that the decision to practise contraception at first sex typically did not involve the female partner, either as the sole or joint decision-maker. While 28% of young men and 12% of young women had practised contraception at first sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner, only about half—13% and 6% of young men and women, respectively—reported that the female partner had participated in the decision. Similar patterns were apparent among married and unmarried, and among rural and urban, youth.

As far as consensuality of first sex is concerned, a larger percentage of young men than young women reported that their first experience of pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner was mutually consensual (76% versus 66%). At the same time, several youth reported that it occurred without consent for young women. One in seven young women (14%) reported that their opposite-sex romantic partner had forced them to have sex the first time; but fewer young men (5%) admitted that they had forced their partner to do so. A roughly similar percentage of young men and women (13% and 16%, respectively) reported that the male partner had persuaded the female partner to engage in sex. Just 3–5% of young women and men reported that the female partner had persuaded or forced the male partner to do so.

Differences by marital status were mild; however, rural youth were somewhat more likely than urban youth to report that their first experience of pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner was mutually consensual (77% versus 70% among young men; 67% versus 61% among young women). Conversely, more urban than rural youth reported that the male partner had persuaded the female partner to have sex (19–22% versus 11–14%).

9.4 Pre-marital sexual experiences within romantic and other relationships

Aside from the heterosexual romantic partnerships discussed in previous sections, the Youth Study also probed youth experiences of pre-marital sex with other partners, including casual partners and spouse before marriage, and in situations characterised by force and exchange of gifts or favours. In addition, young men were asked about their pre-marital sexual experience with same-sex partners, sex workers and married women.

Table 9.8: Characteristics of sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting pre-marital sexual experiences with an opposite-sex romantic partner by selected characteristics of their first and subsequent sexual encounters with the partner, according to residence

Characteristics[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Anxiety associated with first sex						
Afraid of getting pregnant at first sex	35.1	57.4	36.9	54.6	35.1	61.6
Afraid of getting infection at first sex	10.5	24.7	12.3	21.4	8.9	30.1
Contraceptive use						
Practised contraception at first sex	28.4	11.5	22.7	7.8	30.3	17.1
Practised contraception in all sexual encounters[2]	20.5	8.6	14.2	4.7	21.1	14.7
Condom use						
Used a condom at first sex to:	23.7	7.4	17.1	4.2	26.3	12.1
Avoid pregnancy	23.3	7.2	16.8	4.2	25.7	11.8
Avoid infection	19.0	5.4	12.7	3.1	21.1	9.0
Used condoms in all sexual encounters[2]	17.8	5.4	11.4	2.8	19.1	9.5
Decision to use contraception at first sex taken by:						
Respondent	15.4	1.3	11.3	1.4	16.9	1.2
Partner	2.6	5.3	3.0	3.3	2.0	8.1
Jointly	10.3	4.9	8.3	3.1	11.5	7.8
Consensuality of first sex						
Mutual consent	75.6	65.7	79.0	67.3	74.6	63.0
Male partner forced	4.6	14.2	3.9	14.1	4.5	14.5
Female partner forced	2.1	1.8	1.3	2.2	2.8	1.4
Male partner persuaded	12.6	15.7	9.9	13.6	13.2	19.1
Female partner persuaded	5.0	2.5	6.0	2.8	4.9	2.0
Number reporting pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner	**958**	**755**	**731**	**400**	**672**	**355**
Urban						
Anxiety associated with first sex						
Afraid of getting pregnant at first sex	32.3	61.0	29.0	59.4	32.4	63.2
Afraid of getting infection at first sex	6.4	21.9	4.0	18.6	6.6	27.9
Contraceptive use						
Practised contraception at first sex	34.5	16.4	29.3	12.9	37.5	21.7
Practised contraception in all sexual encounters[2]	25.5	10.3	18.5	4.3	28.1	18.8
Condom use						
Used a condom at first sex to:	30.1	13.7	25.0	10.0	33.5	17.6
Avoid pregnancy	30.1	13.7	25.0	10.0	33.5	17.6
Avoid infection	21.0	8.9	16.9	5.7	22.8	13.0
Used condoms in all sexual encounters[2]	22.7	8.9	16.9	4.3	24.9	14.7
Decision to use contraception at first sex taken by:						
Respondent	20.5	2.1	16.3	2.9	22.7	0.0
Partner	1.4	7.5	0.8	5.7	1.6	10.3
Jointly	12.7	6.8	12.2	4.3	13.5	10.3

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Table 9.8: (Cont'd)

Characteristics[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Consensuality of first sex						
Mutual consent	70.3	61.4	75.2	61.4	68.5	60.3
Male partner forced	6.4	13.1	3.2	11.4	6.5	16.2
Female partner forced	0.5	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.5	0.0
Male partner persuaded	19.2	22.1	12.8	21.4	20.7	23.5
Female partner persuaded	3.7	3.4	6.4	5.7	3.8	0.0
Number reporting pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner	**360**	**246**	**251**	**152**	**283**	**94**
Rural						
Anxiety associated with first sex						
Afraid of getting pregnant at first sex	35.8	56.4	38.4	53.4	35.9	61.4
Afraid of getting infection at first sex	11.5	25.3	13.9	22.1	9.6	30.3
Contraceptive use						
Practised contraception at first sex	26.8	10.3	21.3	6.9	28.2	15.9
Practised contraception in all sexual encounters[2]	19.3	8.0	13.3	4.8	19.2	13.7
Condom use						
Used a condom at first sex to:	22.1	5.9	15.2	2.8	23.5	10.1
Avoid pregnancy	21.7	5.6	15.2	2.8	23.5	10.1
Avoid infection	18.5	4.7	11.9	2.4	20.7	7.9
Used condoms in all sexual encounters[2]	16.6	4.7	10.3	2.4	17.5	8.3
Decision to use contraception at first sex taken by:						
Respondent	14.1	1.2	10.4	1.0	15.2	1.4
Partner	2.9	4.7	3.4	2.8	2.1	7.6
Jointly	9.8	4.5	7.6	2.8	10.9	7.2
Consensuality of first sex						
Mutual consent	76.9	66.8	79.7	69.0	76.5	63.4
Male partner forced	4.2	14.5	4.0	14.5	3.8	14.3
Female partner forced	2.6	2.3	1.1	2.8	3.5	1.8
Male partner persuaded	11.1	14.1	9.3	11.7	11.0	17.9
Female partner persuaded	5.3	2.3	5.9	2.1	5.2	2.5
Number reporting pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner	**598**	**509**	**480**	**248**	**389**	**261**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]In-depth probing of sexual experiences was restricted to respondents' first or most recent romantic partner. Therefore, if a respondent reported his/her first sexual experience as occurring with a romantic partner other than the first or the most recent, then age, consensuality and other characteristics at first sex were unknown. Information was not available in 27 such cases. [2]Data were missing for 122 young men and women who reported sexual experiences with a romantic partner other than the first or most recent partner.

In this and subsequent sections of this chapter, we present findings on the prevalence of pre-marital sexual experiences (irrespective of whether such experiences took place within romantic or other partnerships) among all youth in the sample.

9.4.1 Extent of pre-marital sexual experiences

Table 9.9 reports percentages of youth reporting pre-marital sex in any of the situations described above. For 8% of young men and 2% of young women, pre-marital sex occurred in a romantic relationship with a person of the opposite sex. In addition, 2% of married young men and women each reported sex with their spouse before marriage (some of these include youth who had sex with a romantic partner whom they later married). Forced sex and sex in exchange for money or favours were rarely reported (0.5% or less). Casual sex was reported by 2% of young men and hardly any young women (0.2%).

Young men were also asked about their sexual experiences with other men, sex workers and married women (excluding their own wife, if married). Less than 1% of young men reported same-sex relations, while relations with sex workers and married women were reported by 1% and 3%, respectively.

Thus, in all, 12% of young men and 3% of young women reported pre-marital sexual relations in the course of face-to-face interviews.

Several youth, particularly young women, who had not disclosed their sexual experiences in the face-to-face interview, did so in the anonymous sealed envelope format. Including these, in total, 15% of young men and 4% of young women reported any pre-marital sexual experience. The Youth Study findings fall in the lower range observed in a variety of small case studies (15–30% for males and fewer than 10% for females; Jejeebhoy and Sebastian, 2004), and the possibility that youth opted not to disclose their sexual experiences in various situations cannot be discounted, particularly in the case of young women, and in the reporting of forced, same-sex or sex worker relations.

Percentages reporting pre-marital sexual experiences were similar among married and unmarried young women (3–4%); however, married young men were far more likely than the unmarried to report such experiences (20% versus 12%) (see also Figure 9.1). Rural-urban differences were evident; rural young men and women were more likely than their urban counterparts to report having experienced pre-marital sex (17% versus 10% of young men; 4% versus 2% of young women).

Table 9.10 presents percentages of youth reporting pre-marital sexual experiences by selected socio-demographic characteristics. As indicated earlier, such background characteristics as work status and household economic status reflect the situation of youth at the time of the interview, and not necessarily at the time when pre-marital sex was experienced.

Age profiles suggest a positive association between age and pre-marital sexual experience among young men, with those aged 20–24 somewhat more likely than younger respondents to report sexual experiences (19% versus 11%). Of note, however, is the inverse association between age and pre-marital sexual experience among married young men; those aged 15–19 were considerably more likely than those aged 20–24 or 25–29 to report pre-marital sexual experiences (50% versus 22% and 17%, respectively). In contrast, considerably more unmarried young men aged 20–24 reported sexual experiences than did those aged 15–19 (17% versus 9%). Among young women, age was not associated with pre-marital sexual experience. These patterns prevailed in both rural and urban settings.

Differentials by religion suggest that Hindu and Muslim youth were less likely than those belonging to other religions to have experienced pre-marital sex (13–15% versus 22% among young men; 2–3% versus 7% among young women); this pattern was observed among the married as well as the unmarried, and differences were considerably more apparent among rural than urban youth. Caste-wise differences suggest that young men from scheduled castes and tribes were consistently more likely than those from general castes and other backward castes to report pre-marital sex (20–22% versus 12–13%). These differences held true among both married and unmarried youth, and in both rural and urban settings. Among young women, the pattern was slightly different: those from scheduled tribes were more likely than those from general, scheduled and other backward castes to report pre-marital sex (10% versus 3–4%); while this pattern was evident among the married as well as the unmarried, and among those in rural areas, differences were muted among those in urban areas.

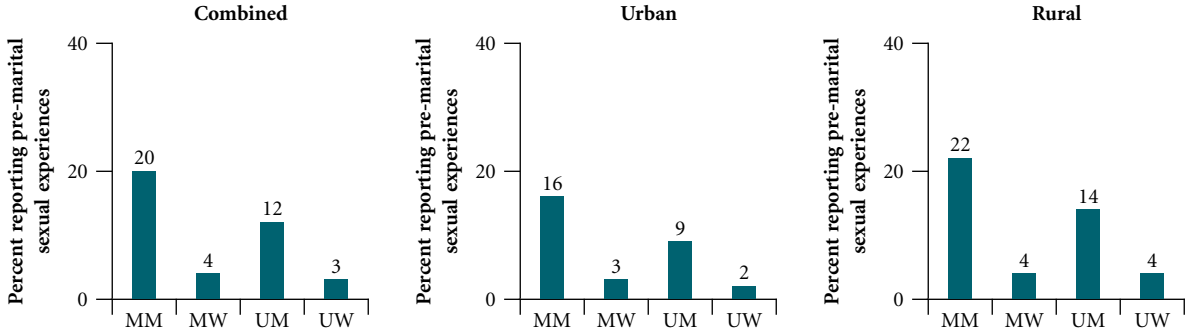
Table 9.9: Overall pre-marital sexual experiences

Percentage of youth reporting pre-marital sexual experiences with any partner and via different reporting methods, according to residence

Pre-marital sexual experiences and reporting methods among young men	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Reported pre-marital sex with:									
Opposite-sex romantic partner	7.9	9.4	7.2	5.1	6.5	4.9	9.1	10.3	8.3
Same-sex partner	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.5
Someone who forced respondent to have sex	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.5
Girl whom respondent forced	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.5
Someone in exchange for money/favour	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.3
Sex worker	1.4	2.3	1.3	1.6	2.6	1.6	1.3	2.2	1.2
Married woman	3.2	5.5	1.5	1.7	3.9	0.9	3.8	6.0	1.8
Casual partner	1.8	1.4	1.8	1.1	1.0	1.2	2.1	1.5	2.1
Spouse before marriage	NA	1.9	NA	NA	2.2	NA	NA	1.8	NA
Reported any pre-marital sex via:									
Face-to-face interview	12.4	16.6	10.0	8.1	12.3	7.1	14.2	18.0	11.4
Anonymous format (sealed envelope)	12.2	15.9	11.1	8.8	12.9	8.3	13.6	16.8	12.5
Face-to-face interview or anonymous format (sealed envelope)	14.8	20.3	12.1	10.4	15.7	9.1	16.8	21.7	13.6
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**8,052**	**11,522**	**7,483**	**3,590**	**6,435**	**6,798**	**4,462**	**5,087**
Pre-marital sexual experiences and reporting methods among young women	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Reported pre-marital sex with:									
Opposite-sex romantic partner	2.2	2.4	2.0	1.6	2.2	1.1	2.5	2.5	2.5
Someone who forced respondent to have sex	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.5
Someone in exchange for money/favour	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
Casual partner	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2
Spouse before marriage	NA	1.6	NA	NA	1.8	NA	NA	1.5	NA
Reported any pre-marital sex via:									
Face-to-face interview	2.5	2.8	2.3	1.7	2.3	1.3	2.9	2.9	2.8
Anonymous format (sealed envelope)	3.1	3.4	2.7	2.0	2.7	1.5	3.5	3.6	3.4
Face-to-face interview or anonymous format (sealed envelope)	3.5	3.8	3.1	2.3	3.2	1.7	3.9	4.0	3.9
Number of respondents	**31,274**	**13,912**	**17,362**	**13,976**	**5,950**	**8,026**	**17,298**	**7,962**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable.

Figure 9.1: Percentage of youth reporting any pre-marital sexual experience (in face-to-face interview or sealed envelope), according to residence



The association between reported pre-marital sexual experience and educational attainment was narrow and in an inverse direction. Percentages reporting sexual experiences ranged from 13 among young men who had completed 12 or more years of schooling to 17–18 among those with no formal or 1–7 years of education; the corresponding percentages among young women were even narrower: 2 and 3–5, respectively. However, an inverse association between wealth status and pre-marital sexual experience was evident, especially among young men; 19% of young men belonging to the poorest (first) quintile compared to 10% of those in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile reported pre-marital sex; the corresponding percentages among young women were 5 and 2, respectively. These patterns were observed, for the most part, among married and unmarried, and rural and urban, youth.

A positive relationship was observed with economic activity status among young men, while differences were negligible among young women. Young men who had worked in the year preceding the interview were somewhat more likely than non-working young men to have experienced pre-marital sex (18% versus 8%), a finding that may be attributed to the greater mobility and relative freedom from parental supervision experienced by working youth as compared to non-working youth. However, while this association was observed among unmarried young men, among the married, working men were less likely than non-working men to report sexual experiences. These patterns persisted in both rural and urban settings.

State-wise data suggest a somewhat different pattern among young men and women. Among young men, those from Tamil Nadu were less likely than those from the remaining five states to report pre-marital sex (9% versus 14–17%). Patterns by marital status suggest that married young men from Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh were considerably more likely than those from the other states to report pre-marital sex (26–27% versus 18–19%); among the unmarried, those from Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh reported somewhat higher levels of pre-marital sex than those from the other states (14–15% versus 8–12%). Patterns by rural-urban residence suggest that in rural areas, larger percentages of young men from Jharkhand and Maharashtra than from the other states reported pre-marital sex (19–21% versus 11–17%); in urban areas in contrast, 7% of those from Tamil Nadu, compared to 10–14% of those from the remaining five states, reported pre-marital sex.

Among young women, a more consistent picture was observed. Young women from Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh were more likely than those from the other states to report pre-marital sex (6–7% versus 2–3%), and this pattern held, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

9.4.2 Age at initiation of pre-marital sex

Table 9.11 and Figure 9.2 present cumulative percentages of youth who experienced first pre-marital sex at selected ages (among all youth in the sample) calculated using life table techniques, with censoring taking place at the time

Table 9.10: Overall pre-marital sexual experiences by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth reporting any pre-marital sexual experience by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	11.1	3.4	49.6	4.3	9.1	3.1
20–24	19.0	3.5	21.8	3.6	17.2	3.1
25–29	NA	NA	17.3	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	14.6	3.3	20.2	3.7	11.7	2.9
Muslim	13.4	2.1	18.7	2.3	11.3	1.9
Other[1]	22.0	6.9	25.4	7.6	19.8	6.5
Caste						
SC	19.7	4.4	23.7	4.9	16.1	3.9
ST/VJNT	22.4	9.8	27.4	10.4	19.0	9.2
OBC	12.9	2.6	18.7	2.9	10.2	2.3
General[2]	11.6	2.5	15.5	2.5	10.6	2.5
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	17.3	3.2	20.0	3.1	10.8	3.9
1–7	17.6	4.7	21.7	4.8	14.4	4.6
8–11	13.9	3.3	20.0	4.0	11.7	2.9
12 and above	12.7	2.2	18.5	3.0	11.2	1.8
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	18.2	4.6	19.8	4.6	15.7	4.8
No	7.8	2.7	36.8	3.2	6.4	2.1
Wealth quintile						
First	19.0	4.6	19.8	4.1	15.7	5.5
Second	17.1	4.4	23.0	4.1	13.3	4.9
Third	15.5	3.8	20.9	4.6	12.7	2.7
Fourth	14.7	2.9	20.7	3.1	12.5	2.9
Fifth	10.2	2.0	16.5	2.7	8.9	1.6
State						
Bihar	14.0	2.6	18.0	2.4	10.7	3.0
Jharkhand	16.6	6.7	25.7	6.5	12.4	7.2
Rajasthan	15.4	2.4	18.6	2.7	8.7	1.9
Maharashtra	16.4	2.5	17.9	2.6	15.3	2.5
Andhra Pradesh	16.4	5.8	26.6	6.3	14.4	5.2
Tamil Nadu	9.2	2.4	18.2	4.1	7.7	1.3
Total	**14.8**	**3.5**	**20.3**	**3.8**	**12.1**	**3.1**

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Table 9.10: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	5.3	2.3	41.7	5.8	4.9	1.7
20–24	15.1	2.3	18.0	2.5	14.2	1.7
25–29	NA	NA	14.4	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	9.9	2.3	15.9	3.2	8.5	1.7
Muslim	11.4	1.6	14.4	1.8	10.3	1.4
Other[1]	14.4	3.6	17.0	5.9	14.1	2.2
Caste						
SC	16.1	3.2	18.9	5.3	15.0	1.7
ST/VJNT	11.5	3.7	24.5	5.8	10.5	2.1
OBC	9.2	2.0	14.7	2.6	7.8	1.5
General[2]	9.0	2.1	13.7	2.4	7.8	1.9
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	11.9	3.4	16.4	4.0	7.1	1.8
1–7	13.3	3.5	15.9	4.1	12.0	2.9
8–11	9.7	2.1	15.4	3.0	8.4	1.7
12 and above	9.6	1.4	15.8	1.7	9.0	1.3
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	13.8	2.9	15.4	4.3	12.7	2.3
No	5.3	2.1	33.3	3.0	4.8	1.5
Wealth quintile						
First	14.3	6.9	16.3	8.3	11.9	5.0
Second	14.3	4.4	20.0	4.8	10.9	3.7
Third	12.3	2.6	14.7	3.7	11.7	1.4
Fourth	11.2	2.2	17.4	2.6	9.7	2.0
Fifth	8.4	1.6	13.8	2.4	7.6	1.3
State						
Bihar	10.4	2.0	16.3	2.8	8.2	1.6
Jharkhand	9.5	2.4	15.3	3.5	8.2	1.7
Rajasthan	11.2	1.7	14.7	1.9	8.3	1.3
Maharashtra	10.7	1.4	11.6	1.7	10.3	1.2
Andhra Pradesh	14.4	6.1	26.7	8.0	12.9	4.6
Tamil Nadu	6.5	1.0	14.2	1.9	5.5	0.6
Total	**10.4**	**2.3**	**15.7**	**3.2**	**9.1**	**1.7**

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Table 9.10: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	13.4	3.9	50.0	4.0	10.8	3.8
20–24	20.9	4.0	22.8	3.9	19.4	4.7
25–29	NA	NA	18.4	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	16.5	3.7	21.4	3.8	13.2	3.6
Muslim	15.0	2.5	21.3	2.7	12.4	2.3
Other[1]	26.0	8.9	28.7	8.4	23.2	9.4
Caste						
SC	20.9	4.9	24.8	4.8	16.6	5.0
ST/VJNT	24.1	11.1	27.7	11.1	20.7	11.0
OBC	14.4	2.8	19.9	3.0	11.3	2.7
General[2]	13.6	2.8	16.7	2.5	12.7	3.0
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	18.1	3.2	20.4	3.0	11.4	4.2
1–7	18.8	5.1	23.3	5.0	15.1	5.2
8–11	15.8	3.9	21.6	4.4	13.3	3.6
12 and above	15.3	3.2	20.3	4.5	13.4	2.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	19.7	5.0	21.2	4.6	17.0	5.5
No	9.4	3.0	37.5	3.3	7.5	2.6
Wealth quintile						
First	19.3	4.5	20.0	3.9	16.0	5.5
Second	17.4	4.4	23.3	4.0	13.6	5.0
Third	16.4	4.1	22.5	4.9	12.9	3.1
Fourth	16.7	3.4	22.4	3.3	14.2	3.5
Fifth	13.1	2.7	19.3	3.0	11.3	2.3
State						
Bihar	14.5	2.7	18.2	2.4	11.3	3.3
Jharkhand	19.3	8.3	27.7	7.1	14.3	10.1
Rajasthan	16.9	2.6	19.5	2.8	8.9	2.2
Maharashtra	20.9	3.4	22.3	3.1	19.5	3.7
Andhra Pradesh	17.2	5.7	26.6	5.9	15.1	5.5
Tamil Nadu	11.3	3.5	20.9	5.6	9.5	1.9
Total	**16.8**	**3.9**	**21.7**	**4.0**	**13.6**	**3.9**

Note: NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

of marriage for married youth and at the time of the interview for unmarried youth. For youth who reported pre-marital sex only through the anonymous sealed envelope method, age at first pre-marital sex was imputed conservatively, using age at marriage (for the married) and current age (for the unmarried) as age at initiation of pre-marital sex.

Several findings are notable. First, young men tended to initiate pre-marital sex earlier than young women and notable increases in initiation of pre-marital sexual activity occurred as young people transitioned from early adolescence (before age 15) to late adolescence (before age 20) to young adulthood (before age 25). While just 0.6% of young men and 0.4% of young women had initiated pre-marital sex before age 15, 11% of young men and 5% of young women had experienced first pre-marital sex before age 20. Finally, 30% of young men and 10% of young women had initiated pre-marital sex before age 25. Second, youth in rural areas initiated pre-marital sexual relations earlier than their urban counterparts; for example, 4–6% of rural youth compared to 1% of urban youth had their sexual debut before age 18. Moreover, the age-specific increase in cumulative percentages of those who had initiated pre-marital sexual relations was steeper among rural than urban youth. Among rural young men, for example, while just 0.8% had experienced first sex before age 15, 14% had experienced pre-marital sex before age 20, and 34% before age 25. The corresponding percentages among young men in urban areas were 0.1, 5 and 22, respectively. Although levels of pre-marital sex were lower among young women, the same pattern held true. Among rural young women, 0.5% had initiated sex before age 15 and this percentage increased to 6% and further to 14% before ages 20 and 25, respectively. Increases among young women in urban areas, in contrast, were relatively mild (from 0.1% before age 15 to 3% before age 20, and 5% before age 25).

9.4.3 Pre-marital sexual risk behaviours

Table 9.12 presents findings relating to sexual risk behaviours of those reporting pre-marital sexual experiences, including multiple partner relations and inconsistent condom use. Findings confirm that where youth engaged in pre-marital sex, it was generally under unsafe conditions.

Sizeable proportions of sexually experienced youth had indeed engaged in sex with multiple partners before marriage; 25% of young men and, despite the fact that fewer young women reported pre-marital sex, 21% of young women reported two or more pre-marital partners. The unmarried were more likely than the married to report multiple

Table 9.11: Age at initiation of pre-marital sex

Cumulative percentage of youth by age at first pre-marital sexual experience, according to residence

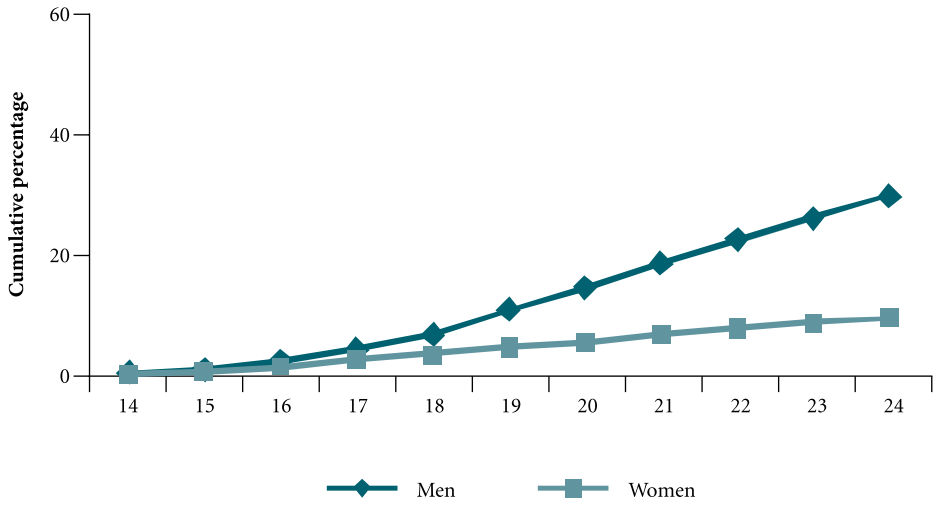
Age at first pre-marital sex[1]	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
First pre-marital sex occurred before age (years):						
15	0.6	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.8	0.5
18	4.4	2.8	1.4	1.2	5.8	3.6
20	11.0	4.9	5.1	2.5	13.7	6.4
21	14.7	5.7	8.0	3.0	17.9	7.5
25	29.8	9.7	22.2	5.1	33.9	14.3
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**6,798**	**17,298**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Calculated using life table techniques. Age at first pre-marital sex among those who reported pre-marital sex only through the anonymous sealed envelope method was imputed conservatively, using age at marriage (for the married) and current age (for the unmarried).

partner relationships (29% versus 21% among young men; 26% versus 19% among young women). Similarly, rural youth were somewhat more likely than urban youth to report multiple partnerships (26% versus 20% among young men; 23% versus 16% among young women). Unmarried youth were further probed about the number of partners with whom they had sex over the 12 months preceding the interview; similar percentages of sexually experienced unmarried young men and women reported multiple sexual partners in the last year (11% and 10%, respectively). While unmarried young men in rural areas were as likely as those in urban areas to report multiple partners in the last year, more rural than urban young women so reported (11% versus 4%).

The Youth Study questionnaire probed consistent condom use only with regard to sex with the first and/or most recent romantic partner, in exchange sex encounters, with sex workers and with married women. Information on condom use was not obtained for pre-marital sexual experiences with romantic partners other than the first or most recent, same-sex romantic partners, casual sex partners, spouse before marriage or among those who reported the experience of forced sex. Although few youth reported these latter relationships, we acknowledge that our consistent condom use indicator may not be comprehensive.

Figure 9.2: Cumulative percentage of youth by age at first pre-marital sexual experience



Findings suggest that among youth who reported pre-marital sex in the face-to-face interview, consistent condom use was extremely limited; only 13% of young men and 3% of young women reported that they had always used a condom. Differences by marital status were mild, with slightly more unmarried than married youth reporting consistent condom use (15% versus 11% among young men; 5% versus 1% among young women). While urban young men were more likely than their rural counterparts to report consistent condom use (21% versus 11%), no such differences were evident among young women. Condom use during the last pre-marital sexual encounter, assessed for unmarried respondents, suggests that only 28% of young men and 14% of young women reported condom use at last sex. More urban than rural unmarried youth so reported (39% versus 25% among young men; 22% versus 12% among young women).

Table 9.13 presents the percentage of youth who reported sex with multiple partners among those who were sexually experienced before marriage by selected background characteristics. As indicated earlier, such background characteristics as work status and household economic status reflect the situation of youth at the time of the interview, and not necessarily at the time when pre-marital sex was experienced.

Age profiles suggest a positive association between age and multiple pre-marital sexual partnerships among young men (21% of 15–19 year-olds versus 27% of 20–24 year-olds) and an inverse association among young women

Table 9.12: Pre-marital sexual risk behaviours

Percentage of sexually experienced youth who had pre-marital sex by number of partners and condom use, according to residence

Sexual behaviours	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Total number of pre-marital sexual partners						
1	75.5	78.6	78.8	81.3	71.3	74.5
2 or more	24.5	21.4	21.2	18.8	28.7	25.5
Consistent condom use with pre-marital sexual partners[1]	12.7	2.5	10.8	1.3	15.4	4.6
Number reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	**1,587**	**821**	**1,281**	**429**	**986**	**392**
Number of sexual partners in last 12 months						
None	NA	NA	NA	NA	41.0	18.6
1	NA	NA	NA	NA	47.6	71.8
2 or more	NA	NA	NA	NA	11.3	9.7
Condom used at last pre-marital sex	NA	NA	NA	NA	28.4	13.8
Number of unmarried respondents reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	**986**	**392**
Urban						
Total number of pre-marital sexual partners						
1	79.7	84.1	80.9	85.9	78.3	82.3
2 or more	20.3	15.9	19.1	14.1	21.7	17.7
Consistent condom use with pre-marital sexual partners[1]	21.2	1.9	18.6	0.0	24.3	3.8
Number reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	**635**	**265**	**476**	**161**	**450**	**104**
Number of sexual partners in last 12 months						
None	NA	NA	NA	NA	40.1	21.5
1	NA	NA	NA	NA	49.3	74.7
2 or more	NA	NA	NA	NA	10.7	3.8
Condom used at last pre-marital sex	NA	NA	NA	NA	39.3	21.5
Number of unmarried respondents reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	**450**	**104**
Rural						
Total number of pre-marital sexual partners						
1	74.5	77.1	78.3	80.2	69.1	72.5
2 or more	25.5	22.9	21.7	19.8	30.9	27.5
Consistent condom use with pre-marital sexual partners[1]	10.6	2.7	9.1	1.3	12.7	4.8
Number reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	**952**	**556**	**805**	**268**	**536**	**288**
Number of sexual partners in last 12 months						
None	NA	NA	NA	NA	41.3	18.2
1	NA	NA	NA	NA	47.1	71.0
2 or more	NA	NA	NA	NA	11.6	10.8
Condom used at last pre-marital sex	NA	NA	NA	NA	24.9	11.8
Number of unmarried respondents reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	**NA**	**536**	**288**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable. [1]Questions on consistent condom use were asked only with regard to sexual relationships with first and/or most recent romantic partner, exchange sex partner, sex worker or married woman and excluded experiences with romantic partners other than first or most recent romantic partner, same-sex romantic partner, casual partner, spouse before marriage and experiences of forced sex.

(24% of 15–19 year-olds versus 18% of 20–24 year-olds). These patterns were apparent, for the most part, among married and unmarried and rural and urban youth. Differentials by religion suggest that Muslim youth were somewhat less likely than others to have experienced premarital sex with multiple partners (20% versus 24–25% among young men; 14% versus 21–22% among young women); these patterns were, however, less consistently observed when the married and the unmarried, and those in urban and rural areas, were considered separately. Caste-wise differences were narrow among young men; however among young women, those from general castes were least likely, and those from scheduled tribes most likely, to report pre-marital sex with multiple partners (11% and 29%, respectively). This pattern was observed among the married and the unmarried, as well as among young women in rural areas but less consistently so among young women in urban areas.

The association between multiple partnerships and educational attainment was narrow among young men, although those with no formal education were mildly less likely than those who had received education to report multiple partner relations (20% versus 24–25%). Among young women, the difference was more apparent, and moreover, in the reverse direction; those who had completed 12 or more years of education were less likely to report multiple partnerships than those who had fewer years of, or had no formal education (13% versus 22–23%). The association between wealth status and multiple partnerships was also narrow among young men; however, among young women, those in the poorest quintiles (first and second) were more likely than others to report pre-marital sex with multiple partners (24–31% versus 15–18%). These patterns were observed, for the most part, among married and unmarried and rural and urban samples.

In contrast, a consistent positive association between economic activity status and multiple partnerships was observed among both young men and women, irrespective of marital status. A similar pattern was evident among young women in both rural and urban settings and among young men in rural areas.

State-wise data suggest that young men in Rajasthan were less likely than in the remaining five states to report pre-marital sex with multiple partners (14% versus 22–32%). A similar pattern persisted among married young men and those from rural areas; however, state-wise differences were narrower and patterns not quite as discernible among unmarried young men and those in urban areas. Among young women, those from Andhra Pradesh were least likely to report pre-marital sex with multiple partners (7% versus 28–33%), and this pattern was observed irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Table 9.14 presents the percentage of youth who reported consistent condom use in their pre-marital sexual experiences by selected background characteristics. As indicated earlier, such background characteristics as work status and household economic status reflect the situation of youth at the time of the interview, and not necessarily at the time when pre-marital sex was experienced. Associations were uniformly negligible for young women, which is not surprising given that just 3% of young women reported consistent condom use within pre-marital sexual relationships.

Among young men, consistent condom use increased with age, education and wealth status, and these associations were observed, by and large, among married and unmarried, and rural and urban, young men. Differentials by religion and caste were less consistent, although Hindu and Muslim young men were somewhat less likely than those belonging to other religions, and those belonging to general castes were somewhat more likely than those belonging to other castes, respectively, to report consistent condom use. While economic activity status was not associated with consistent condom use for young men in general, a positive association was observed among the married.

State-wise data suggest that young men from Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh were most likely to report consistent condom use within pre-marital sexual relationships; 17–22% of young men who were sexually experienced before marriage in these two states, compared to 5–7% in the remaining four states, so reported. In both rural and urban areas, moreover, young men from Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh were more likely than those from other states to report consistent condom use (25–30% versus 4–20% in urban areas; 15–19% versus 4–6% in rural areas). Also notable is the very limited consistent condom use reported in urban areas among young men in Tamil Nadu and Bihar (4–9%) compared to those from the other states (17–30%).

Table 9:13: Pre-marital sex with multiple partners by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who had pre-marital sex reporting sexual relations with multiple partners by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	21.0	24.3	6.0	20.1	26.1	27.2
20–24	26.7	18.2	21.2	18.0	31.0	20.2
25–29	NA	NA	25.3	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	25.0	21.9	20.7	20.1	30.3	24.9
Muslim	19.7	(14.0)	21.6	*	21.8	*
Other[1]	23.6	21.4	31.0	15.6	21.1	26.6
Caste						
SC	25.9	19.3	23.8	16.0	29.2	24.8
ST/VJNT	26.5	29.0	21.7	23.8	32.4	36.4
OBC	21.7	22.5	18.9	19.9	26.4	26.5
General[2]	26.7	10.8	21.7	(12.2)	30.6	9.7
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	19.6	22.6	19.5	17.1	(39.3)	39.0
1–7	25.2	22.4	21.8	20.9	29.8	25.0
8–11	25.1	22.0	22.3	17.3	27.9	26.0
12 and above	24.0	13.0	19.2	(17.4)	26.0	(10.2)
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	25.5	27.7	22.1	23.5	29.8	33.3
No	19.4	13.6	7.5	13.6	24.8	14.0
Wealth quintile						
First	26.5	31.0	21.3	30.4	35.3	32.6
Second	25.3	23.5	28.4	17.6	27.2	34.1
Third	23.0	14.8	17.2	12.9	30.1	18.8
Fourth	23.0	16.0	19.1	10.1	25.3	22.7
Fifth	25.4	18.3	19.7	(23.1)	28.3	12.7
State						
Bihar	21.8	27.7	20.8	27.9	29.4	(29.5)
Jharkhand	26.4	33.0	26.8	26.7	27.2	41.3
Rajasthan	13.5	27.5	8.9	(27.6)	25.7	(25.6)
Maharashtra	32.1	32.1	30.6	*	33.6	(29.4)
Andhra Pradesh	21.9	7.4	19.3	4.7	22.0	12.6
Tamil Nadu	31.4	30.7	32.4	27.9	29.1	(35.7)
Total	**24.5**	**21.4**	**21.2**	**18.8**	**28.7**	**25.5**

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Table 9.13: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	17.0	19.7	(0.0)	16.7	19.2	21.2
20–24	21.5	12.3	18.6	12.8	22.7	(11.1)
25–29	NA	NA	20.5	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	20.8	18.3	18.0	17.0	22.5	19.4
Muslim	18.0	*	21.9	*	18.8	*
Other[1]	(21.4)	(4.2)	(28.6)	(0.0)	(20.8)	*
Caste						
SC	22.6	11.8	26.4	7.1	23.6	*
ST/VJNT	(33.3)	(16.7)	(25.0)	*	(33.3)	*
OBC	16.9	21.5	16.2	22.2	17.9	(20.0)
General[2]	19.6	8.8	14.0	(8.3)	21.3	(9.5)
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	(26.7)	9.1	28.6	6.7	*	*
1–7	16.9	25.0	20.3	(22.7)	16.7	*
8–11	21.4	15.3	16.0	8.0	23.1	(21.9)
12 and above	21.4	(6.5)	20.3	*	22.1	(0.0)
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	19.9	25.0	19.8	(33.3)	20.7	(20.0)
No	22.2	12.5	*	10.2	25.4	16.7
Wealth quintile						
First	(15.4)	(16.7)	(11.1)	(10.0)	*	*
Second	16.1	(13.3)	(31.8)	*	(10.0)	*
Third	21.5	20.7	11.4	(12.5)	25.5	*
Fourth	17.4	12.5	17.1	(10.5)	18.8	(11.5)
Fifth	23.8	16.7	22.8	(17.6)	23.4	(16.7)
State						
Bihar	31.8	(20.0)	18.2	(25.0)	(46.7)	*
Jharkhand	23.6	33.3	16.7	(31.3)	27.9	*
Rajasthan	13.4	*	9.8	*	19.4	*
Maharashtra	23.8	*	(21.1)	*	23.3	*
Andhra Pradesh	14.8	11.1	16.4	8.8	15.2	(14.3)
Tamil Nadu	20.0	*	26.5	*	(21.2)	*
Total	**20.3**	**15.9**	**19.1**	**14.1**	**21.7**	**17.7**

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Table 9.13: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	21.5	25.6	6.4	21.6	27.3	28.4
20–24	28.5	19.8	21.7	18.8	34.8	24.1
25–29	NA	NA	26.5	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	25.9	22.7	21.2	20.8	32.4	26.4
Muslim	21.1	*	(21.4)	*	(24.6)	*
Other[1]	23.4	25.8	31.6	(21.2)	(21.1)	29.9
Caste						
SC	26.7	21.4	23.4	18.7	30.9	25.6
ST/VJNT	26.0	29.0	21.3	24.4	32.4	36.5
OBC	22.8	23.1	19.5	20.0	28.9	28.9
General[2]	30.0	(11.8)	26.0	*	34.7	(9.8)
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	19.4	24.3	19.0	18.6	(39.3)	(40.0)
1–7	26.9	22.0	22.0	20.5	33.1	24.0
8–11	25.9	23.9	24.0	20.3	29.1	27.0
12 and above	25.4	(18.4)	18.7	*	28.6	*
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	26.8	27.8	22.6	22.8	32.5	34.9
No	18.5	14.2	8.5	15.3	24.1	12.6
Wealth quintile						
First	27.1	32.4	21.6	32.1	36.1	32.6
Second	26.0	24.8	27.9	17.9	29.2	36.7
Third	23.2	13.6	18.1	13.0	31.1	(15.5)
Fourth	25.3	18.3	19.8	(10.2)	27.9	(27.4)
Fifth	26.1	(20.0)	18.3	*	33.7	*
State						
Bihar	20.8	28.6	21.0	*	27.3	(30.4)
Jharkhand	27.0	33.2	27.9	26.0	27.7	41.9
Rajasthan	13.8	(28.8)	8.8	*	27.5	(29.4)
Maharashtra	35.0	(39.0)	33.9	*	37.6	*
Andhra Pradesh	24.0	5.9	19.7	3.2	24.6	11.8
Tamil Nadu	36.4	30.9	35.2	(26.5)	32.5	*
Total	**25.5**	**22.9**	**21.7**	**19.8**	**30.9**	**27.5**

*Note: ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.*

Table 9.14: Consistent condom use within pre-marital sexual relationships by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who had pre-marital sex reporting consistent condom use within pre-marital sexual relationships by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	8.0	3.1	1.1	0.7	10.3	4.5
20–24	15.8	1.9	10.5	1.2	19.9	4.8
25–29	NA	NA	13.5	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	11.9	2.1	10.7	1.5	14.6	3.4
Muslim	14.6	(2.3)	10.8	*	17.4	*
Other[1]	19.5	4.3	9.9	0.0	21.1	7.7
Caste						
SC	12.8	1.7	11.6	0.8	14.9	2.7
ST/VJNT	8.9	4.2	4.6	1.3	11.4	8.0
OBC	11.3	2.4	8.8	1.4	15.0	4.5
General[2]	19.1	2.0	23.0	(0.0)	18.8	3.2
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	3.2	1.0	4.2	0.0	(4.9)	5.1
1–7	10.1	3.4	9.6	2.1	12.7	6.0
8–11	14.4	2.2	14.4	1.9	15.4	3.5
12 and above	18.4	2.9	14.3	(0.0)	22.4	(6.1)
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	13.2	3.7	11.3	2.0	15.9	5.5
No	10.5	1.1	2.5	0.0	13.6	2.6
Wealth quintile						
First	6.8	3.7	4.8	1.1	7.0	7.4
Second	5.3	2.7	7.0	2.1	4.7	3.5
Third	11.4	2.3	13.2	2.1	11.7	4.3
Fourth	19.1	0.6	13.7	0.0	24.2	1.1
Fifth	21.3	3.2	15.3	(0.0)	26.3	5.5
State						
Bihar	6.3	2.0	4.5	0.0	9.6	(5.0)
Jharkhand	6.9	2.1	6.3	0.0	7.2	5.2
Rajasthan	6.1	4.3	5.4	(0.0)	11.8	(11.6)
Maharashtra	21.6	7.1	17.7	*	22.4	(2.9)
Andhra Pradesh	17.0	1.6	18.7	0.0	17.1	4.5
Tamil Nadu	5.1	0.0	5.2	0.0	4.5	(0.0)
Total	**12.7**	**2.5**	**10.8**	**1.3**	**15.4**	**4.6**

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Table 9.14: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	17.0	1.3	(0.0)	0.0	19.2	1.9
20–24	22.6	2.5	12.9	0.0	26.3	(7.4)
25–29	NA	NA	22.6	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	20.8	1.7	19.0	0.0	24.6	3.2
Muslim	21.3	*	18.8	*	20.4	*
Other[1]	(25.0)	(4.2)	(14.3)	(0.0)	(29.2)	*
Caste						
SC	16.3	0.0	9.3	0.0	19.7	*
ST/VJNT	(26.7)	(0.0)	(18.8)	*	(33.3)	*
OBC	21.1	1.5	16.0	0.0	24.5	(2.8)
General[2]	23.7	2.9	29.8	(0.0)	26.3	(9.5)
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	(14.3)	0.0	5.0	0.0	*	*
1–7	22.0	0.0	19.0	(0.0)	23.3	*
8–11	17.0	0.0	15.1	0.0	20.5	(0.0)
12 and above	28.9	(6.5)	27.1	*	31.4	(12.5)
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	21.1	0.0	19.4	(0.0)	24.0	(0.0)
No	23.3	2.5	*	0.0	25.4	5.6
Wealth quintile						
First	(7.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	*
Second	16.7	(0.0)	(9.1)	*	(20.0)	*
Third	12.3	0.0	14.0	(0.0)	13.7	*
Fourth	27.0	0.0	25.6	(0.0)	30.2	(0.0)
Fifth	22.5	4.3	18.8	(0.0)	26.2	(10.0)
State						
Bihar	9.1	(0.0)	0.0	(0.0)	(14.3)	*
Jharkhand	19.6	0.0	12.0	(0.0)	20.9	*
Rajasthan	16.7	*	10.0	*	22.9	*
Maharashtra	29.8	*	(31.6)	*	31.5	*
Andhra Pradesh	24.7	1.4	24.6	0.0	26.2	(2.9)
Tamil Nadu	4.3	*	4.4	*	(6.1)	*
Total	**21.2**	**1.9**	**18.6**	**0.0**	**24.3**	**3.8**

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Table 9.14: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	6.7	3.3	1.2	0.9	8.8	4.7
20–24	13.6	1.7	10.1	1.5	16.9	3.5
25–29	NA	NA	10.9	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	10.1	2.1	9.1	1.5	11.8	3.5
Muslim	10.4	*	(8.6)	*	(14.8)	*
Other[1]	17.9	4.3	8.8	(0.0)	(18.3)	7.5
Caste						
SC	11.8	2.2	12.3	1.1	13.4	2.2
ST/VJNT	7.4	4.3	3.5	1.3	8.8	8.2
OBC	8.8	2.7	7.4	1.7	12.3	5.2
General[2]	16.9	(0.0)	18.3	*	15.9	(2.4)
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	2.4	1.2	3.7	0.0	(3.5)	5.5
1–7	7.9	3.7	7.8	2.5	10.0	6.3
8–11	13.8	2.9	14.0	2.4	14.2	4.4
12 and above	12.9	(0.0)	8.1	*	16.5	*
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	11.3	4.0	9.5	2.1	13.5	6.2
No	6.8	0.4	2.8	0.0	8.8	1.0
Wealth quintile						
First	6.4	4.1	5.0	1.2	6.1	8.0
Second	4.4	2.4	6.9	1.2	3.2	3.8
Third	11.2	2.8	12.8	2.5	11.2	(5.1)
Fourth	16.3	0.9	9.5	(0.0)	21.7	(1.6)
Fifth	19.7	(2.2)	13.5	*	26.5	*
State						
Bihar	6.0	2.2	4.8	*	9.1	(5.4)
Jharkhand	4.0	2.3	5.4	0.0	2.9	5.7
Rajasthan	4.1	(3.4)	4.4	*	8.3	(11.8)
Maharashtra	19.0	(7.5)	12.8	*	18.8	*
Andhra Pradesh	14.6	2.3	17.3	0.0	13.9	6.5
Tamil Nadu	5.5	0.0	4.9	0.0	5.2	*
Total	**10.6**	**2.7**	**9.1**	**1.3**	**12.7**	**4.8**

*Note: ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.*

9.4.4 Non-consensual sexual experiences

The Youth Study questionnaire also probed the extent to which young people had experienced such non-consensual sexual experiences as verbal harassment of a sexual nature, non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex. In addition, young men were asked whether they had ever verbally harassed a girl, perpetrated non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex on a girl. Findings on non-consensual sexual experiences are presented in Table 9.15. For the married, these refer to the period before marriage. We acknowledge that forced sex is an extremely sensitive issue and hence, very likely to have been under-reported.

Verbal harassment was experienced by substantial minorities of young women (11%) and fewer young men (6%). Marital status differences suggest that unmarried young women were somewhat more likely than the married to have experienced verbal harassment (14% versus 9%); differences by marital status among young men were negligible. Rural-urban differences suggest, moreover, that young women in urban settings were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to have experienced verbal harassment (14% versus 10%). No rural-urban differences were observed among young men.

Non-consensual sexual touch was measured by questions that probed whether the respondent had ever been a victim of unwanted hugging or kissing in a sexual way, whether someone had touched his/her private parts without consent or had forced him/her to touch the perpetrator's private parts, and finally, whether someone had attempted to have sex with the respondent against her/his will using physical force or threats.

As shown in Table 9.15, few youth—3–4%—admitted the experience of unwanted sexual touch measured in these ways. Surprisingly, gender differences were not observed. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible.

Questions on forced sex were posed in two ways: in relation to first sex with a romantic opposite- or same-sex partner, on the one hand, and with any non-romantic partner, on the other. Even measured in this way, forced sex was rarely reported, that is, by just 0.4–0.5% of young men and women.

Young men's reports of perpetration of these acts, presented in Table 9.15, suggest however, that non-consensual sexual experiences may well have been under-reported by young women. Indeed, as many as 33% of young men admitted that they had verbally harassed a girl. Moreover, 21% of young men admitted touching a girl's private parts, brushing past a girl or making physical contact with her in a sexual way without her consent. Perpetration of verbal harassment was somewhat more likely to be reported by unmarried compared to married young men (34% versus 27%) while unwanted sexual touch was about equally reported by both (19–21%). Again, while more urban than rural young men reported the perpetration of verbal harassment (39% versus 30%), perpetration of unwanted sexual touch was about equally reported by both (20–22%). Finally, 0.4% of young men reported that they had forced sex on a girl.

Table 9.16 presents the percentage of young men who reported having ever perpetrated non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex by background characteristics. Age profiles suggest a positive association between age and perpetration of non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex, with somewhat more 20–24 year-olds than 15–19 year-olds reporting so (25% versus 17%). Among all groups of young men, those aged 15–19 were less likely than others to so report. Hindu and Muslim young men were less likely than those belonging to other religions to have perpetrated non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence. Differentials by caste were narrow. Differences by educational attainment and wealth status were also narrow, although young men who had completed 12 or more years of schooling were more likely than those with less or no formal education to have perpetrated non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex. Differences by economic activity status suggest that those who were working at the time of the interview were more likely than the non-working to report perpetration of non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex, and this pattern was observed in both urban and rural areas. Finally, young men in Bihar and Rajasthan were considerably less likely than those in the remaining states to report having ever perpetrated non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex (6–13% versus 21–31%), and this pattern was observed irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Table 9.15: Pre-marital non-consensual sexual experiences

Percentage of youth reporting various pre-marital non-consensual sexual experiences, according to residence

Experiences/perpetration	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Ever experienced									
Verbal harassment	5.7	3.4	6.3	4.6	3.7	5.0	6.1	3.2	7.0
Any non-consensual sexual touch[1]	3.6	2.2	3.9	3.0	2.2	3.1	3.9	2.3	4.3
Any forced sex	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.5
Ever perpetrated the following:									
Verbally harassed a girl[2]	32.6	27.2	34.0	39.1	33.4	40.4	29.7	25.3	30.7
Touched or brushed past a girl[2]	20.5	18.6	20.9	22.3	20.5	22.9	19.7	18.1	19.9
Forced sex on a girl	0.4	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.5
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**8,052**	**11,522**	**7,483**	**3,590**	**6,435**	**6,798**	**4,462**	**5,087**
Experiences	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**	**W 15–24**	**MW 15–24**	**UW 15–24**
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Ever experienced									
Verbal harassment	11.3	9.3	13.5	14.0	10.2	16.5	10.1	9.0	11.8
Any non-consensual sexual touch[1]	3.0	2.2	3.9	4.0	2.5	5.1	2.6	2.1	3.3
Any forced sex	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.5
Number of respondents	**31,274**	**13,912**	**17,362**	**13,976**	**5,950**	**8,026**	**17,298**	**7,962**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Includes hugging in a sexual way, kissing in a sexual way, touching of private parts and attempted forced sex. [2]It is possible that married young men may have reported the occurrence of these events post-marriage since age at occurrence was not probed.

9.5 Triangulation of data on pre-marital sexual experiences among young people

Acknowledging that young people may have been reluctant to disclose behaviours perceived as socially unacceptable such as pre-marital sex, the Youth Study included three approaches to elicit data on sexual behaviours. These were face-to-face interviews, anonymous reporting of respondents' own experiences via the sealed envelope and anonymous third-party reporting of peer experiences. Anonymous third-party reporting of peer experiences is a useful method by which to assess sensitive behaviours that individuals may be reluctant to disclose about themselves; findings are intended to shed light on the behaviours of the peer network and not necessarily on those of the individual himself or herself (Rossier, 2003).

We note that in anonymous third-party reporting, respondents may have reported as peers, individuals whose ages fell outside our sample ages (15–24 and, in the case of married males, 15–29); therefore, in estimating pre-marital opposite-sex romantic and sexual experiences of young people using this reporting method, these individuals were excluded. In addition, we recognise that in anonymous third-party reporting, friends reported by one respondent may also be reported by others. In estimating pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences of young people using this reporting method, our analysis sought to minimise the chances that the experience of an individual belonging to more than one peer network would be included multiple times. Specifically, we inversely weighted the total sample of friends by the number of friends reported by each respondent. As a result, each respondent's network was given equal weight irrespective of its size.

Findings, presented in Table 9.17, compare the levels of pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences obtained through these different approaches. Specifically, three indicators are presented: (a) percent reporting a pre-marital

Table 9.16: Perpetration of non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex by selected background characteristics

Percentage of young men reporting perpetration of non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Experiences/ perpetration	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24	M 15–24	MM 15–29	UM 15–24
	Combined			Urban			Rural		
Age (years)									
15–19	17.0	14.7	17.2	17.9	4.3	18.1	16.7	15.1	16.8
20–24	24.5	19.6	27.4	26.5	19.2	28.7	23.5	19.7	26.4
25–29	NA	18.5	NA	NA	21.3	NA	NA	17.4	NA
Religion									
Hindu	20.1	18.1	20.5	22.1	21.0	22.7	19.3	17.3	19.5
Muslim	19.4	18.4	20.0	20.1	17.8	20.4	18.8	18.8	19.7
Other[1]	31.0	31.1	30.5	31.8	22.3	32.4	30.7	34.6	29.2
Caste									
SC	23.9	20.8	24.4	26.7	23.2	27.5	23.0	20.3	23.2
ST/VJNT	24.2	22.5	24.5	24.2	25.5	26.1	24.1	22.2	24.2
OBC	18.1	16.6	18.7	21.5	21.1	21.6	16.7	15.3	17.2
General[2]	21.4	19.0	21.7	21.3	16.9	22.2	21.5	20.2	21.4
Educational level (years)									
None[3]	15.2	15.0	16.7	12.6	17.0	13.1	15.5	14.7	17.4
1–7	20.9	19.4	21.0	22.5	18.2	23.7	20.4	19.7	20.2
8–11	19.4	19.0	19.4	20.9	21.9	21.2	18.7	18.0	18.5
12 and above	25.3	20.9	25.8	25.8	22.0	26.1	24.8	20.2	25.5
Worked in last 12 months									
Yes	22.8	18.8	24.2	25.4	20.7	27.0	21.9	18.2	23.1
No	15.7	15.5	15.8	18.0	9.7	18.2	14.3	16.7	14.2
Wealth quintile									
First	19.4	16.1	18.8	21.2	20.0	21.4	19.3	15.8	18.6
Second	19.1	17.4	19.7	22.4	14.8	26.1	18.8	17.7	18.9
Third	21.2	21.1	21.1	21.7	21.5	21.7	21.1	20.9	21.0
Fourth	21.2	19.9	22.1	23.0	22.7	23.6	20.2	18.5	21.2
Fifth	20.9	18.1	21.4	22.1	19.5	22.5	18.8	16.6	19.2
State									
Bihar	12.5	12.6	11.7	12.2	14.1	11.5	12.5	12.5	11.8
Jharkhand	20.6	23.0	19.5	20.2	23.9	20.2	20.7	22.8	19.2
Rajasthan	6.4	5.4	6.4	7.0	4.6	7.6	6.3	5.6	6.0
Maharashtra	26.9	22.3	27.1	25.8	22.1	26.7	27.7	22.5	27.4
Andhra Pradesh	30.6	30.5	30.3	31.6	28.1	31.9	30.2	31.1	29.6
Tamil Nadu	21.7	24.1	20.9	21.6	24.1	21.3	21.8	24.1	20.6
Total	**20.5**	**18.7**	**20.9**	**22.3**	**20.6**	**22.9**	**19.7**	**18.1**	**20.0**

Note: NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

opposite-sex romantic relationship, (b) percent reporting the experience of pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner, and (c) percent reporting any pre-marital sexual experience. For indicators *a-b*, we compare two sets of estimates derived from the face-to-face interview: respondents' reports of their own pre-marital experiences as well as third-party reporting of the pre-marital experiences of their peers. For indicator *c*, we compare three sets of estimates: any pre-marital sex as reported in the face-to-face format; any pre-marital sex among peers as assessed through anonymous third-party reporting; and any pre-marital sex as reported in the face-to-face interview supplemented by reports of pre-marital sexual experiences recorded in the anonymous format, using the sealed envelope.

Comparisons indicate differences in reporting level by sex of the respondent and type of behaviour under consideration. In terms of pre-marital romantic relationships, anonymous third-party reporting yielded higher rates than did face-to-face reporting, especially for young women (22% versus 19% among young men; 15% versus 9% among young women), irrespective of marital status.

As far as reporting of pre-marital sexual experience with a romantic partner is concerned, anonymous third-party reporting yielded similar rates as did face-to-face reporting (8% among young men; 2–3% among young women). Similar patterns were observed among the married and the unmarried.

With regard to reporting of any pre-marital sexual experience, a different picture emerges. Among young women, anonymous third-party reporting of peer behaviours yielded rates that were slightly higher than those self-reported in response to questions posed face-to-face. This pattern was observed irrespective of marital status. In contrast, slightly more young men reported pre-marital sex in the face-to-face interview than in the anonymous third-party reporting format (12% versus 10%), irrespective of marital status.

At the same time, a comparison of any pre-marital sexual experience reported in face-to-face interviews and via the anonymous sealed envelope format suggests that some youth—2% or fewer—who had not admitted sexual experience in the face-to-face interview did so in the anonymous format. Indeed, 17% of young men and 27% of young women who reported pre-marital sex did so only in this more anonymous format (not shown in tabular form). Overall, it would appear that the sealed envelope technique did indeed provide a considerable number of sexually active young men and women who opted not to disclose their sexual experiences in face-to-face questioning the opportunity to do so.

Table 9.17: Levels of pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences by different reporting methods

Percentage of youth reporting pre-marital opposite-sex romantic relationships and percentage reporting sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic and other relationships by reporting method

Indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Reported a pre-marital opposite-sex romantic partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	18.7	9.0	18.9	8.9	18.3	9.1
Anonymous third-party reporting	21.5	15.4	20.8	14.5	21.9	16.4
Reported pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	7.9	2.2	9.4	2.4	7.2	2.0
Anonymous third-party reporting	8.0	3.0	10.0	3.6	7.7	2.5
Reported any pre-marital sexual experience via:						
Face-to-face interview	12.4	2.5	16.6	2.8	10.0	2.3
Anonymous third-party reporting	10.2	3.4	14.2	4.0	9.6	2.9
Face-to-face interview or anonymous reporting through sealed envelope	14.8	3.5	20.3	3.8	12.1	3.1
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Detailed information on friends' romantic and sexual experiences was collected for up to five of the respondent's closest same-sex friends.

9.6 Summary

Findings confirm that despite strict norms prohibiting pre-marital opposite-sex mixing, opportunities do exist for the formation of pre-marital romantic relationships. Indeed, significant minorities of young men and women had made or received a "proposal" for a romantic relationship (21–23%), and noteworthy, if smaller, percentages reported that they had been involved in a romantic partnership (19% and 9% of young men and women, respectively). Patterns of pre-marital romantic partnerships suggest that where partnerships occurred, they were initiated at an early age and were usually hidden from parents but not from peers. The majority of youth who engaged in a pre-marital romantic partnership had expectations of a longer-term commitment; young women were considerably more likely than young men to have expected a romantic relationship to lead to marriage (87% and 57%, respectively). The experiences of the married suggest, moreover, a disconnect between intentions and reality: while 64% and 92% of married young men and women who reported a pre-marital romantic partner, respectively, had intended to marry their pre-marital partner, far fewer (23% and 64%, respectively) had done so.

There was a clear progression in reported physical intimacy and sexual experience with romantic partners: while 88% of young men had held hands with a romantic partner, just 42% had sex with their partner; among young women, while three-quarters had held hands with a romantic partner, just one in four (26%) had engaged in sexual relations. Gender differences in reporting pre-marital sex with a romantic partner were indeed wide. Partner communication and negotiation regarding safe sex were rare, and the vast majority of youth had engaged in unprotected sex. One in seven young women who had sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner reported that their partner had forced them to have sex the first time.

In total, 15% of young men and 4% of young women reported experiences of pre-marital sex within romantic and/or other partnerships. Young men tended to initiate pre-marital sex earlier than young women; moreover, youth in rural areas tended to initiate pre-marital sexual activity earlier than their urban counterparts. Also, initiation of pre-marital sexual activity increased as young people transitioned from early into late adolescence, and further into young adulthood. Although a regional pattern was not evident with regard to pre-marital sexual experience, some state-wise differences were evident. Among young men, those in Tamil Nadu were less likely than those in the remaining five states to report pre-marital sex (9% versus 14–17%). Among young women, those from Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh were more likely than those from the other states to report pre-marital sex (6–7% versus 2–3%), and this pattern held, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

While sex with a romantic partner characterised pre-marital experiences for many of the sexually experienced, findings suggest that young men, but not young women, also engaged in sex in other contexts; other partners reported by young men included, mainly, married women, but also sex workers, and casual partners. Many of the pre-marital sexual experiences reported by youth were risky, for example, 25% of young men and 21% of young women reporting pre-marital sex had sex with more than one partner. Moreover, consistent condom use was limited—only 13% of young men and 3% of young women reported condom use in all pre-marital encounters. While sexual relations were generally unsafe across all six states, some notable state-level differences were discerned. For example, among young men, multiple partner relations were reported by 22–32% in five of the six states, but by relatively few (14%) in Rajasthan. Consistent condom use was most likely to be reported, however, by young men in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh (17–22% compared to 5–7% in the remaining four states). Among young women, those from Andhra Pradesh were less likely than those from the remaining states to report pre-marital sex with multiple partners (7% versus 28–33%); differences were muted with regard to consistent condom use.

We acknowledge that youth, especially young women, may not report their sexual experiences in a survey situation. Hence, the Youth Study supplemented a series of direct questions with an opportunity to report sexual experiences in an anonymous format. Overall, it would appear that the sealed envelope technique did indeed offer a considerable number of sexually active young men and women who opted not to disclose their sexual experiences in face-to-face questioning the opportunity to do so.

Chapter 10

Transition to marriage and early married life

As is well known, the transition to marriage occurs early in India, both for young men and young women. The recent NFHS (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a) shows, for example, that 47% of young women aged 20–24 had married before the age of 18, the minimum legal age at marriage for females; 32% of young men aged 25–29 had, likewise, married before they reached the age of 21, the legal minimum age at marriage for males. While marriage occurs early, marriage-related planning occurs even earlier, often as soon as a girl reaches menarche and, in many cases, even before she does so and without her participation. Moreover, while the consummation of marriage generally occurs following menarche, early married life tends to be isolating and frightening for many adolescent girls and young women. This chapter captures some of these experiences, including young people's preferences regarding the timing and type of marriage, marriage preparation and planning, and young people's participation in these processes, as well as their experiences in early married life, and the fertility and contraceptive behaviours of young couples.

10.1 Young people's preferences regarding timing and type of marriage

The Youth Study sought to assess young people's preferences about the age at which to marry and, among the unmarried, their preferences for love or arranged marriages. It is possible, of course, that youth who were married in adolescence might have reported the age at which they married as the preferred age. Findings, presented in Table 10.1, show that few young women preferred to marry below age 18, the legal minimum age at marriage for females, and, likewise, few young men preferred to marry before age 21, the legal minimum age at marriage for males. This preference was indicated by all youth, irrespective of sex, marital status or rural-urban residence. For example, just 9% of young women and hardly any young men preferred to marry before age 18. Sizeable proportions of young women (37%) and just 3% of young men preferred to marry before age 20, that is, while still adolescent. Moreover, the majority of young men (55%) preferred to marry at age 25 or later, a preference articulated by 12% of young women as well.

Differentials by marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents were notable. Married women were considerably more likely than the unmarried to prefer marriage before age 20 (48% and 24%, respectively); differences were negligible among young men (6% and 1%, respectively). Conversely, more unmarried than married youth preferred to marry at age 25 or later (62% versus 41% among young men, and 18% versus 6% among young women). A larger proportion of rural than urban young women expressed a preference to marry before age 20 — 45% of young women in rural areas compared to 17% in urban areas; differences were muted among young men (3% and 1%, respectively). Conversely, a smaller proportion of rural than urban youth expressed a preference to marry late; for example, 48% of rural young men compared to 70% of urban young men preferred to marry at age 25 or later, as did 8% and 20%, respectively, of young women.

Findings also show that the vast majority of unmarried youth preferred to have an arranged rather than a love marriage. For example, just 8% of young men and 7% of young women reported that they would prefer to have a love marriage. Rural-urban differences were muted.

Table 10.1: Preferences regarding timing and type of marriage

Percent distribution of youth by preferences regarding timing of marriage and percentage preferring a love marriage, according to residence

Indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Preferred to marry at age:						
17 or below	0.5	9.2	1.5	14.5	0.2	2.9
18	1.4	22.1	3.4	27.8	0.4	15.7
19	0.7	5.7	1.5	6.0	0.3	5.6
20	6.8	20.3	12.3	22.2	4.6	18.3
21	8.3	10.5	10.4	8.4	6.8	13.0
22	10.9	7.2	13.7	5.1	9.7	9.7
23	5.9	4.4	6.0	2.1	5.6	7.0
24	9.1	3.7	9.0	1.6	9.2	5.9
25–29	50.7	9.5	38.0	3.6	56.6	16.1
30 or above	4.3	2.1	2.6	2.5	5.0	1.5
Preferred not to marry	1.4	5.3	1.6	6.2	1.4	4.3
Preferred a love marriage[1]	NA	NA	NA	NA	8.1	7.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Preferred to marry at age:						
17 or below	0.1	1.7	0.4	3.5	0.0	0.6
18	0.4	12.2	1.3	20.5	0.1	6.6
19	0.3	3.5	0.7	5.0	0.1	2.5
20	2.5	18.1	6.1	24.7	1.6	13.6
21	4.1	13.0	7.6	13.3	2.7	12.8
22	6.3	10.3	10.6	8.4	5.2	11.6
23	4.8	7.7	6.0	4.8	4.5	9.7
24	9.8	7.5	11.0	3.9	9.6	10.0
25–29	65.7	18.8	52.2	7.4	69.8	26.6
30 or above	4.4	1.2	2.6	1.4	4.8	1.1
Preferred not to marry	1.7	5.8	1.5	7.2	1.7	4.9
Preferred a love marriage[1]	NA	NA	NA	NA	8.8	8.5
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Preferred to marry at age:						
17 or below	0.7	12.3	1.9	17.6	0.3	4.2
18	1.8	26.2	4.0	29.8	0.6	20.7
19	0.9	6.7	1.7	6.2	0.5	7.4
20	8.6	21.3	14.2	21.5	6.2	20.9
21	10.1	9.5	11.3	7.1	8.8	13.1
22	12.9	5.9	14.7	4.2	11.9	8.6
23	6.3	3.0	6.0	1.4	6.2	5.6
24	8.9	2.0	8.4	1.0	9.0	3.6
25–29	44.2	5.6	33.6	2.5	50.0	10.3
30 or above	4.2	2.4	2.6	2.8	5.1	1.7
Preferred not to marry	1.4	5.1	1.6	5.9	1.3	4.0
Preferred a love marriage[1]	NA	NA	NA	NA	7.8	6.2
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable. [1]Excludes those who reported a preference not to marry.

10.2 Marriage planning and extent of youth involvement

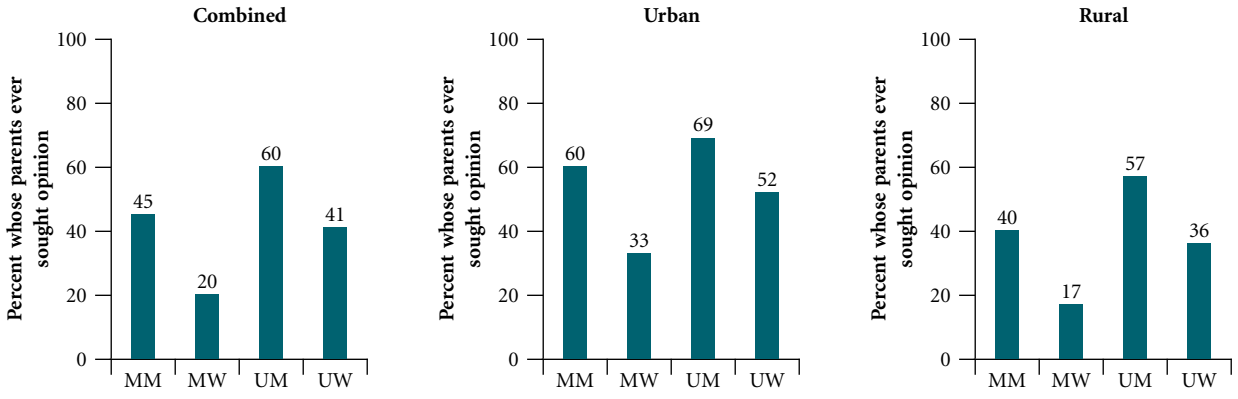
Several questions were put to both married and unmarried youth to understand the process of marriage planning as well as their involvement in it. While questions on marriage planning were similar for the married and the unmarried, some questions were unique to one or the other group. For example, the Youth Study asked unmarried respondents whether their parents or family members had begun discussing plans for their marriage; and asked all married youth, and unmarried youth for whom discussion had been initiated, about their age at that time and whether their parents had sought their opinion about the age at which they wished to marry.

Findings presented in Table 10.2 reiterate vast gender differences in the age of young people when discussions were initiated regarding the planning of their marriage. Among those whose parents had ever initiated marriage-related discussions (almost all married youth, and 13% and 37% of unmarried young men and women, respectively), 66% of young women and 24% of young men reported that marriage-related discussions were initiated before age 18. Indeed, for 39% of young women and 10% young men, such discussions were initiated at age 15 or below. Marital status differences were insignificant for young men, but discussions were initiated earlier for married young women compared to the unmarried. For example, for 45% of married young women, compared to 19% of the unmarried, discussions were initiated at age 15 or earlier. Likewise, discussions on marriage were initiated earlier for rural than urban respondents; discussions were initiated at age 15 or earlier among 11% compared to 4% of young men in rural and urban areas respectively; the corresponding percentages among young women were 45 and 19, respectively.

Among those whose parents had initiated marriage-related discussions, young men were more likely than young women to be consulted on the timing of marriage (46% versus 25%). Wide disparities by marital status and rural-urban residence were observed (see Figure 10.1). For example, irrespective of the sex of respondents, a much smaller proportion of married than unmarried youth were consulted about when they wished to marry (45% versus 60% among young men; and 20% versus 41% among young women), a finding that may be attributed to the relatively traditional family background of young people who were married early than those who were unmarried. Rural-urban differences suggest that the opinions of a larger proportion of youth in urban compared to rural areas were sought on the timing of marriage (59% versus 43% among young men; 39% versus 21% among young women).

The Youth Study also sought to assess the extent to which youth (other than married young men) perceived they could express or, among the married, could have expressed to their parents their preference not to marry the

Figure 10.1: Percentage of youth reporting that their parents had ever sought their opinion on timing of marriage, according to residence



Note: Includes respondents whose parents had initiated marriage-related discussion.

Table 10.2: Initiation of discussion on marriage and extent of youth involvement

Percent distribution of youth by age at initiation of marriage-related discussion, percentage whose opinion had been sought on timing of marriage and percentage who would find it difficult to tell parents if they did not like the match chosen, according to residence

Marriage discussion	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Parents ever initiated discussion on marriage	29.4	69.9	96.3	98.0	12.5	36.6
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Discussion on marriage initiated at age (years)						
13 or below	2.6	13.8	2.1	17.7	0.8	1.6
14–15	6.9	24.7	4.7	27.0	6.4	17.5
16–17	14.1	27.8	10.0	27.0	11.6	30.8
18 or above	70.3	28.2	76.4	21.5	80.0	49.0
Don't know	5.9	5.2	6.6	6.5	0.9	0.9
Parents ever sought respondent's opinion about when to get married	45.9	25.2	44.8	20.1	59.7	41.0
Number whose parents had initiated discussion on marriage	**4,015**	**19,534**	**7,687**	**13,521**	**1,401**	**6,013**
Would find/have found it difficult to tell parents if respondent did not like the match chosen	NA	50.1	NA	57.0	35.2	42.3
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Parents ever initiated discussion on marriage	19.3	59.6	95.2	97.3	8.6	34.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Discussion on marriage initiated at age (years)						
13 or below	1.0	4.8	0.5	6.8	0.3	0.9
14–15	3.3	14.6	1.8	17.4	2.7	9.4
16–17	8.6	29.5	4.5	32.7	8.8	23.5
18 or above	84.3	48.4	90.2	39.8	86.6	65.2
Don't know	2.5	2.6	2.9	3.4	0.6	1.1
Parents ever sought respondent's opinion about when to get married	59.0	39.3	60.3	32.8	69.0	51.9
Number whose parents had initiated discussion on marriage	**1,682**	**8,386**	**3,419**	**5,753**	**695**	**2,633**
Would find/have found it difficult to tell parents if respondent did not like the match chosen	NA	36.1	NA	44.4	29.3	30.5
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Parents ever initiated discussion on marriage	33.7	74.2	96.6	98.2	14.5	38.1
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Discussion on marriage initiated at age (years)						
13 or below	2.9	16.9	2.6	20.7	0.9	2.0
14–15	7.8	28.1	5.7	29.7	7.5	21.5
16–17	15.5	27.2	11.8	25.4	12.3	34.3
18 or above	66.9	21.4	72.1	16.4	78.1	41.1
Don't know	6.7	6.0	7.7	7.4	1.0	0.8
Parents ever sought respondent's opinion about when to get married	42.7	20.5	40.0	16.6	56.9	35.6
Number whose parents had initiated discussion on marriage	**2,333**	**11,148**	**4,268**	**7,768**	**706**	**3,380**
Would find/have found it difficult to tell parents if respondent did not like the match chosen	NA	55.9	NA	60.6	38.2	48.8
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

prospective spouse selected for them. Large proportions of youth perceived that it would be difficult to oppose their parents if they did not approve of the match chosen for them. As many as half of young women reported difficulty in confronting their parents, and marital status differences suggest that unmarried young women were considerably less likely than their married counterparts to perceive difficulty in opposing their parents (42% and 57%, respectively). This difference may reflect the tendency for the married to report actual experiences and for many unmarried, whose families had not yet initiated discussion, to report perceptions. At the same time, it may reflect the likelihood that women who were married at younger ages may have come from more traditional backgrounds or suggest a trend towards greater self-determination among the unmarried than the married. Gender differences were apparent among the unmarried, with larger percentages of young women than young men (42 versus 35) reporting difficulty in opposing parental decisions concerning their marriage; it is notable, nevertheless, that a considerable percentage of unmarried young men also reported thus. Finally, and perhaps for reasons pertaining to the traditional nature of family life in rural areas, rural youth were more likely than their urban counterparts to report difficulty in confronting their parents on marriage-related issues (38% versus 29% among unmarried young men; 56% versus 36% among young women). In short, these findings confirm that large proportions of youth did not perceive that they would play a role in decision-making with regard to their own marriage.

10.3 Age at marriage and cohabitation

Youth Study findings underscore the early age at marriage among young women (Table 10.3). Of those aged 20–24, as many as one in five (19%) young women was married before age 15, half (49%) before age 18 and two in three (67%) before age 20. In rural areas, as many as 59% and 77% of women aged 20–24 years were married before age 18 and 20, respectively; the corresponding percentages in urban areas were 26 and 44. Findings from the NFHS-3 also indicate that as many as 50% of 20–24 year-old women in the six states included in the Youth Study were married before age 18 (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a). Youth Study findings, moreover, suggest that even though there were indications of a decline in very early marriages (before age 15) among young women, several young women continued to marry before age 15: 19% of those aged 20–24, compared to 12% of those aged 15–19, were married before age 15.

In contrast to early age at marriage observed for young women, few men were married in adolescence; 7% of young men aged 20–24 years were married before age 18 and 16% before age 20. In rural areas, 9% and 21% of men aged 20–24 years were married before age 18 and 20, respectively. Nevertheless, 26% of young men aged 21–24 had married before age 21, the legal minimum age at marriage for young men; this percentage ranged from 13% among young men in urban areas to as much as 33% of those in rural areas (not shown in tabular form).

The overwhelming majority of youth (99%) had been married just once (not shown in tabular form). The mean age at marriage among those who were married was 20.8 years among young men and 16.2 years among young women. As expected, rural youth married earlier than urban youth; the mean age at marriage among rural youth was 2 years earlier than that of urban youth (20.3 years versus 22.4 years, respectively, for young men and 15.7 years versus 17.7 years for young women). The mean age at cohabitation was 0.6–0.7 years later than the mean age at marriage.

Table 10.4 presents the percentage of young men aged 20–24 who were married before age 20 and young women aged 20–24 who were married before age 18 by selected background characteristics. Findings suggest that Hindu young men were somewhat more likely than others to marry before age 20; a similar pattern prevailed in rural areas but not in urban areas. Among young women, Hindus and Muslims were more likely than those belonging to other religions to marry before age 18 (49–50% versus 35%), irrespective of rural-urban residence. Caste-wise differences indicate that young men and women belonging to general castes were considerably less likely than others to marry before age 20 and 18, respectively (7% versus 17–28% among young men; 36% versus 51–58% among young women), irrespective of rural-urban residence. The percentage of young men and women marrying before ages 20 and 18, respectively, decreased consistently with years of schooling and household wealth status, irrespective of

Table 10.3: Age at marriage and cohabitation

Percentage of youth aged 15–24 who were married before selected ages, percentage never married and mean age at marriage and cohabitation among those married, according to current age and residence

Current age (years)	Percentage first married before age (years):			Percentage never married	Among those married:		Number of respondents
	15	18	20		Mean age at marriage (years)	Mean age at cohabitation (years)	
Combined							
Men							
15–19	1.4	NA	NA	94.9	15.7	17.1	7,457
20–24	1.1	6.6	16.4	62.7	19.6	20.3	6,824
15–24	1.2	NA	NA	79.8	20.8[1]	21.5[1]	14,281
Women							
15–19	11.8	NA	NA	68.0	15.1	15.9	17,584
20–24	18.9	48.6	66.8	21.2	16.6	17.2	13,690
15–24	15.2	NA	NA	45.7	16.2	16.8	31,274
Urban							
Men							
15–19	0.2	NA	NA	98.8	16.0	(17.3)	3,769
20–24	0.4	2.2	6.9	76.9	20.5	20.9	3,714
15–24	0.3	NA	NA	87.5	22.4[1]	22.8[1]	7,483
Women							
15–19	3.0	NA	NA	84.1	16.1	16.5	7,084
20–24	5.6	25.9	44.1	36.4	18.1	18.4	6,892
15–24	4.4	NA	NA	59.6	17.7	18.1	13,976
Rural							
Men							
15–19	1.8	NA	NA	93.4	15.7	17.0	3,688
20–24	1.4	8.8	21.1	55.7	19.4	20.1	3,110
15–24	1.6	NA	NA	76.4	20.3[1]	21.1[1]	6,798
Women							
15–19	15.1	NA	NA	61.9	15.0	15.7	10,500
20–24	25.1	59.2	77.3	14.2	16.1	16.8	6,798
15–24	19.7	NA	NA	39.8	15.7	16.5	17,298

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable due to censoring. [1]Includes married men aged 25–29 years.

rural-urban residence. For example, the percentage of young men marrying before age 20 declined from 39 among those with no formal education to 6 among those who had completed 12 or more years of schooling; the differences were wider among young women (82% versus 5%). Likewise, the percentage marrying before age 20 decreased from 33% among young men in the poorest (first) quintile to 7% among those in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile; among young women, the percentage marrying before age 18 decreased from 78 to 23. Larger proportions of working young men and women married before ages 20 and 18, respectively, than did youth who were not working at the time of the interview (19% versus 4% among young men; 59% versus 41% among young women). As expected, state-wise data suggest a clear regional pattern. Among young men, those from Maharashtra and the southern states were less

likely than their northern counterparts to marry before age 20 (4–11% versus 26–36%), irrespective of rural-urban residence. Among young women, the pattern differed slightly; young women from Tamil Nadu were least likely, and those from Bihar most likely, to marry before age 18 (18% and 77%, respectively). In addition, about one-third of young women from Maharashtra (35%) and 54–62% of those from Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh were married before age 18.

Table 10.4: Age at marriage by background characteristics

Percentage of youth aged 20–24 who were married before age 20 (men) and 18 (women) by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	Men (before age 20)			Women (before age18)		
	Combined	Urban	Rural	Combined	Urban	Rural
Religion						
Hindu	17.2	7.1	21.8	49.8	25.4	59.8
Muslim	12.4	7.8	17.0	48.5	32.6	63.9
Other[1]	10.5	2.5	15.0	34.7	19.6	45.2
Caste						
SC	20.8	10.1	25.2	52.6	29.3	62.1
ST/VJNT	27.7	8.2	31.0	58.0	37.4	62.3
OBC	16.7	6.7	21.5	51.0	27.5	61.1
General[2]	6.6	5.1	7.8	36.3	18.8	49.2
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	39.0	27.1	40.9	82.1	65.2	84.2
1–7	23.9	13.2	27.7	60.7	47.6	65.2
8–11	13.4	7.3	16.5	35.4	27.3	40.1
12 and above	5.8	1.6	9.5	4.8	3.1	7.4
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	18.6	8.3	23.2	59.2	23.7	67.0
No	3.5	1.3	5.5	40.9	26.5	51.2
Wealth quintile						
First	32.5	20.4	33.4	78.0	57.7	79.3
Second	25.1	14.9	26.6	65.6	51.1	67.4
Third	16.2	10.8	17.9	52.8	38.9	57.0
Fourth	12.3	7.4	15.3	40.1	30.0	47.2
Fifth	7.4	3.3	14.3	23.1	13.9	37.1
State						
Bihar	30.7	13.8	33.9	77.0	45.3	81.5
Jharkhand	25.7	10.6	31.3	61.7	37.5	69.7
Rajasthan	35.5	17.7	42.7	59.9	35.8	68.5
Maharashtra	6.6	4.5	8.3	34.9	22.2	46.3
Andhra Pradesh	10.6	5.6	12.7	54.1	34.1	63.3
Tamil Nadu	3.8	3.2	4.2	18.1	15.3	20.4
Total	**16.4**	**6.9**	**21.1**	**48.6**	**25.9**	**59.2**

Note: OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

10.4 Marriage preparedness

Several questions were put to both married and unmarried youth who were engaged to be married to understand their preparedness for marriage. Questions ranged from whether the proposed spouse was chosen by the young person or by his/her parents; whether the young person's approval of the prospective spouse was sought, if chosen by the parents; and how much contact the young person and the prospective spouse had prior to marriage. As just 1% and 5% of unmarried young men and women, respectively, reported that they were engaged to be married (not shown in tabular form), we restrict our discussion to the currently married.

Table 10.5 describes marriage-related preparedness among the married. An overwhelming proportion (94–95%) of respondents, whether male or female, had married a partner chosen by their parents. While 84% of young men reported that their parents had sought their approval while determining their marriage partner, only 70% of young women so reported. As many as one-tenth of young men (11%) and one-quarter of young women reported that their parents had not sought their approval at all; rural youth were more likely than urban youth to so report. Just 5–6% of youth reported having chosen their marriage partner on their own. While gender differences were negligible, urban youth were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to report so (9–11% versus 3–4%).

Table 10.5: Marriage preparedness

Percent distribution of married youth by type of marriage and selected indicators of their preparedness for marriage, according to residence

Marriage indicators	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Type of marriage						
Marriage fixed by respondent himself/herself (love marriage)	4.6	5.5	8.5	10.8	3.4	4.1
Marriage arranged by parents, with respondent's approval of choice of spouse	84.4	69.5	84.6	76.4	84.4	67.6
Marriage fixed by parents without respondent's approval	10.9	24.9	7.0	12.8	12.2	28.4
Ever had a chance to meet/talk with fiancé/fiancée alone	18.9	15.4	26.6	27.8	16.5	11.9
Acquaintance with spouse before marrige						
Met on wedding day	64.3	67.9	52.8	53.9	68.0	71.9
Knew somewhat before wedding day	22.7	18.3	31.2	26.1	20.0	16.1
Knew well before wedding day	12.7	13.5	15.6	19.8	11.8	11.7
Feelings about getting married						
Excited/looked forward to it	59.3	20.0	70.7	29.8	55.8	17.3
Nothing special	31.0	20.9	23.6	20.7	33.4	21.0
Very scared or unhappy	6.1	47.1	3.2	41.1	7.0	48.8
Anxious	3.2	10.3	2.1	7.6	3.5	11.1
Number of respondents	**8,052**	**13,912**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**4,462**	**7,962**
Did not know what to expect of married life	69.7	78.2	67.9	77.8	70.3	78.3
Agree that youth do not get accurate information about married life before marriage	72.1	80.3	71.3	79.8	72.3	80.5
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Reported pre-marital acquaintance was limited, and highlights that even those who reported above that they had approved their parents' choice of spouse had rarely had an opportunity to meet their prospective spouse prior to marriage. Indeed, just one in five married young men (19%) and one in seven married young women (15%) reported that they had ever had a chance to meet and interact with their spouse-to-be alone prior to marriage. Rural-urban differences suggest that more urban than rural youth had met or talked with their fiancé/fiancée alone before marriage (27–28% versus 12–17%). Moreover, two in three married youth (64–68%) reported that they had met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day, and 18–23% reported that they knew their spouse only a little before marriage. Just 13–14% reported that they knew their spouse well prior to marriage. Rural-urban differences indicate that urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report pre-marital acquaintance (47% versus 32% among young men; 46% versus 28% among young women). In short, findings underscore the extent to which youth, especially young women, were excluded from marriage-related decision-making and the extent to which youth were married to relative strangers.

Compounding this lack of pre-marital acquaintance, large proportions of youth (70% of young men and 78% of young women) who had begun cohabiting with their spouse reported that they were unaware at the time of their marriage of what to expect of married life. No rural-urban differences were observed. Similar proportions of youth—72% of young men and 80% of young women—reported that young people in general were poorly informed about married life prior to marriage, highlighting the need for family life or sex education and pre-marital counselling for young people. Again, rural-urban differences were muted.

Commensurate with low levels of marriage preparedness, not all youth reported that they had looked forward to or had been excited about their marriage. Gender differences were pronounced: while 59% of young men said that they had been excited about their marriage, only 20% of young women so reported. Rural-urban differences were considerable; urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report that they had been excited about their marriage. Large proportions of young women—as many as 47%—reported that they had been very scared or unhappy about getting married, compared to just 6% of young men, levels that were somewhat higher in rural than urban areas.

Table 10.6 presents young people's involvement in spouse selection and the extent to which they were acquainted before marriage with their spouse-to-be in each state. Findings suggest that very few youth in all six states had chosen their marriage partner on their own and that youth in Tamil Nadu were most likely to have done so. One-fifth (19–20%) of young men and women in Tamil Nadu compared to 1–8% in the remaining five states had chosen their marriage partner on their own. Similar state-wise patterns were observed in both urban and rural settings.

With regard to the practice of arranging marriages without any involvement of young people, findings suggest that youth in the northern states were more likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to so report (11–22% versus 6–7% among young men; 41–47% versus 3–10% among young women), irrespective of rural-urban residence. Findings suggest, moreover, that youth in the northern states were more likely than those in Maharashtra and the southern states to have met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day (79–91% versus 21–51% among young men; 80–94% versus 36–62% among young women). Conversely, they were less likely to report that they knew their spouse well prior to marriage (2–7% versus 13–39% among young men; 2–8% versus 14–32% among young women). These patterns were observed in both rural and urban settings.

In every state, finally, few married young men and large proportions of married young women reported having felt very scared or unhappy about their marriage. Among young men, state-wise differences were negligible, with just 4–9% reporting such feelings. Among young women state-wise differences were wider. Among three of the five early marrying states, namely, Bihar, Jharkhand and Andhra Pradesh, over half of young women (51–57%) reported fear and unhappiness, and in the remaining two states (Maharashtra and Rajasthan), between one-third and two-fifths so reported. Although young women in Tamil Nadu had married later than their counterparts in the others states, and larger proportions had received opportunities to develop some pre-marital acquaintance with their husband-to-be and to have met him prior to their wedding day, surprisingly, over two-fifths reported such negative feelings prior to marriage. Again, these differences were observed in both rural and urban areas.

Table 10.6: Marriage preparedness by state

Percentage of married youth by type of marriage and degree of acquaintance with future spouse before marriage by state, according to residence

Marriage indicators	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Type of marriage						
Marriage fixed by respondent himself/herself (love marriage)						
Bihar	1.0	1.1	3.3	3.5	0.8	0.9
Jharkhand	4.8	7.9	7.6	12.4	4.2	7.0
Rajasthan	0.5	0.5	0.9	1.4	0.4	0.4
Maharashtra	5.0	4.9	7.3	10.2	3.3	1.9
Andhra Pradesh	4.8	7.0	9.1	11.4	3.5	5.8
Tamil Nadu	20.1	19.1	18.4	17.9	21.3	20.0
Total	**4.6**	**5.5**	**8.5**	**10.8**	**3.4**	**4.1**
Marriage fixed by parents without respondent's approval						
Bihar	10.6	43.1	7.6	38.7	10.8	43.4
Jharkhand	12.1	41.4	8.6	35.7	12.8	42.6
Rajasthan	22.3	47.2	14.9	36.1	23.9	49.4
Maharashtra	7.0	10.1	5.0	7.2	8.5	11.8
Andhra Pradesh	5.9	7.3	5.2	5.0	6.1	7.9
Tamil Nadu	7.2	3.4	5.5	3.1	8.3	3.7
Total	**10.9**	**24.9**	**7.0**	**12.8**	**12.2**	**28.4**
Number of respondents	**8,052**	**13,912**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**4,462**	**7,962**
Acquaintance with spouse before marriage						
Met on wedding day						
Bihar	90.6	94.0	85.9	89.4	91.0	94.3
Jharkhand	78.7	79.7	73.6	72.3	79.7	81.2
Rajasthan	86.0	85.6	71.6	77.1	89.3	87.1
Maharashtra	51.1	62.3	55.4	56.6	48.0	65.5
Andhra Pradesh	43.3	44.4	45.9	43.6	42.5	44.6
Tamil Nadu	21.0	35.5	22.3	32.3	20.2	37.6
Total	**64.3**	**67.9**	**52.8**	**53.9**	**68.0**	**71.9**
Knew well before wedding day						
Bihar	2.8	2.1	5.4	4.3	2.5	1.9
Jharkhand	6.8	8.3	8.1	12.4	6.6	7.4
Rajasthan	2.2	3.0	2.6	6.3	2.1	2.4
Maharashtra	13.1	13.7	10.7	17.1	14.7	11.8
Andhra Pradesh	23.5	26.1	23.8	27.2	23.4	25.8
Tamil Nadu	38.6	31.7	33.7	30.7	42.0	32.5
Total	**12.7**	**13.5**	**15.6**	**19.8**	**11.8**	**11.7**
Number of respondents	**8,052**	**13,912**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**4,462**	**7,962**

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Table 10.6: (Cont'd)

Marriage indicators	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Feelings about getting married						
Very scared or unhappy						
Bihar	7.8	57.0	4.4	47.9	8.2	57.5
Jharkhand	9.4	51.3	5.1	46.5	10.3	52.3
Rajasthan	4.3	39.7	2.0	38.7	4.7	39.8
Maharashtra	4.7	35.2	1.8	30.4	6.6	38.0
Andhra Pradesh	7.4	54.2	5.3	51.6	7.9	55.0
Tamil Nadu	3.9	43.0	3.7	45.4	4.1	41.5
Total	**6.1**	**47.1**	**3.2**	**41.1**	**7.0**	**48.8**
Number of respondents	**8,052**	**13,912**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**4,462**	**7,962**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

10.5 Payment of dowry

Despite the existence of laws against dowry, Figure 10.2 shows that 72% of young men reported receiving dowry and 78% of young women reported giving it. Rural-urban differences in dowry reporting were negligible. In short, the practice of dowry remained as strong among families of urban youth as among their rural counterparts. State-wise differences suggest a different pattern among young men and women. Among young men, those from Maharashtra were least likely to report having received dowry, irrespective of rural-residence; almost three-fifths (58%) in Maharashtra, over two-thirds in Bihar and Jharkhand (68–71%) and over three-quarters in the remaining three states (78–84%) so reported. Among young women, those from Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra were less likely than those from the remaining three states to report having given dowry (68–70% versus 85–88%). A similar pattern was observed in rural settings but not in urban areas.

10.6 Early marital experiences: Spousal communication and interaction

Table 10.7 describes the extent of communication and interaction among young couples and confirms that communication even on everyday matters was far from universal. Between 71% and 88% of youth reported regularly discussing how to spend money and in-law issues with their spouse. On both these matters, differences in reported communication by sex and residence of the respondent were negligible, except that young women were slightly more likely than young men to report regularly discussing issues related to in-laws (76% versus 71%).

Likewise, 79–85% of youth reported that they had communicated with their spouse on when and/or whether to have children or how many children to have. Gender differences and rural-urban differences were narrow, although young women and urban youth were slightly more likely than young men and rural youth, respectively, to have communicated on these matters. In contrast, discussion was more limited on the topic of contraception and notably, fewer young men (34%) than women (55%) reported that they had ever discussed contraception with their spouse. Rural-urban differences suggest that urban youth were somewhat more likely than rural youth to report such communication (42% versus 32% among young men; 59% versus 53% among young women).

Spousal interaction was measured by questions regarding whether, in the six months preceding the interview, respondents had gone with their spouse to a movie, been on an outing or gone to their own (for young women) or wife's (for young men) natal home. These types of interaction were clearly far from universally reported. While most youth had visited their own/wife's natal home together with the spouse, even this was not universal: indeed,

Figure 10.2: Percentage of married youth who reported receiving or giving dowry by state, according to residence

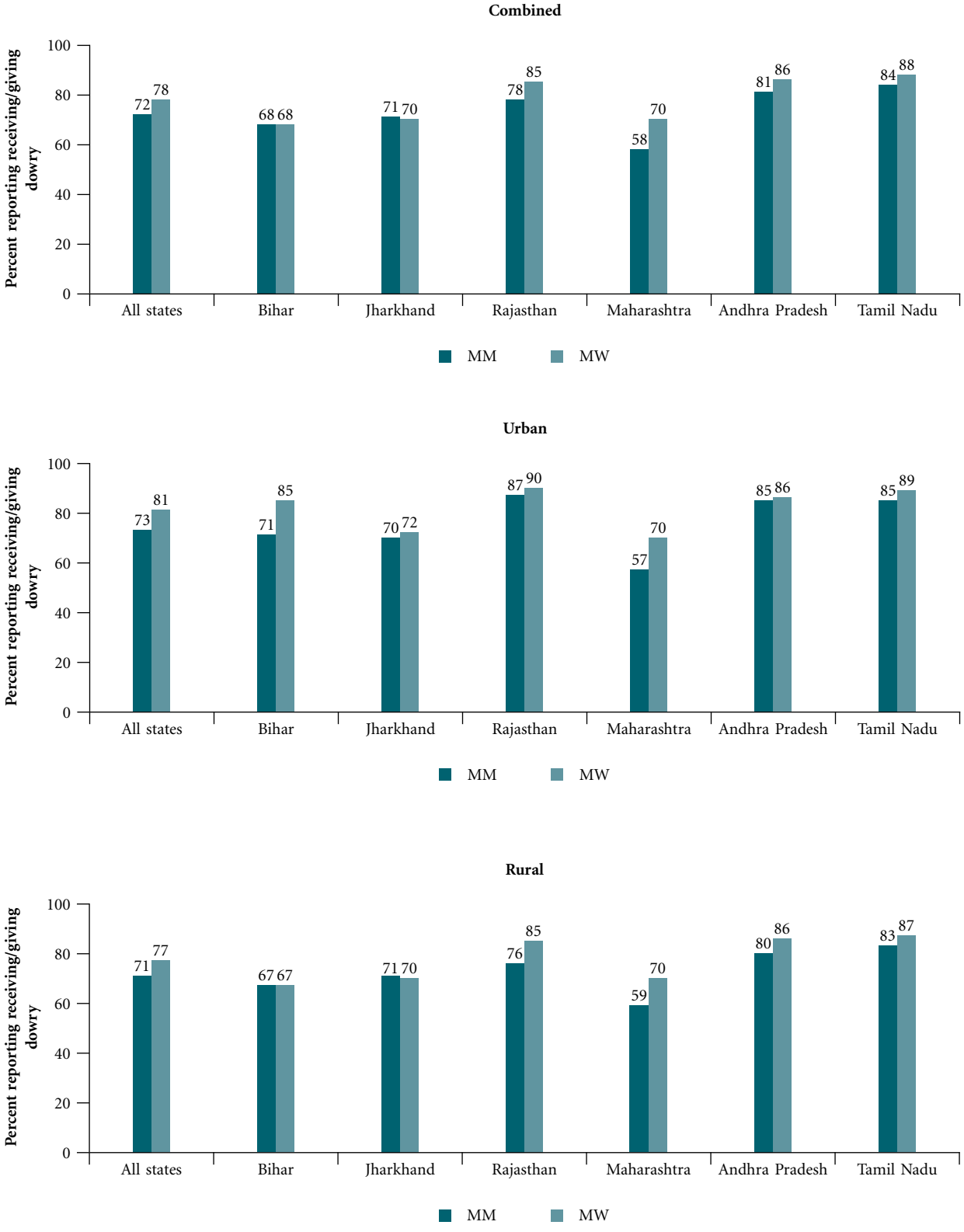

Table 10.7: Early marital experiences

Percentage of married youth by selected characteristics of the marital relationship, according to residence

Characteristics	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Usually communicates with spouse on:						
How to spend money	86.7	87.7	89.3	89.7	85.8	87.1
In-law issues	70.6	75.9	70.2	76.1	70.8	75.8
Ever communicated with spouse on:						
When/whether to have a baby	79.1	83.6	83.4	87.9	77.7	82.4
Number of children to have	81.1	85.0	84.0	89.2	80.2	83.8
Contraceptive use	34.1	54.5	41.7	58.9	31.6	53.2
Went with spouse to the following in last 6 months:						
Theatre/video parlour	32.2	25.8	52.7	44.5	25.6	20.3
Festival/*yatra*/*tamasha*/play/tour/picnic/restaurant	50.3	36.5	62.6	52.6	46.3	31.8
Woman's/wife's natal home	78.0	72.6	79.1	78.3	77.6	70.9
Assessment of married life						
Very happy	59.8	47.7	68.3	59.6	57.0	44.2
Reasonably happy	37.4	47.1	30.0	36.9	39.8	50.0
Unhappy	1.6	3.0	0.8	1.8	1.9	3.3
Very unhappy	1.2	2.1	0.7	1.7	1.3	2.3
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

22% of young men and 27% of young women reported that they had not visited their (for young women)/their wife's (for young men) natal place in the six months prior to the interview; rural-urban differentials were narrow, although somewhat more urban than rural young women so reported. Other types of interaction were far more limited and gender differences were evident. For example, 50% of young men reported that they had been together with their wife on an outing (festival, picnic, etc.) compared to 37% of young women who reported that they had done so with their husband; these differences were evident among those in rural and urban settings as well. Even fewer—32% and 26% of young men and women, respectively—had visited places of entertainment; gender differences were mild in both rural and urban settings. Both types of interaction were, moreover, considerably more likely to be reported by urban than rural youth.

Youth were also asked to assess their relative contentment with married life. Almost all youth reported that they were very or reasonably happy (60% and 48% of young men and young women, respectively, reported they were very happy and 37% and 47%, respectively, that they were reasonably happy).

Table 10.8 presents the percentage of youth in each state reporting spousal communication on selected topics, including a general topic, namely, how to spend money, and a sexual and reproductive health topic, namely, contraception, and spousal interaction as measured by the percentage who had gone with their spouse to a movie or on an outing. State-wise differences in reported communication on everyday matters such as how to spend money were negligible; even so, young men and women in Tamil Nadu were more likely than those in any other state to report that they discussed money matters regularly with their spouse (96% versus 81–89% among young men; 93% versus 82–90% among young women). In all states, considerably fewer young men and women reported spousal communication

on contraception. In five of the six states, 30–45% of young men and 51–72% of young women reported having discussed contraception with their spouse; in the remaining state, Andhra Pradesh, considerably fewer had done so (12% of young men and 34% of young women). Similar patterns persisted in both urban and rural settings.

A clear regional pattern was evident in young people's reports of spousal interaction; youth from the southern states were more likely than those from the other states to report spousal interaction, irrespective of rural-urban residence (81–91% versus 38–49% among young men; 70–81% versus 18–38% among young women).

10.7 Forced sex within marriage

In several previous studies, significant minorities of young women have reported the experience of forced sex within marriage, including at initiation (see, for example, Santhya and Jejeebhoy, 2006; Santhya et al., 2007). The Youth Study explored the extent to which forced sex was experienced by young women and perpetrated by young men within marriage. Findings, presented in Table 10.9, suggest that the first marital sexual experience was forced

Table 10.8: Early marital experiences by state

Percentage of married youth by selected characteristics of the marital relationship by state, according to residence

Characteristics	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
General communication with spouse (Money matters)						
Bihar	86.3	88.2	87.5	92.0	86.3	88.0
Jharkhand	84.9	87.0	90.2	90.3	84.0	86.4
Rajasthan	88.6	88.5	91.7	92.8	87.8	87.7
Maharashtra	87.1	81.8	85.6	84.1	88.2	80.4
Andhra Pradesh	81.2	89.5	88.9	93.1	79.0	88.4
Tamil Nadu	95.6	92.8	95.9	92.2	95.3	93.2
Total	**86.7**	**87.7**	**89.3**	**89.7**	**85.8**	**87.1**
Communication on SRH matters (Contraceptive use)						
Bihar	37.5	71.6	46.1	79.7	36.7	71.0
Jharkhand	30.0	62.3	51.0	83.6	26.1	58.0
Rajasthan	42.0	56.6	56.0	64.1	38.7	55.0
Maharashtra	44.6	50.9	45.7	56.8	43.8	47.5
Andhra Pradesh	12.2	34.0	19.9	41.8	10.0	31.7
Tamil Nadu	37.0	58.7	40.2	63.9	34.8	55.3
Total	**34.1**	**54.5**	**41.7**	**58.9**	**31.6**	**53.2**
Spousal interaction						
Bihar	39.4	17.6	50.0	34.1	38.5	16.4
Jharkhand	49.0	38.4	61.9	52.6	46.6	35.5
Rajasthan	38.2	24.8	59.6	37.7	33.1	22.2
Maharashtra	48.8	35.0	60.6	45.2	40.6	29.2
Andhra Pradesh	80.9	69.9	89.9	81.9	78.4	66.4
Tamil Nadu	91.0	80.6	94.1	84.7	88.9	77.9
Total	**55.7**	**42.7**	**71.4**	**60.6**	**50.7**	**37.5**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

for as many as one in four young women (27%) and that those in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to so report (29% and 19%, respectively). Fewer young men (10%), however, reported that they had forced their wife to engage in sex the first time, with somewhat more rural than urban young men reporting so (11% versus 7%). Forced sex at initiation was more likely to be reported by youth in the northern states than those in Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, 13–15% of young men in the northern states compared to 4–8% in Maharashtra and the southern states reported that they had forced their wife to engage in sex the first time. Likewise, 33–49% of young women in the northern states reported forced sex at initiation, compared to 6–23% in Maharashtra and the southern states.

Over the course of their marital lives, somewhat more young people acknowledged the experience (young women) or perpetration (young men) of forced sex within marriage: 32% of young women reported that they had ever

Table 10.9: Forced sex within marriage

Percentage of married youth reporting perpetration (men)/experience (women) of forced sex within marriage by state, according to residence

State	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Perpetrated (M)/ expericenced (W) forced sex at initiation		Ever perpetrated (M)/ experienced (W) forced sex		Perpetrated (M)/ expericenced (W) forced sex in last 12 months[1]	
Combined						
Bihar	13.1	48.7	24.8	53.7	11.0	27.3
Jharkhand	15.0	35.3	23.3	39.7	8.4	19.2
Rajasthan	13.5	32.8	17.2	39.8	6.6	27.6
Maharashtra	4.3	22.5	8.5	27.3	1.5	8.4
Andhra Pradesh	7.6	5.6	14.7	10.2	4.8	5.3
Tamil Nadu	8.3	19.9	14.7	25.3	4.1	13.6
Total	**9.8**	**27.0**	**16.7**	**32.2**	**6.0**	**16.6**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**7,812**	**13,549**	**6,889**	**12,220**
Urban						
Bihar	10.2	43.2	21.3	50.0	7.7	30.6
Jharkhand	10.3	27.4	17.5	30.8	6.3	16.5
Rajasthan	9.5	29.3	11.6	34.2	5.8	22.3
Maharashtra	4.4	19.0	4.4	24.3	0.0	7.1
Andhra Pradesh	4.6	3.1	13.7	5.9	4.5	2.8
Tamil Nadu	8.9	17.1	15.3	23.3	3.3	12.2
Total	**6.6**	**18.5**	**10.8**	**23.4**	**3.0**	**11.2**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**3,516**	**5,831**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**3,061**	**5,206**
Rural						
Bihar	13.3	49.0	25.1	54.0	11.3	27.0
Jharkhand	15.8	36.9	24.4	41.5	8.8	19.7
Rajasthan	14.5	33.5	18.5	41.0	6.7	28.6
Maharashtra	4.3	24.4	11.3	28.9	2.4	9.1
Andhra Pradesh	8.4	6.4	14.9	11.5	4.9	6.1
Tamil Nadu	7.8	21.7	14.2	26.6	4.6	14.6
Total	**10.8**	**29.4**	**18.6**	**34.7**	**7.0**	**18.1**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**4,296**	**7,718**	**4,296**	**7,718**	**3,828**	**7,014**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Of those who had cohabited for atleast 12 months.

experienced forced sex within marriage and 17% of young men reported that they had ever perpetrated it. Rural young men were more likely than urban young men to report having perpetrated forced sex within marriage (19% versus 11%). Correspondingly, rural young women were more likely than urban young women to report having experienced forced sex within marriage (35% and 23%, respectively). The regional pattern observed for forced sex at initiation was evident in young people's reports of ever experiencing or perpetrating forced sex within marriage as well. Young men in the northern states were more likely to have ever perpetrated (17–25% versus 9–15%), and young women in the northern states more likely to have ever experienced (40–54% versus 10–27%) forced sex within marriage, than their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states, irrespective of rural-urban residence.

Recent experience or perpetration of such an incident, that is, in the 12 months preceding the interview, was reported by 6% of young men and 17% of young women who had cohabited for at least one year. More rural than urban youth so reported (7% versus 3% among young men; 18% versus 11% among young women). Here again, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from the other states to so report (7–11% versus 2–5% among young men; 19–28% versus 5–14% among young women).

10.8 Experience of domestic violence within marriage

The Youth Study explored the extent of domestic violence or verbal abuse perpetrated by young men on their wife and in less detail, by women on their husband. Table 10.10 shows that 3% or fewer young people reported that they (women)/their wife (men) had either verbally humiliated their husband/him in the presence of others or perpetrated violence on him in any way. No differences were observed by respondents' sex or place of residence.

Table 10.10: Domestic violence within marriage

Percentage of married youth reporting experience of verbal abuse and physical violence within marriage by type of violence, according to residence

Types of violence	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
A. Verbal abuse or physical violence perpetrated by wife						
Wife verbally abused husband in the presence of others	1.8	2.7	1.1	2.3	2.0	2.8
Wife ever perpetrated any physical violence on husband	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6
Wife perpetrated any physical violence on husband in last 12 months	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**
B. Verbal abuse or physical violence perpetrated by husband						
Husband verbally abused wife in the presence of others	3.7	7.2	2.6	5.7	4.0	7.7
Physical violence ever perpetrated by husband						
Slapped wife	22.9	24.2	18.3	20.1	24.4	25.3
Twisted wife's arm or pulled her hair	7.1	11.4	4.0	9.3	8.0	12.0
Pushed/shook or threw something at wife	4.1	7.2	1.9	5.5	4.9	7.7
Punched wife	3.4	5.4	1.8	3.9	3.9	5.9
Kicked, dragged or beat wife	2.6	6.3	1.6	4.5	2.9	6.9
Choked or burnt wife on purpose	0.2	1.2	0.1	0.7	0.2	1.4
Threatened or attacked wife with knife/gun	0.1	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.4
Perpetrated/experienced at least one of the above forms of violence	23.9	25.3	18.9	21.4	25.5	26.4
Perpetrated/experienced more than one of the above forms of violence	9.1	13.3	5.0	10.2	10.4	14.2

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Table 10.10: (Cont'd)

Types of violence	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
B. Verbal abuse or physical violence perpetrated by husband						
Experience of violence perpetrated by husband in last 12 months						
Slapped wife						
Never	83.5	80.5	86.2	83.2	82.7	79.7
Sometimes	15.6	17.3	13.1	15.2	16.4	17.9
Often	0.3	1.8	0.1	1.0	0.4	2.0
Twisted wife's arm or pulled her hair						
Never	95.0	90.2	96.9	91.9	94.4	89.7
Sometimes	4.7	8.2	2.9	7.1	5.3	8.6
Often	0.1	1.2	0.0	0.7	0.1	1.4
Pushed/shook or threw something at wife						
Never	97.2	93.8	98.4	95.2	96.8	93.3
Sometimes	2.6	5.1	1.4	4.0	2.9	5.4
Often	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.7	0.2	0.9
Punched wife						
Never	97.6	95.4	98.6	96.6	97.2	95.0
Sometimes	2.3	3.8	1.3	2.8	2.6	4.1
Often	0.0	0.6	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.7
Kicked, dragged or beat wife						
Never	98.3	94.6	98.6	96.2	98.2	94.1
Sometimes	1.7	4.5	1.3	3.1	1.8	4.8
Often	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.8
Choked or burnt wife on purpose						
Never	99.9	99.0	99.9	99.5	99.9	98.9
Sometimes	0.1	0.7	0.1	0.5	0.1	0.8
Often	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Threatened or attacked wife with knife/gun						
Never	99.9	99.6	99.9	99.8	99.9	99.6
Sometimes	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2
Often	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Perpetrated/experienced at least one of the above forms of violence in last 12 months	17.5	20.9	14.5	18.0	18.5	21.7
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**
First experienced violence within 12 months of marriage	11.3	9.8	11.5	9.7	11.3	9.9
Number who had cohabited for at least 12 months	**6,889**	**12,220**	**3,061**	**5,206**	**3,828**	**7,014**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Small proportions of young men were reported to have verbally humiliated their wife in the presence of others (reported by 4% and 7% of young men and women, respectively); fewer young men and women (2–3%) reported verbal abuse perpetrated by the wife. In contrast, considerably larger proportions reported the experience (women) or perpetration (men) of some form of physical violence. In total, one-quarter of young men and women (24–25%) reported the experience (women) or perpetration (men) of some form of physical violence. Rural-urban differences suggest that somewhat more rural than urban youth so reported (26% versus 19% among young men; 26% versus 21%, among young women). Hardly any young men or women reported physical violence perpetrated by the wife (0.4–0.5%).

Of all forms of physical violence perpetrated by the husband, slapping was most commonly reported, perpetrated or experienced by almost all those who had perpetrated or experienced any form of violence reported above (23% and 24% of young men and women, respectively). Twisting the wife's arm or pulling her hair was also reported (7–11%). In addition, 3–4% of young men and 5–7% of young women also reported that the wife was pushed, shaken or had something thrown at her, punched, kicked, dragged or beaten. Other forms of violence were rarely reported (0.1–1%). Also notable is the finding that 9% of young men reported perpetrating more than one form of violence on their wife and 13% of young women reported experiencing more than one form of violence perpetrated by their husband.

Perpetration or experience of any form of physical violence within marriage in the 12 months preceding the interview was reported by 18% and 21% of young men and women, respectively. As earlier, slapping was most commonly reported; 16% of young men reported slapping their wife in the last year and 19% of young women reported being slapped by their husband in the 12 months preceding the interview.

Findings on the occurrence of physical violence within the first year of marriage (among those who had cohabited for at least one year) indicate that 10–11% of youth reported perpetration or experience of physical violence within a year of marriage, with no rural-urban variation.

Table 10.11 presents percentages of married youth reporting perpetration (men) or experience (women) of physical violence within marriage in each state. No regional pattern was discernible in young people's reports of perpetration or experience of physical violence within marriage; however, some findings are notable. For one, youth in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu were more likely than others to report perpetration or experience of physical violence within a year of marriage (18–21% versus 6–10% among young men; 13–14% versus 7–9% among young women). Second, youth in Rajasthan were less likely than those in the other states to report having ever perpetrated or experienced physical violence. One in seven young men in Rajasthan compared to between one-fifth and one-third of young men in the remaining five states (20–34%) reported having ever perpetrated physical violence on their wife. Likewise, 18% of young women in Rajasthan compared to 23–30% of those in the other states reported that they had ever experienced physical violence at the hands of their husband. Finally, the same pattern persisted in terms of recent perpetration or experience of physical violence as well; 8% and 15% of young men and women in Rajasthan compared to 17–31% and 19–24%, respectively, of those in the remaining five states reported perpetration or experience of recent physical violence.

10.9 Extent of extra-marital sexual relations

The Youth Study did not probe as extensively about extra-marital sexual experiences as it did about pre-marital sex, discussed in Chapter 9. A single direct question was asked to all married youth about whether they had experienced sexual relations with someone other than their spouse following marriage. In addition, youth reporting exchange or forced sex, and young men reporting sex with a same-sex partner, a married woman, or a sex worker were probed about the timing of the first such encounter; for very few, it occurred following marriage. Given the lack of extensive probing, we caution readers that percentages of youth reporting extra-marital sexual experiences, indicated in Table 10.12, may be particularly under-reported.

Table 10.11: Domestic violence within marriage by state

Percentage of married youth reporting perpetration (men)/experience (women) of physical violence within marriage by state, according to residence

State	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Within first 12 months of marriage[1]		Ever		Last 12 months	
Combined						
Bihar	8.4	9.4	29.7	29.7	18.7	23.6
Jharkhand	8.5	8.8	27.0	27.0	20.9	20.8
Rajasthan	5.9	7.4	13.5	18.4	8.0	14.7
Maharashtra	17.9	14.3	24.8	26.9	18.2	23.2
Andhra Pradesh	9.5	7.0	19.7	22.9	16.5	18.6
Tamil Nadu	20.8	12.5	34.3	27.0	30.9	24.2
Total	**11.3**	**9.8**	**23.9**	**25.3**	**17.5**	**20.9**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**6,889**	**12,220**	**7,812**	**13,549**	**7,812**	**13,549**
Urban						
Bihar	7.8	9.8	25.0	23.9	17.0	19.6
Jharkhand	6.3	8.7	23.2	22.5	17.4	18.9
Rajasthan	6.5	5.0	11.6	11.8	7.3	8.8
Maharashtra	10.0	12.5	12.5	25.2	8.3	21.9
Andhra Pradesh	11.2	8.2	21.5	19.1	18.3	14.7
Tamil Nadu	21.4	9.8	31.9	22.0	27.5	19.7
Total	**11.5**	**9.7**	**18.9**	**21.4**	**14.5**	**18.0**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**3,061**	**5,206**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**3,516**	**5,831**
Rural						
Bihar	8.5	9.3	30.1	30.1	18.8	23.9
Jharkhand	8.9	8.9	27.7	27.9	21.6	21.2
Rajasthan	5.8	7.9	13.9	19.7	8.1	15.9
Maharashtra	23.2	15.3	33.2	27.8	25.1	24.0
Andhra Pradesh	9.0	6.7	19.2	24.1	16.0	19.8
Tamil Nadu	20.4	14.4	36.0	30.3	33.2	27.2
Total	**11.3**	**9.9**	**25.5**	**26.4**	**18.5**	**21.7**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**3,828**	**7,014**	**4,296**	**7,718**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Of those who had cohabited for atleast 12 months.

Hardly any young women (0.4%) reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. In contrast, 4% of young men—including 3% of urban young men and 4% of rural young men—reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. Among young men, 2% reported extra-marital sex in the one year (or months since marriage for those married for less than one year) preceding the interview.

10.10 Contraceptive practice within marriage: Lifetime, current and prior to first pregnancy

The practice of contraception at any time during marital life was limited, reported by 24–25% of young men and women (see Table 10.13 and Figure 10.3). Urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report the use of contraceptives (30% versus 24% among young men; and 32% versus 22% among young women). More or less similar

Table 10.12: Extent of extra-marital sexual experiences

Percentage of married youth by extent of extra-marital sexual experiences, according to residence

Experiences	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Had sex with someone other than spouse after marriage	3.8	0.4	2.6	0.2	4.2	0.5
Reported at least one extra-marital sexual partner in last 12 months	1.6	0.4	1.3	0.3	1.8	0.4
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

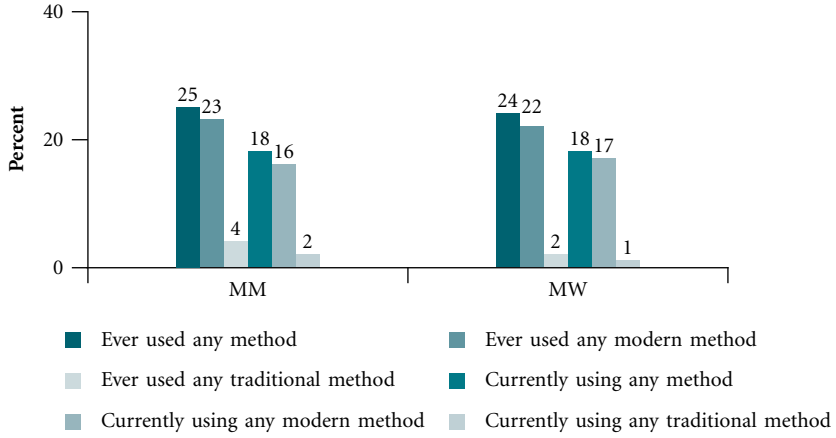
Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

proportions of youth reported the use of modern contraceptive methods (22–23% of young men and women), with similar rural-urban differences. Methods most likely to have been reported by both young men and young women were condoms (reported by 16% of young men and 9% of young women), female sterilisation, despite the young age of female respondents (reported by 5% and 9% of young men and women, respectively) and oral pills (reported by 7% of young men and 5% of young women). Rural-urban differences were generally narrow, although larger percentages of urban than rural youth reported condom use (22% versus 14% among young men; 14% versus 8% among young women). The use of traditional contraceptive methods was rarely reported by both young men and women (2–4%), irrespective of place of residence.

Relatively fewer youth (18%) reported practising contraception at the time of interview. Rural-urban differences indicate that urban youth were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to report current contraceptive use (22–24% versus 16%). Reporting of methods currently used was fairly similar among young men and women. Condoms, female sterilisation and oral pills continued to be the leading methods reported (by 9%, 5% and 3%, respectively, among young men; 5%, 9% and 2%, respectively, among young women). Differences by residence were narrow; however somewhat more urban than rural youth reported current use of condoms (14% versus 8% among young men; 8% versus 4% among young women).

Even fewer youth—12% of young men and 5% of young women—reported the practise of contraception to delay the first pregnancy. Again, the method most likely to have been used was condoms (9% of young men and 3% of young women). The gender differences in reported use of contraception to delay the first pregnancy may be explained

Figure 10.3: Percentage of married youth reporting lifetime and current use of contraceptive methods within marriage



Note: Includes respondents who had begun cohabiting.

Table 10.13: Contraceptive use within marriage

Percentage of married youth by ever and current contraceptive use, and percentage who used different contraceptive methods to delay first pregnancy, according to residence

Contraceptive use	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Ever use of contraception						
Any method	**25.3**	**23.8**	**30.3**	**31.7**	**23.7**	**21.6**
Any modern method	**23.3**	**22.3**	**28.8**	**30.7**	**21.5**	**19.8**
Female sterilisation	5.3	9.0	4.7	8.8	5.5	9.1
Male sterilisation	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2
Oral pills	7.1	4.9	9.5	6.9	6.3	4.3
IUD	0.7	2.0	1.1	5.1	0.6	1.1
Condom	16.0	9.1	21.6	14.1	14.2	7.7
Other[1]	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.1
Any traditional method[2]	**3.5**	**2.4**	**2.6**	**2.0**	**3.8**	**2.6**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**
Current use of contraception						
Any method	**17.6**	**17.7**	**22.3**	**24.3**	**16.1**	**15.8**
Any modern method	**16.4**	**16.5**	**21.5**	**23.1**	**14.8**	**14.6**
Female sterilisation	5.3	9.0	4.7	8.8	5.5	9.1
Male sterilisation	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.2
Oral pills	3.4	1.7	5.3	3.0	2.8	1.3
IUD	0.5	1.2	0.7	3.3	0.5	0.6
Condom	9.0	4.6	13.9	8.1	7.5	3.6
Other[1]	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
Any traditional method[2]	**1.7**	**1.4**	**1.5**	**1.5**	**1.8**	**1.3**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**
Ever use of contraception to delay first pregnancy						
Any method	**12.3**	**5.1**	**15.5**	**7.4**	**11.3**	**4.4**
Any modern method	**10.7**	**4.3**	**14.4**	**6.8**	**9.4**	**3.5**
Oral pills	3.6	1.4	5.0	1.9	3.1	1.2
IUD	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1
Condom	8.9	3.2	12.2	5.1	7.9	2.6
Other[1]	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0
Any traditional method[2]	**2.6**	**0.9**	**1.7**	**0.7**	**2.8**	**0.9**
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases. [1]Includes female condoms, injectables, implants, diaphragm and foam/jelly. [2]Includes periodic abstinence/rhythm and withdrawal.

by the larger percentage of young men than women reporting condom use, that is, a male-controlled method about which young women may not have been as ready to report. Rural-urban differences were narrow, with somewhat more urban than rural youth reporting the practise of contraception to delay the first pregnancy (16% versus 11% among young men; 7% versus 4% among young women).

Table 10.14 presents contraceptive use within marriage in each state. Findings suggest that young men in the southern states were less likely than those from Maharashtra and the northern states to report ever use of contraceptive methods, irrespective of rural-urban residence (10–18% versus 22–38%). A corresponding regional pattern was,

Table 10.14: Contraceptive use within marriage by state

Percentage of married youth by ever and current contraceptive use and percentage who used a contraceptive method to delay first pregnancy by state, according to residence

State	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29			MW 15–24			MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Ever use of contraception		Current use of contraception			Current use of contraception			Ever use of contraception to delay first pregnancy	
			Total	Terminal	Non-terminal	Total	Terminal	Non-terminal		
Combined										
Any method										
Bihar	23.1	20.0	12.2	3.3	8.8	11.8	4.1	7.6	8.2	4.3
Jharkhand	21.6	24.0	12.8	1.0	11.9	17.4	6.7	10.5	11.5	5.1
Rajasthan	38.1	24.2	31.7	8.8	23.0	16.9	6.8	10.1	19.8	7.9
Maharashtra	36.2	30.2	23.6	3.4	20.3	21.3	7.2	14.3	24.8	9.1
Andhra Pradesh	10.0	23.1	7.8	6.2	1.6	21.4	18.8	2.6	2.7	2.1
Tamil Nadu	18.3	21.1	15.7	9.7	6.2	16.9	9.4	7.6	2.5	1.6
Total	**25.3**	**23.8**	**17.6**	**5.4**	**12.3**	**17.7**	**9.2**	**8.5**	**12.3**	**5.1**
Urban										
Any method										
Bihar	33.0	31.2	20.5	4.5	15.9	21.0	5.8	15.2	14.8	6.5
Jharkhand	40.2	38.9	25.1	3.6	21.6	27.9	6.3	21.5	21.1	10.1
Rajasthan	50.0	35.4	40.7	4.6	36.1	24.5	3.2	21.2	27.2	13.5
Maharashtra	34.7	36.2	24.3	2.3	22.2	26.8	5.3	21.8	22.2	10.9
Andhra Pradesh	12.7	26.5	8.8	5.9	2.6	23.3	18.1	5.3	4.6	4.2
Tamil Nadu	20.5	26.9	17.5	8.9	8.9	21.7	10.5	11.4	2.8	1.7
Total	**30.3**	**31.7**	**22.3**	**4.7**	**17.7**	**24.3**	**8.9**	**15.4**	**15.5**	**7.4**
Rural										
Any method										
Bihar	22.3	19.3	11.4	3.2	8.0	11.1	4.0	7.2	7.6	4.2
Jharkhand	18.1	21.0	10.5	0.5	10.1	15.3	6.8	8.3	9.6	4.1
Rajasthan	35.2	21.9	29.4	9.7	19.8	15.4	7.6	7.9	18.0	6.7
Maharashtra	37.2	26.8	23.2	4.2	19.0	18.2	8.2	9.9	26.5	8.2
Andhra Pradesh	9.3	22.1	7.6	6.2	1.3	20.9	19.1	1.8	2.2	1.6
Tamil Nadu	16.9	17.2	14.5	13.8	10.4	8.7	8.7	5.1	2.3	1.5
Total	**23.7**	**21.6**	**16.1**	**15.8**	**5.6**	**9.3**	**9.3**	**6.5**	**11.3**	**4.4**

Note: Unweighted number of respondents who had begun cohabiting in the six states combined: Married men (total): 7,812; Married men (urban): 3,516; Married men (rural): 4,296; Married women (total): 13,549; Married women (urban): 5,831; Married women (rural): 7,718.

however, not discernible among young women; women from Maharashtra were most likely to report ever use of contraceptive methods (30%), compared to 20–24% in the remaining five states. The patterns were less consistent in rural and urban settings.

State-wise differences in current use of contraception varied for young men and women. Among young men, those from Maharashtra and Rajasthan were more likely than those in the other states to report that they were practising contraception at the time of the interview (24–32% versus 8–16%); among young women, in contrast, those from Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh were more likely than others to so report (21% versus 12–17%). Non-terminal method use exceeded terminal method use in four of the six states, namely, Bihar, Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra. In the southern states, however, a reverse pattern was evident. In Tamil Nadu, differences were mild, with 10% and 9% of young men and women, respectively, reporting the use of a terminal method and 6% and 8%,

respectively, reporting the use of a non-terminal method. Differences were wider among youth in Andhra Pradesh: 6% and 2% of young men reported terminal and non-terminal method use, respectively; among young women, as many as 19% reported sterilisation compared to just 3% who reported the use of a non-terminal method. Also notable is the finding that rural-urban differences in the use of terminal methods were negligible in all six states.

With regard to the practice of contraception to delay the first pregnancy, findings suggest that youth from the southern states were less likely than others to so report (3% versus 8–25% among young men; 2% versus 4–9% among young women), perhaps a result of the higher age at marriage in Tamil Nadu, and the strong reliance on female sterilisation following the achievement of desired family size in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The patterns remained similar in both rural and urban settings.

10.11 Reproductive history

This section addresses young people's reproductive history, namely, the first pregnancy and its outcome, children ever born and surviving, experience of pregnancy loss and the wantedness of recent pregnancies. As reported in Table 10.15, 82% of young women reported that they had experienced at least one pregnancy, and 79% of young men reported that their wife had so experienced. Rural-urban differences were negligible.

10.11.1 First pregnancy experiences

Of those who reported that they or their wife had ever been pregnant, significant minorities reported a current first pregnancy (8% of young women and 9% of young men). Among those who reported at least one pregnancy, the first pregnancy had occurred within a year of marriage for three-fifths of young men (62%) and women (58%). Rural-urban differences suggest that the first pregnancy had occurred within a year of marriage for a larger proportion of urban than rural youth (71–72% versus 54–59%). The median duration between marriage and the first pregnancy was 8 months, with rural youth reporting a somewhat longer median duration than their urban counterparts (9 months versus 6 months).

Pregnancy outcomes were reported by all respondents who had completed their first pregnancy. The vast majority had experienced a live birth in every group, irrespective of sex or rural-urban residence. Among other outcomes, less than 1% had aborted their first pregnancy; for 3% the pregnancy had ended in a stillbirth and for 7–9% in a miscarriage. Rural-urban differences were mild.

Institutional delivery was limited for the first—and most risky—delivery. Indeed, just 47–54% of youth reported that the first delivery took place in a health care facility. Rural-urban differences were pronounced: 72% of young men and 78% of young women in urban areas, compared to just 40% of young men and 47% of young women in rural areas, reported an institutional delivery.

Skilled attendance at first delivery was also limited, reported by just two-thirds of youth (68%). Rural-urban differences were pronounced; 88–90% of urban youth compared to 62% of rural youth reported skilled attendance at delivery. The fact that skilled attendance at birth exceeded institutional delivery may reflect the practice of home deliveries conducted by auxiliary nurse midwives (ANMs) and lady health visitors (LHVs), on the one hand, and the possibility that untrained providers—called registered medical practitioners (RMPs)—may have been misperceived as doctors, on the other (as observed in other settings, see for example, Barnes, 2007).

Table 10.16 presents the percentage of youth who reported skilled attendance and institutional delivery for the first birth in each state. Findings suggest a clear regional pattern with regard to skilled attendance and institutional delivery for the first birth. Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those in the other states to report both skilled attendance (78–93% versus 42–63% among young men; 82–94% versus 35–61% among young women) and institutional delivery (50–81% versus 23–39% among young men; 62–84% versus 25–45% among young women). This was observed among both rural and urban youth.

Table 10.15: First pregnancy experience

Percentage of married youth by duration from cohabitation to first pregnancy, outcome of first pregnancy, place of first delivery and type of attendance at first delivery, according to residence

First pregnancy experience	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Ever been pregnant[1]	78.5	81.5	75.9	80.9	79.4	81.6
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**
Currently pregnant for the first time[1]	9.0	7.7	10.2	9.3	8.6	7.3
Duration from cohabitation to first pregnancy (months)[1]						
Up to 3	12.3	13.6	17.0	20.2	10.9	11.7
3–6	28.6	25.0	34.5	32.1	26.8	23.0
7–12	21.0	19.7	19.0	20.0	21.7	19.6
13–24	18.5	17.5	16.5	14.5	19.1	18.4
More than 24	11.1	11.3	7.1	7.3	12.3	12.4
Do not know/can't remember	8.5	12.8	5.8	5.8	9.3	14.7
Median duration	8.0	8.0	6.0	6.0	9.0	9.0
Number who had ever been pregnant[1]	**6,147**	**11,067**	**2,745**	**4,762**	**3,402**	**6,305**
Outcome of first pregnancy						
Live birth	90.3	88.0	91.9	87.5	89.8	88.2
Still birth	2.7	2.5	1.1	1.6	3.1	2.8
Induced abortion	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.3	0.5
Miscarriage	6.7	8.7	6.5	10.3	6.7	8.2
Number who completed first pregnancy[1]	**5,593**	**10,199**	**2,483**	**4,340**	**3,110**	**5,859**
Place of first delivery						
Respondent's parental home	28.0	25.2	13.4	13.6	32.4	28.4
Spouse's parental home	24.4	21.0	14.5	8.2	27.4	24.4
Health institution	47.3	53.5	71.7	78.1	40.0	46.8
In transit	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2
Type of attendance at first delivery[2]						
Doctor/ANM/Nurse/LHV	57.7	60.9	81.7	84.3	50.5	54.5
Midwife (trained)	8.4	5.1	5.3	4.6	9.3	5.2
Other health personnel	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.2	2.4	1.9
Dai/traditional birth attendant	20.4	22.3	7.2	6.3	24.3	26.7
Friend/relative	9.9	8.9	3.7	2.9	11.7	10.5
Other person[3]	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.3
None	0.9	0.3	0.3	0.2	1.1	0.3
Number whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth[1]	**5,190**	**9,196**	**2,299**	**3,891**	**2,891**	**5,305**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. ANM: Auxiliary nurse midwife; LHV: Lady health visitor. [1]Wife in the case of young men. [2]If the respondent reported that the delivery had occurred in a health institution, then it was assumed that a Doctor/ANM/Nurse/LHV had attended the birth. [3]If the delivery was reported in transit, attendance at delivery was categorised as "other person".

Table 10.16: Utilisation of maternal health services for the first birth by state

Percentage of married youth who reported skilled attendance and institutional delivery for the first birth by state, according to residence

State	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Skilled attendance		Institutional delivery	
Combined				
Bihar	42.0	34.9	23.0	24.9
Jharkhand	41.7	41.1	22.9	24.5
Rajasthan	62.5	61.3	39.1	44.7
Maharashtra	78.4	82.4	50.0	62.2
Andhra Pradesh	89.9	88.9	71.5	76.0
Tamil Nadu	92.9	93.5	81.2	83.9
Total	**68.3**	**67.8**	**47.3**	**53.5**
Number whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth[1]	**5,190**	**9,196**	**5,190**	**9,196**
Urban				
Bihar	66.1	63.5	40.0	50.5
Jharkhand	66.2	64.4	45.2	55.1
Rajasthan	78.8	84.2	63.1	64.6
Maharashtra	92.0	93.3	74.6	80.7
Andhra Pradesh	94.7	94.9	83.7	85.5
Tamil Nadu	97.7	97.4	80.9	87.5
Total	**88.5**	**90.0**	**71.7**	**78.1**
Number whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth[1]	**2,299**	**3,891**	**2,299**	**3,891**
Rural				
Bihar	39.8	33.0	21.5	23.2
Jharkhand	36.9	36.6	18.5	18.5
Rajasthan	58.8	56.9	33.5	40.8
Maharashtra	70.0	76.9	35.3	52.6
Andhra Pradesh	88.5	87.2	68.3	73.3
Tamil Nadu	89.7	90.8	81.4	81.2
Total	**62.2**	**61.7**	**40.0**	**46.8**
Number whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth[1]	**2,891**	**5,305**	**2,891**	**5,305**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Wife in the case of young men.

10.11.2 Children ever born and surviving

Findings, revealed in Table 10.17, show that youth had experienced an average of about 1.5–1.6 pregnancies and 1.2 live births. More than one-quarter (28%–31%) reported no live births. Rural-urban differences were narrow (31–34% in urban areas, 28–30% in rural areas).

Few youth reported an infant or child death. The distribution of respondents by number of surviving children resembles that of children ever born, reported above. Youth typically reported about as many daughters as sons.

Somewhat more youth reported the experience of pregnancy loss. For example, stillbirths were reported by 3% of youth, and disparities by respondents' sex and residence were negligible. Miscarriage was reported by 7% of young

Table 10.17: Reproductive history

Mean number of pregnancies experienced, percent distribution by children ever born and children surviving, mean number of child deaths, and percentages reporting one or more stillbirths, miscarriages and abortions among married youth, according to residence

Pregnancy outcomes	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Mean number of lifetime pregnancies[1]	1.5	1.6	1.3	1.4	1.5	1.6
Number of children ever born						
0	31.1	28.3	34.3	30.5	30.0	27.6
1	31.0	31.4	34.8	37.7	29.8	29.6
2	25.1	27.6	23.2	23.9	25.7	28.6
3 or more	12.9	12.8	7.6	8.0	14.6	14.2
Mean number of children ever born	1.2	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.3
Number of children surviving						
0	32.3	29.3	35.2	31.2	31.3	28.8
1	31.6	32.9	35.1	38.0	30.5	31.4
2	25.0	27.4	23.0	24.0	25.6	28.4
3 or more	11.1	10.4	6.7	6.8	12.6	11.4
Mean number of children surviving	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2
Mean number of sons surviving	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
Mean number of daughters surviving	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6
Mean number of children dead	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Reported one or more still births	2.6	3.0	1.1	1.9	3.1	3.3
Reported one or more miscarriages	6.5	10.4	5.9	11.3	6.7	10.2
Reported one or more induced abortions	0.6	1.9	1.1	2.7	0.5	1.7
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Wife in the case of young men.

men and 10% of young women, with little rural-urban differences. Finally, induced abortion was reported by 1–2% of youth, with negligible rural-urban differences.

Table 10.18 presents married youth who reported three or more live births by background characteristics. As expected, age was positively associated with the number of children ever born, irrespective of sex and rural-urban residence; 18% of young men aged 25–29 compared to 4% or fewer of those aged 15–19 and 20–24 reported three or more children ever born. Likewise, among young women, 18% of those aged 20–24 compared to 1% of 15–19 year-olds so reported. Religion-wise differences were narrow among young men, but Muslim young women were somewhat more likely than others to report three or more live births (18% versus 11–12%). A similar pattern was observed in rural areas but not in urban areas. Caste-wise differences suggest that youth belonging to general castes were less likely than others to report three or more live births (9% versus 12–19% among young men; 10% versus 13–16% among young women). These patterns were observed in all groups, except married young men in urban settings. The number of years of schooling completed was inversely associated with having three or more children ever born, irrespective of sex and rural-urban residence; so too was household economic status. Findings also show that more young men and women who had worked in the year preceding the interview reported three or more children ever born than those who had not worked. Patterns remained relatively similar in both urban and rural settings. Finally, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to report three or more live births (16–19% versus 7–9% among young men; 16–20% versus 7–10% among young women), irrespective of rural-urban residence.

Table 10.18: Children ever born by selected background characteristics

Percentage of married youth reporting three or more children ever born by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Three or more children ever born					
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Age (years)						
15–19	0.4	1.0	(0.0)	0.5	0.4	1.1
20–24	3.6	17.5	2.3	9.7	4.0	20.2
25–29	17.9	NA	9.6	NA	21.0	NA
Religion						
Hindu	13.2	12.4	7.4	7.5	14.9	13.6
Muslim	10.0	17.5	9.4	10.0	10.4	21.9
Other[1]	12.3	10.6	5.3	8.5	14.8	11.8
Caste						
SC	13.8	14.0	10.1	10.5	14.7	14.9
ST/VJNT	18.5	15.6	4.3	11.6	20.1	16.4
OBC	12.4	12.9	7.7	8.1	13.8	14.3
General[2]	9.4	9.7	6.1	5.2	11.5	11.8
Educational level (years)						
None[3]	19.2	20.4	17.9	18.1	19.3	20.7
1–7	13.7	11.8	9.5	11.0	14.8	12.0
8–11	11.8	6.4	7.4	5.3	13.4	7.0
12 and above	6.3	1.2	2.5	0.9	8.7	1.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	13.1	15.9	7.7	11.1	14.8	16.4
No	3.4	10.5	4.5	7.4	3.8	11.9
Wealth quintile						
First	20.1	19.5	12.7	16.8	20.5	19.6
Second	15.5	14.5	14.6	12.1	15.6	14.7
Third	14.9	12.9	13.2	12.1	15.3	13.2
Fourth	9.0	9.6	6.8	8.0	10.2	10.5
Fifth	5.3	6.1	3.6	3.7	7.1	8.4
State						
Bihar	19.2	19.9	16.9	18.1	19.4	20.0
Jharkhand	15.5	17.5	11.3	15.5	16.2	17.9
Rajasthan	19.1	15.7	12.5	10.8	20.6	16.7
Maharashtra	8.7	9.8	6.5	7.0	10.2	11.6
Andhra Pradesh	7.0	7.7	4.6	5.3	7.7	8.3
Tamil Nadu	6.9	6.9	5.4	6.1	7.8	7.4
Total	**12.9**	**12.8**	**7.6**	**8.0**	**14.6**	**14.2**

Note: NA: Not applicable. ( ) Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

10.11.3 Wantedness of recent pregnancies

All youth who reported one or more pregnancies were asked about the wantedness of their last pregnancy or current pregnancy (for those currently pregnant). Findings, presented in Table 10.19, suggest high levels of unplanned pregnancy among young women and moderate levels among young men. For example, among young men whose wife was not pregnant and young women who were not pregnant at the time of the interview, 14% of young men and 25% of young women reported that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted. Rural-urban differences were narrow among young women, but more men in rural than urban areas reported a mistimed or unwanted pregnancy (16% versus 8%). A similar pattern emerged with regard to the wantedness of the current pregnancy among those pregnant at the time of the interview or whose wife was pregnant at the time of the interview: of those young men who reported that their wife was pregnant at the time of interview, 11% reported that the pregnancy was either unwanted or wanted at a later time. In contrast, 23% of young women pregnant at the time of the interview reported that the pregnancy was unwanted or mistimed. Rural-urban differences were narrow, with more rural than urban youth reporting so (13% versus 6% among young men; 25% versus 19% among young women).

State-specific data suggest that youth in Tamil Nadu were least likely, and those from Bihar and Jharkhand were most likely, to report that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted (2% and 23–24%, respectively among young men whose wife was not pregnant at the time of the interview; 13% and 31–33%, respectively, among young women who were not pregnant at the time of the interview). A similar pattern was observed with regard to the wantedness of the current pregnancy as well (see also Figure 10.4).

Table 10.19: Wantedness of most recent pregnancy

Percentage of married youth reporting that the most recent pregnancy in the three years preceding the interview was mistimed or unwanted by state, according to residence

Mistimed/unwanted pregnancy	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Mistimed or unwanted *last* pregnancy[1]						
Bihar	23.2	32.9	24.2	44.7	23.2	32.1
Jharkhand	23.5	30.9	20.8	33.6	23.8	30.3
Rajasthan	7.9	23.7	6.6	28.4	8.1	22.7
Maharashtra	11.3	25.1	6.9	25.3	13.9	25.0
Andhra Pradesh	15.2	22.5	9.1	22.1	16.9	22.6
Tamil Nadu	2.2	13.0	2.3	12.9	2.1	13.0
Total	**14.1**	**25.0**	**8.1**	**23.8**	**15.9**	**25.3**
Number who had experienced at least one pregnancy	**5,592**	**10,196**	**2,482**	**4,339**	**3,110**	**5,857**
Mistimed or unwanted *current* pregnancy						
Bihar	19.1	38.9	28.6	44.0	18.5	38.6
Jharkhand	16.8	33.5	21.4	36.5	16.0	32.8
Rajasthan	7.2	21.7	5.7	26.5	7.5	20.4
Maharashtra	4.8	13.6	3.2	13.5	6.4	13.7
Andhra Pradesh	15.7	20.9	10.3	21.9	17.1	21.0
Tamil Nadu	0.8	10.4	0.0	10.3	1.3	10.4
Total	**11.2**	**23.4**	**6.4**	**19.2**	**12.5**	**24.6**
Number currently pregnant	**1,156**	**2,117**	**502**	**931**	**654**	**1,186**

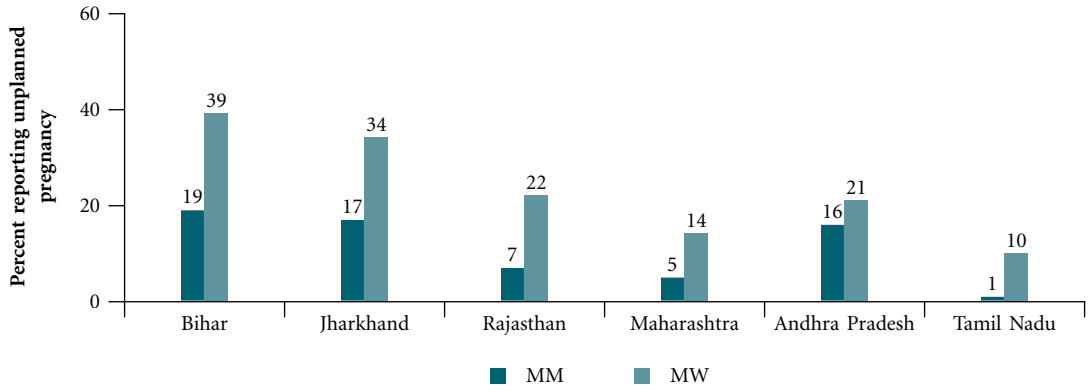
Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Excludes respondents/respondents' wives currently pregnant for the first time or never been pregnant.

10.12 Ideal family size

All respondents were asked to report the number of children they considered ideal. As seen in Table 10.20, young men and young women typically considered 2.3–2.4 children ideal. Rural-urban differences were muted. However, considerably larger percentages of rural than urban youth (28–30% versus 12–18%) reported three or more children as ideal.

Tables 10.21a and 10.21b present married young men's and women's preferences for sons and daughters by background characteristics. Although the majority of youth reported a preference for at least one son and daughter each, son preference was evident among both young men and women. A considerable percentage of youth (22–24%) reported a preference for more sons than daughters. Son preference was more common among rural than urban youth; 24–27% of rural youth expressed a preference for more sons than daughters, compared to 13–15% of urban youth. In contrast, no more than a handful of youth (3–5%) reported wanting more daughters than sons.

Figure 10.4: Percentage of married youth reporting that the current pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted by state*



*Note: *Of young women who were pregnant or young men whose wife was pregnant at the time of the interview.*

Table 10.20: Ideal family size

Percent distribution of married youth by their reported ideal number of children, according to residence

Ideal family size	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24
	Combined		Urban		Rural	
Ideal number of children:						
0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1	3.2	4.4	5.3	8.2	2.5	3.3
2	63.3	66.8	71.6	75.8	60.6	64.2
3 or more	27.0	24.4	17.6	12.4	30.0	27.8
Other[1]	6.6	4.3	5.5	3.5	6.9	4.6
Mean ideal number of children[2]	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.1	2.4	2.3
Number who had begun cohabiting	**7,812**	**13,549**	**3,516**	**5,831**	**4,296**	**7,718**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. [1]Includes "it's up to God," "difficult to say," etc. [2]Includes only respondents who gave numeric responses.

Table 10.21a: Married young men's preferences for sons and daughters by selected background characteristics

Percentage of married young men reporting some indicators of sex preference by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	Indicators of sex preference			
	Percent who wanted:			
	More sons than daughters	More daughters than sons	At least one son	At least one daughter
Residence				
Urban	14.7	4.6	71.4	67.7
Rural	24.4	4.6	82.6	78.2
Age (years)				
15–19	30.0	1.8	86.3	83.3
20–24	21.1	3.0	80.2	75.1
25–29	22.1	5.5	79.4	75.5
Religion				
Hindu	22.2	4.4	80.2	75.9
Muslim	24.3	5.4	77.1	74.1
Other[1]	14.7	6.3	77.5	74.6
Caste				
SC	25.1	5.2	80.6	77.5
ST/VJNT	24.4	5.2	88.4	84.4
OBC	22.3	4.2	79.7	74.6
General[2]	16.0	4.6	73.7	70.3
Educational level (years)				
None[3]	33.0	3.9	82.7	77.6
1–7	23.3	5.4	82.7	78.3
8–11	19.6	3.7	79.7	75.7
12 and above	13.6	5.8	71.9	68.6
Worked in last 12 months				
Yes	22.1	4.7	79.7	75.5
No	16.8	1.2	85.5	78.6
Wealth quintile				
First	34.5	4.5	87.1	81.2
Second	28.6	4.9	84.3	81.5
Third	20.6	5.5	80.8	76.6
Fourth	15.2	4.1	74.5	70.8
Fifth	13.3	3.8	73.8	69.0
State				
Bihar	36.8	4.3	83.2	78.5
Jharkhand	34.4	5.6	89.1	81.4
Rajasthan	22.6	1.4	80.8	74.7
Maharashtra	17.1	5.0	82.9	78.5
Andhra Pradesh	10.7	5.1	72.6	70.5
Tamil Nadu	13.0	8.0	73.3	71.4
Total	**22.0**	**4.6**	**79.9**	**75.6**

Note: OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Table 10.21b: Married young women's preferences for sons and daughters by selected background characteristics

Percentage of married young women reporting some indicators of sex preference by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	Indicators of sex preference			
	Percent who wanted:			
	More sons than daughters	More daughters than sons	At least one son	At least one daughter
Residence				
Urban	13.0	4.8	76.9	73.6
Rural	26.7	3.0	84.9	79.3
Age (years)				
15–19	25.0	2.3	82.6	78.9
20–24	23.0	3.8	83.3	77.7
Religion				
Hindu	23.7	3.2	83.2	78.0
Muslim	25.3	4.4	82.4	79.7
Other[1]	19.1	4.6	82.6	76.0
Caste				
SC	27.6	3.6	84.9	79.7
ST/VJNT	26.7	2.9	90.7	84.0
OBC	24.3	3.2	82.7	78.2
General[2]	15.4	3.7	78.7	73.0
Educational level (years)				
None[3]	37.4	2.8	87.4	81.0
1–7	21.3	2.9	82.9	77.6
8–11	11.9	4.3	81.6	78.1
12 and above	8.8	4.5	70.1	66.1
Worked in last 12 months				
Yes	27.4	3.3	84.2	78.4
No	20.8	3.4	82.3	77.7
Wealth quintile				
First	39.6	3.1	90.2	84.5
Second	29.2	3.2	86.4	80.5
Third	19.6	3.4	81.3	77.2
Fourth	15.5	3.5	80.5	76.0
Fifth	13.1	3.7	76.3	71.0
State				
Bihar	42.6	1.9	89.7	85.6
Jharkhand	37.0	3.4	92.7	86.1
Rajasthan	33.3	3.1	86.6	77.3
Maharashtra	15.8	4.6	87.5	80.0
Andhra Pradesh	7.5	2.7	67.8	66.1
Tamil Nadu	10.7	5.7	81.3	79.0
Total	**23.6**	**3.4**	**83.1**	**78.0**

Note: OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. [1]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. [2]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. [3]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Differences by age suggest that son preference was more common among younger than older groups among young men; for example, 30% of 15–19 year-olds, compared to 21–22% of 20–24 and 25–29 year-olds, expressed a preference for more sons than daughters. No such differences were, however, observed among young women. Differences by religion suggest that Hindu and Muslim youth were more likely than youth belonging to other religions to report son preference (22–24% versus 15% among young men; 24–25% versus 19% among young women). Caste-wise differences consistently suggest that those belonging to general castes were less likely than those belonging to other castes to express a preference for more sons than daughters (16% versus 22–25% among young men; 15% versus 24–28% among young women). Differences by educational attainment levels were, likewise, consistently observed: while 33% and 37% of uneducated young men and women, respectively, expressed a preference for more sons than daughters, corresponding percentages fell to 14% and 9%, respectively, among those with 12 or more years of education. Economically active youth, likewise, were more likely than others to express this preference: 22% versus 17% among young men; 27% versus 21% among young women. An inverse association was also observed with regard to household economic status among both men and young women: while 35% and 40% of young men and women in the poorest (first) quintile, respectively, expressed a preference for more sons than daughters, just 13% of both young men and women in the wealthiest (fifth) quintile expressed so. Finally, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to report son preference (23–37% versus 11–17% among young men; 33–43% versus 8–16% among young women).

10.13 Summary

Findings indicate that although most youth preferred to marry after age 18, as many as 19% of young women aged 20–24 were married before age 15, 49% before age 18, and 67% before age 20. In contrast, just 7% of young men aged 20–24 were married before age 18 and 16% before age 20.

Not only did marriage occur at young ages but it was also often arranged without the participation of young people themselves, particularly young women. Almost all youth reported arranged marriages. As many as one in ten young men and one in four young women reported that their parents did not seek their approval while determining their marriage partner. Hence, not surprisingly, reported pre-marital acquaintance was limited. Just one in five young men and one in seven young women reported that they had ever had a chance to meet and interact with their spouse-to-be alone prior to marriage. About two in three married youth reported that they had met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. Compounding the lack of pre-marital acquaintance was the lack of awareness of what to expect of married life, reported by 70% of young men and 78% of young women.

Despite the existence of laws against the payment of dowry, this practice characterised the marriages of about three-quarters of young men (72%) and women (78%). Findings also show that families of urban youth were as likely as their rural counterparts to conform to traditional practices, such as the payment of dowry.

Reports of marital life suggest that spousal communication was far from universal and that marital life was marked by considerable violence. For example, couple communication on contraceptive use was reported by just 34% of young men and 55% of young women, clearly undermining married young people's ability to adopt protective actions. Physical violence and forced sex within marriage were reported by considerable proportions of youth; of note is the finding that considerably more young women reported the experience of sexual compared to physical violence. For example, one-quarter of young women reported that they had ever faced physical violence perpetrated by their husband (25%) and a similar percentage of young men (24%) reported perpetrating violence on their wife. Recent violence was reported by fewer: 18% of young men and 21% of young women. In contrast, one-quarter of young women reported that their first sexual experience within marriage had been forced, and one in three young women reported ever being forced to engage in sex by their husband; relatively fewer young men—about one in six—reported forcing their wife to engage in sex. Recent sexual violence was reported by 16% of young women and 6% of young men.

While the Youth Study did not explore extra-marital sexual experiences in detail, the available data indicate that 4% of young men reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. In contrast, hardly any young women reported so.

Contraceptive use at any time within marriage was limited, reported by 24–25% of young men and women. Moreover, just 18% of youth reported current use of contraception. Reporting of methods currently used was fairly similar among young women and men. Contraceptive methods most likely to be used were condoms and oral contraceptives and, notwithstanding their young age, female sterilisation. Few young people practised contraception to delay the first birth—just 12% of young men and 5% of young women. Not surprisingly, pregnancy typically occurred within a year of marriage for three-fifths of young women and young men who reported that they or their wife had been pregnant at least once. Moreover, large proportions of youth—particularly young women—reported experiencing unintended pregnancy. For example, among young women who were not pregnant at the time of the interview and young men whose wife was not pregnant at the time of the interview, 25% and 14%, respectively, reported that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted.

Circumstances of the first birth suggest that institutional delivery and skilled attendance at delivery were limited: only about half of first births (47–54%) were delivered institutionally and just two-thirds reported delivery by a skilled attendant.

Findings also show that son preference was evident. Almost one-quarter of young men and women preferred to have more sons than daughters. In contrast, just 3–5% preferred to have more daughters than sons.

Finally, findings suggest that transitions to marriage and parenthood were fraught with several challenges for all youth, but these challenges were, by and large, more daunting for youth from the northern states than for those from Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, marriage continues to take place in adolescence for large proportions of young women and significant minorities of young men in the northern states. Youth in the northern states were also more likely than their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states to have consented to marry without any involvement in selecting their marriage partner and to have met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. Moreover, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to report forced sex, including at initiation. Notwithstanding these regional differences, no regional pattern was discernible in young people's reports of perpetration or experience of physical violence within marriage; indeed, youth in Tamil Nadu were more likely than those from most other states to report the perpetration and experience of physical violence, including in the 12 months preceding the interview.

With regard to utilisation of reproductive health services, findings suggest that youth from the northern states along with Maharashtra were more likely than those from the southern states to report practice of contraception to delay the first pregnancy. Youth from the northern states were also more likely than those from the other states to report three or more live births and less likely to report institutional delivery and skilled attendance for the first birth. Moreover, they were more likely to report son preference.

Chapter 11

Health and health seeking behaviour

This chapter focuses on young people's patterns of substance use, health status and treatment-seeking for health problems experienced. The Youth Study probed alcohol, drug and tobacco use as well as, among those who reported substance use, consumption characteristics, including recent use and extent of use. The study also included questions relating to the experience of problems in the areas of general, sexual and reproductive health and mental health. In addition, it explored young people's care seeking practices for general and sexual and reproductive health problems as well as their attitudes towards pre-marital HIV testing for boys and girls and the extent to which youth had undergone HIV testing.

11.1 Substance use

Research has shown that substance use can directly compromise young people's health. For example, evidence suggests that the use of alcohol and drugs among youth is associated with physical fights, risky sexual activity, depression and suicide as well as irregular school or work attendance and other negative outcomes (DiClemente, 1992; Ellickson, Saner and McGuigan, 1997; Gruber et al., 1996; Lowry et al., 1994; Mohan, Sankara Sarma and Thankappan, 2005; Singh and Saini, 2007).

Youth Study findings on the extent of substance use among young people suggest that hardly any young men and not a single woman reported drug use (including, for example, such cannabis products as *ganja, charas* and *bhang*; brown sugar (a heroin product) and cocaine). However, a substantial proportion of young men and a small minority of young women reported consumption of tobacco and alcohol (Table 11.1). As far as tobacco consumption is concerned, 30% of young men and 2% of young women had ever consumed tobacco products. Most young men and women who had ever consumed tobacco products reported that they had done so in the month prior to the interview. Married young men were more than twice as likely as the unmarried to report ever use of tobacco products (57% and 25%, respectively) and recent tobacco use (56% and 24%, respectively). This difference may be attributed to the fact that by and large, tobacco use is observed to increase with age, and married men in our sample were considerably older than the unmarried. At the same time, rural young men were somewhat more likely than the urban to report ever use of tobacco products (32% and 26%, respectively) and recent tobacco use (31% and 25%, respectively).

Fewer youth reported alcohol consumption. In contrast to young women, among whom just 1% reported ever or current consumption of alcohol, larger percentages of young men reported ever consuming alcohol (18). As in the case of tobacco use, married young men were far more likely to have ever consumed alcohol than the unmarried (36% versus 14%). Likewise, most young men and women who had ever consumed alcohol reported that they had done so in the month prior to the interview (14% and 0.5%, respectively). Again, married young men were considerably more likely than their unmarried counterparts to have consumed alcohol in the month prior to the interview (30% versus 11%). Unlike in the case of tobacco consumption, however, rural-urban differences were negligible, although married young men in urban areas were slightly more likely than their rural counterparts to have ever consumed alcohol. The large majority of young men who had ever consumed alcohol reported that they usually did so with their peers (85% and 88% of the married and unmarried, respectively). Findings, moreover, suggest that one-third (33%) of young men who had ever consumed alcohol (34% and 30% of married and unmarried men, respectively) had sometimes or often become drunk (not shown in tabular form).

Table 11.1: Substance use

Percentage of youth reporting lifetime and recent substance use, according to residence

Substance use	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Ever consumed						
Tobacco and its products	30.4	2.0	56.9	2.7	24.8	1.2
Alcohol	17.5	0.7	35.8	1.0	14.3	0.4
Drugs[1]	0.5	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.3	0.0
Consumed in last month						
Tobacco and its products	29.2	1.8	55.7	2.5	23.6	1.0
Alcohol	13.9	0.5	30.0	0.7	11.2	0.2
Drugs[1]	0.4	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.2	0.0
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Ever consumed						
Tobacco and its products	25.6	1.2	53.1	2.1	22.1	0.7
Alcohol	18.5	0.3	40.9	0.5	16.3	0.2
Drugs[1]	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
Consumed in last month						
Tobacco and its products	24.5	1.1	52.1	1.8	21.0	0.6
Alcohol	15.0	0.2	35.4	0.4	12.9	0.1
Drugs[1]	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.0
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Ever consumed						
Tobacco and its products	32.4	2.3	58.1	2.9	26.1	1.4
Alcohol	17.0	0.9	34.2	1.1	13.3	0.5
Drugs[1]	0.6	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.0
Consumed in last month						
Tobacco and its products	31.2	2.1	56.8	2.7	24.9	1.2
Alcohol	13.4	0.6	28.3	0.8	10.3	0.3
Drugs[1]	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. [1]Includes ganja, charas, brown sugar, cocaine, bhang, etc.

Table 11.2 presents the percentage of youth who had consumed tobacco products and alcohol in the month prior to the interview in each state. Findings suggest that young men in Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra were more likely than their counterparts in the remaining states to have consumed tobacco products in the month prior to the interview (33–38% versus 18–27%), and this pattern persisted irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence. The married were considerably more likely than the unmarried to have consumed tobacco products in the month preceding the interview in all the six states; likewise, rural young men were more likely than their urban counterparts to report recent consumption in most states. In contrast just 0–4% of young women in these six states reported having consumed tobacco products in the month preceding the interview.

State-level patterns, however, differed with regard to consumption of alcohol. Young men from the southern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the northern states to have consumed alcohol in the month prior to the interview (22% versus 6–16%). These patterns were observed among both married and unmarried, and rural and urban, young men. As with tobacco consumption, the married were far more likely than the unmarried to have consumed alcohol in the month prior to the interview in all the six states, but rural-urban differences were narrow in most states. Hardly any young women in any of the six states (0–3%) reported having consumed alcohol in the month prior to the interview.

11.2 General and sexual and reproductive health problems

General health problems about which youth were questioned included high fever and injury. Sexual and reproductive health problems included symptoms of genital infection (burning during urination, genital ulcers, genital itching, swelling in the groin and genital discharge, for example), anxiety about nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh* (for young men) and menstrual problems (for young women). Findings related to recent experiences of various general health problems, and sexual and reproductive health problems are presented in Table 11.3.

11.2.1 General health problems

Findings show that 21% of young men and 32% of young women had experienced high fever in the three months preceding the interview. We note the fact that the survey period covered the peak infection months in most states,

Table 11.2: Substance use by state

Percentage of youth reporting that they had consumed tobacco products and alcohol in the month preceding the interview by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Consumed tobacco products in the last month						Consumed alcohol in the last month					
Combined												
Bihar	35.8	1.4	67.4	1.7	28.7	1.2	11.3	0.1	26.0	0.1	6.7	0.1
Jharkhand	38.1	4.0	67.4	5.7	32.6	2.2	16.0	3.4	36.1	5.1	12.5	1.6
Rajasthan	27.2	3.7	51.3	5.4	20.7	2.4	5.8	0.0	15.3	0.0	3.7	0.0
Maharashtra	32.5	1.9	61.9	2.8	27.6	1.1	9.1	0.1	24.6	0.1	7.3	0.1
Andhra Pradesh	18.4	0.1	40.6	0.3	14.7	0.0	22.1	0.9	43.7	1.5	18.7	0.4
Tamil Nadu	24.4	0.7	46.5	1.2	20.2	0.3	22.4	0.1	47.3	0.1	19.0	0.0
Total	**29.2**	**1.8**	**55.7**	**2.5**	**23.6**	**1.0**	**13.9**	**0.5**	**30.0**	**0.7**	**11.2**	**0.2**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban												
Bihar	32.3	0.8	69.6	1.4	27.9	0.4	10.0	0.2	31.5	0.0	7.8	0.0
Jharkhand	33.6	1.9	67.5	4.7	30.5	0.5	14.8	1.0	36.0	2.4	13.0	0.3
Rajasthan	22.7	2.5	43.4	5.1	19.2	1.5	5.6	0.1	12.9	0.2	4.4	0.1
Maharashtra	25.9	1.2	57.3	2.0	22.2	0.8	11.8	0.2	30.4	0.1	9.9	0.2
Andhra Pradesh	18.9	0.0	43.0	0.0	16.6	0.0	26.1	0.5	53.9	0.8	22.9	0.3
Tamil Nadu	21.3	0.5	47.1	1.0	18.9	0.3	18.6	0.0	46.9	0.1	15.9	0.0
Total	**24.5**	**1.1**	**52.1**	**1.8**	**21.0**	**0.6**	**15.0**	**0.2**	**35.4**	**0.4**	**12.9**	**0.1**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural												
Bihar	36.3	1.5	67.2	1.7	28.8	1.3	11.5	0.1	25.6	0.1	6.5	0.1
Jharkhand	39.8	4.7	67.3	6.0	33.5	3.1	16.4	4.2	36.1	5.7	12.3	2.4
Rajasthan	28.8	4.1	53.1	5.5	21.4	2.8	5.9	0.0	15.7	0.0	3.4	0.0
Maharashtra	37.7	2.4	64.9	3.3	32.2	1.5	6.9	0.0	20.6	0.0	5.1	0.0
Andhra Pradesh	18.2	0.2	39.9	0.3	14.0	0.1	20.6	1.1	40.9	1.7	16.8	0.4
Tamil Nadu	26.7	0.8	46.1	1.3	21.2	0.4	25.3	0.1	47.6	0.2	21.5	0.1
Total	**31.2**	**2.1**	**56.8**	**2.7**	**24.9**	**1.2**	**13.4**	**0.6**	**28.3**	**0.8**	**10.3**	**0.3**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

that is, the summer and monsoon period, which may to some extent explain the prevalence of high fever among the youth surveyed. Differences by marital status and place of residence were negligible.

Injuries were experienced by a minority of respondents in the three months preceding the interview, specifically, 7% of young men and 2% of young women. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow, although a somewhat larger percentage of young men in rural than urban areas so reported (9% versus 4%).

11.2.2 Sexual and reproductive health problems

Table 11.3 also presents young people's reported experiences of symptoms of genital infection in the three months preceding the interview. We note that these findings are based on self-reports and not on clinical examination or laboratory testing and therefore must be interpreted with caution. Young women were more likely than young men to report symptoms of genital infection (17% versus 5%). This difference is largely attributed to the finding that young women's experience related, for the most part (13%, not shown in tabular form), to vaginal discharge. While married young men were as likely as the unmarried to have experienced symptoms of genital infection, married young women were more likely than the unmarried to report as such (20% versus 13%). Rural-urban differences were narrow.

Previous research has documented the extent to which semen loss is associated with anxiety regarding masculine weakness and ill-health in South Asian cultures (Bhatia and Choudhary, 1998; Bhatia and Malik, 1991; Bhende, 1995; Collumbien et al., 2004; Khan et al., 2006; Pelto, 1999; Verma et al., 2003). Youth Study findings

Table 11.3: Self-reported health problems

Percentage of youth reporting recent experiences of selected general and sexual and reproductive health problems, according to residence

General/sexual and reproductive health problems experienced	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
High fever in last 3 months	21.4	31.7	20.2	32.5	21.4	30.6
Injury in last 3 months	7.2	2.2	6.2	1.7	7.2	2.7
Symptoms of genital infection in last 3 months[1]	4.5	16.8	5.1	20.0	4.1	12.9
Anxiety about *swapnadosh*/nocturnal emission in last 12 months	22.5	NA	7.5	NA	25.9	NA
Menstrual problems in last 3 months	NA	12.3	NA	11.3	NA	13.6
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
High fever in last 3 months	18.0	33.3	16.2	34.5	18.1	32.5
Injury in last 3 months	3.9	1.8	3.5	1.3	3.9	2.1
Symptoms of genital infection in last 3 months[1]	2.1	13.7	1.9	16.4	2.0	11.9
Anxiety about *swapnadosh*/nocturnal emission in last 12 months	26.4	NA	5.7	NA	29.1	NA
Menstrual problems in last 3 months	NA	11.9	NA	10.2	NA	13.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
High fever in last 3 months	22.9	31.0	21.5	31.9	23.0	29.6
Injury in last 3 months	8.7	2.3	7.0	1.9	8.8	3.1
Symptoms of genital infection in last 3 months[1]	5.6	18.0	6.2	21.0	5.1	13.5
Anxiety about *swapnadosh*/nocturnal emission in last 12 months	20.8	NA	8.0	NA	24.3	NA
Menstrual problems in last 3 months	NA	12.5	NA	11.6	NA	13.8
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable. [1]Includes genital ulcers, genital itching, swelling in the groin, discharge, burning during urination, etc.

suggest that almost one-quarter (23%) of young men had indeed experienced anxiety about *swapnadosh* or nocturnal emission in the 12 months preceding the interview. Vast differences were, however, observed by marital status: 8% of married young men compared to 26% of the unmarried reported anxiety about nocturnal emission. Differences by rural-urban residence suggest that urban young men were mildly more likely than rural young men to so report (26% versus 21%).

With regard to young women's experience of other reproductive health problems in the three months preceding the interview, findings suggest that 12% of young women experienced menstrual problems, with no variation by marital status or rural-urban residence.

Figure 11.1 presents the percentage of youth who reported that they had experienced symptoms of genital infection in the three months preceding the interview in each state. While state-wise differences were narrow, findings show that young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were somewhat more likely than those in the other states to report symptoms of genital infection (8–12% versus 1–5%); likewise, young women in Bihar and Tamil Nadu were more likely than those in the other states to so report (21–22% versus 11–17%).

11.3 Mental health disorders

The mental health status of young people was assessed based on their responses to the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12) (Goldberg, 1992; Patel and Andrew, 2001). This questionnaire, designed to identify the presence of possible mental health disorders, is based on 12 questions that assess the extent to which a respondent experienced, for example, happiness, depression, anxiety and sleep disturbance in the one month preceding the interview. Threshold scores of 2, 3, 4 or more have been variously used to identify the possible presence of common mental health disorders (Bashir et al., 1996; Donath, 2001; Jacob, Bhugra and Mann, 1997). Table 11.4 presents responses on each item of the GHQ-12, and a summary measure indicating the percentage who gave three or more responses suggestive of mental health disorders.

Gender disparities in response patterns were modest. The questions that were likely to elicit responses suggestive of mental health disorders were, by and large, similar for both young men and women. For example, over 10% of both young men and women reported losing sleep due to worry (11–13%), feeling incapable of making decisions (11–17%), feeling constantly under strain (11–15%) and feeling unhappy and depressed (10–13%). In addition, over 10% of young men reported feeling that they were not playing a useful role (11%), and over 10% of young women reported feeling that they could not overcome their difficulties (12%) and that they were unable to face up to their problems (11%).

Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow. Even so, some differences were notable. young men in rural areas were somewhat more likely than their urban counterparts to report such symptoms as losing sleep over worry (15% versus 10%) and feeling that they were not playing a useful role (12% versus 7%).

Figure 11.1: Percentage of youth reporting symptoms of genital infection, according to state

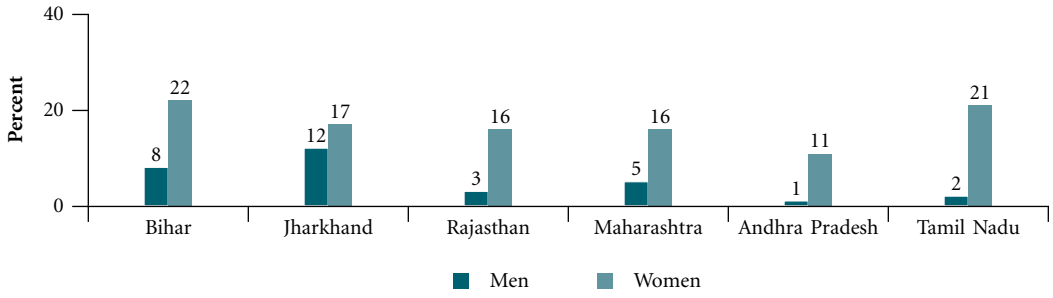


Table 11.4: Reported symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders

Percentage of youth reporting symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders experienced in the month preceding the interview, according to residence

Symptoms/behaviours	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Unable to concentrate on whatever he/she was doing	4.6	4.0	4.6	4.3	4.6	3.5
Lost much sleep over worry	13.3	10.7	16.6	12.4	12.9	8.7
Felt that he/she was not playing a useful role	10.5	7.2	6.6	7.1	11.3	7.5
Felt incapable of making decisions	11.3	16.5	8.1	17.8	11.9	15.1
Felt constantly under strain	15.0	11.0	18.8	12.7	14.5	9.0
Felt that he/she could not overcome his/her difficulties	6.8	11.7	6.1	12.4	6.9	11.1
Unable to enjoy normal day-to-day activities	5.3	4.6	5.4	5.4	5.3	3.7
Unable to face up to his/her problems	5.7	11.0	4.7	11.6	6.0	10.3
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	12.7	10.0	14.3	11.3	12.4	8.5
Been losing confidence in himself/herself	6.8	5.6	7.5	6.3	6.6	4.8
Been thinking of himself/herself as a worthless person	4.9	4.9	5.2	6.0	4.7	3.7
Not feeling reasonably happy, all things considered	4.4	5.4	5.2	6.1	4.3	4.6
Three or more symptoms/behaviours	**13.7**	**13.7**	**14.7**	**15.2**	**13.5**	**12.1**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Unable to concentrate on whatever he/she was doing	3.1	2.8	2.4	3.1	3.2	2.7
Lost much sleep over worry	9.7	8.8	9.6	10.2	9.5	7.8
Felt that he/she was not playing a useful role	6.8	5.4	3.8	5.1	7.0	5.6
Felt incapable of making decisions	9.1	11.7	5.7	12.6	9.2	11.1
Felt constantly under strain	14.3	10.3	14.7	12.7	14.2	8.6
Felt that he/she could not overcome his/her difficulties	4.2	7.0	3.1	7.6	4.3	6.5
Unable to enjoy normal day-to-day activities	4.0	3.2	3.6	3.7	3.8	2.8
Unable to face up to his/her problems	4.0	8.0	3.2	8.8	4.0	7.6
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	10.5	8.9	9.7	10.1	10.6	8.1
Been losing confidence in himself/herself	4.0	3.7	3.8	4.1	4.0	3.3
Been thinking of himself/herself as a worthless person	2.8	2.7	2.1	3.2	2.8	2.4
Not feeling reasonably happy, all things considered	3.1	4.2	3.2	4.9	3.0	3.7
Three or more symptoms/behaviours	**9.5**	**9.3**	**8.5**	**10.7**	**9.3**	**8.4**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Unable to concentrate on whatever he/she was doing	5.2	4.4	5.3	4.7	5.4	4.0
Lost much sleep over worry	14.9	11.5	18.8	13.1	14.7	9.1
Felt that he/she was not playing a useful role	12.1	8.0	7.5	7.6	13.4	8.6
Felt incapable of making decisions	12.3	18.5	8.9	19.3	13.2	17.4
Felt constantly under strain	15.3	11.3	20.1	12.7	14.6	9.2
Felt that he/she could not overcome his/her difficulties	7.9	13.7	7.0	13.7	8.2	13.7
Unable to enjoy normal day-to-day activities	5.9	5.2	6.0	5.9	6.0	4.1
Unable to face up to his/her problems	6.5	12.2	5.2	12.5	6.9	11.8
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	13.7	10.5	15.7	11.6	13.4	8.8
Been losing confidence in himself/herself	8.0	6.4	8.7	6.9	7.9	5.6
Been thinking of himself/herself as a worthless person	5.8	5.8	6.2	6.7	5.7	4.4
Not feeling reasonably happy, all things considered	5.0	5.9	5.9	6.4	4.9	5.0
Three or more symptoms/behaviours	**15.6**	**15.5**	**16.6**	**16.4**	**15.7**	**14.2**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Likewise, rural young women were somewhat more likely than their urban counterparts to report feeling incapable of making decisions (19% versus 12%) and feeling that they could not overcome their difficulties (14% versus 7%).

Overall, 14% of young men and women reported three or more of the 12 symptoms or behaviours probed in the GHQ-12, indicative of mental health disorders. Marital status differences were negligible. Rural-urban differences suggest that youth in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to display scores indicative of mental disorders (16% versus 9–10%). While differences are not large, we note that this finding among youth contrasts with evidence from previous studies that have observed either a higher prevalence of mental health disorders in urban than rural areas (for a review see Reddy and Chandrashekhar, 1998) or negligible rural-urban differences (Murali Madhav, 2001; Srinath et al., 2005).

Table 11.5 and Figure 11.2 present the percentage of youth reporting symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the one month preceding the interview in each state. Findings suggest that young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were more likely than those in the other states (16–28% versus 11–13%), and young women in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra were more likely than those in the other states (17–21% versus 9–10%), to report symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders. Similar patterns were by large observed among married and unmarried, and rural and urban, youth. While differences by marital status were narrow in most states, rural-urban differences were notable in almost all the states, with more rural than urban youth reporting three or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders.

11.4 Care and advice seeking

Young people who reported physical or sexual and reproductive health problems were probed about whether they had sought care or advice for the problem and the source of this care or advice. Findings are presented in Table 11.6 and suggest that care and advice seeking differed by the kind of problem experienced as well as, in several instances, sex and marital status of the respondent.

11.4.1 General health problems

According to findings presented in Table 11.6, the vast majority of young people who experienced high fever had sought treatment. Gender differences were apparent, with somewhat more young men than young women having sought treatment (95% versus 90%). Differences by marital status were negligible. Of those who had sought treatment, the majority had sought treatment from private sector providers (61–64%), reflecting the pattern of health care seeking in India more generally. Just 24–29% had sought treatment from a government health care facility or provider, and a small minority (10–13%) had sought treatment from traditional health care providers or relied on home remedies. Differences by marital status were narrow.

Figure 11.2: Percentage of youth reporting three or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the interview, according to state

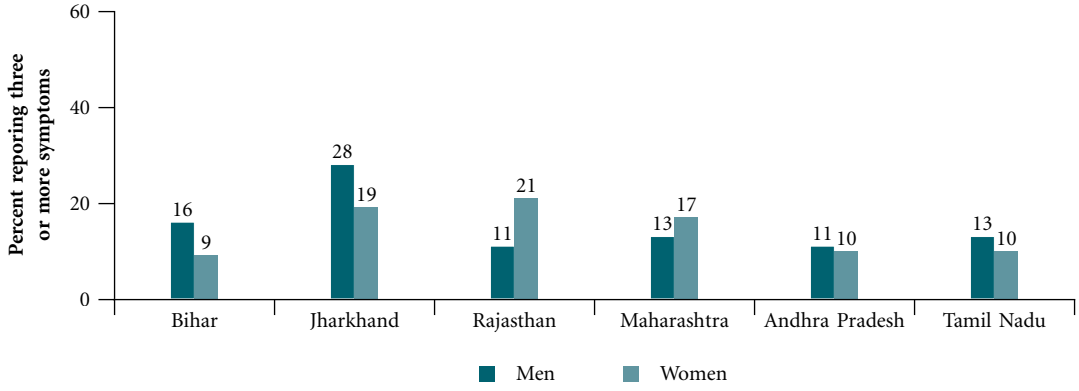


Table 11.5: Prevalence of symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders by state

Percentage of youth reporting three or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the interview by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Bihar	16.2	8.7	17.3	9.0	16.8	8.3
Jharkhand	28.4	19.1	27.9	18.0	28.2	20.7
Rajasthan	10.9	20.9	12.1	22.7	11.2	18.1
Maharashtra	12.6	17.0	12.2	20.3	12.6	14.3
Andhra Pradesh	10.6	10.1	12.5	11.1	9.7	8.9
Tamil Nadu	12.6	10.2	14.8	13.5	12.1	8.0
Total	**13.7**	**13.7**	**14.7**	**15.2**	**13.5**	**12.1**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Bihar	16.5	8.0	17.4	9.1	16.4	7.5
Jharkhand	23.9	15.4	20.3	16.4	23.4	14.9
Rajasthan	10.7	16.5	9.5	19.4	10.8	13.8
Maharashtra	6.4	8.7	3.9	9.6	6.4	8.1
Andhra Pradesh	8.1	8.3	7.2	8.4	7.6	8.3
Tamil Nadu	9.5	7.0	12.3	9.1	8.8	5.8
Total	**9.5**	**9.3**	**8.5**	**10.7**	**9.3**	**8.4**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Bihar	16.1	8.8	17.3	9.0	16.9	8.5
Jharkhand	30.1	20.4	29.3	18.3	30.4	23.8
Rajasthan	11.0	22.5	12.7	23.3	11.3	20.4
Maharashtra	17.7	23.5	18.0	26.4	17.7	20.4
Andhra Pradesh	11.6	10.9	13.9	11.9	10.6	9.3
Tamil Nadu	15.0	12.7	16.7	16.5	14.8	10.0
Total	**15.6**	**15.5**	**16.6**	**16.4**	**15.7**	**14.2**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Fewer youth, especially young women, had sought care for their reported injuries (77% of young men and 57% of young women). Larger percentages of unmarried than married young women had sought care for injuries (62 versus 51); no such difference was observed among young men. As in the case of high fever, a larger percentage of youth who had sought treatment had visited private facilities (45–48), irrespective of sex and marital status. One-third of young men (35%) and slightly over one-quarter of young women (28%) who had sought treatment had visited government facilities. We note that respondents may not always have been able to discern whether the private sector provider from whom they had sought care had been trained and was licensed to provide such care.

11.4.2 Sexual and reproductive health problems

Responses regarding treatment-seeking for sexual and reproductive health problems depict a somewhat different picture than that for general health ailments. In general, fewer young people had sought care for these problems

Table 11.6: Care and advice seeking for reported health problems

Percentage of youth who experienced selected health problems by reported care and advice seeking and place of treatment

Care and advice seeking	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Sought treatment for high fever	95.2	90.3	95.0	89.4	95.7	91.4
Number reporting high fever	**2,791**	**9,411**	**1,489**	**4,459**	**2,252**	**4,952**
Place treatment sought for high fever[1]						
Government facility/doctor	29.4	23.7	31.5	23.2	28.9	24.7
Private facility/doctor	60.6	63.5	56.7	61.6	61.1	65.3
Other[2]	9.6	12.5	11.3	14.9	9.6	9.8
Number who sought treatment for high fever	**2,468**	**8,462**	**1,416**	**3,965**	**2,138**	**4,497**
Sought treatment for injury	77.3	56.7	78.1	50.9	76.5	61.6
Number reporting injury	**957**	**712**	**440**	**246**	**788**	**466**
Place treatment sought for injury[1]						
Government facility/doctor	34.9	28.2	36.1	27.3	35.8	29.5
Private facility/doctor	45.0	47.8	46.1	40.7	45.0	52.8
Other[2]	18.6	11.3	16.0	10.5	17.8	12.1
Number who sought treatment for injury	**752**	**443**	**356**	**149**	**614**	**294**
Sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection[3]	56.0	39.5	63.9	42.6	54.6	33.7
Number reporting symptoms of genital infection	**649**	**4,850**	**375**	**2,742**	**490**	**2,108**
Place treatment sought for symptoms of genital infection[1, 3, 4]						
Government facility/doctor	31.3	27.1	29.2	26.0	30.0	30.3
Private facility/doctor	53.4	64.8	40.0	66.9	56.6	59.1
Other[2]	15.8	9.0	30.9	8.5	14.1	10.5
Number who sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection	**357**	**1,912**	**235**	**1,233**	**263**	**679**
Sought advice on *swapnadosh*/nocturnal emission	54.1	NA	44.2	NA	55.0	NA
Number reporting anxiety over *swapnadosh*/nocturnal emission	**3,172**	**NA**	**601**	**NA**	**2,921**	**NA**
Person from whom advice was sought on *swapnadosh*/ nocturnal emission						
Friend	86.5	NA	68.4	NA	87.5	NA
Parent	2.2	NA	0.7	NA	2.3	NA
Relative	2.0	NA	5.2	NA	1.8	NA
Traditional healer	0.9	NA	2.6	NA	0.8	NA
Medical professional	8.0	NA	17.1	NA	7.5	NA
Number who sought advice for *swapnadosh*/nocturnal emission	**1,687**	**NA**	**294**	**NA**	**1,568**	**NA**
Sought treatment for menstrual problems	NA	50.6	NA	53.1	NA	47.5
Number reporting menstrual problems	**NA**	**3,409**	**NA**	**1,448**	**NA**	**1,961**
Place treatment sought for menstrual problems[1]						
Government facility/doctor	NA	18.9	NA	18.6	NA	19.6
Private facility/doctor	NA	72.6	NA	70.6	NA	74.3
Other[2]	NA	7.1	NA	9.3	NA	4.9
Number who sought treatment for menstrual problems	**NA**	**1,723**	**NA**	**792**	**NA**	**931**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. NA: Not applicable. [1]Refers to the last time the respondent sought treatment. [2]Includes registered medical practitioner, unregistered medical practitioner, vaid/traditional healer and home remedies. [3]Includes genital ulcers, genital itching, swelling in the groin, genital discharge, burning during urination, etc. [4]Multiple responses were given.

than for general health problems. As in the case of general health problems, the majority of youth who had sought care did so from a private sector provider.

Among young men who had experienced symptoms of genital infection, 56% had sought care. The married were more likely than the unmarried to have sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection (64% versus 55%). Of those who had sought care, one-third did so from a government health facility or provider (31%), over half did so from a private sector provider (53%) and one-sixth relied on traditional health care providers or home remedies (16%). The married were less likely than the unmarried to have sought treatment from private sector providers (40% versus 57%) and conversely more likely to have relied on traditional health care providers or home remedies (31% versus 14%).

Young men who experienced anxiety about *swapnadosh* or nocturnal emission were asked if they had sought advice for this anxiety. Over half of young men (54%) had done so; more unmarried than married young men so reported (55% versus 44%). The most common source was friends, from whom 87% of young men reported seeking advice. In contrast, a minority had sought advice from a medical professional (8%). While the unmarried were more likely than the married to have sought advice from friends (88% versus 68%), the married were more likely to have sought advice from medical professionals (17% versus 8%). Finally, few (less than 1%) had sought advice from a traditional health care provider generally known to "treat" such symptoms.

Seeking treatment for sexual and reproductive health problems was more limited among young women than young men. Indeed, just two in five young women who had experienced symptoms of genital infection, and half of those who had experienced menstrual problems (51%), had sought care. That so many fewer young women had sought care for symptoms of sexual and reproductive health problems than general health problems clearly highlights the fact that problems perceived to be associated with sex or sexual health matters were likely to go untreated by many. The married were more likely than the unmarried to have sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection (43% versus 34%) and menstrual problems (53% versus 48%).

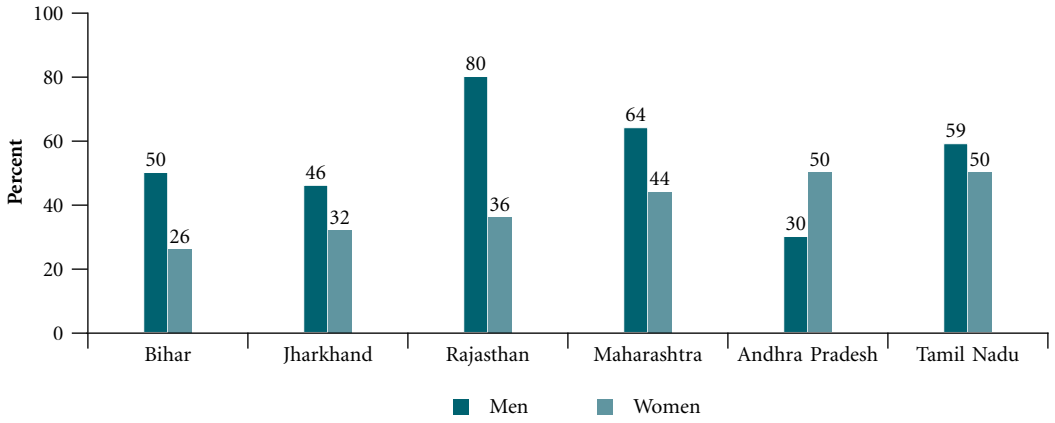
Among young women too, the majority of those who had sought care for symptoms of genital infection and menstrual problems did so from private providers (65% and 73%, respectively). Just 19–27% had sought treatment from public sector providers and 7–9% had relied on traditional health care providers or home remedies. Differences by marital status were, by and large, narrow with regard to care seeking for menstrual problems; married young women were more likely than their unmarried counterparts to have sought care from a private facility or provider for symptoms of genital infection (67% versus 59%).

Figure 11.3 presents the percentage of youth who had sought treatment among those who had experienced symptoms of genital infection in the three months preceding the interview in each state. Findings suggest that young men were more likely than young women to have sought treatment in all the states, except Andhra Pradesh. Findings suggest, moreover, that young men in Rajasthan (80%), followed by those in Maharashtra (64%) and Tamil Nadu (59%) were most likely to have sought treatment. In contrast, just one-third of young men in Andhra Pradesh (30%) and about one-half of those in Bihar and Jharkhand (46–50%) had sought treatment. Among young women, however, a regional pattern was apparent; young women in the northern states were less likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to have sought treatment (26–36% versus 44–50%).

11.5 Hesitation to access contraceptive supplies

In order to capture the extent to which young people perceived that they could approach health care professionals for sexual and reproductive health services, the Youth Study posed two questions relating to accessing contraceptives, namely, whether the respondent would feel shy to approach a health care provider and a pharmacist, respectively, for contraceptives. Findings are presented in Table 11.7 and confirm that large proportions of young people would indeed feel shy to approach a health care provider or pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptive supplies. Young women were more likely than young men to report discomfort in approaching a health care provider (52% versus

Figure 11.3: Percentage of youth who had sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection, according to state[1]



Note: [1]Of those who experienced symptoms of genital infection in the three months preceding the interview.

43%) and a pharmacy (58% versus 38%) for contraceptive supplies. Differences by marital status suggest that the unmarried were more likely than their married counterparts to express discomfort in accessing contraceptive supplies from a health care provider (46% versus 25% among young men; 57% versus 48% among young women) and a pharmacy (41% versus 21% among young men; 61% versus 55% among young women). Rural-urban differences were modest, with somewhat more rural than urban youth reporting discomfort in accessing contraceptive supplies from a health care provider (45% versus 37% among young men; 53% versus 49% among young women) and a pharmacy (40% versus 34% among young men; 60% versus 55% among young women). Findings confirm that many youth would indeed find it difficult to seek appropriate services for sexual and reproductive matters.

Regional patterns were not discernible. However, young men in Jharkhand and Tamil Nadu were more likely than those from the remaining four states to express discomfort in approaching a health care provider (50–54% versus 38–42%) and a pharmacy (47–51% versus 34–37%) for contraceptive supplies. A similar pattern was by and large observed among married and unmarried, and rural and urban, young men. Among young women, the patterns differed by the type of provider. For example, young women from Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu were more likely than those from the other states to report discomfort in approaching a health care provider (56–62% versus 42–45%) for contraceptive supplies, a pattern observed among both the married and the unmarried as well as among the rural and the urban. However, state-wise differences were narrow with regard to the percentage reporting discomfort in approaching a pharmacy for contraceptive supplies; close to or over half of young women in all the states so reported. Even so, young women in Jharkhand were least likely and those in Tamil Nadu were most likely, to report such discomfort (46% and 66%, respectively). A similar pattern was, by and large, observed among married and unmarried, and rural and urban, young women.

11.6 Attitudes towards pre-marital HIV testing and extent of HIV testing

Youth who were aware of HIV/AIDS were asked whether they approved of pre-marital HIV testing for boys and girls, and whether they had ever undergone an HIV test. Findings, presented in Table 11.8, suggest that over four-fifths of young men and women (82–84%) agreed that boys and girls should be tested for HIV before marriage. While differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible among young men, somewhat larger percentages of unmarried than married young women (85–87 versus 78–81), and urban than rural young women (86–89 versus 79–82), expressed favourable attitudes towards HIV testing.

State-wise differences suggest a regional pattern among young women but not among young men. Among young men, while three-quarters of those in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu favoured pre-marital HIV testing for

Table 11.7: Hesitation to access contraceptive supplies

Percentage of youth reporting hesitation to access contraceptive supplies from a health care provider or medical shop by state, according to residence

Indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Would feel shy to approach a HCP for contraceptives						
Bihar	39.7	44.6	24.8	41.7	43.4	50.8
Jharkhand	50.0	42.3	37.6	36.0	52.6	50.5
Rajasthan	41.9	57.9	22.1	59.2	48.5	57.3
Maharashtra	40.6	55.9	19.6	52.2	42.6	59.1
Andhra Pradesh	38.4	44.2	25.8	40.3	39.5	49.5
Tamil Nadu	53.6	62.0	36.4	54.8	54.9	66.8
Total	**42.7**	**51.9**	**25.3**	**47.6**	**45.6**	**57.3**
Would feel shy to approach a pharmacy/ medical shop for contraceptives						
Bihar	36.9	53.4	22.2	51.4	40.8	57.7
Jharkhand	46.9	45.9	32.7	40.8	49.8	52.6
Rajasthan	36.9	60.9	18.5	62.4	43.3	59.7
Maharashtra	33.6	57.0	14.6	54.1	35.7	59.6
Andhra Pradesh	34.6	58.2	22.7	57.4	35.6	59.3
Tamil Nadu	50.6	65.9	30.1	60.0	51.8	69.8
Total	**38.2**	**58.0**	**21.4**	**55.4**	**41.2**	**61.3**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Would feel shy to approach a HCP for contraceptives						
Bihar	34.4	34.7	22.8	31.5	35.2	37.0
Jharkhand	42.5	37.0	20.3	28.8	44.6	41.6
Rajasthan	33.6	46.2	7.5	47.0	39.1	45.4
Maharashtra	28.1	50.3	6.2	44.4	30.8	54.0
Andhra Pradesh	40.8	42.0	22.9	37.5	41.7	45.7
Tamil Nadu	51.6	58.8	34.6	50.9	53.3	63.3
Total	**37.1**	**48.8**	**16.3**	**43.2**	**39.7**	**52.6**
Would feel shy to approach a pharmacy/ medical shop for contraceptives						
Bihar	31.9	46.2	18.3	44.4	32.8	47.6
Jharkhand	38.4	39.7	14.7	32.4	40.7	43.8
Rajasthan	30.2	49.3	6.9	50.2	35.0	48.2
Maharashtra	23.1	50.5	5.0	44.4	25.3	54.3
Andhra Pradesh	38.1	57.2	18.3	55.0	39.4	59.0
Tamil Nadu	50.6	65.2	27.6	60.3	52.5	68.0
Total	**33.8**	**54.5**	**13.1**	**50.4**	**36.3**	**57.2**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 11.7: (Cont'd)

Indicators	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Would feel shy to approach a HCP for contraceptives						
Bihar	40.6	45.9	24.9	42.4	45.0	53.3
Jharkhand	52.7	44.2	40.8	37.4	56.2	55.3
Rajasthan	44.8	62.1	25.4	61.6	52.6	63.3
Maharashtra	50.5	60.3	29.0	56.7	52.4	64.0
Andhra Pradesh	37.5	45.1	26.7	41.1	38.5	51.6
Tamil Nadu	55.1	64.6	37.6	57.3	56.0	69.9
Total	**45.1**	**53.2**	**28.1**	**48.9**	**48.6**	**59.8**
Would feel shy to approach a pharmacy/ medical shop for contraceptives						
Bihar	37.7	54.3	22.5	51.9	42.4	59.5
Jharkhand	50.1	48.1	36.0	42.5	54.0	57.3
Rajasthan	39.2	65.0	21.1	64.8	46.8	65.6
Maharashtra	42.0	62.2	21.1	59.5	44.3	64.8
Andhra Pradesh	33.2	58.6	23.9	58.1	34.0	59.4
Tamil Nadu	50.6	66.5	31.8	59.8	51.4	71.4
Total	**40.2**	**59.5**	**24.0**	**56.8**	**43.6**	**63.5**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. HCP: Health care provider.

boys and girls (74–78%), over four-fifths in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh (82–84%) and over 90% in Maharashtra (91–92%) so reported. Similar patterns were, by and large, observed among married and unmarried, and urban and rural, young men. In contrast, among young women those from Maharashtra and the southern states were somewhat more likely than their northern counterparts to favour pre-marital HIV testing for boys (81–93% versus 75–79%), and this pattern was evident among both the married and the unmarried, as well as rural and urban young women. Pre-marital testing for girls was more likely to be favoured by young women from Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu than their counterparts in the remaining four states (83–93% versus 71–78%); this pattern was not consistently observed by marital status and rural-urban residence.

Findings presented in Table 11.9 indicate that despite positive attitudes towards HIV testing, only a small minority of youth had ever undergone an HIV test: 4% of young men and 11% of young women. Differences by marital status were mild among young men (7% versus 3%), but considerably more married than unmarried young women reported having undergone an HIV test, most likely conducted in the course of antenatal check-ups (19% versus 2%). This difference was observed in both rural and urban settings. Rural-urban differences were muted. State-wise differences were narrow among young men, irrespective of rural-urban residence; 1–6% of young men in the six states had ever undergone an HIV test. Differences were, however, notable among married young men among whom those from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to have undergone an HIV test (10% versus 2–5%). Among young women, those from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to have undergone an HIV test (6–24% versus 1–3%), irrespective of rural-urban residence. While similar differences were notable among married young women (13–42% versus 2–4%), no such differences were apparent among unmarried young women. We note that HIV testing was far more likely to be reported by married young women from Andhra Pradesh (42%) than by their counterparts in any of the remaining states.

Table 11.8: Attitudes towards pre-marital HIV testing

Percentage of youth aware of HIV/AIDS who believe that boys/girls should be tested for HIV before marriage by state, according to residence

Attitudes/experiences	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Boys should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Bihar	83.8	74.6	83.7	72.0	83.9	77.5
Jharkhand	78.0	79.0	73.6	75.8	79.0	81.4
Rajasthan	74.3	79.0	73.3	75.8	75.0	82.3
Maharashtra	92.1	93.4	93.6	91.1	92.1	95.1
Andhra Pradesh	84.3	81.4	79.8	77.7	86.0	86.1
Tamil Nadu	76.7	86.9	77.4	86.6	76.7	87.2
Total	**83.3**	**84.3**	**81.9**	**80.9**	**84.0**	**87.4**
Girls should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Bihar	82.1	71.3	80.9	68.4	82.4	74.5
Jharkhand	76.2	77.4	72.1	74.5	76.9	79.4
Rajasthan	74.3	77.2	73.6	73.7	74.8	80.8
Maharashtra	91.2	92.9	91.5	90.2	91.5	94.8
Andhra Pradesh	82.8	77.6	77.9	73.6	84.6	82.7
Tamil Nadu	75.3	82.7	75.6	81.6	75.4	83.4
Total	**82.1**	**81.5**	**80.2**	**77.8**	**82.9**	**85.1**
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	**13,070**	**23,199**	**7,173**	**9,527**	**10,665**	**13,672**
Urban						
Boys should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Bihar	85.8	85.0	84.1	83.0	85.1	86.3
Jharkhand	81.8	83.5	76.5	83.8	82.3	83.1
Rajasthan	77.2	83.3	76.0	83.1	77.7	83.5
Maharashtra	95.3	95.0	94.9	93.0	95.6	96.3
Andhra Pradesh	84.6	85.6	83.1	83.8	86.2	87.1
Tamil Nadu	77.8	87.6	77.5	87.4	78.0	87.8
Total	**86.2**	**88.9**	**85.2**	**87.4**	**86.6**	**89.8**
Girls should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Bihar	84.3	83.1	81.8	79.2	83.9	85.3
Jharkhand	80.8	81.8	75.0	82.1	81.3	81.6
Rajasthan	77.2	81.9	76.6	82.2	78.1	82.1
Maharashtra	94.8	94.7	93.5	92.6	95.1	95.9
Andhra Pradesh	83.2	81.7	80.4	79.7	85.1	83.4
Tamil Nadu	75.5	82.1	75.5	81.0	75.6	82.8
Total	**85.1**	**86.1**	**83.8**	**84.3**	**85.6**	**87.3**
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	**7,165**	**12,086**	**3,422**	**4,847**	**6,177**	**7,239**

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Table 11.8: (Cont'd)

Attitudes/experiences	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Boys should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Bihar	83.5	72.2	83.7	70.8	83.7	74.6
Jharkhand	76.1	75.5	72.7	72.0	77.1	79.6
Rajasthan	73.1	76.3	72.6	73.3	73.6	81.3
Maharashtra	89.3	91.9	92.5	89.8	88.9	93.8
Andhra Pradesh	84.2	79.6	78.9	75.8	85.9	85.6
Tamil Nadu	75.7	86.3	77.3	86.1	75.6	86.6
Total	**81.9**	**81.6**	**80.7**	**78.3**	**82.6**	**85.7**
Girls should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Bihar	81.8	68.5	80.8	67.0	82.1	70.9
Jharkhand	74.1	73.8	71.0	71.0	74.4	77.1
Rajasthan	73.1	74.2	72.8	70.6	73.2	80.0
Maharashtra	88.2	91.1	90.0	88.5	88.2	93.7
Andhra Pradesh	82.6	75.9	77.1	71.7	84.5	82.3
Tamil Nadu	75.2	83.1	75.6	82.0	75.1	83.9
Total	**80.7**	**78.8**	**78.9**	**75.1**	**81.4**	**83.5**
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	**5,905**	**11,113**	**3,751**	**4,680**	**4,488**	**6,433**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Table 11.9: Extent of HIV testing

Percentage of youth who ever had an HIV test by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Youth who underwent an HIV test						
Bihar	1.3	1.6	5.2	2.3	1.3	0.4
Jharkhand	2.2	1.0	3.8	1.7	2.0	0.5
Rajasthan	1.7	2.5	1.8	3.7	1.3	1.0
Maharashtra	5.5	9.6	9.8	17.7	5.1	3.4
Andhra Pradesh	5.2	24.1	10.4	41.6	4.9	1.8
Tamil Nadu	3.4	5.8	10.2	12.6	3.0	1.4
Total	**3.6**	**10.5**	**7.2**	**19.4**	**3.4**	**1.9**
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	**13,070**	**23,199**	**7,173**	**9,527**	**10,665**	**13,672**
Urban						
Youth who underwent an HIV test						
Bihar	2.6	2.0	6.9	5.0	2.1	0.2
Jharkhand	2.4	1.0	5.0	2.0	2.0	0.6
Rajasthan	1.9	2.5	2.7	4.2	1.8	1.3
Maharashtra	3.9	11.5	9.4	24.9	3.2	3.4
Andhra Pradesh	6.8	21.0	12.8	44.4	6.9	2.0
Tamil Nadu	2.9	6.6	12.3	16.4	2.7	0.9
Total	**3.8**	**10.1**	**9.2**	**22.9**	**3.4**	**2.0**
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	**7,165**	**12,086**	**3,422**	**4,847**	**6,177**	**7,239**

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Table 11.9: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Youth who underwent an HIV test						
Bihar	1.1	1.5	4.9	2.0	1.1	0.5
Jharkhand	2.3	1.0	3.4	1.5	2.1	0.4
Rajasthan	1.6	2.5	1.5	3.6	1.1	0.8
Maharashtra	6.9	7.8	10.2	12.6	6.9	3.4
Andhra Pradesh	4.6	25.5	9.7	40.7	4.0	1.6
Tamil Nadu	3.7	5.2	8.7	9.9	3.3	1.8
Total	**3.5**	**10.7**	**6.4**	**17.9**	**3.4**	**1.8**
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	**5,905**	**11,113**	**3,751**	**4,680**	**4,488**	**6,433**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

11.7 Summary

Findings show that substantial proportions of young men reported the consumption of tobacco and alcohol; almost one-third of young men reported tobacco consumption and one-sixth reported alcohol consumption; almost all of these—29% and 14%, respectively—had done so in the month preceding the interview. As expected, few young women reported that they had consumed any of these substances. In contrast, hardly any young men and not a single young woman reported drug use. State-wise differences suggest that young men in Bihar, Jharkhand and Maharashtra were more likely than their counterparts from the other states to have consumed tobacco products in the month preceding the interview. In contrast, young men from the southern states were considerably more likely than those from the other states to have consumed alcohol in the month preceding the interview (22% versus 6–16%).

Although youth is a generally healthy period of life, significant minorities reported experiencing general, mental, and sexual and reproductive health problems in the period preceding the interview. For example, 21% of young men and 32% of young women had experienced high fever, and 5% of young men and 17% of young women reported the experience of symptoms of genital infection. One in eight young women reported experiencing menstrual problems; at the same time, almost one-quarter of young men reported anxiety about nocturnal emission. Finally, responses indicative of mental health disorders were reported by one in seven young men and women. Findings, moreover, suggest that young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were more likely than those in the other states (16–28% versus 11–13%), and young women in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra were more likely than those in the other states (17–21% versus 9–10%) to report symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders.

With regard to care seeking for general and sexual and reproductive health problems, patterns varied by type of problem. While the large majority of those who had experienced high fever, for example, had sought care, many fewer had sought care for sexual and reproductive health problems. Of those who had sought treatment, large proportions of young men and women had sought advice or treatment from a private facility or provider, irrespective of the type of problem. However, in the case of anxiety about nocturnal emission, young men had rarely sought advice from a health care provider, preferring to do so from their peers.

Findings suggest that youth were shy about seeking sexual and reproductive health services. For example, many youth, including the married, reported that they would indeed hesitate to approach a health care provider or a pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptive supplies.

Finally, small minorities of young men (4%) and somewhat more young women (11%) reported that they had undergone HIV testing. While state-wise differences were narrow among young men, young women from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to have undergone an HIV test (6–24% versus 1–3%). Findings, moreover, suggest that youth were overwhelmingly in favour of pre-marital HIV testing. While no regional pattern was discernible among young men, young women from Maharashtra and the southern states were somewhat more likely than their northern counterparts to favour pre-marital HIV testing.

Chapter 12

Participation in civil society and political life

The National Youth Policy 2003 has underscored the role of India's youth in political decision-making, and argued for greater representation of youth in appropriate bodies and more extensive youth participation in the design and implementation of programmes (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, 2003). Indeed, there is a recognition that today's youth, who have better access to skills and information than those of earlier generations, can play an important role in influencing political processes and the socio-economic development of the country.

This chapter presents a profile of youth involvement in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes, community activities and political processes. It also explores young people's behaviours and attitudes towards individuals of different religions and caste groups, violence within their community and their own participation in such violence, and their perceptions about the most important problem facing youth in India.

12.1 Awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes

Youth were asked whether they were aware of programmes in which youth could participate that had taken place in their village or urban neighbourhood in the three years preceding the interview. They were also asked whether they had participated in these programmes and whether these programmes had been organised by government agencies or NGOs. Findings are presented in Table 12.1.

Awareness of programmes that addressed youth needs was limited; just 22% of young men and 31% of young women reported awareness of one or more programmes that addressed youth needs organised in the three years prior to the interview. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence suggest that unmarried young women were more likely than their married counterparts (35% versus 27%), and rural young men were more likely than their urban counterparts (25% versus 15%), to report awareness of one or more programmes; differences by marital status among young men and by rural-urban residence among young women were narrow.

Differences were generally narrow by focus of programmes conducted. For example, 10–12% of both young men and women reported awareness of health promotion programmes. However, young women were far more likely than young men (15% versus 2%) to report awareness of self-help groups, and this was so irrespective of marital status or rural-urban residence. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were generally mild.

Almost three-quarters of young men (73%) and four-fifths of young women (80%) who were familiar with such programmes reported that these were organised by government agencies. In contrast, relatively few were aware of programmes organised by the NGO sector (27% of young men and 15% of young women). Marital status and rural-urban differences were evident. The unmarried were more likely to be aware of NGO organised programmes than their married counterparts (29% versus 23% among young men; 19% versus 12% among young women), and conversely, less likely to be aware of government-sponsored programmes (72% versus 77% among young men; 77% versus 84% among young women). Urban youth, especially young men, were more likely than their rural counterparts to report awareness of NGO organised programmes (42% versus 24% among young men; 20% versus 14% among young women), and conversely, less likely to be aware of government-sponsored programmes (66% versus 74% among young men; 76% versus 82% among young women).

Table 12.1: Awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes

Percentage of youth reporting awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes conducted in the village/neighbourhood in the three years preceding the interview, according to residence

Awareness of and participation in programmes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Aware of programme(s) held	21.8	30.7	19.2	27.3	22.8	35.0
Focus of programmes held						
Health promotion	10.0	11.6	8.5	9.5	10.5	14.2
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	7.6	5.4	6.8	4.3	8.2	6.7
Employment[1]	4.0	3.3	4.1	2.9	4.1	3.8
Self-help group	1.5	15.0	1.6	15.0	1.6	15.0
Literacy	4.6	6.0	4.2	4.7	4.9	7.7
Sports and recreation	3.6	1.7	2.3	0.7	4.1	2.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Organising agency						
Government	72.7	80.0	76.8	83.8	71.7	76.6
NGO	27.4	15.4	23.4	11.5	29.0	18.9
Don't know	3.2	7.2	3.0	7.2	3.0	7.2
Number aware of any programme(s)	**2,561**	**8,187**	**1,359**	**3,249**	**2,132**	**4,938**
Participated in programme(s) held	11.8	8.8	10.3	10.1	12.4	7.4
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Participation in specific programmes						
Health promotion	35.8	24.4	34.7	18.8	36.5	33.6
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	33.8	12.0	30.6	7.4	34.8	19.8
Employment[1]	12.2	6.5	19.4	6.3	10.7	6.9
Self-help group	2.1	48.1	3.9	67.5	2.2	16.0
Literacy	14.0	12.6	16.3	8.3	14.2	19.8
Sports and recreation	22.6	6.1	14.5	0.9	23.9	14.6
Number who participated in any programme(s)	**1,357**	**2,222**	**719**	**1,194**	**1,132**	**1,028**
Urban						
Aware of programme(s) held	15.4	28.4	13.0	25.3	16.0	30.5
Focus of programmes held						
Health promotion	7.1	11.1	6.5	8.9	7.3	12.7
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	7.5	4.8	6.3	3.8	7.9	5.5
Employment[1]	1.9	2.6	1.9	2.3	2.0	2.7
Self-help group	1.0	12.7	0.9	13.6	1.0	12.1
Literacy	1.5	3.9	0.9	2.6	1.6	4.8
Sports and recreation	4.4	2.3	2.8	0.9	4.8	3.2
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Organising agency						
Government	66.4	75.8	63.3	79.8	66.0	73.6
NGO	41.6	19.8	45.8	15.4	42.3	22.3
Don't know	1.8	6.6	2.4	6.1	1.8	6.8
Number aware of any programme(s)	**1,082**	**3,063**	**470**	**1,135**	**955**	**1,928**

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Table 12.1: (Cont'd)

Awareness of and participation in programmes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Participated in programme(s) held	8.7	6.4	7.0	8.0	9.1	5.3
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Participation in specific programmes						
Health promotion	31.8	31.3	37.0	24.1	31.1	38.5
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	43.6	12.9	35.6	7.3	44.3	18.3
Employment[1]	9.2	4.4	11.2	6.9	9.5	2.1
Self-help group	1.3	40.4	4.4	64.5	0.6	15.9
Literacy	4.7	8.5	3.7	3.7	4.9	13.1
Sports and recreation	33.9	8.8	24.4	0.4	35.6	17.1
Number who participated in any programme(s)	**574**	**739**	**242**	**377**	**504**	**362**
Rural						
Aware of programme(s) held	24.6	31.7	21.1	27.9	26.1	37.4
Focus of programmes held						
Health promotion	11.3	11.8	9.1	9.7	12.1	15.1
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	7.7	5.6	6.9	4.4	8.4	7.4
Employment[1]	5.0	3.6	4.8	3.0	5.2	4.4
Self-help group	1.7	15.9	1.9	15.5	1.9	16.6
Literacy	6.0	6.9	5.2	5.3	6.5	9.3
Sports and recreation	3.3	1.5	2.2	0.6	3.7	2.7
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Organising agency						
Government	74.4	81.6	79.4	84.8	73.4	78.0
NGO	23.5	13.7	19.1	10.5	24.9	17.4
Don't know	3.6	7.4	3.1	7.4	3.3	7.4
Number aware of any programme(s)	**1,479**	**5,124**	**889**	**2,114**	**1,177**	**3,010**
Participated in programme(s) held	13.1	9.8	11.3	10.7	14.0	8.5
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Participation in specific programmes						
Health promotion	37.0	22.6	34.2	17.6	38.3	31.9
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	30.9	11.8	29.8	7.3	31.8	20.3
Employment[1]	13.1	7.1	21.0	6.2	11.1	8.6
Self-help group	2.3	50.2	3.7	68.1	2.7	16.1
Literacy	16.7	13.7	18.7	9.3	17.3	22.1
Sports and recreation	19.4	5.4	12.5	1.0	20.1	13.6
Number who participated in any programme(s)	**783**	**1,483**	**477**	**817**	**628**	**666**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. [1]Includes Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Pradhan Mantri Rozgar Yojana (PMRY), Training for Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), etc.

A small minority of youth reported participation in a programme in the preceding three years—12% of young men and 9% of young women. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible. Wide gender differences were apparent in the type of programmes that youth attended. Of those who reported participation in any programme, the largest percentage of young men had participated in health promotion, leadership and life skills, and sports and recreation programmes (36, 34 and 23, respectively). Among young women who participated in any programme, almost half had participated in self-help groups (48%) and about one-quarter in health promotion activities (24%). Other programmes were reported by fewer than 15% of young men and women.

Patterns differed markedly between the married and the unmarried. Among young men, the unmarried were more likely than the married to have participated in programmes on sports and recreation (24% versus 15%) and less likely to have participated in those relating to employment (11% versus 19%). Among young women, wide differences were evident with regard to all programmes except those relating to employment. The unmarried were more likely than the married to have participated in programmes that focused on health promotion (34% versus 19%), leadership and life skills (20% versus 7%), literacy (20% versus 8%) and sports and recreation (15% versus 1%). Conversely, they were less likely to have participated in self-help groups (16% versus 68%).

Rural-urban differences were evident. Among young men, those in urban areas were more likely than those in rural areas to report participation in leadership and life skills development programmes (44% versus 31%) and sports and recreation (34% versus 19%); they were less likely to report participation in health promotion (32% versus 37%) and literacy (5% versus 17%) programmes. Among young women, those in urban areas were more likely than rural women to report participation in health promotion programmes (31% versus 23%) and less likely than their rural counterparts to have participated in self-help groups (40% versus 50%) and literacy programmes (9% versus 14%).

Table 12.2 presents the awareness of and participation in government and NGO-sponsored programmes in each state. Regional differences are evident. For example, young men and women in Maharashtra and the southern states were considerably more likely than those from the northern states to report awareness of programmes (22–39% versus 7–15% among young men; 31–65% versus 8–12% among young women). This pattern was evident among both the married and the unmarried; it was evident among urban and rural youth as well, with one exception, namely that awareness levels reported by young men in urban Maharashtra were more similar to those reported by those from the northern rather than southern states.

As far as participation in government and NGO-sponsored programmes was concerned too, young men and women from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely to have participated in programmes than did their counterparts from the northern states (14–19% versus 4–7% among young men; 8–22% versus 2–3% among young women). These patterns were by and large observed among both the married and the unmarried and those in rural and urban areas.

12.2 Participation in community- or *panchayat*-sponsored programmes

In many villages and urban neighbourhoods, community-led activities include, for example, cleanliness drives, health promotion activities, and the celebration of festivals and national days. As part of the Youth Study, youth were asked whether they had participated in any community-led activities organised by *panchayat*/community leaders in the 12 months prior to the interview. Findings, reported in Table 12.3, suggest that youth participation in such activities was limited and that young women were far less likely than young men to have participated in such activities: 45% of young men compared to 15% of young women reported having participated in a community-led programme in the last year. Participation was far more likely to be reported by unmarried than married youth (48% versus 35% among young men, and 23% versus 8% among young women). Rural-urban differences were not observed among young women; however, somewhat more rural than urban young men reporting participation (46% versus 41%).

Table 12.2: Awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes by state

Percentage of youth reporting awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Awareness of programmes						
Combined						
Bihar	14.7	7.5	13.2	7.0	14.9	8.6
Jharkhand	11.5	10.0	11.0	7.3	12.3	13.4
Rajasthan	7.3	11.8	8.1	8.1	7.0	18.5
Maharashtra	25.4	31.1	23.3	25.1	25.4	36.3
Andhra Pradesh	39.2	64.5	35.3	65.6	39.5	63.7
Tamil Nadu	21.7	40.8	20.3	42.1	22.0	40.0
Total	**21.8**	**30.7**	**19.2**	**27.3**	**22.8**	**35.0**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Bihar	12.5	6.8	10.9	3.5	13.1	9.1
Jharkhand	12.3	10.0	10.7	5.6	12.6	12.4
Rajasthan	7.2	13.9	6.3	8.7	7.2	18.6
Maharashtra	11.5	24.4	10.0	15.8	12.1	29.9
Andhra Pradesh	25.0	48.0	20.3	50.1	25.4	46.4
Tamil Nadu	21.3	34.7	19.2	36.2	21.0	33.9
Total	**15.4**	**28.4**	**13.0**	**25.3**	**16.0**	**30.5**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Bihar	15.1	7.6	13.4	7.2	15.3	8.5
Jharkhand	11.1	10.0	11.0	7.7	12.2	13.9
Rajasthan	7.3	11.1	8.5	8.0	6.9	18.5
Maharashtra	36.5	36.4	32.5	30.4	36.5	42.5
Andhra Pradesh	44.7	71.4	39.5	70.1	45.7	73.5
Tamil Nadu	21.9	45.6	21.1	45.9	22.8	45.4
Total	**24.6**	**31.7**	**21.1**	**27.9**	**26.1**	**37.4**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Participation in programmes						
Combined						
Bihar	7.2	1.9	6.8	1.6	6.9	2.4
Jharkhand	5.8	2.8	5.6	1.9	6.2	4.0
Rajasthan	3.8	3.0	4.6	1.7	3.5	5.4
Maharashtra	14.5	8.3	13.1	4.8	14.8	11.3
Andhra Pradesh	19.4	21.8	18.3	30.7	19.7	10.2
Tamil Nadu	13.9	9.1	11.6	15.9	14.1	4.6
Total	**11.8**	**8.8**	**10.3**	**10.1**	**12.4**	**7.4**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**

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Table 12.2: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Bihar	6.1	2.0	4.3	0.7	6.1	2.8
Jharkhand	5.6	2.4	4.6	1.1	5.6	3.1
Rajasthan	3.9	3.2	2.6	1.9	4.1	4.5
Maharashtra	5.7	5.3	5.7	1.8	6.1	7.5
Andhra Pradesh	12.6	13.4	9.8	22.1	12.7	6.5
Tamil Nadu	15.4	6.1	12.2	11.4	15.2	3.1
Total	**8.7**	**6.4**	**7.0**	**8.0**	**9.1**	**5.3**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Bihar	7.5	1.9	6.9	1.7	7.1	2.3
Jharkhand	5.9	2.9	5.7	2.0	6.5	4.4
Rajasthan	3.7	2.9	5.0	1.7	3.4	5.8
Maharashtra	21.4	10.7	18.3	6.5	22.0	15.0
Andhra Pradesh	22.1	25.3	20.7	33.2	22.8	12.3
Tamil Nadu	12.7	11.4	11.2	19.0	13.2	5.8
Total	**13.1**	**9.8**	**11.3**	**10.7**	**14.0**	**8.5**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

Table 12.3: Participation in community-led programmes

Percentage of youth who attended community-led programmes in the village/urban neighbourhood and types of programmes attended in the 12 months preceding the interview, according to residence

Participation in community-led programmes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Attended any programme(s) organised	44.5	14.9	34.7	7.8	47.8	23.4
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Specific programmes attended						
Cleanliness/sanitation	24.1	16.6	24.5	13.6	24.4	18.2
Health promotion	6.4	6.4	6.3	7.0	6.8	6.3
Festival celebration	45.0	36.1	48.5	51.2	45.3	30.1
National day celebration	77.9	70.0	72.1	54.0	78.7	76.3
Number who attended above programme(s)	**5,718**	**4,253**	**2,577**	**953**	**4,906**	**3,300**
Urban						
Attended any programme(s) organised	40.9	14.7	33.1	6.4	42.3	20.2
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Specific programmes attended						
Cleanliness/sanitation	17.7	8.3	17.2	6.6	17.7	8.6
Health promotion	7.0	4.0	7.0	3.6	7.2	4.0
Festival celebration	57.2	35.8	65.5	54.8	56.7	31.6
National day celebration	75.4	71.1	71.8	50.0	75.6	75.7
Number who attended above programme(s)	**2,741**	**1,636**	**1,021**	**315**	**2,468**	**1,321**

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Table 12.3: (Cont'd)

Participation in community-led programmes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Attended any programme(s) organised	46.1	14.9	35.2	8.1	50.5	25.2
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Specific programmes attended						
Cleanliness/sanitation	26.6	20.0	26.7	15.2	27.2	22.4
Health promotion	6.1	7.5	6.1	7.7	6.7	7.4
Festival celebration	40.2	36.2	43.5	50.3	40.4	29.4
National day celebration	78.8	69.5	72.2	55.0	80.0	76.6
Number who attended above programme(s)	**2,977**	**2,617**	**1,556**	**638**	**2,438**	**1,979**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Findings suggest that the activity in which the largest percentage of youth participated was the celebration of national days (78% of young men and 70% of young women), followed by the celebration of festivals (45% of young men and 36% of young women). Differences by marital status were mild among young men; however, more of the unmarried than the married reported participation in national day celebrations (79% versus 72%). Among young women, the unmarried were considerably more likely than the married to participate in the celebration of national days (76% versus 54%), but considerably less likely to report participation in the celebration of festivals (30% versus 51%). Rural-urban differences were evident: young men and women in rural areas were more likely than their urban counterparts to report participation in cleanliness and sanitation programmes, and young men in rural areas were less likely than their urban counterparts to report participation in the celebration of festivals.

12.3 Membership in organised groups

Youth were asked whether they belonged to any organised group, ranging from self-help groups to youth groups to sports and social clubs. Findings, reported in Table 12.4 suggest that relatively small proportions of youth were members of any group (10–11%). Marital status differences were mild among young men; among young women, the married were more likely than the unmarried to report membership in an organised group (14% versus 6%). Rural-urban differences were negligible. While few youth participated in any organised group, findings suggest that the majority of young women who did so were involved in self-help groups and *mahila mandals*; organised groups in which young men were most likely to be involved were social or sports clubs and youth groups.

Among married youth who reported group membership, considerable proportions of young men (73%) had become members prior to marriage, compared to just 7% of young women. Somewhat more urban than rural youth reported that they had become members prior to marriage (82% versus 70% among young men; 11% versus 6% among young women).

Table 12.5 presents youth participation in community-led programmes and organised groups by state. As far as participation in community-led programmes is concerned, the regional pattern observed earlier was, by and large, observed. Young men from Maharashtra and the southern states were more likely than their northern counterparts to report such participation (52–63% versus 23–31%) and these patterns persisted among the married and the unmarried, as well as those in rural and urban areas. Among young women, regional differences were somewhat milder (13–27% versus 4–13%) and less consistent, particularly among the unmarried and those in urban areas.

Table 12.4: Membership in organised groups

Percentage of youth reporting membership in organised groups, according to residence

Membership in organised groups	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Member of an organised group	**11.4**	**10.4**	**9.2**	**14.3**	**12.4**	**5.8**
Self-help group	0.6	7.0	1.4	11.0	0.6	2.3
Mahila mandal	NA	2.1	NA	3.1	NA	0.8
Social or sports club	4.6	1.1	2.8	0.4	5.1	1.8
Youth group/*yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandal*	6.5	0.5	5.3	0.2	7.1	0.9
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Became member of an organised group[1]						
Before marriage	NA	NA	72.6	7.2	NA	NA
After marriage	NA	NA	27.0	91.7	NA	NA
Number reporting membership in an organised group	**NA**	**NA**	**706**	**1,737**	**NA**	**NA**
Urban						
Member of an organised group	**10.9**	**8.6**	**8.8**	**12.5**	**11.5**	**5.9**
Self-help group	0.3	4.5	0.6	9.2	0.3	1.3
Mahila mandal	NA	1.5	NA	2.8	NA	0.6
Social or sports club	4.5	2.1	3.0	0.7	4.7	3.0
Youth group/*yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandal*	6.0	0.8	5.3	0.3	6.2	1.1
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Became member of an organised group[1]						
Before marriage	NA	NA	81.5	11.4	NA	NA
After marriage	NA	NA	18.5	87.3	NA	NA
Number reporting membership in an organised group	**NA**	**NA**	**290**	**564**	**NA**	**NA**
Rural						
Member of an organised group	**11.5**	**11.2**	**9.3**	**14.8**	**12.9**	**5.8**
Self-help group	0.8	8.0	1.6	11.5	0.7	2.8
Mahila mandal	NA	2.3	NA	3.2	NA	0.9
Social or sports club	4.7	0.6	2.8	0.3	5.2	1.2
Youth group/*yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandal*	6.7	0.4	5.3	0.2	7.6	0.7
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Became member of an organised group[1]						
Before marriage	NA	NA	70.0	6.2	NA	NA
After marriage	NA	NA	29.5	92.8	NA	NA
Number reporting membership in an organised group	**NA**	**NA**	**416**	**1,173**	**NA**	**NA**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. NA: Not applicable. [1]Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

A regional pattern was also evident with regard to membership in organised groups. For example, 10–21% of young men and 8–26% of young women from Maharashtra and the southern states reported membership in organised groups, compared to 2–9% and 2–4%, respectively, among those from the northern states. These patterns were evident among the married and the unmarried and among rural youth; however, among urban youth, it was apparent only among young women.

Table 12.5: Participation in community-led programmes and membership in organised groups by state

Percentage of youth reporting participation in community-led programmes conducted in the village/neighbourhood and membership in organised groups by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Participation in community-led programmes						
Combined						
Bihar	22.6	3.9	17.1	2.1	24.2	7.4
Jharkhand	30.7	4.9	19.9	2.6	34.0	7.8
Rajasthan	23.3	13.0	14.0	7.2	26.3	23.6
Maharashtra	62.6	27.0	57.5	12.5	63.5	39.2
Andhra Pradesh	58.9	17.4	51.2	11.6	60.7	25.2
Tamil Nadu	52.2	12.5	46.2	7.9	52.7	15.5
Total	**44.5**	**14.9**	**34.7**	**7.8**	**47.8**	**23.4**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Bihar	23.7	4.1	15.2	1.4	24.9	6.1
Jharkhand	33.7	6.4	25.0	3.5	35.1	8.1
Rajasthan	22.1	15.9	10.9	6.3	24.4	24.4
Maharashtra	44.8	21.0	38.6	6.9	45.9	30.0
Andhra Pradesh	53.8	14.7	42.8	9.9	54.4	18.6
Tamil Nadu	42.4	9.8	39.0	4.7	43.2	12.9
Total	**40.9**	**14.7**	**33.1**	**6.4**	**42.3**	**20.2**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Bihar	22.4	3.9	17.3	2.2	24.1	7.6
Jharkhand	29.5	4.4	18.8	2.4	33.5	7.7
Rajasthan	23.7	12.0	14.8	7.4	27.2	23.1
Maharashtra	76.8	31.8	70.8	15.6	78.1	48.4
Andhra Pradesh	60.9	18.5	53.5	12.1	63.5	28.9
Tamil Nadu	59.7	14.6	51.3	10.2	60.5	17.7
Total	**46.1**	**14.9**	**35.2**	**8.1**	**50.5**	**25.2**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**
Membership in organised groups						
Combined						
Bihar	8.2	1.5	5.4	1.4	9.2	1.6
Jharkhand	8.9	3.8	6.6	3.9	9.9	3.7
Rajasthan	2.1	2.8	1.9	1.9	2.1	4.2
Maharashtra	20.9	7.6	18.7	9.2	21.5	6.3
Andhra Pradesh	9.6	25.5	10.2	40.0	10.3	6.5
Tamil Nadu	11.5	15.7	12.0	26.3	11.5	8.9
Total	**11.4**	**10.4**	**9.2**	**14.3**	**12.4**	**5.8**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**

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Table 12.5: (Cont'd)

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Bihar	7.9	2.5	7.6	1.4	8.2	3.2
Jharkhand	11.8	3.2	11.7	2.4	11.8	3.6
Rajasthan	2.5	4.5	1.7	2.3	2.3	6.4
Maharashtra	15.0	5.3	11.9	5.7	15.5	5.1
Andhra Pradesh	8.6	13.9	7.2	26.7	9.5	3.7
Tamil Nadu	11.0	13.5	9.4	20.7	11.2	9.2
Total	**10.9**	**8.6**	**8.8**	**12.5**	**11.5**	**5.9**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Bihar	8.2	1.3	5.2	1.4	9.4	1.3
Jharkhand	7.8	4.0	5.7	4.2	8.9	3.8
Rajasthan	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.9	3.1
Maharashtra	25.6	9.4	23.3	11.2	26.4	7.4
Andhra Pradesh	10.0	30.3	11.2	44.0	10.6	8.0
Tamil Nadu	11.9	17.5	13.7	30.0	11.8	8.5
Total	**11.5**	**11.2**	**9.3**	**14.8**	**12.9**	**5.8**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

12.4 Voting behaviour and perceptions of political matters

Table 12.6 presents the percentage of eligible youth—that is, those at least 20 years of age at the time of the interview who would have been eligible to vote prior to the interview—who had voted in the last election. Findings suggest that while considerable proportions did indeed vote, voting behaviour was far from universal and varied considerably by sex and marital status. Larger proportions of eligible young men (71%) than women (60%), and larger proportions of married than unmarried youth (86% versus 67% among young men; 62% versus 51% among young women) reported that they had voted in the last election. Rural-urban differences were evident; those in rural areas were more likely than those in urban areas to have voted in the last election (74% versus 64% among young men; 63% versus 52% among young women). Regional patterns could not be discerned; however, young men and women in Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu were more likely than those in the other states to have voted in the last elections for which they were eligible. This pattern was observed, for the most part, among both the married and the unmarried, as well as those in rural and urban areas.

Table 12.7 reports youth perceptions about political processes, notably the extent of disillusionment with the ability of any political party to achieve change at the community level and the extent to which respondents believed that people could vote freely and without fear, pressure or influence.

Considerable proportions of youth reported disillusionment with the political process. Gender differences were, however, apparent. Larger proportions of young men than women (68% and 57%, respectively) agreed that there would be no improvement in their village/neighbourhood irrespective of the political party governing the state. Differences by marital status in young people's perceptions about the commitment of political parties to work for change at the community level were negligible; while rural-urban differences were also negligible among young men,

Table 12.6: Voting behaviour of eligible youth

Percentage of youth aged 20 or above who voted in the last election by state, according to residence

State	M 20–24	W 20–24	MM 20–29	MW 20–24	UM 20–24	UW 20–24
Combined						
Bihar	64.5	51.1	79.4	52.8	61.6	34.1
Jharkhand	70.4	47.7	83.6	48.5	67.6	44.0
Rajasthan	79.8	64.7	90.6	66.2	73.7	52.7
Maharashtra	67.9	56.8	86.5	62.0	64.0	43.9
Andhra Pradesh	63.2	61.7	88.1	67.8	56.0	37.8
Tamil Nadu	81.9	65.6	91.4	65.0	81.7	66.5
Total	**70.5**	**59.5**	**86.2**	**61.9**	**66.8**	**50.7**
Number aged 20 or above	**6,824**	**13,690**	**7,731**	**10,000**	**4,386**	**3,690**
Urban						
Bihar	60.7	36.9	76.4	35.0	60.7	40.2
Jharkhand	66.9	41.8	79.6	39.8	66.0	45.1
Rajasthan	77.6	60.9	91.0	62.6	72.2	56.1
Maharashtra	56.8	46.6	79.4	50.0	52.4	41.2
Andhra Pradesh	48.6	41.8	82.3	49.0	42.9	27.9
Tamil Nadu	83.8	67.0	90.8	66.0	83.7	68.4
Total	**64.2**	**52.0**	**83.6**	**54.0**	**61.2**	**48.4**
Number aged 20 or above	**3,714**	**6,892**	**3,525**	**4,643**	**2,731**	**2,249**
Rural						
Bihar	65.3	53.1	79.8	54.3	61.9	30.1
Jharkhand	71.7	49.7	84.4	50.6	68.5	42.9
Rajasthan	80.7	66.0	90.4	67.0	74.8	48.1
Maharashtra	77.8	65.8	91.5	69.7	75.2	48.6
Andhra Pradesh	69.4	70.9	89.8	74.2	63.1	48.8
Tamil Nadu	80.6	64.5	91.9	64.3	79.9	64.8
Total	**73.6**	**62.9**	**87.1**	**64.6**	**70.6**	**53.0**
Number aged 20 or above	**3,110**	**6,798**	**4,206**	**5,357**	**1,655**	**1,441**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

young women in urban areas were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to report disillusionment (62% versus 55%). State-wise differences were difficult to discern; however, disillusionment with the political process was consistently more likely to be reported by young men in Maharashtra and women in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu than in any other state, and this pattern persisted, for the most part, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

At the same time, most young people—86% and 83% of young men and women, respectively—felt that one could vote freely and without fear or pressure. Differences by marital status in young people's perceptions about elections were muted. Rural-urban differences were mild, with more youth in urban than rural areas reporting that one could vote freely and without fear or pressure (85–90% versus 81–84%). Regional patterns were evident. Youth from the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to perceive that one could vote freely and without fear or pressure (90% versus 76–86% among young men; 87–89% versus 73–81% among young women). Perceptions of youth in Maharashtra fell in between (88% and 80% among young men and women, respectively).

Table 12.7: Perceptions of youth about political matters

Percentage of youth who were disillusioned with political parties and who believed that elections in the state are free and fair by state, according to residence

State	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
	Believed that irrespective of the political party governing the state, there would be no improvement in the village/neighbourhood						Believed that one can vote freely, without fear, pressure or influence					
Combined												
Bihar	68.5	34.8	69.1	35.6	67.8	33.3	81.6	79.7	85.9	81.0	81.2	76.5
Jharkhand	63.1	41.1	65.2	43.2	62.5	38.5	76.2	72.7	77.4	73.0	76.5	72.1
Rajasthan	61.8	52.0	64.6	52.4	60.5	51.0	85.5	81.1	87.0	81.4	85.7	80.0
Maharashtra	80.4	74.6	82.2	76.7	79.8	72.8	87.6	80.3	87.5	79.3	87.7	81.2
Andhra Pradesh	60.4	52.7	60.4	53.9	60.7	51.3	90.1	89.0	91.8	89.1	89.7	88.9
Tamil Nadu	63.9	73.1	67.2	76.7	63.4	70.8	89.7	86.7	89.1	88.0	90.0	85.8
Total	**68.1**	**56.8**	**68.8**	**55.9**	**67.8**	**57.9**	**86.1**	**82.5**	**87.4**	**82.7**	**86.3**	**82.0**
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban												
Bihar	64.5	35.3	68.5	36.6	63.1	34.4	86.0	87.9	90.2	86.6	85.7	88.9
Jharkhand	65.2	36.3	65.8	35.3	65.5	36.7	86.0	82.8	89.3	80.9	85.5	83.8
Rajasthan	60.9	53.8	62.9	56.7	60.9	51.4	86.6	85.4	90.3	85.0	86.3	85.8
Maharashtra	83.4	74.0	83.5	74.8	83.1	73.5	92.8	80.0	94.7	77.9	92.6	81.4
Andhra Pradesh	57.6	48.2	59.2	48.0	56.8	48.3	90.9	89.4	93.8	88.8	90.5	89.9
Tamil Nadu	57.2	70.0	63.7	74.5	56.7	67.4	89.9	88.1	89.0	89.6	90.1	87.3
Total	**68.5**	**61.7**	**70.7**	**62.6**	**68.0**	**61.0**	**90.3**	**85.1**	**92.3**	**84.5**	**90.2**	**85.4**
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural												
Bihar	69.2	34.8	69.2	35.6	68.7	33.1	80.9	78.6	85.5	80.6	80.4	74.2
Jharkhand	62.3	42.7	65.1	44.7	61.2	39.4	72.6	69.2	75.2	71.3	72.5	65.8
Rajasthan	62.2	51.3	65.0	51.6	60.4	50.8	85.1	79.6	86.2	80.7	85.4	77.0
Maharashtra	78.0	75.0	81.3	77.8	77.0	72.2	83.5	80.5	82.5	80.1	83.5	81.0
Andhra Pradesh	61.4	54.6	60.7	55.6	62.3	53.0	89.8	88.8	91.3	89.1	89.3	88.3
Tamil Nadu	69.0	75.6	69.8	78.2	68.9	73.7	89.6	85.5	89.2	87.0	90.0	84.5
Total	**67.9**	**54.8**	**68.3**	**54.0**	**67.7**	**56.1**	**84.2**	**81.4**	**85.8**	**82.2**	**84.3**	**80.2**
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined.

12.5 Expression of secular attitudes

The Youth Study sought to gauge attitudes regarding social interaction with individuals of different castes and religions. Questions included whether youth mixed freely with those of other castes and religions, whether they would eat together with a person from a different caste or religion, whether they would talk to someone who had an inter-caste marriage and whether they considered it acceptable to punish someone who showed disrespect to

their religion. Table 12.8 presents percentages of youth who reported that they would mix freely and eat with those from different castes and religions, and would talk to a person who had married someone from a different caste or religion.

In response to specific issues, considerable proportions of both young men and young women reported that they mixed freely with individuals of different castes (96% and 91%, respectively) and religions (95% and 89%, respectively). Despite this secular profile, many fewer reported that they would eat together with a person from a different caste or religion (82% of young men and 67% of young women) or talk to someone who had an inter-caste marriage (71% and 68%, respectively). In contrast, just 29% of young men and 39% of young women felt that it was unacceptable to punish someone who showed disrespect to their religion. On all issues assessed, except on the issue of tolerance in situations characterised by religious disharmony, young men were more likely than young women to report secular attitudes.

Marital status differences in the nature of behaviours and attitudes towards individuals of different castes and religions were, for the most part, mild. However, the unmarried were more likely than the married to reveal secular attitudes on talking to a person who has an inter-caste marriage (73% versus 67%, among young men; 71% versus 65% among young women) and, in the case of young women, eating together with a person of a different caste or religion (74% versus 61%).

Rural-urban differences were more consistently observed, particularly among young women. Urban youth were consistently more likely than their rural counterparts to report secular attitudes on such issues as eating together with those of other castes and religions (92% versus 77% among young men; 83% versus 60% among young women), and talking to a person who has had an inter-caste marriage (80% versus 67% among young men; 77% versus 64%, respectively, among young women). They were also more likely to consider it unacceptable to punish someone who shows disrespect to their religion (34% versus 26% among young men; 42% versus 37%, respectively, among young women). While rural-urban differences in attitudes about mixing with people of different castes and religions were negligible among young men; fewer rural than urban young women expressed secular attitudes in this regard.

Table 12.9 presents percentages of youth who reported secular attitudes on four of the issues described above, namely mixing freely with people from different castes, mixing freely with people from other religions, eating together with a person from a different caste or religion, and talking to someone who had an inter-caste marriage. In total, 63% of young men and 51% of young women reported secular attitudes on all the four issues. Marital status differences were apparent. The unmarried were more likely than the married to report secular attitudes: For example, among young men, 66% of the unmarried compared with 58% of the married, revealed secular attitudes; among young women, the corresponding percentages were 57 and 45. Differences by rural-urban residence were also marked. Urban youth were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to express secular attitudes: 77% of young men in urban areas, compared to 57% of those in rural areas, reported secular attitudes on all the four issues, and among young women, 68% and 43%, respectively, did so.

Table 12.9 presents the percentage of youth reporting secular attitudes by background characteristics. Age profiles suggest a positive association between age and the expression of secular attitudes, with those aged 20–24 somewhat more likely than 15–19 year-olds to report secular attitudes (66% versus 60% among young men; 53% versus 48% among young women); differences persisted among the married and the unmarried, as well as those in rural and urban areas. A consistently positive association was also observed between educational attainment and expression of secular attitudes: percentages reporting secular attitudes increased from 44 among young men who had no education to 74 among those with 12 or more years of education; the corresponding percentages among young women were 26 and 75. These associations were observed irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence. The association between wealth status and expression of secular attitudes was also positive. Among young men, 46% of those in the poorest (first) quintile compared to 70–71% of those in the wealthiest two (fourth and fifth) quintiles reported secular attitudes; among young women, the corresponding percentages were 26 and 62–63. These patterns were observed, for the most part, among married and unmarried, and rural and urban youth.

Table 12.8: Extent of and attitudes towards interaction with people of different castes and religions

Percent distribution of youth by extent of and attitudes towards interaction with people of different castes and religions, according to residence

Behaviours/attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Mixes freely with people of other castes						
Yes	96.3	91.2	96.6	90.4	96.5	92.0
No	3.7	8.7	3.4	9.5	3.4	7.9
Mixes freely with people of other religions						
Yes	95.0	88.7	95.1	87.1	95.3	90.4
No	4.9	11.2	4.8	12.8	4.6	9.5
Would eat together with a person of another caste/religion						
Yes	81.6	66.9	78.8	60.8	83.2	73.6
No	17.7	32.8	20.5	38.9	16.3	26.2
Would talk to a person who has had an inter-caste marriage						
Yes	70.8	67.7	66.7	65.1	73.3	70.5
No	27.6	31.5	31.6	34.2	25.2	28.6
Believes it is acceptable to punish someone who shows disrespect to respondent's religion						
Yes	67.8	59.3	68.1	60.6	67.4	58.0
No	28.8	38.6	28.8	37.2	29.4	40.1
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Mixes freely with people of other castes						
Yes	98.6	95.6	98.9	95.0	98.7	96.1
No	1.3	4.3	1.1	5.0	1.2	3.9
Mixes freely with people of other religions						
Yes	98.0	94.8	98.3	93.6	98.0	95.6
No	2.0	5.1	1.7	6.3	1.9	4.4
Would eat together with a person of another caste/religion						
Yes	91.8	82.8	91.5	78.6	92.2	85.6
No	7.6	17.1	7.9	21.3	7.3	14.3
Would talk to a person who had an inter-caste marriage						
Yes	80.4	77.4	80.0	77.4	81.1	77.4
No	18.4	22.0	19.0	21.9	17.6	22.0
Believes it is acceptable to punish someone who shows disrespect to respondent's religion						
Yes	63.4	56.3	64.9	58.5	63.2	54.8
No	34.3	42.1	32.8	39.7	34.6	43.8
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 12.8: (Cont'd)

Behaviours/attitudes	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Mixes freely with people of other castes						
Yes	95.2	89.4	95.9	89.1	95.4	89.8
No	4.7	10.5	4.1	10.8	4.5	10.1
Mixes freely with people of other religions						
Yes	93.7	86.2	94.1	85.2	94.0	87.6
No	6.2	13.7	5.8	14.6	5.9	12.3
Would eat together with a person of another caste/religion						
Yes	77.2	60.3	74.8	55.8	78.6	67.0
No	22.1	39.4	24.4	43.9	20.8	32.7
Would talk to a person who had an inter-caste marriage						
Yes	66.6	63.6	62.5	61.6	69.4	66.7
No	31.6	35.5	35.6	37.7	29.0	32.3
Believes it is acceptable to punish someone who shows disrespect to respondent's religion						
Yes	69.7	60.6	69.1	61.1	69.5	59.8
No	26.4	37.2	27.6	36.5	26.8	38.1
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Religion-wise differences suggest that Hindus and Muslims were less likely than those of other religions to express secular attitudes (59–62% versus 76% among young men; 37–51% versus 67% among young women). These patterns were evident, for the most part, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Caste-wise differences were narrower. Youth from general and scheduled castes were more likely than those from scheduled tribes and other backward castes to report secular attitudes: 64–68% versus 59–61% among young men, and 53–56% versus 47–48% among young women. A largely similar pattern prevailed among the married and the unmarried, and among those in rural and urban areas.

Differences by economic activity status were negligible among young men; among young women, in contrast, those who were working at the time of the interview were somewhat less likely than those who were not to report secular attitudes (46% versus 53%).

State-wise differences were wide: Indeed, percentages expressing secular attitudes ranged from 23% to 91% among young men and 12% to 85% among young women. Patterns, moreover, were consistent. Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were consistently more likely to express secular attitudes than their northern counterparts: 85–91% versus 23–35% among young men, and 66–85% versus 12–14% among young women. This pattern was observed among both married and unmarried youth, as well as those from rural and urban areas.

12.6 Physical fights in the village or urban neighbourhood

All respondents were asked whether physical fights—more specifically, youth beating, slapping or pulling the hair of others—were common among both young men and women in their village or neighbourhood. Findings, presented in

Table 12.9: Expression of secular attitudes

Percentage of youth expressing secular attitudes about interaction with people of different castes and religions[1] by selected background characteristics, according to residence

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15–19	59.5	48.3	38.4	37.6	60.7	52.7
20–24	66.3	53.1	53.3	48.0	74.0	71.6
25–29	NA	NA	61.6	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	62.4	50.8	57.0	44.5	65.4	58.2
Muslim	59.1	37.1	57.4	35.2	61.6	38.1
Other[2]	75.7	67.4	76.8	66.6	76.4	67.2
Caste						
SC	63.8	55.9	57.2	47.2	68.0	66.6
ST/VJNT	59.2	46.5	52.2	43.6	63.9	49.9
OBC	60.5	47.6	55.7	41.3	63.4	55.2
General[3]	67.5	53.3	68.4	51.9	68.2	53.8
Educational level (years)						
None[4]	44.0	26.2	46.3	26.9	41.0	23.0
1–7	54.0	45.0	58.3	48.3	55.5	39.3
8–11	65.6	61.8	61.0	59.7	67.4	63.0
12 and above	73.7	74.5	63.8	70.1	76.9	76.3
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	61.9	46.4	58.3	40.8	65.8	53.8
No	64.5	53.3	46.9	47.9	65.3	58.6
Wealth quintile						
First	46.4	25.9	41.3	23.1	47.4	31.4
Second	51.8	41.1	49.6	38.7	53.8	44.8
Third	64.6	54.3	62.5	51.0	67.1	58.2
Fourth	70.3	61.5	67.6	58.1	72.8	64.8
Fifth	70.5	62.5	65.6	55.4	72.9	66.9
State						
Bihar	22.8	12.3	22.8	11.9	22.5	12.8
Jharkhand	22.5	13.8	19.9	12.0	23.0	15.9
Rajasthan	35.3	14.1	33.4	12.5	36.4	16.5
Maharashtra	87.0	65.9	87.1	62.9	87.3	68.4
Andhra Pradesh	90.7	85.0	91.0	83.8	91.0	86.3
Tamil Nadu	84.5	79.9	84.2	75.8	84.0	82.5
Total	**62.7**	**50.6**	**57.9**	**44.8**	**65.6**	**56.8**

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Table 12.9: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15–19	74.5	66.4	37.5	62.4	74.9	67.1
20–24	78.8	69.6	72.1	66.5	80.9	75.1
25–29	NA	NA	78.6	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	76.0	69.3	75.6	66.5	76.8	71.1
Muslim	76.6	53.2	76.7	52.6	78.1	53.7
Other[2]	87.3	82.7	88.3	86.0	87.3	81.0
Caste						
SC	80.4	77.6	81.1	74.9	81.3	79.5
ST/VJNT	78.6	61.8	80.9	63.3	78.4	60.5
OBC	74.5	66.0	73.4	62.4	75.9	68.6
General[3]	77.1	65.7	77.1	65.4	77.3	65.8
Educational level (years)						
None[4]	59.4	44.2	63.0	46.6	54.5	37.3
1–7	73.2	60.6	78.5	63.8	73.5	56.0
8–11	77.3	70.4	78.1	71.0	78.0	70.0
12 and above	79.9	76.4	76.1	74.2	80.8	77.2
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	77.0	70.0	77.0	65.0	78.2	72.6
No	76.3	67.5	38.7	65.9	76.9	68.7
Wealth quintile						
First	66.1	55.4	67.5	52.6	67.1	58.5
Second	73.3	63.1	75.3	62.6	72.0	63.8
Third	75.9	64.8	75.7	63.3	75.8	66.3
Fourth	79.3	70.4	80.9	69.9	80.1	70.7
Fifth	76.3	69.2	74.1	65.7	77.6	70.9
State						
Bihar	20.1	14.8	20.7	14.8	19.3	14.8
Jharkhand	18.4	21.1	14.7	21.5	18.8	20.9
Rajasthan	37.7	18.0	40.2	17.3	38.8	18.8
Maharashtra	94.0	78.3	94.1	77.1	94.0	79.1
Andhra Pradesh	93.2	89.7	92.2	89.7	93.5	89.7
Tamil Nadu	89.2	83.0	88.8	78.9	88.9	85.3
Total	**76.7**	**68.0**	**76.4**	**65.7**	**77.6**	**69.6**

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Table 12.9: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Age (years)						
15–19	53.8	41.4	38.5	33.7	54.9	46.2
20–24	60.1	45.4	48.6	41.6	69.3	68.0
25–29	NA	NA	55.2	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	57.1	44.0	51.8	39.1	60.2	51.7
Muslim	44.6	24.4	45.1	24.8	45.8	23.8
Other[2]	69.6	57.6	72.3	57.8	70.0	57.5
Caste						
SC	58.1	47.5	51.5	40.3	62.5	59.6
ST/VJNT	56.2	43.3	49.0	40.5	61.0	47.3
OBC	54.6	40.7	50.3	35.8	57.4	48.6
General[3]	60.5	45.1	62.7	45.8	61.4	44.4
Educational level (years)						
None[4]	41.6	24.2	44.3	24.8	38.6	21.0
1–7	48.4	40.5	52.7	44.1	49.5	34.4
8–11	60.5	57.1	55.0	54.3	62.5	59.1
12 and above	68.4	71.7	56.1	65.4	73.2	75.0
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	56.5	42.2	52.3	38.5	60.6	48.5
No	57.2	44.3	48.1	39.4	57.9	50.8
Wealth quintile						
First	45.1	24.0	39.6	21.6	46.0	29.2
Second	49.4	38.7	46.9	36.2	51.7	42.7
Third	61.6	51.3	59.1	48.0	64.7	55.7
Fourth	65.0	55.8	61.1	51.9	68.2	60.6
Fifth	61.3	52.4	56.8	45.9	64.5	59.4
State						
Bihar	23.3	11.9	23.0	11.7	23.1	12.4
Jharkhand	24.1	11.2	20.9	10.1	24.8	13.2
Rajasthan	34.4	12.7	31.9	11.6	35.4	15.4
Maharashtra	81.4	56.3	82.3	54.8	81.7	57.8
Andhra Pradesh	89.8	83.0	90.7	82.1	89.9	84.4
Tamil Nadu	80.9	77.4	81.0	73.9	80.1	80.0
Total	**56.6**	**43.2**	**52.1**	**38.9**	**59.6**	**49.8**

Note: NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes.
[1]Percent reporting that they mix freely with someone from a different caste and religion, respectively; would eat together with a person from a different religion or caste; and would talk to someone who had married a person from a different caste or religion.
[2]Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion.
[3]Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.
[4]Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Table 12.10, suggest that physical fights were reported to be more common among young men than young women. Indeed, 71% of young men and 69% of young women reported that young men engaged in physical fights sometimes or often. In contrast, 40% of young men and 51% of young women reported the same for young women. Marital status differences were negligible. Rural-urban differences were evident: rural youth were more likely than their urban counterparts to report occasional or frequent physical fighting among both young men (74% and 65%, respectively, reported by young men; 73% and 62%, respectively, reported by young women) and young women (43% and 34%, respectively, reported by young men; 54% and 44%, respectively, reported by young women).

Youth were also asked a direct question about their own involvement in physical fights with anyone within the village or urban neighbourhood in the 12 months preceding the interview. The question did not probe further and hence we acknowledge that responses may include fights among family members and others. Few youth reported involvement in physical fights: 11% of young men and 3% of young women. Marital status differences and rural-urban differences were negligible.

Table 12.10: Physical fights in the village/neighbourhood

Percentage of youth reporting perceptions of youth involvement in physical fights in their village/neighbourhood and percentage of youth themselves involved in physical fights in the last 12 months, according to residence

Perceptions/experiences of physical fights	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Respondents' perceptions of the extent to which:						
Young men in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	29.1	30.6	29.8	29.1	29.2	32.0
Sometimes	67.1	64.0	67.1	65.8	66.7	62.3
Often	3.8	5.3	3.1	5.0	4.0	5.6
Young women in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	59.8	49.3	59.2	47.4	60.5	51.3
Sometimes	39.2	47.6	39.7	49.5	38.5	45.8
Often	0.9	3.0	1.0	3.0	0.9	2.9
Respondents themselves involved in physical fights in last 12 months	10.6	2.8	7.9	3.1	11.0	2.5
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Respondents' perception of the extent to which:						
Young men in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	35.0	38.2	34.0	35.0	35.4	40.4
Sometimes	60.5	56.0	62.9	59.2	60.1	53.8
Often	4.4	5.8	3.0	5.8	4.4	5.7
Young women in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	65.8	56.2	63.9	53.1	66.3	58.3
Sometimes	33.5	41.1	35.2	44.3	33.1	38.9
Often	0.6	2.6	0.8	2.5	0.6	2.7
Respondents themselves involved in physical fights in last 12 months	8.9	1.7	6.8	1.9	9.0	1.5
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**

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Table 12.10: (Cont'd)

Perceptions/experiences of physical fights	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Rural						
Respondents' perception of the extent to which:						
Young men in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	26.5	27.4	28.4	27.5	26.1	27.4
Sometimes	69.9	67.4	68.4	67.7	70.0	67.0
Often	3.6	5.1	3.1	4.8	3.8	5.6
Young women in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	57.1	46.4	57.7	45.8	57.6	47.4
Sometimes	41.7	50.4	41.2	50.9	41.2	49.5
Often	1.1	3.1	1.0	3.1	1.1	3.0
Respondents themselves involved in physical fights in last 12 months	11.4	3.3	8.3	3.4	12.0	3.1
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

12.7 Perceptions of the leading problems facing youth

Finally, youth were asked to give their opinion on the most important problem facing youth in their village or urban neighbourhood. Findings presented in Table 12.11 clearly suggest that unemployment, poverty more generally, lack of amenities and lack of educational opportunities were described as leading problems by both young men and women, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence. Percentages reporting each of these problems varied enormously, however, by sex. The majority of young men, irrespective of marital status or rural-urban residence, reported difficulty in finding employment as the single most pressing problem (54%), followed by poverty more generally (19%), concerns about lack of amenities or infrastructure, i.e., water and sanitation, roads and electricity (8%), and lack of educational opportunities (8%). Together, these four issues were expressed by 89% of young men. Young women, in contrast, focused largely on lack of amenities and infrastructure (26%) and, to a lesser extent, difficulties in finding employment (21%), poverty more generally (19%), and lack of opportunities for education (11%). These four issues were together reported by 76% of young women.

Differences by marital status were negligible among young men, but notable among young women. Among young women, the married were more likely than the unmarried to report poverty (22% versus 16%) and lack of amenities or infrastructure (31% versus 20%). In contrast, the unmarried were more likely than their married counterparts to report lack of educational opportunities (14% versus 9%) and unemployment (23% versus 18%) as leading problems facing youth.

Rural-urban differences were also apparent. Urban youth were more likely than rural youth to mention that difficulty in finding employment was a leading problem facing youth (63% versus 51% among young men, and 30% versus 16% among young women). In addition, young women in urban areas were more likely than those in rural areas to cite lack of safety for girls as a leading problem (7% versus 2%). Conversely, rural youth were more likely than urban youth to feel that poverty, lack of amenities/infrastructure and lack of educational opportunities were the leading problems facing youth: 20–22% of youth in rural areas, compared to 13–16% in urban areas, reported poverty; 10% and 31% of young men and women, respectively in rural areas, compared to 4% and 13%, respectively, in urban areas, reported lack of amenities/infrastructure; and 9% and 13%, respectively, in rural areas, compared to 6–7% in urban areas, reported lack of educational opportunities.

Table 12.11: Perceptions about the leading problem facing youth

Percent distribution of youth by their perceptions of the leading problem facing youth, according to residence

Leading problem	M 15–24	W 15–24	MM 15–29	MW 15–24	UM 15–24	UW 15–24
Combined						
Finding a job/unemployment	54.2	20.5	55.0	18.2	54.6	22.8
Poverty	18.9	19.0	21.8	21.5	17.6	16.3
Lack of amenities/infrastructure (water/toilets/roads/electricity)	7.8	25.6	9.7	30.5	7.1	20.3
Health-/health service-related concerns	0.5	1.2	0.3	1.1	0.6	1.3
Security of girls/law and order	0.5	3.5	0.4	2.4	0.6	4.7
Finding a good spouse/dowry	0.2	3.7	0.1	3.3	0.2	4.2
Lack of educational opportunities	7.9	11.1	5.0	9.0	8.5	13.9
Lack of career counselling/vocational training	3.0	4.6	2.4	4.0	3.3	5.4
Alcohol/drug abuse	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.4
Lack of sex education	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.6
Other[1]	2.3	1.3	1.3	0.8	2.6	1.8
Don't know/can't say	2.8	7.6	2.2	7.7	2.8	7.4
Number of respondents	**14,281**	**31,274**	**8,052**	**13,912**	**11,522**	**17,362**
Urban						
Finding a job/unemployment	62.9	30.4	64.1	29.5	62.7	31.0
Poverty	12.6	15.8	15.8	20.0	12.2	13.0
Lack of amenities/infrastructure (water/toilets/roads/electricity)	3.8	13.0	5.6	16.3	3.4	10.8
Health-/health service-related concerns	0.7	1.7	0.8	1.3	0.7	2.0
Security of girls/law and order	1.2	6.5	1.2	4.1	1.2	8.2
Finding a good spouse/dowry	0.2	4.9	0.1	4.1	0.3	5.4
Lack of educational opportunities	5.8	7.4	3.0	5.8	6.1	8.5
Lack of career counselling/vocational training	4.2	5.0	3.3	3.9	4.5	5.8
Alcohol/drug abuse	2.1	1.6	2.2	1.6	2.0	1.6
Lack of sex education	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.1
Other[1]	3.1	2.4	1.9	1.7	3.4	2.8
Don't know/can't say	2.4	10.3	1.2	11.0	2.5	9.8
Number of respondents	**7,483**	**13,976**	**3,590**	**5,950**	**6,435**	**8,026**
Rural						
Finding a job/unemployment	50.5	16.3	52.2	15.0	50.6	18.4
Poverty	21.6	20.4	23.6	21.9	20.3	18.1
Lack of amenities/infrastructure (water/toilets/roads/electricity)	9.5	30.9	11.0	34.5	9.0	25.5
Health-/health service-related concerns	0.4	1.0	0.2	1.1	0.5	0.9
Security of girls/law and order	0.2	2.2	0.2	1.9	0.3	2.8
Finding a good spouse/dowry	0.2	3.2	0.1	3.1	0.2	3.5
Lack of educational opportunities	8.8	12.7	5.6	9.9	9.7	16.9
Lack of career counselling/vocational training	2.5	4.4	2.2	4.0	2.8	5.1
Alcohol/drug abuse	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3
Lack of sex education	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.4
Other[1]	2.0	0.8	1.1	0.6	2.3	1.2
Don't know/can't say	3.0	6.5	2.5	6.7	3.0	6.0
Number of respondents	**6,798**	**17,298**	**4,462**	**7,962**	**5,087**	**9,336**

Note: Number refers to the unweighted number of respondents in the six states combined. Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases. [1]Includes lack of recreational/sports facilities, lack of political participation, gambling, corruption, child marriage, lack of loan services, limited freedom for girls, social conflicts, generation gap, parents not allowing love marriage, caste differences, etc.

A state-wise profile (not presented in tabular form) suggests a consistent picture. In each of the six Youth Study states, the problem reported by the largest proportion of young men was unemployment; among young women, those in the three northern states and Maharashtra reported lack of amenities as the leading problem facing them, and those from the southern states reported unemployment (Tamil Nadu) and poverty (Andhra Pradesh). While percentages reporting each problem varied, unemployment, poverty, lack of amenities and lack of educational opportunities ranked topmost in the responses of both young men and women in all the states.

12.8 Summary

Findings highlight the limited participation of youth in civil society. Although a number of programmes are organised by the government or NGOs at the community level in which youth can participate, few youth (22% of young men and 31% of young women) reported familiarity with these programmes. Even fewer youth—12% of young men and 9% of young women—reported participating in such programmes. Relatively larger proportions of young men (45%) and young women (15%) reported that they had participated in community-led activities such as the celebration of festivals and national days. Finally, just 10–11% of young men and women reported membership in organised groups.

Regional patterns in the extent of participation in civil society and political life were marked. For example, young men and women in Maharashtra and the southern states were considerably more likely than those from the northern states to report awareness of government and NGO-sponsored programmes as well as participation in these programmes. They were also more likely to report participation in community-led programmes and membership in organised groups. A similar pattern was observed with regard to the expression of secular attitudes: Youth in Maharashtra and the southern states were consistently more likely to express secular attitudes than their northern counterparts.

Findings suggest that large proportions of youth did indeed vote, however voting behaviour was far from universal. Among those eligible, 71% of young men and 60% of young women had cast their vote in the most recent election preceding the interview for which they were eligible to vote. Large majorities of youth (83–86%) perceived that one could vote freely and without fear and pressure. At the same time, however, considerable proportions reported dissatisfaction with the political process: 68% of young men and 57% of young women reported disillusionment with the commitment of political parties to work for change at the community level.

Regional patterns were less evident with regard to political participation. However, youth from the southern states were more likely than those from the northern states to perceive that one could vote freely and without fear or pressure. Considerable proportions of youth from all the six states reported disillusionment with the political process.

Expressions of secular attitudes varied. About three-fifths (63%) of young men and half (51%) of young women reported that they would mix freely with individuals of different religions and castes, would eat together with a person of a different caste or religion, and would talk to a person who has had an inter-caste marriage. Findings suggest a consistent positive association between age, education and wealth status, and expression of secular attitudes. They also suggest that youth from Maharashtra and the southern states were consistently more likely to express secular attitudes than their northern counterparts.

Considerable proportions of young men and women acknowledged that physical fights among young men and also among young women did occur in their village or urban neighbourhood; however, just 11% of young men and 3% of young women reported that they had been involved in a physical fight in the year preceding the interview.

The four leading problems facing youth expressed by both young men and women were unemployment, poverty, lack of amenities and lack of educational opportunities. However, young people's perceptions of these problems varied enormously by sex. Among young men, the majority reported difficulty in finding employment as the leading problem, followed by concerns about poverty more generally, lack of amenities or infrastructure and lack of educational opportunities. In contrast, the leading problem expressed by young women was lack of amenities and infrastructure, and to a lesser extent, difficulty in finding employment, poverty more generally, and lack of opportunities for education. This pattern persisted fairly uniformly in all the six states.

Chapter 13

Looking forward

Findings of the Youth Study presented in earlier chapters highlight the situation of young men and women in India in general and in the six states in particular. They underscore the fact that youth are a heterogeneous group with correspondingly diverse needs, and identify numerous challenges youth face in making the transition to adulthood. They also highlight the diversity in the situation and needs of youth across the states; youth from the northern states (Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan) were consistently more disadvantaged than those from Maharashtra and the southern states (Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu), underscoring the need for programmes that are state-specific and responsive to the particular obstacles youth face in making a safe transition to adulthood in each state. Findings suggest several priority programmatic areas for action as well as several themes requiring research attention, which are highlighted in this chapter.

13.1 Recommendations for programmes

Findings suggest a number of key programme areas for intervention at the youth, family and service delivery levels.

Address obstacles to universal school enrolment and secondary school completion

Youth Study findings highlight that school enrolment was far from universal among young people in the country: indeed, one in twelve young men and one in four young women had never been enrolled in school. School completion rates were also low—just two in five young men (42%) and one in three young women (30%) had completed high school (Class 10). The rates were particularly low among several sub-groups of youth—young women, married youth, rural youth, youth belonging to poor households, Muslim youth, and youth belonging to scheduled castes and tribes. Likewise, state-wise differences were notable, with youth in the northern states lagging behind their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states even in terms of primary school completion. Concerted efforts are needed if the country is to achieve the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring universal primary school completion. While the achievement of universal primary school completion is a key goal, the importance of high school education in enabling youth to make a successful transition to adulthood underscores the need, at the same time, for efforts to overcome barriers to high school completion. The government has articulated its commitment to improving the schooling situation in the country in several policies and acts, including the recently enacted Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act 2009, and through several programmes, including the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan*, the *Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan* and the *Saakshar Bharat* scheme. What is needed is a strong commitment to ensuring that these programmes are effectively implemented and that they do indeed reach the most disadvantaged groups.

A number of factors have been identified in the Youth Study that inhibit school completion; leading among which are economic reasons; attitudes and perceptions, and school-related reasons; and, among young women, house-work and marriage related reasons as well. Multiple activities are needed to address these barriers. Efforts must be made to address the economic pressures that dissuade parents from enrolling their children in school and from keeping them in school once enrolled. A number of centrally- and state-sponsored programmes are ongoing that aim to reduce the cost of education, and it is important to ensure that these ongoing government programmes do

indeed reach the most disadvantaged groups; additional inputs, by way of conditional grants that encourage school completion among disadvantaged groups, also need to be considered. At the same time, activities directed at parents are needed that promote positive attitudes towards education and school completion, raise their aspirations about their children's education and encourage greater parental involvement in their children's education.

Activities must also address school-level barriers, notably, poor infrastructure, quality of education and academic failure, particularly among young women. Several state governments have launched various schemes to address these barriers (for example, the bicycle schemes for girls in Jharkhand and Bihar); however, it is important that the effectiveness of these schemes is evaluated, promising lessons assimilated and the schemes scaled up. There is a need to incorporate livelihood skills building models within the school setting that will not only raise young people's aspirations regarding their education and careers but also provide them with opportunities to gain market-driven job skills. There is also a need to focus on providing better training to teachers and ensuring their accountability—investments that are likely to improve the quality of schooling experiences for youth. Finally, given the large proportions reporting that schooling had been interrupted because they were required for work on the family farm or business or for housework, and given the reality of young people's lives and the economic pressures on families, efforts need to be made to adjust school timings, including the establishment of evening schools to enable children to accommodate work on the family farm or business without sacrificing their education.

Findings indicating the transition to adult roles, particularly early marriage, as an important reason for school discontinuation among girls—notably among those who discontinued their education in Classes 7–9 as well as in Classes 10–11—emphasise the fact that programmatic commitments outside the education sector are also critical to the achievement of universal school enrolment and completion. Specifically required are programmes that seek to critically examine norms and practices surrounding marriage and to eliminate the practice of early marriage. Explorations of subsidies and cash transfers that link school retention and delayed marriage among girls are needed.

Findings that several sub-groups of youth—young women, the married, the rural, those belonging to poor households, Muslim youth and those belonging to scheduled castes and tribes—remain considerably disadvantaged call for efforts that specifically target these vulnerable groups. Interventions are needed that give youth who missed the opportunity to obtain adequate formal education a second chance to acquire equivalency to formal education.

Finally, findings indicating considerable state-wise differences in school enrolment and completion call for state-specific interventions. Targeted efforts to achieve universal school enrolment and at least primary school completion need to be a high priority in the northern states, while concerted efforts to achieve universal secondary school completion are called for in Maharashtra and the southern states. At the same time, efforts to provide a second chance to youth who missed the opportunity to acquire an adequate level of formal education are called for in all the six states.

Strengthen efforts to prevent child labour

Findings of the Youth Study that over one in four young men and women had initiated work in childhood or in early adolescence (before age 15) reiterate the recommendation highlighted above regarding the need to provide conditional grants and targeted subsidies to disadvantaged groups, which would encourage parents to opt for schooling over work for their children. At the same time, it is important to vigorously enforce existing laws that prohibit child labour. Such efforts are particularly needed in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan.

Invest in promoting youth employment

Findings point to the effective unemployability of significant proportions of youth. For example, few youth—two in five young men and one in three young women—had completed high school. Even fewer—one-fifth of young men and a quarter of young women—had attended a vocational training programme. It is notable that while considerable proportions of urban youth reported exposure to computer skills, English language skills and so on, rural youth tended to opt for relatively traditional vocational skills and may not have had the opportunity to learn

about market needs or develop appropriate skills for which a demand exists. It is also notable that those who were engaged in economic activity were working largely as agricultural and unskilled non-agricultural labourers. Moreover, considerable proportions of youth, particularly the educated, were unemployed, suggesting a possible disconnect between youth skills and market needs.

The country must significantly strengthen investments in programmes that enable youth to make a successful transition to work roles. Enhancing employability would depend to a considerable extent on the improvements in educational attainment discussed above; it would also require greater investment in enabling youth to acquire vocational skills. Formal mechanisms must be developed that provide opportunities to youth to acquire skills for which there is an established demand, and that link eligible youth to market opportunities. The proposed National Skills Development Initiative is a step in the right direction and it is important that this initiative is implemented without any delay. At the same time, efforts are needed to promote self-employment and entrepreneurship through various livelihood schemes, for example, providing soft loans to youth to enable them to set up their own business enterprises. Also required are efforts to evaluate existing programmes aimed at job creation to assess their reach and impact in enabling young people to make a successful transition to work roles, upscale successful models, raise awareness among youth about their availability and ensure that these programmes do indeed reach young people.

Findings also highlight young women's limited access to wage work. For example, significant proportions of young women currently engaged in paid work had worked in agricultural activities and, at the same time, many young women were seeking employment at the time of the interview. These findings highlight the need for programmes specially targeted towards young women.

Finally, findings indicating considerable state-wise differences in unemployment rates and young people's participation in vocational training programmes call for state-specific interventions. Concerted efforts to improve the employability of youth and to enhance the reach of existing programmes aimed at job creation among youth are most urgently required in states like Bihar, Jharkhand and Rajasthan. At the same time, efforts to meet the large unmet need for vocational skills training are needed in all the six states.

Promote agency and gender equitable norms among youth

Findings highlight the limited agency of young women and the persistence of gender double standards among youth. Young women were particularly disadvantaged in terms of school enrolment, attendance and completion, participation in wage earning activities, and exposure to mass media. While young women were as likely as young men to have participated in vocational training programmes, most young women had undergone training in traditional skills, such as tailoring and handicrafts. Socialisation was gendered and parental control over their adolescent children's mobility and interactions with peers was stricter in the case of young women than men. Additionally, compared to young men, young women reported less mobility, opportunities to build peer networks, decision-making authority in matters relating to their own lives and control over resources. And although young women were more likely than young men to express equitable gender role attitudes, over half of both young men and women expressed traditional attitudes concerning wife beating. These findings call for attention to promote life skills education programmes for young women, both unmarried and married, that will not only raise their awareness of new ideas and the world around them but also enable them to put new information into practice, encourage them to question gender stereotypes, develop self-esteem, and strengthen their skills in problem-solving, decision-making, communication, and inter-personal relations and negotiation. Equally important is to identify safe spaces in which young women can build social networks and find social support among peers.

Interventions intended to build life skills must also be inclusive of young men. Indeed, findings that inegalitarian gender role attitudes were expressed by many young men, on the one hand, and that considerable numbers of young men were not able to exercise agency in their everyday lives, on the other, call for programmes that build their life skills, promote new concepts of masculinity and femininity and, at the same time, promote messages that build egalitarian relations between women and men.

Promoting gender equitable norms and practices requires active engagement with the community. It is essential that programmes for youth work with key community members, such as parents and political and religious leaders in the community, to critically examine prevailing gender norms and forces that perpetuate such norms.

An increasing number of intervention models to build agency and promote egalitarian gender role attitudes among young people have been tested in India. These models could be reviewed and replicated or scaled up as appropriate.

Provide opportunities for formal savings, especially for young women

Findings suggest that while young women were more likely than young men to report savings, they were somewhat less likely to own a savings account, and, among those who did own an account, considerably less likely to operate the account independently. At the same time, few youth owned a bank or post office account—just 15% of young men and 11% of young women. Programmes are needed that inculcate a savings orientation among young people, that offer savings products that are attractive and appropriate to the small and erratic savings patterns of young people, and that enable young women in particular to overcome obstacles related to owning and controlling savings products.

Promote youth participation in civil society and political processes and reinforce secular attitudes

Findings note that large proportions of youth have exercised their right to vote, that the majority hold secular attitudes with regard to mixing with a person from another caste and religion, and few engage in community-level violence. Nevertheless, not all youth expressed secular attitudes; two-thirds of young men and three-fifths of young women reported that they would endorse violence against someone who showed disrespect to their religion. Considerable proportions of youth were dissatisfied with the political process; two-thirds of young men and almost three-fifths of young women reported disillusionment with the commitment of political parties to work for change at the community level. Moreover, relatively few had taken part in civil society, that is, government- or NGO-sponsored programmes or community-led activities.

Programmes are needed at the school, college and community levels—through national service programmes, sports and other non-formal mechanisms—that encourage civic participation, incorporate value building components and reinforce secular attitudes and values that espouse responsible citizenship. Findings indicating that youth participation in civil society and the expression of secular attitudes were far more limited in the northern states than in Maharashtra and the southern states emphasise that these programmes should be a high priority, especially in the northern states.

Findings also emphasise that the political system in the country needs to make special efforts to address the concerns of youth and encourage youth participation in the political processes in more meaningful ways. Such efforts are called for in all the states.

Strengthen family life or sex education for those in school and out of school

The provision of family life or sex education to young people has been a controversial issue in the country. Youth Study findings provide considerable evidence suggesting that family life or sex education is urgently needed for youth, both for those in school and those who have discontinued their education. Findings demonstrate a limited understanding of sexual and reproductive matters among young people, including the married. Misconceptions abound on most topics: sex and pregnancy, contraceptive methods including condoms, STIs and HIV/AIDS and the conditions under which abortion is legally available or restricted. Where awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters exists, it is superficial in many cases.

Youth themselves have called for family life or sex education. Findings highlight that large proportions of youth recognised the need for information and education on these issues, and indicated a preference for receiving this

education from teachers, health care providers or other professionals, and in the case of young women, parents as well. However, no more than one in seven youth had been exposed to family life or sex education, notwithstanding the Adolescence Education Programme, the School AIDS Education Programme, the Red Ribbon Clubs and special programmes for out-of-school youth in most Youth Study states. Indeed, substantial proportions of married young women (and some young men) reported entering marriage completely unaware of what marriage entailed. At the same time, several young people had engaged in pre-marital sexual relations uninformed about risk taking and safe practices.

Programmes are ongoing in several Youth Study states that aim to impart sexual and reproductive health information to young people. What is needed is a strong commitment to ensuring that these programmes do indeed reach young people, both those in school and out-of-school, married and unmarried, and rural and urban. At the same time, it is important that such programmes are revived in states in which they have been stalled. These programmes should be age-appropriate. Moreover, there is a need to expand the content of existing awareness raising programmes to include not just HIV-related information but broader sexual and reproductive health topics. These programmes should be designed not only to raise awareness among youth but also to enable young people to correctly understand and assess the risks they face and to adopt appropriate protective actions.

In addition, special attention needs to be paid to the training of trainers. Indeed, findings indicate that one in three young women and one in five young men who had received formal family life or sex education reported feeling uncomfortable or embarrassed in the course of receiving this information, raising questions about the extent to which youth were indeed able to participate freely in discussions and clarify their doubts. At the same time, these findings raise questions about the ability of trainers to connect with youth to whom they provided this education. Such findings clearly highlight the need to improve the quality of training imparted to trainers. It is important that teachers, health care providers and other experts undergo training that enables them to overcome their reluctance to communicate with youth on sensitive sexual and reproductive matters, dispels their misconceptions on these matters, and enhances both their communication skills and their technical knowledge of these issues. Peers and, in the case of young women, parents have also been identified as acceptable sources of information and efforts must therefore be made that identify youth leaders and build networks of peer educators. Also needed are efforts to engage parents—providing them with accurate information and working with them to overcome inhibitions about imparting this information to their children, particularly their daughters.

Ensure that when pre-marital sex takes place, it is safe and wanted

While sexual activity is initiated within the context of marriage for the vast majority of young women, findings show that a sizeable proportion of young men and some young women had engaged in sex before marriage. As documented in this report, many youth had initiated sexual activity uninformed, reiterating the need for providing age appropriate family life or sex education to young people. Moreover, the finding that for many youth, pre-marital sexual experiences were unsafe, and for some unwanted, calls for programmes that focus not only on building sexual and reproductive health awareness among young people but also on enabling them to correctly understand and assess the risks they face, and developing their skills in negotiating safe sex and communicating with their partners on sexual and reproductive health matters. At the same time, programmes must make available appropriate family planning and infection prevention services for unmarried young men and women in a manner acceptable to them.

Intensify efforts to eliminate the practice of early marriage

Findings indicate that although most youth prefer to marry after age 18, the practice of early marriage is widespread among young women. These findings call for measures that go beyond information campaigns to address the underlying factors—social norms and economic constraints—driving early marriage in the country.

There is a need for a multi-pronged approach to eliminate the practice of early marriage. Strategies are needed that mobilise communities to help parents resist pressures that foster the practice of early marriage. Moreover, strategies are needed that establish new norms and practices that actively engage influential persons in the community, including

religious and political leaders, as well as those that initiate campaigns highlighting the adverse consequences of early marriage and the extent to which it is a violation of the rights of the child. Finally, strategies for community mobilisation must involve youth themselves as well as their families.

Equally important is to ensure greater commitment on the part of law enforcement agencies to enforce existing laws on the minimum age at marriage and the registration of marriages, and to levy penalties on violators. Allowing anonymous reporting, making law enforcement agencies and others aware that the practice of early marriage is not a minor violation, and making the guidelines for penalties clear to enforcement agencies and the wider community are possible steps in this direction.

Efforts to delay marriage also require providing girls with viable alternatives to marriage in the form of accessible and quality schooling and opportunities to build and use livelihood skills. Working with the education sector to make schooling for girls more accessible, and to make classrooms gender-sensitive and responsive to the needs of girls and the concerns of their parents is important. At the same time, it is necessary to provide livelihoods training within and outside the educational system.

Findings that marriages were often arranged without the participation of young people themselves and that few young people had an opportunity to meet their spouse-to-be prior to the wedding day call for actions to sensitise parents to the need to involve their children in marriage-related decisions and enable them to interact with their prospective spouse prior to the wedding day. Parents must also be made aware of the physical and mental health consequences of early marriage and the adverse experiences of many young women (and some young men) who were married early or who were unprepared for marriage.

Finally, findings suggest that the challenges faced by youth during transitions to marriage and parenthood were more daunting for those from the northern states than from Maharashtra and the southern states. For example, marriage continues to take place in adolescence for large proportions of young women and significant minorities of young men in the northern states. Youth in the northern states were also more likely than their counterparts in Maharashtra and the southern states to have consented to marry without any involvement in selecting their marriage partner and to have met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. These findings emphasise that the strategies discussed above need to be accorded a high priority in the northern states.

Support newly-weds to postpone the first pregnancy and promote pregnancy-related care among those who become pregnant

Findings show that the social pressure to bear children as soon as possible following marriage persists. Contraceptives were rarely used to postpone the first pregnancy and many young women experienced their first pregnancy soon after marriage. It would appear that numerous forces work against delaying the first pregnancy—young people's lack of awareness of appropriate methods of contraception and access to supplies, overwhelming pressure from the family and the community to bear children as soon as possible after marriage, young people's limited skills in countering social expectations and negotiating pregnancy postponement, and the lack of attention from health care providers.

Programmes are needed that inform young women and men about their pregnancy postponement options and enable them to access appropriate contraception. At the same time, providers, including such outreach workers as ASHAs, must be trained and charged with the responsibility of reaching married young women and men—including those who have not yet experienced pregnancy—with information regarding contraception and other reproductive health matters as well as contraceptive supplies. Many married young women lack the freedom of movement to seek health care, underscoring the need for health workers to reach these women—particularly those newly married and first time pregnant—in their homes.

Findings also underscore the limited access to maternal health services even at the time of the first—often the most risky—pregnancy. Indeed, many first births were delivered in the home setting or attended by unskilled persons.

These findings highlight the need for reproductive and child health programmes in the country to build a demand for, as well as improve the availability of such services among young people.

Finally, findings that utilisation of reproductive health services by youth varied considerably across the states call for tailoring the focus of the programme in response to the situation and needs of youth in each state. For example, while the practice of contraception to delay the first pregnancy was limited in all the states, it was far more limited in the southern states than in Maharashtra and the northern states. In contrast, youth from the northern states were more likely than those from Maharashtra and the southern states to report three or more live births and less likely to report institutional delivery and skilled attendance for the first birth. The reproductive and child health programmes should take cognizance of these differences in the situation and needs of young people.

Address power imbalances within marriage

Findings regarding the multiple vulnerabilities faced by married young women underscore the need for programmes that support young women, especially the newly-wed, acknowledging that their situation and needs may differ from those of unmarried young women and married adults. Married young women typically have just a few years of schooling, limited exposure to mass media and limited mobility. They also have limited communication with their husband and notable proportions have experienced physical and sexual violence perpetrated by their husband.

Efforts are needed to encourage couple communication on sensitive issues (contraception, for example), negotiation and conflict management skills early in marriage. Efforts are also needed to inform married young women of their rights so that they have the opportunity to exercise control over their own lives; at the same time, efforts must be made to promote new concepts of masculinity and femininity and egalitarian couple relations among young men and women. Intervention models exist in India that have attempted to address these needs; these should be reviewed and up-scaled as appropriate.

Engage boys and young men

While wide gender disparities place young women at a notable disadvantage, Youth Study findings highlight that young men are also disadvantaged in many ways. Almost three-fifths had not completed high school and over one quarter had initiated economic activity from an early age. Although socialized with more freedom than their sisters, communication with parents was limited among young men and many did not have decision-making authority in matters pertaining to their life or control over economic resources. Moreover, many were exposed to tobacco products and alcohol, many had experienced unsafe pre-marital sex, and notable minorities had married in adolescence. Awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters was limited, few had received family life or sex education, and many, including the married, reported discomfort about seeking contraceptives from a health care provider or pharmacy. Finally, as noted earlier, many held unequal gender norms, and power imbalances were evident within marital relations. These findings highlight that young men are vulnerable—albeit in different ways than young women—and argue that programmes for adolescents and young people must be inclusive of boys and young men.

Create a supportive family environment

Findings highlight the limited interaction and social distance between parents and young people while growing up and the gendered nature of socialisation experiences. Efforts must be made to create a supportive environment for young people. While evidence on models that are effective in bridging the distance between parents and children or that enable parents to adopt more gender-egalitarian socialisation practices is not currently available, findings presented in this report call for programmes that address parental inhibitions about discussing sexual matters with their children, encourage greater openness and interaction between parents and children, and enable the adoption of gender-egalitarian child-rearing practices. Programmes that aim to encourage universal education or eliminate child marriage must, likewise, address parental concerns about the potential consequences of keeping daughters in school or delaying their marriage.

Reposition the condom as a suitable method for youth

Findings have suggested that consistent condom use was rarely practised by those reporting pre-marital sexual relations, and few married youth reported the use of condoms at the time of the interview. At the same time, widespread misconceptions prevailed about the condom, including that it can slip off and disappear into the woman's body, and in-depth awareness about the condom was far from universal, especially among young women. Moreover, large proportions of youth reported discomfort about seeking contraceptives, including condoms, from a health care provider or pharmacy. Given the appropriateness of the condom for use among young people, it is important that bold and imaginatively designed communication programmes aimed at youth are implemented that dispel misconceptions and encourage condom use; and at the same time, that bold and imaginative changes are made in the service delivery structure that enable youth to access condoms easily and confidentially.

Reorient service provision to address the unique sexual and reproductive health needs of unmarried and married young women and men

Although the RCH Programme has advocated special services for youth, including the unmarried, these services had not reached the youth in our survey. For example, relatively small percentages of young people had ever practised contraception. Few had sought care for symptoms of STI or gynaecological problems, and most youth who had sought care preferred private to public sector facilities. Lack of care seeking and the disconnect between the public health sector and youth underscore the need to sensitise health care providers about the special needs, heterogeneity and vulnerability of unmarried and married young women and men, and to orient them to the need for developing appropriate strategies to reach these diverse groups, including newlyweds. It raises, at the same time, the need to explore the feasibility of implementing various financing strategies, for example, health insurance, competitive voucher schemes and community financing schemes, which will allow youth to have a wider choice of providers and enhance the possibility of obtaining quality care.

Programmes must be inclusive of unmarried as well as married young people and recognise their need and right to sexual and reproductive health and related information and services. Counselling and contraceptive services must be made available to all young people, including the unmarried, in a non-threatening, non-judgmental and confidential environment. Indeed, these findings call for the implementation of strategies outlined under the National Rural Health Mission's RCH Programme.

Establish systems that address young people's mental health

Findings that one in seven young men and women reported symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders suggest that there is a need to establish systems that address young people's mental health. It is important that the National Mental Health Programme takes note of these findings and incorporates a special focus on identifying and treating youth in need. Efforts are needed to screen young people—particularly the rural among whom symptoms were more likely to be reported—for possible mental health disorders when they avail of other primary health services, including, for example, sexual and reproductive health services, and to refer youth with such symptoms to appropriate health facilities and providers. Findings that young men in Bihar and Jharkhand were more likely than others, and young women in Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Maharashtra were more likely than others, to report symptoms suggestive of mental health disorders highlight the need for policy and service responses on a priority basis, particularly in these states.

Sensitise youth about the adverse effects of substance abuse

Findings indicate that substantial proportions of young men reported the consumption of tobacco and alcohol—over a quarter reported tobacco consumption and one-seventh reported alcohol consumption in the month prior to the interview. Efforts are needed to sensitise young men to the adverse effects of substance abuse.

13.2 Directions for future research

Findings presented in this report provide a broad picture of youth in India. At the same time, however, they have raised a number of issues that require further investigation, particularly with regard to the determinants and consequences of youth behaviours and practices during their transition to adulthood. While the Youth Study is indeed a rich source of data that will enable investigators to fill many of the information gaps identified, there are several gaps in knowledge that require additional research efforts.

A general research recommendation is the urgent need for prospective or panel study designs that follow a cohort of adolescents at regular intervals up to age 24. Thus far, research has relied on cross-sectional data. While these data are valuable in describing the levels and trends in key markers of transitions to adulthood, they rarely capture the ways in which the situation and experiences of youth influence their life courses at later ages. Moreover, drawing causal inferences from cross-sectional surveys has several limitations.

Barriers to school completion

While evidence presented in this report sheds light on the reasons for non-enrolment in school and school discontinuation, further research is needed that profiles youth at risk of never attending school or discontinuing before achieving various educational milestones, that defines underlying obstacles to school continuation and that identifies strategies to mitigate these barriers. Research is also needed to explore ways in which household level socio-economic disadvantages act to compromise young people's educational transition, identify the obstacles faced by families in retaining their children in school, and the strategies that parents and other gatekeepers suggest to mitigate these barriers. Moreover, even though sizeable proportions of young women reported an early transition to marriage as a significant factor for school discontinuation, research is needed that explores whether it is early marriage that curtails schooling for young women or whether it is such reasons as poverty and school-related factors, including access and quality, that lead to school discontinuation and thereby perpetuate early marriage. In addition, operations research is required that evaluates the reach, effectiveness and feasibility of existing programmes intended to address barriers to school continuation. Moreover, as suggested in the section on recommendations for programmes, a variety of interventions need to be implemented that address school quality issues, enhance parental involvement in children's education, provide the out-of-school a second chance to continue their education, provide conditional grants to disadvantaged groups and impart livelihood skills to young people in school; operations research is required to be in-built in these programmes to assess their reach and effectiveness.

Transition to work

Several questions related to the transition to work remain unanswered. For example, sizeable proportions of young men and women had made an early transition to work, yet, relatively little is known about the kind of work they undertook, the time they spent on work, the extent to which their activities marked a significant labour contribution to their household and the extent to which the early transition to work affected young people's educational attainment or marriage. Further research is needed that explores these issues among those reporting an early transition to work.

The finding that unemployment rates were particularly high among the educated calls for further research to better understand the difficulties experienced by educated youth in finding suitable employment opportunities. Further research is needed that explores the links between education attained or vocational training acquired and work patterns.

With regard to vocational skills building, research is needed that explores the kind of vocational training programmes that are available to youth, and the extent to which these are accessible in reality. Research is also required that examines the factors underlying the findings that few young people received vocational skills training even though large proportions were in favour of receiving such training, and that despite the availability of a range of vocational skills training opportunities, many young women continued to opt for training in traditional vocational skills. Research must also assess the extent to which these programmes reflect market needs, on the one hand, and youth

preferences, on the other, and the extent to which vocational training enables youth—especially the relatively poorly educated—to secure employment in the field in which they have been trained. Equally important is the need for operations research that will test models intended to enable youth to acquire skills for which there is an established market demand and link eligible youth to market opportunities.

Media exposure

Findings suggest that large proportions of youth were exposed to various media; that sizeable proportions of young men had accessed pornographic materials on films, in books and magazines, and on the internet; and that large proportions of youth had obtained information about sexual and reproductive matters from the media. Yet, relatively little is known about the influence of the media on young people's transitions to adulthood. In-depth research is needed, for example, to better understand the effects of media exposure on young people's level of awareness of sexual and reproductive matters, agency and adoption of gender egalitarian norms, adoption of safe practices within pre-marital sexual relationships and marriage, participation in civil society and political life, and so on.

Socialisation experiences, interaction with parents

Youth Study findings show that socialisation experiences remain gendered and interaction with parents limited. Little is known, however, about the ways in which limited interaction and hierarchical socialisation patterns may influence young people's lives, for example, their sexual behaviours, their aspirations for the future or their ability to exercise informed choices in their lives. Similarly, there is a dearth of research on parents' perspectives on the socialisation of sons and daughters, the extent to which parents justify different socialisation practices for sons and daughters, the ways in which parents communicate sensitive matters to their adolescent children, and the factors inhibiting parents from adopting gender-egalitarian socialisation practices, and communicating with their adolescent children on sexual and reproductive matters. There are, moreover, few interventions that address parents. As mentioned earlier, there is a need to design and test interventions intended to involve parents more meaningfully in young people's transitions to adulthood in terms of educational attainment, work, marriage and entry into sexual relations.

Findings also suggest that young people's family life was marked by violence, both witnessed and experienced. Research is needed that assesses whether and how these experiences affect young people's transitions to adulthood.

Agency and gender role attitudes

While findings confirm young women's limited agency and gender inegalitarian attitudes held by youth, particularly young men but also young women, several gaps remain in our understanding of the ways in which these affect young people's transitions to adulthood. Further research is needed, for example, that identifies the factors underlying the expression of unequal and equal gender role attitudes by young men and women, particularly the role of parents, teachers, peers and the media, and that explores the ways in which inegalitarian gender role attitudes and limited agency compromise youth development, including in the area of sexual and reproductive health.

Methodological issues also arise. There is a need to refine measures of agency as applicable to young men and women. The Youth Study has obtained data on multiple dimensions of agency among young men and women, the married and the unmarried, and those from rural and urban areas. These data lend themselves to methodological exercises that measure agency among youth, that assess the extent to which key components of agency may differ across different categories of youth and that explore whether a single summary measure of youth agency can be developed.

Access to and control over resources

Findings that few youth, irrespective of sex, owned a savings account, and among those who did own an account, young women were far less likely than young men to operate the account independently, call for efforts to map savings and credit options available to youth. At the same time, research is needed that assesses the financial literacy

skills of youth, their savings and spending patterns, barriers faced in accessing existing financial products, and ways in which these barriers can be overcome.

Participation in civil society and political life

While the Youth Study has made several new and important contributions to understanding the extent of youth participation in civil society and political life, we note that several questions remain unanswered. Qualitative research is needed that explores young people's perspectives on participation in civil society and political life so that appropriate indicators for measuring civic and political participation of young people can be identified. Similarly, empirical research is needed that investigates the factors that motivate young people to engage in civil society and political life and those that inhibit them from doing so.

Sexual risk behaviours

Research is needed that explores the correlates of behaviours that undermine healthy development among young people, for example, sexual risk behaviours and substance use, and the linkages between them. At the same time, it would be useful to identify the characteristics of youth who make the transition in a safe and healthy way, for example, practise consistent condom use and seek appropriate care.

The Youth Study has raised serious methodological concerns that need to be addressed. For example, despite the fact that the Youth Study did employ such methods as gradual sequencing of questions to include progressively more sensitive topics (with regard to romantic and sexual relationships), anonymous third-party reporting and anonymous sealed envelope reporting, as in many studies, pre-marital sexual experience was far less likely to be reported by young women than young men. Moreover, sexual relationships with sex workers, same-sex partners and married women were rarely reported by young men, and few youth reported exchange and forced sexual experiences. Such findings emphasise the need to continue the search for appropriate methodologies to measure sensitive behaviours among youth; computer-assisted survey interviews are one such option. Indeed, methodological studies that compare estimates derived using different approaches could provide an insight into efforts to refine measures of reporting of sensitive behaviours by youth.

Early marriage and childbearing

Research is needed that explores the extent to which early marriage compromises young people's lives. For example, to what extent does early marriage impede young women's ability to exercise agency in the marital home? How prepared for marriage are those who marry early and how does preparedness or lack thereof influence married life?

Many youth reported that they had not used a contraceptive to delay the first pregnancy and, consequently, they or their wife had experienced pregnancy soon after marriage. Further research is needed that sheds light on the factors that undermine young people's ability to delay the first pregnancy.

Several promising interventions have been implemented that are intended to address the social isolation experienced by married young women and/or their reproductive health needs, including delaying pregnancy or making pregnancy safe. Few of these interventions have been rigorously evaluated and there is a need for research that assesses their impact, and the feasibility of scaling up successful interventions.

Partner violence

Youth Study findings have documented physical and sexual violence perpetrated by young men on their wife, as well as forced sex experienced in romantic and non-romantic situations by a small number of young women prior to marriage. Findings call for research that explores the factors underlying such experiences of violence, documents their health and social consequences for young women and men and their children, and tests interventions that enable

youth to prevent such violence, on the one hand, and to overcome obstacles to seeking prompt and appropriate care, on the other.

Family life or sex education

There has been reticence in several states of the country to impart school-based family life or sex education to youth on the assumption—disproved in some settings—that such education will encourage youth to engage in risky sexual behaviours. Research is needed that explores the extent to which exposure to school- or community-based family life or sex education does indeed enable youth to make informed decisions and adopt safe sexual and reproductive health behaviours. Research is also needed that explores whether the transition into married life is safer and healthier among those—particularly young women—who were exposed to such education. In addition, operations research is required that evaluates the reach, quality and effectiveness of existing programmes intended to impart sexual and reproductive health information to young people.

Findings suggest that in-depth awareness about sexual and reproductive matters was limited, posing an obstacle to the ability of youth to make informed choices. Research is needed that explores the extent to which young people's awareness of sexual and reproductive matters and of sexual and reproductive rights varies according to the sources from which they derive their knowledge. Equally important are studies that examine the sexual and reproductive knowledge and technical competence of those from whom information is sought—including, for example, teachers, health care providers and parents—to communicate sensitive sexual matters to young people.

Mental health disorders

Findings suggest that one in seven youth experienced symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders. Research is needed that explores young people's mental health profile in greater depth; that assesses the linkages between sexual and reproductive health, on the one hand, and mental health on the other; and that explores the rural-urban and state-wise differentials in reporting mental health disorders.

Health seeking for sexual and reproductive health symptoms

Findings suggesting that health care seeking, particularly for sexual and reproductive matters, was limited, highlight the need for research that explores the factors inhibiting youth from seeking care. Youth Study data will enable, as a start, exploration of the factors distinguishing those who sought care from those who did not, in terms of both socio-economic factors as well as parental and peer interaction levels, youth awareness of symptoms of sexual and reproductive health disorders, and inhibitions about seeking services relating to sexual matters. Other topics requiring research attention include in-depth explorations of youth perspectives on ways to overcome barriers to care seeking on the one hand, and reasons underlying youth preference for private rather than public sector health care, on the other. At the same time, research is needed that assesses the perspectives of providers with regard to the barriers they face in providing services to youth and ways to overcome these barriers.

In brief, the Youth Study has documented, for the first time, the multi-faceted situation of youth in India. The study highlights several positive aspects of young people's lives but also alerts us to the many challenges confronting youth and their ability to make a successful transition to adulthood. It emphasises the heterogeneity of youth, not only in terms of their situation but also with regard to their stated needs and preferred mechanisms to address these needs. It also highlights the diversity in the situation and needs of youth across the states. Programmes must recognise the heterogeneity of young people, and interventions and delivery mechanisms in each state should be appropriately tailored to meet their special needs, including the particular obstacles youth face in making a safe transition to adulthood. Evidence presented here provides not only a blue-print for the programming needs of youth in India but also a base-line by which to measure the impact of programmes intended to address youth needs.

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Appendix B

Estimates of sampling errors

As in the case of any sample survey, estimates from the *Youth in India: Situation and Needs* study, as presented in Chapters 1–12, are affected by two major sources of errors: non-sampling and sampling errors. Non-sampling errors are generally the result of procedural mistakes made during data collection and data processing, such as, the inability to locate and interview the correct household or individual, failure to conform to standard survey procedures laid out by the central office, misunderstanding of questions on the part of either the interviewer or the respondent, and data entry errors. At the same time, because of the inclusion of numerous sensitive issues, the Youth Study faced the risk of other non-sampling errors as well, such as, the deliberate skipping of sensitive questions by the interviewer or refusal to answer sensitive questions by the respondent. In order to minimise non-sampling errors, a number of precautions were taken during the implementation of the study, which are described in detail in Chapter 1. However, we acknowledge that despite these efforts, non-sampling errors are impossible to avoid; they are, moreover, extremely difficult to evaluate statistically.

Sampling errors, on the other hand, can be evaluated statistically. These errors, as the name suggests, result from the choice of the particular sample selected. The sample of respondents selected in the Youth Study is only one of many possible samples that could have been selected from the population of India, using the same design and expected sample size. Each of these samples would have yielded results that differed somewhat from the results of the sample selected. The sampling error is a measure of variability among all possible samples. Although the degree of variability may not be known exactly, it can be estimated from the survey results using standard statistical procedures.

A sampling error, usually measured in terms of the *standard error* for a particular statistic (mean, percentage, ratio, etc.), is the square root of the variance of that statistic. The standard error can be used to calculate confidence intervals within which the true value for the population can reasonably be assumed to fall. For example, for any given statistic calculated from the survey, the value of that statistic will fall within a range of plus or minus two times the standard error of that statistic in 95% of all possible samples of identical size and design.

If the sample of respondents had been selected as a simple random sample, it would have been possible to use straightforward formulae for calculating the variance of the statistic and consequently, sampling errors. However, the Youth Study sample is the result of a multi-stage stratified design, and consequently, it was necessary to use more complex formulae. The variance estimators that were used can be found in Cochran (1977) and Wolter (1985). The computer software used to calculate sampling errors for the Youth Study was programmed in STATA SE 8.2. This procedure uses the Taylor linearisation method for variance estimation for survey estimates that are means, proportions or ratios.

The Taylor linearisation method treats any percentage or average as a ratio estimate. Let $r = y/x$ be our sample estimate of the population ratio (mean or percentage) denoted by $R = Y/X$, where y represents the total sample value for variable Y, and x represents the total number of sample cases in the group or sub-group

under consideration. Using first order Taylor expansion, it can be shown that the approximate variance of distribution of *r* (square root of which is the standard error) is as below:

$$Var(r) = \frac{1-f}{x^2} \sum_{h=1}^{L} \left[\frac{n_h}{n_h - 1} \left(\sum_{i=1}^{n_h} z_{hi}^2 - \frac{z_h^2}{n_h} \right) \right]$$

in which $z_{hi} = y_{hi} - rx_{hi}$ and $z_h = y_h - rx_h$

where
- h represents the sampling stratum which varies from 1 to L,
- n_h is the number of PSUs selected in the h^{th} stratum,
- y_{hi} is the sum of the weighted values of variable Y in the i^{th} PSU in the h^{th} stratum,
- x_{hi} is the sum of the weighted number of cases in the i^{th} PSU in the h^{th} stratum,
- f is the overall sampling fraction, which is so small that it is ignored.

In addition to the standard error, the design effect (DEFT) for each estimate was also computed, which is defined as the ratio between the standard error using the given sample design and the standard error that would result if a simple random sample had been used (Kish, 1995) represented by the following simple formula:

$$DEFT = \sqrt{\frac{Var(r)}{Var_{srswr}(r_{srs})}}$$

where Var(r) is a design-based estimate of variance for the parameter r,
$Var_{srswr}(r_{srs})$ is an estimate of the variance for an estimator r_{srs} that would be obtained from a similar hypothetical survey conducted using simple random sampling (srs) with replacement (wr).

A DEFT value of 1.0 indicates that the sample design is as efficient as a simple random sample, while a value greater than 1.0 indicates the increase in the sampling error due to the use of a more complex and less statistically efficient design. Relative standard error (SE/R) and 95% confidence limits for each estimate were also computed.

Sampling errors for the Youth Study were calculated for selected variables and results are presented in this appendix for each sex and marital status sub-group of respondents for the state as a whole, and for those in urban and rural areas, respectively. For each variable, the type of statistic (mean, proportion or ratio) and the base population are given in Table B.1. Table B.2 presents the value of the statistic (R), its standard error (SE), the number of unweighted (N) and weighted (WN) cases, the design effect (DEFT), the relative standard error (SE/R) and the 95% confidence limits, for each variable.

Table B.1: List of selected variables for sampling errors

Variables	Estimates	Base Population
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males)	Ratio	*De jure* household population, all ages
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males)	Ratio	*De jure* household population, aged 0–6
Currently married, including married but not yet cohabiting	Proportion	*De jure* household population, aged 20–24
No education	Proportion	*De jure* household population, aged 6 or above
No education	Proportion	Young men and women
Completed 12 or more years of education	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever worked in last 12 months	Proportion	Young men and women
Unemployed	Proportion	Young men and women in labour force
Discussed friendships with father	Proportion	Young men and women whose father was alive at the time of interview
Discussed friendships with mother	Proportion	Young men and women whose mother was alive at the time of interview
Independently makes decisions on choice of friends, spending money and buying clothes for oneself	Proportion	Young men and women
Can visit places outside village or neighbourhood unescorted	Proportion	Young men and women
Has savings of any amount	Proportion	Young men and women
Justified wife beating in at least one situation	Proportion	Young men and women
Awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters	Proportion	Young men and women
Correct specific knowledge of at least one contraceptive method	Proportion	Young men and women
Correct specific knowledge of condoms	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever heard of HIV/AIDS	Proportion	Young men and women
Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever heard of STIs other than HIV	Proportion	Young men and women
Correct knowledge of the conditions under which abortion is legal	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever received family life or sex education	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever had an opposite-sex romantic partner	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever had sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever had pre-marital sex	Proportion	Young men and women
Used condom consistently in pre-marital relations	Proportion	Young men and women who reported pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview
Ever communicated with spouse on contraception	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Husband ever forced wife to have sex	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Husband ever perpetrated physical violence on wife	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Husband ever perpetrated physical violence on wife in last 12 months	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Currently using any modern contraceptive method	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
First delivery in a health institution	Proportion	Married young men and women whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or stillbirth

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Table B.1: (Cont'd)

Variables	Estimates	Base Population
Mean number of children ever born	Mean	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Mean number of children surviving	Mean	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Mean ideal number of children	Mean	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting and gave a numeric response
Experienced 3 or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the interview	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever consumed alcohol	Proportion	Young men and women
Participated in a government- /NGO-sponsored programme in the 3 years preceding the interview	Proportion	Young men and women
Voted in last election	Proportion	Young men and women, aged 20 or above

Table B.2: Sampling errors

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males, *de jure* household population, all ages)								
Combined	0.9916	0.0028	425,715	414,010	1.7524	0.0028	0.9860	0.9971
Urban	0.9558	0.0040	176,174	113,439	1.6032	0.0042	0.9480	0.9636
Rural	1.0051	0.0036	249,541	300,570	1.7121	0.0036	0.9980	1.0121
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males, *de jure* household population, aged 0–6)								
Combined	0.9204	0.0065	64,268	63,637	1.2389	0.0071	0.9077	0.9332
Urban	0.9074	0.0110	22,962	13,760	1.1882	0.0121	0.8859	0.9289
Rural	0.9240	0.0077	41,306	49,877	1.1757	0.0084	0.9089	0.9392
Currently married, including married but not yet cohabiting (*de jure* household population, aged 20–24)								
Combined								
Male	0.3012	0.0048	36,317	33,816	2.0091	0.0161	0.2918	0.3107
Female	0.7628	0.0042	37,961	36,700	1.9018	0.0054	0.7546	0.7709
Urban								
Male	0.1650	0.0053	16,683	11,011	1.8517	0.0323	0.1545	0.1754
Female	0.5916	0.0078	16,345	10,641	2.0401	0.0133	0.5762	0.6070
Rural								
Male	0.3670	0.0066	19,634	22,805	1.9300	0.0181	0.3540	0.3801
Female	0.8327	0.0048	21,616	26,059	1.8744	0.0057	0.8233	0.8420
No education (*de jure* household population, aged 6 or above)								
Combined								
Male	0.2549	0.0031	371,567	360,265	4.3011	0.0121	0.2488	0.2609
Female	0.4712	0.0035	363,114	361,408	4.2465	0.0075	0.4643	0.4781
Urban								
Male	0.1198	0.0035	156,894	101,814	4.2388	0.0290	0.1130	0.1266
Female	0.2608	0.0053	148,902	97,880	4.6417	0.0203	0.2504	0.2712
Rural								
Male	0.3080	0.0041	214,673	258,451	4.0884	0.0132	0.3001	0.3160
Female	0.5494	0.0044	214,212	263,528	4.0984	0.0080	0.5407	0.5580

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
No education (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.0843	0.0049	14,281	14,434	2.1154	0.0584	0.0746	0.0939
W (15–24)	0.2525	0.0085	31,274	31,273	3.4653	0.0337	0.2358	0.2692
MM (15–29)	0.1883	0.0094	8,052	8,052	2.1630	0.0501	0.1698	0.2068
MW (15–24)	0.3807	0.0108	13,912	13,912	2.6266	0.0284	0.3595	0.4019
UM (15–24)	0.0556	0.0040	11,522	11,522	1.8716	0.0719	0.0478	0.0635
UW (15–24)	0.1027	0.0055	17,362	17,362	2.3935	0.0537	0.0919	0.1135
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.0366	0.0033	7,483	4,367	1.5312	0.0909	0.0300	0.0431
W (15–24)	0.0864	0.0052	13,976	9,218	2.2069	0.0607	0.0762	0.0968
MM (15–29)	0.0858	0.0068	3,590	1,925	1.4625	0.0797	0.0724	0.0992
MW (15–24)	0.1614	0.0088	5,950	3,061	1.8462	0.0546	0.1441	0.1787
UM (15–24)	0.0258	0.0027	6,435	3,838	1.3514	0.1035	0.0206	0.0311
UW (15–24)	0.0357	0.0033	8,026	6,157	1.6099	0.0934	0.0292	0.0423
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1050	0.0068	6,798	10,066	1.8164	0.0643	0.0917	0.1182
W (15–24)	0.3218	0.0110	17,298	22,056	3.0879	0.0341	0.3003	0.3434
MM (15–29)	0.2205	0.0118	4,462	6,127	1.8965	0.0534	0.1974	0.2436
MW (15–24)	0.4426	0.0127	7,962	10,851	2.2733	0.0286	0.4178	0.4674
UM (15–24)	0.0705	0.0058	5,087	7,684	1.6137	0.0822	0.0591	0.0819
UW (15–24)	0.1394	0.0081	9,336	11,205	2.2618	0.0581	0.1236	0.1554
Completed 12 or more years of education (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1942	0.0057	14,281	14,434	1.7227	0.0294	0.1830	0.2054
W (15–24)	0.1426	0.0049	31,274	31,273	2.4837	0.0344	0.1330	0.1522
MM (15–29)	0.1556	0.0071	8,052	8,052	1.7529	0.0455	0.1418	0.1695
MW (15–24)	0.0785	0.0037	13,912	13,912	1.6075	0.0467	0.0713	0.0857
UM (15–24)	0.2141	0.0062	11,522	11,522	1.6182	0.0289	0.2020	0.2262
UW (15–24)	0.2123	0.0067	17,362	17,362	2.1592	0.0316	0.1991	0.2254
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.2980	0.0105	7,483	4,367	1.9919	0.0353	0.2773	0.3186
W (15–24)	0.2886	0.0101	13,976	9,218	2.6227	0.0348	0.2689	0.3083
MM (15–29)	0.2524	0.0137	3,590	1,925	1.8864	0.0542	0.2257	0.2794
MW (15–24)	0.1889	0.0101	5,950	3,061	1.9981	0.0537	0.1690	0.2088
UM (15–24)	0.3170	0.0109	6,435	3,838	1.8709	0.0342	0.2958	0.3383
UW (15–24)	0.3562	0.0106	8,026	6,157	1.9903	0.0299	0.3354	0.3771
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1492	0.0064	6,798	10,066	1.4800	0.0429	0.1366	0.1617
W (15–24)	0.0816	0.0043	17,298	22,056	2.0845	0.0532	0.0731	0.0901
MM (15–29)	0.1252	0.0081	4,462	6,127	1.6405	0.0649	0.1093	0.1412
MW (15–24)	0.0474	0.0033	7,962	10,851	1.3830	0.0695	0.0409	0.0539
UM (15–24)	0.1627	0.0071	5,087	7,684	1.3789	0.0439	0.1487	0.1767
UW (15–24)	0.1331	0.0071	9,336	11,205	2.0083	0.0530	0.1193	0.1470

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever worked in last 12 months (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.6763	0.0074	14,281	14,434	1.8811	0.0109	0.6619	0.6908
W (15–24)	0.4003	0.0083	31,274	31,273	2.9953	0.0207	0.3841	0.4166
MM (15–29)	0.9680	0.0028	8,052	8,052	1.4132	0.0029	0.9625	0.9734
MW (15–24)	0.4319	0.0107	13,912	13,912	2.5477	0.0248	0.4109	0.4529
UM (15–24)	0.6078	0.0081	11,522	11,522	1.7764	0.0133	0.5920	0.6237
UW (15–24)	0.3689	0.0083	17,362	17,362	2.2800	0.0226	0.3525	0.3853
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.5935	0.0104	7,483	4,368	1.8241	0.0175	0.5731	0.6138
W (15–24)	0.2068	0.0076	13,976	9,218	2.2181	0.0368	0.1919	0.2217
MM (15–29)	0.9821	0.0024	3,590	1,925	1.0749	0.0024	0.9774	0.9867
MW (15–24)	0.1739	0.0094	5,950	3,061	1.9137	0.0541	0.1555	0.1923
UM (15–24)	0.5412	0.0105	6,435	3,838	1.6828	0.0193	0.5207	0.5617
UW (15–24)	0.2291	0.0089	8,026	6,157	1.8949	0.0388	0.2116	0.2465
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.7123	0.0093	6,798	10,066	1.6886	0.0130	0.6941	0.7305
W (15–24)	0.4812	0.0104	17,298	22,056	2.7410	0.0216	0.4608	0.5016
MM (15–29)	0.9635	0.0036	4,462	6,127	1.2663	0.0037	0.9566	0.9705
MW (15–24)	0.5047	0.0126	7,962	10,851	2.2402	0.0249	0.4801	0.5294
UM (15–24)	0.6411	0.0107	5,087	7,684	1.5963	0.0167	0.6200	0.6621
UW (15–24)	0.4457	0.0112	9,336	11,205	2.1708	0.0251	0.4238	0.4676
Unemployed (young men and women in labour force)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1409	0.0068	8,275	8,683	1.7719	0.0481	0.1276	0.1542
W (15–24)	0.1599	0.0081	7,404	8,672	1.8914	0.0504	0.1441	0.1757
MM (15–29)	0.0482	0.0049	7,421	7,395	1.9544	0.1009	0.0386	0.0577
MW (15–24)	0.1462	0.0102	3,424	4,142	1.6859	0.0696	0.1262	0.1661
UM (15–24)	0.1740	0.0084	5,873	6,135	1.6889	0.0480	0.1576	0.1904
UW (15–24)	0.1779	0.0091	3,980	4,423	1.5014	0.0512	0.1601	0.1958
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.1276	0.0083	4,236	2,554	1.6264	0.0654	0.1112	0.1439
W (15–24)	0.2289	0.0139	2,541	1,790	1.6689	0.0608	0.2016	0.2562
MM (15–29)	0.0176	0.0030	3,429	1,867	1.3293	0.1695	0.0118	0.0235
MW (15–24)	0.2670	0.0213	985	509	1.5112	0.0798	0.2252	0.3088
UM (15–24)	0.1510	0.0099	3,276	2,047	1.5751	0.0653	0.1317	0.1704
UW (15–24)	0.2088	0.0154	1,556	1,312	1.4979	0.0739	0.1785	0.2391
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1465	0.0089	4,039	6,129	1.6063	0.0610	0.1290	0.1640
W (15–24)	0.1419	0.0094	4,863	6,883	1.8725	0.0660	0.1235	0.1603
MM (15–29)	0.0585	0.0064	3,992	5,528	1.7100	0.1086	0.0460	0.0709
MW (15–24)	0.1292	0.0111	2,439	3,633	1.6347	0.0859	0.1074	0.1510
UM (15–24)	0.1854	0.0115	2,597	4,088	1.5021	0.0618	0.1630	0.2080
UW (15–24)	0.1649	0.0112	2,424	3,111	1.4797	0.0676	0.1431	0.1868

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Discussed school performance with father (young men and women whose father was alive at the time of interview)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.6665	0.0079	12,462	12,691	1.8704	0.0119	0.6509	0.6819
W (15–24)	0.5556	0.0072	27,398	27,278	2.4078	0.0130	0.5413	0.5697
MM (15–29)	0.5274	0.0105	6,201	6,301	1.6506	0.0198	0.5069	0.5479
MW (15–24)	0.4430	0.0084	11,660	11,751	1.8157	0.0189	0.4266	0.4594
UM (15–24)	0.7002	0.0077	10,182	10,239	1.6953	0.0110	0.6851	0.7153
UW (15–24)	0.6771	0.0071	15,738	15,717	1.9179	0.0106	0.6631	0.6912
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.7076	0.0132	6,480	3,793	2.3388	0.0187	0.6817	0.7335
W (15–24)	0.6835	0.0087	12,197	8,023	2.0667	0.0127	0.6664	0.7006
MM (15–29)	0.5479	0.0187	2,684	1,437	1.9463	0.0341	0.5113	0.5846
MW (15–24)	0.5753	0.0112	4,937	2,533	1.5979	0.0195	0.5532	0.5973
UM (15–24)	0.7293	0.0122	5,648	3,371	2.0631	0.0167	0.7054	0.7533
UW (15–24)	0.7510	0.0087	7,260	5,539	1.7166	0.0116	0.7339	0.7681
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.6489	0.0098	5,982	8,898	1.5829	0.0151	0.6297	0.6680
W (15–24)	0.5021	0.0091	15,201	19,254	2.2340	0.0180	0.4844	0.5199
MM (15–29)	0.5213	0.0124	3,517	4,864	1.4758	0.0238	0.4970	0.5457
MW (15–24)	0.4066	0.0098	6,723	9,218	1.6420	0.0242	0.3873	0.4259
UM (15–24)	0.6859	0.0098	4,535	6,868	1.4232	0.0143	0.6667	0.7051
UW (15–24)	0.6369	0.0097	8,478	10,178	1.8565	0.0152	0.6179	0.6560
Discussed school performance with mother (young men and women whose mother was alive at the time of interview)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.5941	0.0087	13,708	13,887	2.0854	0.0147	0.5770	0.6113
W (15–24)	0.6223	0.0077	29,616	29,619	2.7185	0.0123	0.6073	0.6373
MM (15–29)	0.4437	0.0109	7,282	7,275	1.8728	0.0246	0.4223	0.4651
MW (15–24)	0.5117	0.0091	12,843	12,914	2.0651	0.0178	0.4939	0.5296
UM (15–24)	0.6324	0.0087	11,141	11,180	1.9017	0.0137	0.6154	0.6495
UW (15–24)	0.7441	0.0068	16,773	16,827	2.0222	0.0092	0.7308	0.7575
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.6353	0.0152	7,189	4,221	2.6751	0.0239	0.6055	0.6651
W (15–24)	0.7730	0.0080	13,262	8,837	2.1874	0.0103	0.7574	0.7886
MM (15–29)	0.4545	0.0182	3,245	1,750	2.0846	0.0401	0.4187	0.4902
MW (15–24)	0.6737	0.0112	5,482	2,857	1.7652	0.0166	0.6517	0.6956
UM (15–24)	0.6640	0.0145	6,215	3,725	2.4177	0.0218	0.6356	0.6924
UW (15–24)	0.8374	0.0069	7,780	6,009	1.6505	0.0082	0.8239	0.8510
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.5762	0.0107	6,519	9,665	1.7462	0.0185	0.5552	0.5971
W (15–24)	0.5582	0.0096	16,354	20,782	2.4836	0.0173	0.5393	0.5771
MM (15–29)	0.4403	0.0132	4,037	5,525	1.6863	0.0299	0.4145	0.4661
MW (15–24)	0.4657	0.0107	7,361	10,057	1.8421	0.0230	0.4447	0.4867
UM (15–24)	0.6167	0.0109	4,926	7,455	1.5669	0.0176	0.5954	0.6380
UW (15–24)	0.6923	0.0095	8,993	10,818	1.9506	0.0137	0.6737	0.7109

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Independently makes decisions about choice of friends, spending money and buying clothes for oneself (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.5641	0.0070	14,281	14,434	1.6839	0.0124	0.5504	0.5778
W (15–24)	0.2686	0.0053	31,274	31,273	2.1230	0.0198	0.2582	0.2790
MM (15–29)	0.7657	0.0076	8,052	8,052	1.6074	0.0099	0.7509	0.7806
MW (15–24)	0.2528	0.0063	13,912	13,912	1.7002	0.0248	0.2405	0.2651
UM (15–24)	0.5258	0.0079	11,522	11,522	1.6994	0.0150	0.5103	0.5414
UW (15–24)	0.2836	0.0067	17,362	17,362	1.9467	0.0235	0.2705	0.2967
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.6325	0.0095	7,483	4,367	1.7052	0.0150	0.6138	0.6511
W (15–24)	0.3457	0.0094	13,976	9,218	2.3276	0.0271	0.3274	0.3641
MM (15–29)	0.8275	0.0106	3,590	1,925	1.6799	0.0128	0.8067	0.8482
MW (15–24)	0.3156	0.0108	5,950	3,061	1.7968	0.0343	0.2944	0.3369
UM (15–24)	0.6094	0.0100	6,435	3,838	1.6437	0.0164	0.5898	0.6290
UW (15–24)	0.3661	0.0109	8,026	6,157	2.0281	0.0298	0.3447	0.3875
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.5344	0.0089	6,798	10,066	1.4647	0.0166	0.5170	0.5518
W (15–24)	0.2364	0.0063	17,298	22,056	1.9368	0.0265	0.2241	0.2486
MM (15–29)	0.7463	0.0092	4,462	6,127	1.4114	0.0123	0.7283	0.7644
MW (15–24)	0.2351	0.0074	7,962	10,851	1.5502	0.0313	0.2206	0.2495
UM (15–24)	0.4841	0.0103	5,087	7,684	1.4734	0.0213	0.4639	0.5044
UW (15–24)	0.2383	0.0080	9,336	11,205	1.8208	0.0337	0.2225	0.2540
Can visit any place outside village or neighbourhood unescorted (young men and women)								
Combined								
W (15–24)	0.2368	0.0057	31,274	31,273	2.3673	0.0240	0.2257	0.2480
MW (15–24)	0.2131	0.0061	13,912	13,912	1.7526	0.0286	0.2012	0.2251
UM (15–24)	0.8171	0.0065	11,522	11,522	1.8181	0.0080	0.8042	0.8299
UW (15–24)	0.2607	0.0071	17,362	17,362	2.1266	0.0272	0.2468	0.2746
Urban								
W (15–24)	0.3323	0.0104	13,976	9,218	2.6003	0.0312	0.3119	0.3526
MW (15–24)	0.2964	0.0115	5,950	3,061	1.9433	0.0388	0.2738	0.3190
UM (15–24)	0.8478	0.0082	6,435	3,838	1.8251	0.0096	0.8318	0.8638
UW (15–24)	0.3566	0.0119	8,026	6,157	2.2291	0.0334	0.3332	0.3800
Rural								
W (15–24)	0.1969	0.0063	17,298	22,056	2.0697	0.0318	0.1847	0.2092
MW (15–24)	0.1896	0.0068	7,962	10,851	1.5576	0.0361	0.1762	0.2031
UM (15–24)	0.8017	0.0089	5,087	7,684	1.5918	0.0111	0.7842	0.8191
UW (15–24)	0.2080	0.0080	9,336	11,205	1.8988	0.0384	0.1923	0.2236

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Has savings of any amount (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.2290	0.0061	14,281	14,434	1.7452	0.0268	0.2170	0.2411
W (15–24)	0.3643	0.0068	31,274	31,273	2.5085	0.0187	0.3509	0.3777
MM (15–29)	0.3507	0.0101	8,052	8,052	1.9068	0.0289	0.3308	0.3706
MW (15–24)	0.3556	0.0086	13,912	13,912	2.1293	0.0243	0.3385	0.3724
UM (15–24)	0.2111	0.0061	11,522	11,522	1.5988	0.0288	0.1992	0.2230
UW (15–24)	0.3706	0.0073	17,362	17,362	1.9962	0.0197	0.3563	0.3850
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.2729	0.0091	7,483	4,367	1.7671	0.0334	0.2550	0.2907
W (15–24)	0.4322	0.0100	13,976	9,218	2.3853	0.0231	0.4126	0.4518
MM (15–29)	0.4698	0.0160	3,590	1,925	1.9164	0.0340	0.4385	0.5011
MW (15–24)	0.3883	0.0116	5,950	3,061	1.8356	0.0299	0.3656	0.4111
UM (15–24)	0.2547	0.0092	6,435	3,838	1.6877	0.0360	0.2367	0.2726
UW (15–24)	0.4620	0.0111	8,026	6,157	1.9956	0.0240	0.4402	0.4838
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.2100	0.0079	6,798	10,066	1.5983	0.0376	0.1945	0.2255
W (15–24)	0.3360	0.0087	17,298	22,056	2.4106	0.0258	0.3190	0.3529
MM (15–29)	0.3133	0.0122	4,462	6,127	1.7551	0.0389	0.2894	0.3372
MW (15–24)	0.3462	0.0106	7,962	10,851	1.9885	0.0306	0.3254	0.3670
UM (15–24)	0.1893	0.0079	5,087	7,684	1.4360	0.0417	0.1739	0.2048
UW (15–24)	0.3205	0.0091	9,336	11,205	1.8899	0.0285	0.3026	0.3384
Justified wife beating in at least one situation (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.5425	0.0091	14,281	14,434	2.1808	0.0168	0.5247	0.5604
W (15–24)	0.5811	0.0078	31,274	31,273	2.8085	0.0135	0.5657	0.5964
MM (15–29)	0.5510	0.0105	8,052	8,052	1.9029	0.0191	0.5303	0.5716
MW (15–24)	0.6181	0.0090	13,912	13,912	2.1787	0.0145	0.6005	0.6357
UM (15–24)	0.5381	0.0095	11,522	11,522	2.0491	0.0177	0.5194	0.5567
UW (15–24)	0.5423	0.0084	17,362	17,362	2.2329	0.0156	0.5258	0.5589
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.4427	0.0130	7,483	4,367	2.2556	0.0293	0.4173	0.4681
W (15–24)	0.4667	0.0110	13,976	9,218	2.6122	0.0236	0.4450	0.4883
MM (15–29)	0.4417	0.0141	3,590	1,925	1.7067	0.0320	0.4139	0.4694
MW (15–24)	0.5267	0.0126	5,950	3,061	1.9445	0.0239	0.5020	0.5514
UM (15–24)	0.4382	0.0136	6,435	3,838	2.1951	0.0310	0.4116	0.4649
UW (15–24)	0.4259	0.0116	8,026	6,157	2.1095	0.0273	0.4031	0.4487
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.5858	0.0115	6,798	10,066	1.9304	0.0197	0.5632	0.6085
W (15–24)	0.6289	0.0096	17,298	22,056	2.6155	0.0153	0.6100	0.6477
MM (15–29)	0.5853	0.0130	4,462	6,127	1.7623	0.0222	0.5598	0.6108
MW (15–24)	0.6439	0.0108	7,962	10,851	2.0166	0.0168	0.6226	0.6651
UM (15–24)	0.5879	0.0122	5,087	7,684	1.7682	0.0208	0.5640	0.6118
UW (15–24)	0.6063	0.0104	9,336	11,205	2.0665	0.0172	0.5858	0.6268

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.0792	0.0040	14,281	14,434	1.7678	0.0504	0.0714	0.0871
W (15–24)	0.0658	0.0025	31,274	31,273	1.7475	0.0372	0.0610	0.0706
MM (15–29)	0.1218	0.0061	8,052	8,052	1.6770	0.0502	0.1098	0.1338
MW (15–24)	0.0882	0.0038	13,912	13,912	1.5753	0.0429	0.0808	0.0957
UM (15–24)	0.0753	0.0042	11,522	11,522	1.6932	0.0553	0.0672	0.0835
UW (15–24)	0.0388	0.0024	17,362	17,362	1.6496	0.0623	0.0340	0.0435
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.1325	0.0076	7,483	4,367	1.9384	0.0574	0.1176	0.1473
W (15–24)	0.0879	0.0040	13,976	9,218	1.6610	0.0453	0.0801	0.0957
MM (15–29)	0.2303	0.0133	3,590	1,925	1.8872	0.0576	0.2043	0.2564
MW (15–24)	0.1464	0.0073	5,950	3,061	1.5852	0.0496	0.1322	0.1607
UM (15–24)	0.1239	0.0077	6,435	3,838	1.8795	0.0623	0.1088	0.1391
UW (15–24)	0.0482	0.0039	8,026	6,157	1.6335	0.0810	0.0405	0.0558
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.0561	0.0044	6,798	10,066	1.5733	0.0782	0.0475	0.0648
W (15–24)	0.0566	0.0030	17,298	22,056	1.6897	0.0525	0.0508	0.0624
MM (15–29)	0.0877	0.0063	4,462	6,127	1.4971	0.0723	0.0753	0.1001
MW (15–24)	0.0718	0.0042	7,962	10,851	1.4507	0.0585	0.0636	0.0800
UM (15–24)	0.0511	0.0046	5,087	7,684	1.4968	0.0905	0.0420	0.0601
UW (15–24)	0.0336	0.0030	9,336	11,205	1.6348	0.0908	0.0276	0.0396
Correct specific knowledge of at least one contraceptive method (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.7799	0.0072	14,281	14,434	2.0820	0.0093	0.7658	0.7941
W (15–24)	0.5041	0.0070	31,274	31,273	2.4594	0.0138	0.4904	0.5177
MM (15–29)	0.8556	0.0080	8,052	8,052	2.0314	0.0093	0.8400	0.8712
MW (15–24)	0.6092	0.0092	13,912	13,912	2.2333	0.0152	0.5911	0.6274
UM (15–24)	0.7673	0.0077	11,522	11,522	1.9533	0.0100	0.7523	0.7824
UW (15–24)	0.3750	0.0076	17,362	17,362	2.0691	0.0203	0.3601	0.3899
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.8418	0.0074	7,483	4,367	1.7608	0.0088	0.8272	0.8563
W (15–24)	0.5659	0.0098	13,976	9,218	2.3486	0.0174	0.5466	0.5852
MM (15–29)	0.9367	0.0072	3,590	1,925	1.7702	0.0077	0.9226	0.9508
MW (15–24)	0.7172	0.0129	5,950	3,061	2.2081	0.0180	0.6919	0.7425
UM (15–24)	0.8312	0.0078	6,435	3,838	1.6791	0.0094	0.8159	0.8466
UW (15–24)	0.4632	0.0120	8,026	6,157	2.1569	0.0259	0.4397	0.4868
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.7531	0.0096	6,798	10,066	1.8427	0.0128	0.7342	0.7720
W (15–24)	0.4782	0.0089	17,298	22,056	2.3345	0.0185	0.4608	0.4956
MM (15–29)	0.8301	0.0100	4,462	6,127	1.7727	0.0120	0.8106	0.8497
MW (15–24)	0.5788	0.0111	7,962	10,851	2.0061	0.0192	0.5570	0.6005
UM (15–24)	0.7354	0.0106	5,087	7,684	1.7170	0.0144	0.7146	0.7562
UW (15–24)	0.3265	0.0093	9,336	11,205	1.9259	0.0286	0.3081	0.3448

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Correct specific knowledge of condoms (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.7642	0.0076	14,281	14,434	2.1313	0.0099	0.7493	0.7790
W (15–24)	0.3035	0.0061	31,274	31,273	2.3450	0.0201	0.2916	0.3155
MM (15–29)	0.8321	0.0085	8,052	8,052	2.0482	0.0103	0.8154	0.8488
MW (15–24)	0.3713	0.0085	13,912	13,912	2.0826	0.0230	0.3546	0.3881
UM (15–24)	0.7531	0.0080	11,522	11,522	1.9804	0.0106	0.7375	0.7687
UW (15–24)	0.2197	0.0063	17,362	17,362	2.0002	0.0286	0.2074	0.2321
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.8332	0.0077	7,483	4,367	1.7879	0.0092	0.8181	0.8483
W (15–24)	0.3706	0.0093	13,976	9,218	2.2798	0.0251	0.3524	0.3889
MM (15–29)	0.9274	0.0075	3,590	1,925	1.7361	0.0081	0.9126	0.9421
MW (15–24)	0.4902	0.0129	5,950	3,061	1.9827	0.0262	0.4650	0.5154
UM (15–24)	0.8230	0.0081	6,435	3,838	1.7020	0.0098	0.8071	0.8389
UW (15–24)	0.2895	0.0107	8,026	6,157	2.1065	0.0368	0.2685	0.3104
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.7342	0.0101	6,798	10,066	1.8840	0.0137	0.7145	0.7540
W (15–24)	0.2755	0.0076	17,298	22,056	2.2396	0.0276	0.2606	0.2904
MM (15–29)	0.8022	0.0106	4,462	6,127	1.7852	0.0133	0.7813	0.8231
MW (15–24)	0.3378	0.0101	7,962	10,851	1.9126	0.0300	0.3179	0.3577
UM (15–24)	0.7182	0.0110	5,087	7,684	1.7380	0.0153	0.6967	0.7397
UW (15–24)	0.1814	0.0075	9,336	11,205	1.8817	0.0414	0.1667	0.1962
Ever heard of HIV/AIDS (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.9073	0.0053	14,281	14,434	2.1657	0.0058	0.8970	0.9176
W (15–24)	0.7246	0.0090	31,274	31,273	3.5558	0.0124	0.7070	0.7422
MM (15–29)	0.8814	0.0078	8,052	8,052	2.1643	0.0088	0.8662	0.8967
MW (15–24)	0.6577	0.0108	13,912	13,912	2.6834	0.0164	0.6365	0.6789
UM (15–24)	0.9172	0.0052	11,522	11,522	2.0259	0.0057	0.9070	0.9274
UW (15–24)	0.7987	0.0084	17,362	17,362	2.7565	0.0105	0.7823	0.8152
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.9662	0.0033	7,483	4,367	1.5931	0.0034	0.9597	0.9727
W (15–24)	0.9022	0.0074	13,976	9,218	2.9426	0.0082	0.8877	0.9167
MM (15–29)	0.9579	0.0058	3,590	1,925	1.7238	0.0060	0.9466	0.9693
MW (15–24)	0.8709	0.0086	5,950	3,061	1.9720	0.0098	0.8541	0.8877
UM (15–24)	0.9690	0.0031	6,435	3,838	1.4573	0.0032	0.9628	0.9752
UW (15–24)	0.9234	0.0075	8,026	6,157	2.5425	0.0082	0.9086	0.9382
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.8817	0.0073	6,798	10,066	1.8635	0.0083	0.8674	0.8960
W (15–24)	0.6504	0.0115	17,298	22,056	3.1793	0.0177	0.6278	0.6730
MM (15–29)	0.8574	0.0100	4,462	6,127	1.9188	0.0117	0.8377	0.8771
MW (15–24)	0.5976	0.0128	7,962	10,851	2.3329	0.0215	0.5724	0.6227
UM (15–24)	0.8913	0.0075	5,087	7,684	1.7264	0.0085	0.8765	0.9061
UW (15–24)	0.7302	0.0118	9,336	11,205	2.5704	0.0162	0.7071	0.7534

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.4539	0.0088	14,281	14,434	2.1085	0.0194	0.4367	0.4711
W (15–24)	0.2839	0.0065	31,274	31,273	2.5465	0.0229	0.2712	0.2966
MM (15–29)	0.4178	0.0098	8,052	8,052	1.7887	0.0235	0.3986	0.4371
MW (15–24)	0.2387	0.0069	13,912	13,912	1.9115	0.0289	0.2252	0.2523
UM (15–24)	0.4713	0.0092	11,522	11,522	1.9836	0.0196	0.4532	0.4894
UW (15–24)	0.3326	0.0076	17,362	17,362	2.1344	0.0229	0.3177	0.3476
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.5871	0.0118	7,483	4,367	2.0718	0.0201	0.5639	0.6102
W (15–24)	0.4298	0.0104	13,976	9,218	2.4747	0.0241	0.4094	0.4501
MM (15–29)	0.5827	0.0147	3,590	1,925	1.7820	0.0252	0.5540	0.6115
MW (15–24)	0.4063	0.0119	5,950	3,061	1.8737	0.0294	0.3829	0.4297
UM (15–24)	0.5969	0.0119	6,435	3,838	1.9409	0.0199	0.5736	0.6202
UW (15–24)	0.4457	0.0116	8,026	6,157	2.0880	0.0260	0.4230	0.4684
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.3961	0.0109	6,798	10,066	1.8372	0.0275	0.3747	0.4175
W (15–24)	0.2229	0.0073	17,298	22,056	2.3066	0.0327	0.2086	0.2373
MM (15–29)	0.3660	0.0116	4,462	6,127	1.6086	0.0317	0.3433	0.3888
MW (15–24)	0.1914	0.0075	7,962	10,851	1.6964	0.0391	0.1768	0.2061
UM (15–24)	0.4085	0.0119	5,087	7,684	1.7193	0.0290	0.3853	0.4318
UW (15–24)	0.2706	0.0093	9,336	11,205	2.0290	0.0345	0.2522	0.2888
Ever heard of STIs other than HIV (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1895	0.0061	14,281	14,434	1.8700	0.0324	0.1775	0.2016
W (15–24)	0.1494	0.0047	31,274	31,273	2.3133	0.0312	0.1402	0.1585
MM (15–29)	0.2479	0.0088	8,052	8,052	1.8240	0.0354	0.2307	0.2651
MW (15–24)	0.1763	0.0065	13,912	13,912	2.0088	0.0368	0.1636	0.1890
UM (15–24)	0.1894	0.0065	11,522	11,522	1.7863	0.0344	0.1766	0.2022
UW (15–24)	0.1161	0.0042	17,362	17,362	1.7291	0.0362	0.1079	0.1244
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.2149	0.0096	7,483	4,367	2.0113	0.0444	0.1961	0.2336
W (15–24)	0.1618	0.0066	13,976	9,218	2.1267	0.0409	0.1489	0.1748
MM (15–29)	0.3034	0.0141	3,590	1,925	1.8439	0.0466	0.2757	0.3312
MW (15–24)	0.1896	0.0086	5,950	3,061	1.7008	0.0456	0.1727	0.2066
UM (15–24)	0.2142	0.0100	6,435	3,838	1.9571	0.0467	0.1946	0.2338
UW (15–24)	0.1430	0.0071	8,026	6,157	1.8177	0.0497	0.1291	0.1569
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1785	0.0077	6,798	10,066	1.6682	0.0434	0.1633	0.1937
W (15–24)	0.1442	0.0060	17,298	22,056	2.2494	0.0417	0.1324	0.1560
MM (15–29)	0.2304	0.0107	4,462	6,127	1.6898	0.0462	0.2095	0.2513
MW (15–24)	0.1725	0.0080	7,962	10,851	1.8804	0.0462	0.1569	0.1881
UM (15–24)	0.1770	0.0084	5,087	7,684	1.5692	0.0474	0.1605	0.1935
UW (15–24)	0.1014	0.0052	9,336	11,205	1.6496	0.0508	0.0913	0.1115

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Correct knowledge of the conditions under which abortion is legal (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.0682	0.0034	14,281	14,434	1.6179	0.0501	0.0615	0.0749
W (15–24)	0.0687	0.0030	31,274	31,273	2.0684	0.0431	0.0629	0.0745
MM (15–29)	0.0714	0.0043	8,052	8,052	1.5079	0.0606	0.0629	0.0799
MW (15–24)	0.0686	0.0036	13,912	13,912	1.6901	0.0528	0.0615	0.0757
UM (15–24)	0.0673	0.0037	11,522	11,522	1.5805	0.0548	0.0601	0.0745
UW (15–24)	0.0676	0.0033	17,362	17,362	1.7331	0.0488	0.0611	0.0741
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.0936	0.0064	7,483	4,367	1.8990	0.0683	0.0811	0.1062
W (15–24)	0.0973	0.0056	13,976	9,218	2.2209	0.0572	0.0863	0.1082
MM (15–29)	0.1075	0.0092	3,590	1,925	1.7751	0.0855	0.0893	0.1253
MW (15–24)	0.1054	0.0072	5,950	3,061	1.8195	0.0687	0.0912	0.1196
UM (15–24)	0.0934	0.0067	6,435	3,838	1.8599	0.0723	0.0801	0.1066
UW (15–24)	0.0918	0.0061	8,026	6,157	1.8824	0.0661	0.0799	0.1037
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.0571	0.0039	6,798	10,066	1.3999	0.0690	0.0494	0.0649
W (15–24)	0.0567	0.0034	17,298	22,056	1.9165	0.0594	0.0501	0.0633
MM (15–29)	0.0602	0.0048	4,462	6,127	1.3562	0.0803	0.0507	0.0696
MW (15–24)	0.0583	0.0041	7,962	10,851	1.5576	0.0702	0.0502	0.0663
UM (15–24)	0.0543	0.0043	5,087	7,684	1.3432	0.0786	0.0459	0.0626
UW (15–24)	0.0543	0.0037	9,336	11,205	1.5903	0.0687	0.0470	0.0616
Ever received family life or sex education (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1526	0.0058	14,281	14,434	1.9162	0.0378	0.1413	0.1639
W (15–24)	0.1463	0.0052	31,274	31,273	2.5803	0.0353	0.1362	0.1564
MM (15–29)	0.0784	0.0044	8,052	8,052	1.4681	0.0561	0.0698	0.0870
MW (15–24)	0.0734	0.0042	13,912	13,912	1.9091	0.0575	0.0652	0.0817
UM (15–24)	0.1740	0.0065	11,522	11,522	1.8280	0.0371	0.1614	0.1867
UW (15–24)	0.2299	0.0073	17,362	17,362	2.2712	0.0315	0.2157	0.2441
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.1664	0.0082	7,483	4,367	1.9095	0.0494	0.1503	0.1825
W (15–24)	0.2301	0.0096	13,976	9,218	2.6900	0.0416	0.2113	0.2489
MM (15–29)	0.0976	0.0072	3,590	1,925	1.4568	0.0739	0.0834	0.1117
MW (15–24)	0.1321	0.0083	5,950	3,061	1.8812	0.0625	0.1159	0.1483
UM (15–24)	0.1793	0.0089	6,435	3,838	1.8666	0.0498	0.1618	0.1968
UW (15–24)	0.2967	0.0116	8,026	6,157	2.2817	0.0392	0.2738	0.3195
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1466	0.0075	6,798	10,066	1.7369	0.0508	0.1320	0.1612
W (15–24)	0.1112	0.0057	17,298	22,056	2.3861	0.0513	0.1000	0.1224
MM (15–29)	0.0724	0.0053	4,462	6,127	1.3682	0.0733	0.0620	0.0828
MW (15–24)	0.0569	0.0047	7,962	10,851	1.8268	0.0834	0.0476	0.0662
UM (15–24)	0.1714	0.0086	5,087	7,684	1.6265	0.0501	0.1546	0.1883
UW (15–24)	0.1932	0.0089	9,336	11,205	2.1761	0.0460	0.1758	0.2107

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever had an opposite-sex romantic partner (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1872	0.0054	14,281	14,434	1.6483	0.0287	0.1767	0.1978
W (15–24)	0.0899	0.0030	31,274	31,273	1.8533	0.0333	0.0840	0.0958
MM (15–29)	0.1888	0.0062	8,052	8,052	1.4280	0.0330	0.1766	0.2010
MW (15–24)	0.0895	0.0040	13,912	13,912	1.6625	0.0450	0.0816	0.0974
UM (15–24)	0.1827	0.0057	11,522	11,522	1.5846	0.0312	0.1715	0.1939
UW (15–24)	0.0905	0.0032	17,362	17,362	1.4774	0.0355	0.0842	0.0968
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.1709	0.0068	7,483	4,367	1.5683	0.0399	0.1575	0.1843
W (15–24)	0.1088	0.0043	13,976	9,218	1.6512	0.0400	0.1002	0.1173
MM (15–29)	0.1904	0.0108	3,590	1,925	1.6406	0.0565	0.1693	0.2115
MW (15–24)	0.1393	0.0075	5,950	3,061	1.6708	0.0538	0.1246	0.1541
UM (15–24)	0.1664	0.0070	6,435	3,838	1.5126	0.0422	0.1527	0.1803
UW (15–24)	0.0880	0.0043	8,026	6,157	1.3626	0.0490	0.0796	0.0965
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1943	0.0071	6,798	10,066	1.4808	0.0366	0.1803	0.2082
W (15–24)	0.0820	0.0038	17,298	22,056	1.8128	0.0461	0.0746	0.0894
MM (15–29)	0.1883	0.0075	4,462	6,127	1.2738	0.0396	0.1737	0.2029
MW (15–24)	0.0754	0.0045	7,962	10,851	1.5171	0.0595	0.0666	0.0842
UM (15–24)	0.1908	0.0078	5,087	7,684	1.4117	0.0408	0.1755	0.2060
UW (15–24)	0.0919	0.0044	9,336	11,205	1.4666	0.0477	0.0833	0.1005
Ever had sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.0785	0.0040	14,281	14,434	1.7638	0.0506	0.0707	0.0863
W (15–24)	0.0221	0.0013	31,274	31,273	1.6030	0.0603	0.0195	0.0247
MM (15–29)	0.0938	0.0049	8,052	8,052	1.5147	0.0525	0.0841	0.1034
MW (15–24)	0.0243	0.0018	13,912	13,912	1.4135	0.0760	0.0206	0.0279
UM (15–24)	0.0717	0.0042	11,522	11,522	1.7381	0.0583	0.0635	0.0799
UW (15–24)	0.0199	0.0014	17,362	17,362	1.3104	0.0698	0.0172	0.0227
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.0509	0.0037	7,483	4,367	1.4425	0.0720	0.0437	0.0581
W (15–24)	0.0156	0.0015	13,976	9,218	1.4028	0.0943	0.0127	0.0185
MM (15–29)	0.0650	0.0063	3,590	1,925	1.5377	0.0974	0.0525	0.0774
MW (15–24)	0.0222	0.0027	5,950	3,061	1.3895	0.1197	0.0170	0.0274
UM (15–24)	0.0487	0.0037	6,435	3,838	1.3829	0.0762	0.0415	0.0560
UW (15–24)	0.0111	0.0014	8,026	6,157	1.2288	0.1294	0.0083	0.0139
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.0905	0.0054	6,798	10,066	1.5591	0.0599	0.0799	0.1012
W (15–24)	0.0248	0.0018	17,298	22,056	1.5104	0.0720	0.0213	0.0283
MM (15–29)	0.1028	0.0061	4,462	6,127	1.3436	0.0594	0.0908	0.1148
MW (15–24)	0.0249	0.0022	7,962	10,851	1.2868	0.0903	0.0205	0.0293
UM (15–24)	0.0832	0.0060	5,087	7,684	1.5369	0.0716	0.0715	0.0948
UW (15–24)	0.0248	0.0020	9,336	11,205	1.2365	0.0803	0.0209	0.0287

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever had pre-marital sex (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1482	0.0052	14,281	14,434	1.7377	0.0349	0.1381	0.1583
W (15–24)	0.0345	0.0018	31,274	31,273	1.7304	0.0517	0.0310	0.0380
MM (15–29)	0.2028	0.0069	8,052	8,052	1.5413	0.0341	0.1893	0.2164
MW (15–24)	0.0379	0.0024	13,912	13,912	1.4773	0.0631	0.0332	0.0426
UM (15–24)	0.1211	0.0051	11,522	11,522	1.6699	0.0419	0.1111	0.1310
UW (15–24)	0.0312	0.0019	17,362	17,362	1.4515	0.0614	0.0274	0.0350
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.1035	0.0055	7,483	4,367	1.5641	0.0532	0.0927	0.1143
W (15–24)	0.0230	0.0018	13,976	9,218	1.4384	0.0793	0.0194	0.0266
MM (15–29)	0.1570	0.0090	3,590	1,925	1.4878	0.0575	0.1393	0.1748
MW (15–24)	0.0320	0.0031	5,950	3,061	1.3765	0.0982	0.0258	0.0381
UM (15–24)	0.0910	0.0053	6,435	3,838	1.4805	0.0584	0.0805	0.1014
UW (15–24)	0.0169	0.0018	8,026	6,157	1.2571	0.1070	0.0134	0.0205
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1676	0.0069	6,798	10,066	1.5195	0.0411	0.1541	0.1811
W (15–24)	0.0393	0.0024	17,298	22,056	1.6293	0.0612	0.0346	0.0441
MM (15–29)	0.2172	0.0085	4,462	6,127	1.3740	0.0391	0.2005	0.2338
MW (15–24)	0.0395	0.0029	7,962	10,851	1.3467	0.0744	0.0338	0.0453
UM (15–24)	0.1361	0.0071	5,087	7,684	1.4673	0.0518	0.1223	0.1500
UW (15–24)	0.0390	0.0027	9,336	11,205	1.3716	0.0704	0.0337	0.0444
Used condoms consistently in pre-marital relations (young men and women who reported pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1269	0.0100	1,587	1,787	1.1980	0.0789	0.1073	0.1466
W (15–24)	0.0248	0.0058	821	792	1.0594	0.2320	0.0135	0.0361
MM (15–29)	0.1079	0.0123	1,281	1,336	1.4148	0.1137	0.0838	0.1319
MW (15–24)	0.0126	0.0064	429	389	1.2296	0.5478	0.0000	0.0241
UM (15–24)	0.1542	0.0143	986	1,147	1.2399	0.0925	0.1262	0.1822
UW (15–24)	0.0457	0.0108	392	393	1.0305	0.2409	0.0236	0.0658
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.2127	0.0208	635	354	1.2790	0.0977	0.1720	0.2535
W (15–24)	0.0185	0.0110	265	157	1.3306	0.5964	0.0000	0.0402
MM (15–29)	0.1856	0.0266	476	236	1.4872	0.1420	0.1353	0.2398
MW (15–24)	0.0004	0.0025	161	71	0.6362	1.0061	0.0000	0.0074
UM (15–24)	0.2434	0.0253	450	272	1.2493	0.1039	0.1940	0.2933
UW (15–24)	0.0381	0.0240	104	79	1.2735	0.6307	0.0000	0.0852
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1057	0.0114	952	1,433	1.1447	0.1080	0.0833	0.1281
W (15–24)	0.0263	0.0066	556	635	0.9747	0.2515	0.0133	0.0394
MM (15–29)	0.0908	0.0137	805	1,100	1.3501	0.1507	0.0639	0.1176
MW (15–24)	0.0134	0.0078	268	318	1.0938	0.5685	0.0000	0.0289
UM (15–24)	0.1265	0.0170	536	875	1.1818	0.1344	0.0930	0.1596
UW (15–24)	0.0476	0.0120	288	314	0.9694	0.2595	0.0228	0.0700

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever communicated with spouse on contraception (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	0.3410	0.0094	7,812	7,796	1.7547	0.0276	0.3225	0.3595
MW (15–24)	0.5454	0.0089	13,549	13,466	2.0706	0.0162	0.5280	0.5628
Urban								
MM (15–29)	0.4174	0.0152	3,516	1,887	1.8251	0.0364	0.3880	0.4476
MW (15–24)	0.5894	0.0129	5,831	3,023	1.9973	0.0218	0.5641	0.6146
Rural								
MM (15–29)	0.3165	0.0114	4,296	5,909	1.6114	0.0361	0.2940	0.3389
MW (15–24)	0.5324	0.0108	7,718	10,444	1.9059	0.0203	0.5115	0.5539
Husband ever forced wife to have sex (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	0.1670	0.0071	7,812	7,799	1.6790	0.0424	0.1531	0.1809
MW (15–24)	0.3221	0.0090	13,549	13,481	2.2374	0.0279	0.3045	0.3397
Urban								
MM (15–29)	0.1084	0.0086	3,516	1,890	1.6378	0.0792	0.0917	0.1254
MW (15–24)	0.2342	0.0089	5,831	3,023	1.6126	0.0382	0.2166	0.2517
Rural								
MM (15–29)	0.1857	0.0087	4,296	5,909	1.4734	0.0471	0.1685	0.2028
MW (15–24)	0.3474	0.0110	7,718	10,458	2.0363	0.0318	0.3259	0.3692
Husband ever perpetrated physical violence on wife (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	0.2389	0.0085	7,812	7,799	1.7641	0.0356	0.2222	0.2555
MW (15–24)	0.2530	0.0065	13,549	13,475	1.7408	0.0257	0.2402	0.2657
Urban								
MM (15–29)	0.1893	0.0101	3,516	1,890	1.5297	0.0534	0.1695	0.2091
MW (15–24)	0.2141	0.0085	5,831	3,023	1.5802	0.0397	0.1975	0.2308
Rural								
MM (15–29)	0.2547	0.0106	4,296	5,909	1.5959	0.0417	0.2339	0.2755
MW (15–24)	0.2642	0.0080	7,718	10,452	1.5914	0.0302	0.2486	0.2799
Husband ever perpetrated physical violence on wife in last 12 months (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	0.1752	0.0070	7,812	7,799	1.6248	0.0399	0.1615	0.1889
MW (15–24)	0.2088	0.0058	13,549	13,475	1.6470	0.0275	0.1975	0.2201
Urban								
MM (15–29)	0.1452	0.0091	3,516	1,890	1.5244	0.0624	0.1274	0.1629
MW (15–24)	0.1804	0.0077	5,831	3,023	1.5304	0.0427	0.1653	0.1956
Rural								
MM (15–29)	0.1848	0.0087	4,296	5,909	1.4686	0.0471	0.1678	0.2019
MW (15–24)	0.2170	0.0071	7,718	10,452	1.5054	0.0326	0.2032	0.2309

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Currently using any modern contraceptive method (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	0.1644	0.0073	7,812	7,799	1.7291	0.0441	0.1502	0.1787
MW (15–24)	0.1649	0.0053	13,549	13,475	1.6489	0.0319	0.1545	0.1752
Urban								
MM (15–29)	0.2146	0.0114	3,516	1,890	1.6484	0.0532	0.1923	0.2370
MW (15–24)	0.2308	0.0089	5,831	3,023	1.6175	0.0387	0.2133	0.2483
Rural								
MM (15–29)	0.1484	0.0088	4,296	5,909	1.6143	0.0590	0.1312	0.1655
MW (15–24)	0.1458	0.0061	7,718	10,452	1.5298	0.0422	0.1337	0.1578
First delivery in a health institution (married young men and women whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	0.4730	0.0133	5,190	5,184	1.9137	0.0280	0.4470	0.4991
MW (15–24)	0.5345	0.0118	9,196	9,204	2.2627	0.0220	0.5111	0.5572
Urban								
MM (15–29)	0.7172	0.0147	2,299	1,199	1.5649	0.0205	0.6884	0.7460
MW (15–24)	0.7808	0.0117	3,891	1,979	1.7658	0.0150	0.7578	0.8038
Rural								
MM (15–29)	0.3996	0.0154	2,891	3,986	1.6956	0.0387	0.3693	0.4299
MW (15–24)	0.4676	0.0136	5,305	7,224	1.9849	0.0291	0.4399	0.4932
Mean number of children ever born (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	1.2010	0.0189	8,052	8,052	1.5103	0.0157	1.1640	1.2380
MW (15–24)	1.2439	0.0144	13,912	13,912	1.5523	0.0116	1.2157	1.2721
Urban								
MM (15–29)	1.0442	0.0265	3,590	1,925	1.5868	0.0254	0.9923	1.0962
MW (15–24)	1.0948	0.0182	5,950	3,061	1.4485	0.0166	1.0592	1.1305
Rural								
MM (15–29)	1.2502	0.0229	4,462	6,127	1.3309	0.0184	1.2052	1.2952
MW (15–24)	1.2860	0.0175	7,962	10,851	1.3879	0.0136	1.2517	1.3202
Mean number of children surviving (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	1.1431	0.0176	8,052	8,052	1.4709	0.0154	1.1085	1.1776
MW (15–24)	1.1740	0.0130	13,912	13,912	1.4817	0.0111	1.1484	1.1995
Urban								
MM (15–29)	1.0076	0.0245	3,590	1,925	1.5257	0.0243	0.9596	1.0557
MW (15–24)	1.0589	0.0176	5,950	3,061	1.4515	0.0166	1.0245	1.0934
Rural								
MM (15–29)	1.1856	0.0215	4,462	6,127	1.3004	0.0181	1.1435	1.2277
MW (15–24)	1.2064	0.0158	7,962	10,851	1.3264	0.0131	1.1755	1.2373

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Mean ideal number of children (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting and gave a numeric response)								
Combined								
MM (15–29)	2.3551	0.0178	7,286	7,288	2.0294	0.0076	2.3102	2.3801
MW (15–24)	2.2705	0.0139	13,033	12,892	2.3948	0.0061	2.2433	2.2977
Urban								
MM (15–29)	2.1767	0.0212	3,317	1,787	2.0081	0.0097	2.1351	2.2182
MW (15–24)	2.0666	0.0115	5,640	2,916	1.6065	0.0056	2.0440	2.0892
Rural								
MM (15–29)	2.3999	0.0218	3,969	5,501	1.7591	0.0091	2.3571	2.4427
MW (15–24)	2.3301	0.0170	7,393	9,975	2.1455	0.0073	2.2968	2.3635
Experienced 3 or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the interview (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1373	0.0055	14,281	14,434	1.9014	0.0399	0.1266	0.1481
W (15–24)	0.1371	0.0045	31,274	31,273	2.3154	0.0328	0.1283	0.1459
MM (15–29)	0.1468	0.0068	8,052	8,052	1.7145	0.0461	0.1335	0.1600
MW (15–24)	0.1516	0.0056	13,912	13,912	1.8429	0.0370	0.1406	0.1626
UM (15–24)	0.1355	0.0056	11,522	11,522	1.7579	0.0414	0.1245	0.1465
UW (15–24)	0.1215	0.0048	17,362	17,362	1.9503	0.0398	0.1120	0.1310
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.0948	0.0045	7,483	4,367	1.3377	0.0478	0.0859	0.1037
W (15–24)	0.0934	0.0041	13,976	9,218	1.6768	0.0442	0.0853	0.1015
MM (15–29)	0.0847	0.0060	3,590	1,925	1.2877	0.0707	0.0729	0.0964
MW (15–24)	0.1074	0.0054	5,950	3,061	1.3537	0.0506	0.0969	0.1182
UM (15–24)	0.0928	0.0047	6,435	3,838	1.3112	0.0511	0.0835	0.1021
UW (15–24)	0.0838	0.0046	8,026	6,157	1.5012	0.0554	0.0747	0.0929
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1558	0.0075	6,798	10,066	1.7039	0.0481	0.1411	0.1705
W (15–24)	0.1553	0.0061	17,298	22,056	2.2115	0.0392	0.1434	0.1673
MM (15–29)	0.1663	0.0085	4,462	6,127	1.5262	0.0512	0.1496	0.1830
MW (15–24)	0.1641	0.0070	7,962	10,851	1.6895	0.0427	0.1503	0.1778
UM (15–24)	0.1568	0.0079	5,087	7,684	1.5540	0.0505	0.1413	0.1723
UW (15–24)	0.1422	0.0070	9,336	11,205	1.9278	0.0490	0.1285	0.1558

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever consumed alcohol (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1746	0.0058	14,281	14,432	1.8301	0.0333	0.1632	0.1860
W (15–24)	0.0070	0.0011	31,274	31,273	2.2830	0.1534	0.0049	0.0091
MM (15–29)	0.3576	0.0098	8,052	8,052	1.8394	0.0275	0.3383	0.3769
MW (15–24)	0.0098	0.0016	13,912	13,912	1.9453	0.1658	0.0066	0.0130
UM (15–24)	0.1432	0.0054	11,522	11,521	1.6397	0.0374	0.1327	0.1537
UW (15–24)	0.0038	0.0007	17,361	17,361	1.4086	0.1732	0.0025	0.0051
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.1853	0.0079	7,483	4,367	1.7533	0.0425	0.1699	0.2007
W (15–24)	0.0033	0.0007	13,976	9,217	1.4676	0.2149	0.0019	0.0047
MM (15–29)	0.4085	0.0153	3,590	1,925	1.8594	0.0373	0.3786	0.4385
MW (15–24)	0.0047	0.0014	5,950	3,061	1.5333	0.2908	0.0020	0.0073
UM (15–24)	0.1633	0.0074	6,435	3,838	1.5982	0.0451	0.1489	0.1778
UW (15–24)	0.0024	0.0007	8,026	6,156	1.2356	0.2798	0.0011	0.0038
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1699	0.0076	6,798	10,065	1.6685	0.0447	0.1550	0.1849
W (15–24)	0.0086	0.0015	17,298	22,056	2.1412	0.1750	0.0056	0.0115
MM (15–29)	0.3416	0.0120	4,462	6,127	1.6856	0.0350	0.3181	0.3651
MW (15–24)	0.0112	0.0021	7,962	10,851	1.7355	0.1824	0.0072	0.0153
UM (15–24)	0.1332	0.0071	5,087	7,683	1.4931	0.0534	0.1192	0.1471
UW (15–24)	0.0045	0.0009	9,336	11,205	1.3631	0.2087	0.0027	0.0064
Participated in a government- /NGO- sponsored programme in the 3 years preceding the interview (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.1178	0.0052	14,281	14,434	1.9440	0.0445	0.1075	0.1281
W (15–24)	0.0882	0.0039	31,274	31,273	2.4007	0.0436	0.0807	0.0958
MM (15–29)	0.1030	0.0058	8,052	8,052	1.6999	0.0559	0.0917	0.1143
MW (15–24)	0.1012	0.0057	13,912	13,912	2.2215	0.0561	0.0900	0.1123
UM (15–24)	0.1236	0.0057	11,522	11,522	1.8591	0.0461	0.1124	0.1348
UW (15–24)	0.0738	0.0039	17,362	17,362	1.9467	0.0524	0.0662	0.0813
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.0872	0.0060	7,483	4,367	1.8286	0.0684	0.0755	0.0989
W (15–24)	0.0641	0.0040	13,976	9,218	1.9260	0.0623	0.0563	0.0719
MM (15–29)	0.0699	0.0062	3,590	1,925	1.4603	0.0889	0.0577	0.0821
MW (15–24)	0.0802	0.0062	5,950	3,061	1.7481	0.0768	0.0681	0.0922
UM (15–24)	0.0905	0.0063	6,435	3,838	1.7717	0.0700	0.0781	0.1030
UW (15–24)	0.0532	0.0048	8,026	6,157	1.9194	0.0904	0.0438	0.0626
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.1311	0.0070	6,798	10,066	1.7141	0.0535	0.1173	0.1449
W (15–24)	0.0983	0.0052	17,298	22,056	2.2855	0.0526	0.0882	0.1085
MM (15–29)	0.1134	0.0073	4,462	6,127	1.5289	0.0640	0.0992	0.1277
MW (15–24)	0.1071	0.0071	7,962	10,851	2.0424	0.0661	0.0932	0.1210
UM (15–24)	0.1401	0.0079	5,087	7,684	1.6180	0.0562	0.1247	0.1556
UW (15–24)	0.0850	0.0053	9,336	11,205	1.8446	0.0626	0.0746	0.0955

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Voted in last election (young men and women, aged 20 and above)								
Combined								
M (15–24)	0.7048	0.0084	6,824	6,791	1.5289	0.0120	0.6883	0.7214
W (15–24)	0.5948	0.0072	13,690	14,944	1.7071	0.0120	0.5808	0.6089
MM (15–29)	0.8624	0.0062	7,731	7,664	1.5756	0.0072	0.8504	0.8746
MW (15–24)	0.6189	0.0081	10,000	9,638	1.6659	0.0131	0.6030	0.6348
UM (15–24)	0.6681	0.0105	4,386	4,263	1.4707	0.0157	0.6476	0.6886
UW (15–24)	0.5066	0.0123	3,690	3,781	1.4987	0.0243	0.4824	0.5308
Urban								
M (15–24)	0.6423	0.0131	3,714	2,254	1.6658	0.0204	0.6166	0.6680
W (15–24)	0.5200	0.0101	6,892	4,737	1.6762	0.0194	0.5002	0.5398
MM (15–29)	0.8357	0.0114	3,525	1,901	1.8313	0.0137	0.8133	0.8581
MW (15–24)	0.5404	0.0114	4,643	2,476	1.5568	0.0211	0.5181	0.5628
UM (15–24)	0.6121	0.0143	2,731	1,740	1.5342	0.0234	0.5840	0.6402
UW (15–24)	0.4843	0.0158	2,249	1,932	1.5016	0.0327	0.4533	0.5154
Rural								
M (15–24)	0.7359	0.0106	3,110	4,537	1.3412	0.0144	0.7151	0.7567
W (15–24)	0.6294	0.0091	6,798	10,206	1.5551	0.0145	0.6117	0.6474
MM (15–29)	0.8714	0.0072	4,206	5,763	1.4012	0.0083	0.8572	0.8856
MW (15–24)	0.6460	0.0100	5,357	7,161	1.5270	0.0154	0.6265	0.6656
UM (15–24)	0.7064	0.0144	1,655	2,523	1.2880	0.0204	0.6784	0.7349
UW (15–24)	0.5299	0.0188	1,441	1,849	1.4275	0.0354	0.4931	0.5667

Note: M: Men, W: Women, MM: Married men, MW: Married women, UM: Unmarried men, UW: Unmarried women.

Appendix C

Data quality tables

Table C.1: Household age distribution

Single-year age distribution of the *de jure* household population by sex (weighted)

Age (year)	Women		Men	
	Unweighted number	Percent	Unweighted number	Percent
0	7,266	1.8	7,996	1.9
1	6,935	1.6	7,570	1.8
2	8,077	1.9	8,712	2.1
3	9,205	2.2	9,723	2.3
4	8,582	2.1	9,138	2.2
5	9,825	2.4	11,009	2.7
6	9,525	2.3	10,120	2.4
7	8,962	2.2	9,379	2.3
8	10,437	2.5	11,363	2.6
9	7,668	1.9	8,037	2.0
10	11,197	2.7	12,648	3.0
11	7,043	1.7	7,445	1.8
12	11,157	2.6	12,439	3.0
13	9,110	2.1	9,410	2.3
14	7,019	1.7	8,487	1.9
15	9,060	2.1	8,911	1.9
16	8,534	2.0	8,778	2.0
17	6,811	1.6	7,449	1.7
18	10,478	2.5	11,135	2.5
19	6,032	1.4	6,029	1.4
20	10,910	2.6	10,318	2.3
21	5,382	1.3	5,764	1.3
22	8,962	2.1	8,770	1.9
23	6,197	1.4	5,721	1.3
24	6,510	1.5	5,744	1.3
25	7,763	2.1	10,075	2.2
26	6,952	1.6	6,143	1.4
27	6,085	1.4	5,379	1.3
28	9,371	2.2	7,133	1.6
29	4,054	1.0	3,500	0.8
30	14,715	3.6	10,829	2.2
31	2,420	0.6	3,316	0.8
32	7,228	1.7	8,211	2.0
33	3,088	0.7	3,765	1.0
34	2,990	0.7	3,671	0.9
35	13,599	3.4	15,135	3.6
36	4,182	1.0	4,431	1.1
37	3,184	0.7	3,105	0.7
38	6,437	1.6	5,460	1.3
39	2,314	0.5	2,233	0.5
40	13,256	3.3	14,430	3.4
41	1,365	0.3	1,626	0.4
42	4,558	1.1	4,918	1.2
43	1,904	0.4	1,863	0.4
44	1,579	0.4	1,722	0.4
45	11,749	3.0	12,668	3.1
46	2,223	0.5	2,195	0.5
47	1,948	0.5	2,009	0.5
48	3,898	0.9	3,648	0.9
49	1,385	0.3	1,486	0.3
50	10,220	2.5	10,656	2.6
51	954	0.2	1,237	0.3
52	2,486	0.6	2,772	0.7
53	1,030	0.2	1,230	0.3
54	1,270	0.3	1,458	0.3
55	8,569	2.2	7,705	1.9
56	1,352	0.3	1,553	0.3
57	918	0.2	1,055	0.2
58	1,969	0.5	1,918	0.4
59	651	0.2	928	0.2
60	10,045	2.6	8,934	2.3
61	573	0.1	676	0.2
62	1,654	0.4	1,703	0.4
63	596	0.1	707	0.2
64	623	0.2	786	0.2
65	6,768	1.8	6,021	1.6
66	515	0.1	721	0.2
67	502	0.1	646	0.2
68	979	0.2	959	0.2
69	403	0.1	460	0.1
70+	11,778	3.0	12,535	3.2
Total	**413,004**	**100.0**	**425,715**	**100.0**

Note: The de jure population includes usual residents of the household.

Table C.2: Single-year age distribution of eligible, selected and interviewed young men

Number and percentage of eligible, selected and interviewed young men and percentage of selected young men who were interviewed by single-year age (unweighted)

Age (year)	Eligible		Selected for interview		Interviewed		% selected respondents interviewed
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
MM (15–29)							
15	32	0.3	23	0.2	21	0.3	91.3
16	54	0.5	42	0.4	38	0.5	90.5
17	61	0.6	47	0.5	44	0.5	93.6
18	179	1.7	140	1.5	112	1.4	80.0
19	158	1.5	130	1.4	106	1.3	81.5
20	487	4.6	400	4.2	320	4.0	80.0
21	368	3.5	329	3.4	275	3.4	83.6
22	806	7.6	705	7.3	586	7.3	83.1
23	692	6.5	625	6.5	541	6.7	86.6
24	931	8.8	823	8.6	716	8.9	87.0
25	1,616	15.2	1,473	15.3	1,178	14.6	80.0
26	1,277	12.0	1,170	12.2	983	12.2	84.0
27	1,280	12.0	1,194	12.4	1,021	12.7	85.5
28	1,577	14.8	1,453	15.1	1,195	14.8	82.2
29	1,121	10.5	1,057	11.0	916	11.4	86.7
Total	**10,639**	**100.0**	**9,611**	**100.0**	**8,052**	**100.0**	**83.8**
UM (15–24)							
15	2,414	10.9	1,561	11.6	1,364	11.8	87.4
16	2,860	13.0	1,849	13.7	1,624	14.1	87.8
17	2,464	11.2	1,621	12.0	1,424	12.4	87.8
18	3,151	14.3	1,971	14.6	1,629	14.1	82.6
19	2,053	9.3	1,224	9.1	1,095	9.5	89.5
20	2,603	11.8	1,521	11.3	1,265	11.0	83.2
21	1,848	8.4	1,079	8.0	931	8.1	86.3
22	2,023	9.2	1,118	8.3	914	7.9	81.8
23	1,425	6.5	843	6.3	703	6.1	83.4
24	1,213	5.5	692	5.1	573	5.0	82.8
Total	**22,054**	**100.0**	**13,479**	**100.0**	**11,522**	**100.0**	**85.5**

Note: The difference between the number of respondents eligible for interview and the number who were selected for interview is due to the sampling design adopted in the Youth Study. Please refer to Chapter 1 for details.

Table C.3: Single-year age distribution of eligible, selected and interviewed young women

Number and percentages of eligible, selected and interviewed female respondents and percentage of selected respondents who were interviewed by single-year age (unweighted)

Age (year)	Eligible		Selected for interview		Interviewed		% selected respondents interviewed
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
MW (15–24)							
15	611	2.3	311	1.9	286	2.1	92.0
16	970	3.7	532	3.3	453	3.3	85.2
17	1,215	4.6	752	4.6	656	4.7	87.2
18	3,014	11.4	1,547	9.5	1,261	9.1	81.5
19	2,206	8.3	1,426	8.7	1,256	9.0	88.1
20	4,739	17.9	2,557	15.7	2,027	14.6	79.3
21	2,614	9.9	1,882	11.5	1,661	11.9	88.3
22	4,121	15.5	2,465	15.1	2,057	14.8	83.4
23	3,393	12.8	2,303	14.1	2,025	14.6	87.9
24	3,649	13.8	2,540	15.6	2,230	16.0	87.8
Total	**26,532**	**100.0**	**16,315**	**100.0**	**13,912**	**100.0**	**85.3**
UW (15–24)							
15	5,291	22.6	4,639	24.0	4,228	24.4	91.1
16	4,355	18.6	3,739	19.3	3,377	19.5	90.3
17	3,234	13.8	2,684	13.9	2,409	13.9	89.8
18	3,267	14.0	2,570	13.3	2,287	13.2	89.0
19	1,890	8.1	1,495	7.7	1,371	7.9	91.7
20	1,893	8.1	1,458	7.5	1,259	7.3	86.4
21	1,108	4.7	894	4.6	805	4.6	90.0
22	1,081	4.6	845	4.4	743	4.3	87.9
23	724	3.1	581	3.0	514	3.0	88.5
24	524	2.2	418	2.2	369	2.1	88.3
Total	**23,367**	**100.0**	**19,323**	**100.0**	**17,362**	**100.0**	**89.9**

Note: The difference between the number of respondents eligible for interview and the number who were selected for interview is due to the sampling design adopted in the Youth Study. Please refer to Chapter 1 for details.

Table C.4: Completeness of reporting

Percentage of observations with missing information or reported to be unknown to the respondent for selected date measures (weighted)

Measures	MM (15–29)		MW (15–24)		UM (15–24)		UW (15–24)	
	% with don't know/ missing information	Unweighted number	% with don't know/ missing information	Unweighted number	% with don't know/ missing information	Unweighted number	% with don't know/ missing information	Unweighted number
Birth date of respondent								
Month only	9.3	8,052	1.5	13,912	5.4	11,522	1.1	17,362
Year only	3.8	8,052	9.7	13,912	2.6	11,522	11.9	17,362
Both month and year	22.5	8,052	53.7	13,912	11.6	11,522	22.4	17,362
Age when respondent first started any unpaid work (years)	1.0	2,393	4.2	3,471	1.4	2,090	3.0	2,702
Age when respondent first started any paid work (years)	0.4	7,501	2.3	5,322	0.3	6,085	0.8	5,097
Age when respondent first noticed voice change (years)	31.7	8,052	NA	NA	25.2	11,522	NA	NA
Age when respondent first noticed appearance of pubic hair (years)	11.9	8,052	NA	NA	7.0	11,522	NA	NA
Age at menarche (years)	NA	NA	11.8	13,912	NA	NA	5.4	17,362
Age when respondent first spent time alone with romantic partner (years)	0.1	1,636	0.0	1,547	0.0	2,092	0.1	1,722
Age when respondent first had sex with pre-marital romantic partner (years)	0.1	688	0.0	390	0.0	629	0.0	350
Date of marriage of married respondent								
Month only	6.4	8,052	1.8	13,912	NA	NA	NA	NA
Year only	2.3	8,052	18.6	13,912	NA	NA	NA	NA
Both month and year	9.8	8,052	13.3	13,912	NA	NA	NA	NA
Age when respondent first started cohabiting with wife/husband (years)	0.0	8,052	0.0	13,912	NA	NA	NA	NA

Note: NA: Not applicable.

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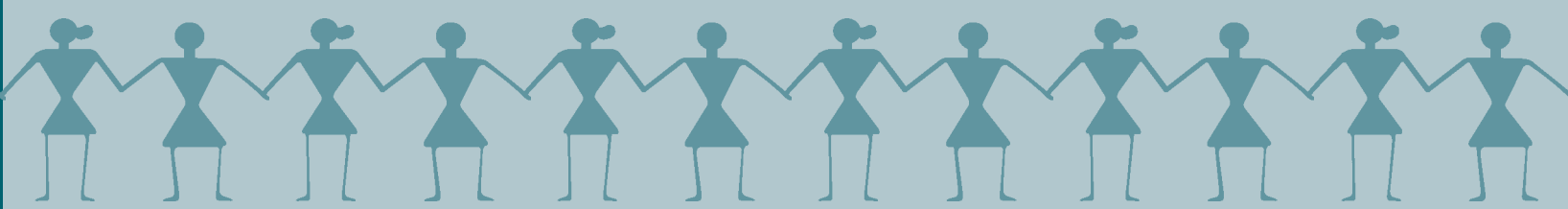

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