Young Leaders Think Tank

Youth Agenda for India

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A study

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Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (India Office)

Contents

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Foreword

Two-third of the population of India is under the age of 25. According to estimates of experts, by 2025 this demographic dividend is likely to increase manifolds in the age group of 15-59. With growing pool of fresh labour, India has the potential to steer the world in the economic and political arena.

In general, the youth of today is branded as an ardent consumer of global phenomena and a victim of political insensitivity. Many a scholar would feel that a generation so absorbed in materialistic environment would hardly qualify to become the "demographic dividend" for this country. If we look at the conventional structures for youth participation, we realise that not much is on offer. In certain regions where the 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments have been effectively implemented, young people's participation has also increased. Although, due to lack of democratic structures within the political parties and strong nepotism, access to this arena is a big challenge. Even the outlook of the present political leadership is not very encouraging, rendering the youth alienated and disillusioned.

In the field of education and employment again, there is lack of opportunities and access to resources. Most young people are pushed toward low paying jobs because they do not get proper counselling or training for skill development. Employment prospects and desire for better quality of life often leads to migration. To address these issues, a National Youth Policy was developed in 2003 sans any form of discussion with the target group and it has been put up for evaluation and revision only this year.

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung values the dynamism of young people in nation-building. It has been a constant endeavour of FES India to mainstream concerns of youth as the stakeholder into finding solutions and making them part of implementation in democratic processes. The FES continues to engage youth through participation,

along with integrating youth perspectives in its activities. FES India has also initiated a network of selected young professionals from its partner organisations called the Young Leaders Think Tank (YLTT). Members of the YLTT come from different professional backgrounds and skill sets, conforming to ideas of social democracy.

There are umpteen challenges facing the youth today. At the same time, we have seen exponential increase in youth voicing their concerns in public fora and employing all possible means for communicating their distress and apathy. They are eager to channelise their energy for useful development. Use of media as a social agent is an important ally. Similarly, use of new age cinema is also considered as a powerful tool for raising awareness on public interest issues. To initiate a systemic change, young people will need to form pressure or lobby groups themselves. As one such dynamic group, the YLTT has undertaken a unique exercise to develop the Youth Agenda for India - to be made not only 'for' the youth, but also 'by' the youth. Through this exercise, the YLTT has tried to extract specific issues of concern for youth and identifying the root of the specific problems with respect to region and context. The YLTT Youth Agenda looks into various aspects of youth in development like representation as a support system for developing critical perspective, social regeneration and bringing in creative energy for development.

The present document YLTT YOUTH AGENDA FOR INDIA is the outcome of a long participatory process spear-headed by the YLTT group. Along with them, various other resource persons and individuals have contributed immensely in building up the content for the youth agenda by providing their precious time and expertise. The idea of Youth Agenda was proposed by Secretary General of FES, Dr. Roland Schmidt in a small meeting with YLTT members when he visited India in 2010. He believed that such an exercise could provide workable solutions to the existing roadblocks. The engagement of the

YLTT group, notwithstanding their various other professional commitments, bears testimony to their commitment and diligence for change. Given the comprehensive and participatory nature of the process so far, the Agenda will surely form the basis for further research, action and policy formulation in India. I am sure that readers will find this document as stimulating and valuable as we have.

Dr. Felix Schmidt
Resident Representative, FES India

New Delhi
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Executive Summary

In order to reap the demographic dividend of the young population of India, it is important to identify issues from the perspective of Youth. It also needs to be borne in mind that with limited resources at disposal, all the problems cannot be tackled simultaneously. Thus it is important to prioritise issues in terms of criticality, size of the affected group and possible future scenarios of these issues. We believe that prioritising issues and building scenarios would have a two-fold impact. It would help us to focus on issues in an order of importance and impact. At the same time, since various issues are interlinked and have overlapping origins, solving the one with high priority may also address various other issues which otherwise appear isolated and unrelated. It is equally pertinent to recommend and suggest policy-makers to develop, design and implement appropriate and adequate interventions to address these issues. Thus, we, at YLLT, believe that a youth agenda should identify and prioritise issues, articulate possible scenarios in future, and propose a set of possible recommendations to address those issues. With these understandings in perspective, YLTT attempted to develop a Youth agenda for India, assimilating information from maximum number of touch points to include the inherent diversity of the Indian society while performing both bottom-up and top-down analysis of the issues considering maximum possible, if not all, viewpoints.

To collect information from various stakeholders for identifying key issues in different geographies, individual YLTT members used a number of methods, such as surveys, participatory programmes like youth meets, seminars, workshops, symposia, panel discussions, video and short films, personal/formal interviews. Based on these interactions and experiences with different demographics we prepared a list of 60 issues that concerned youth across the country. The list of issues got pruned to 32 to make it brief and yet inclusive using a mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches. To assess criticality and develop scenarios for each issue, we adopted a modified Delphi method, which is a structured communication technique using a panel

of experts. A number of experts from different regions were interviewed on each of these 32 issues. Some resource persons filled out the data sheets, some preferred giving qualitative information. We also talked and gathered information from various socially active young leaders across the country while participating in youth camps and seminars. While analysing the data, we created specific variables reflecting relevance of the information in terms of number of youth affected, severity of the issue, confidence level of the resource persons, and the forward looking scenarios of the issue. The analysis of information yielded following insights:

a) While there are some pan India issues, experts have identified different sets of issues for different youth demographies.

b) There are some very specific issues related to specific target groups (such as youth issues in North East, Jammu and Kashmir and Tribal regions). At the same time, there are national issues cutting across broad target groups (such as issues related to youth in rural areas).

c) There are some issues which are of very high importance for specific target groups e.g. youth in hills, migrated youth, youth from some States such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha.

d) Issues of Young Women emerged as a large category cutting across sub-categories that may have similar issues but require very specific treatment from youth perspective. We have been able to ascertain with great degree of confidence that various measures targeting youth simply cannot work in the case of young women and the whole agenda must approach various issues in a specific context for women.

e) Another specific segment that came up in our analysis is the 'Youth without Entitlement'. They are mostly either from extremely poor background or migrated from some place or

both. Where youth from all other categories have specific issues which can be addressed through various proactive planning and policy mechanism, problems of this segment need very different approach as their biggest concern is their 'claim on entitlement' which affects every aspect of their life.

In consistent with the Delphi method, we shared these findings and insights with another set of experts and solicited their inputs on the issues of their interest. We used their inputs to create a map that helps to prioritise issues using three dimensional variables: Population, Severity and Consensus of Estimates. The map clearly shows that the largest target group does not always mean higher severity and higher severity alone does not indicate higher priority. Some of the very high priority issues that come from the analysis are: Need for Better Infrastructure, Employment

Opportunities, Health problems, Appropriate Education, Quality of Elected representatives. Some of the issues which otherwise attract so much of attention failed to show up in the grid such as: early marriage, skill based training, promotion of sports and the likes. We also used the inputs gathered from experts to develop scenarios (positive, negative and neutral) for 25 issues and articulate a set of curative and preventive measures which could help in improving the situation related to each of these issues.

It is important to highlight that this work is dynamic in nature and leaves the scope of ongoing refinement as and when more substantial inputs come. Nonetheless, the work will be helpful for any person or agency interested in youth issues at a macro level, namely, policy-makers, academicians, civil society representatives, youth organisations and Think Tanks.

World Development Report - 2007 (World Bank, 2006) was subtitled Development and Next Generations acknowledging the importance of youth's role and concern in contemporary society. At the same time, United Nations proclaimed the year commencing on 12 August 2010 as the International Year of Youth coinciding with the 25th anniversary of the first International Youth Year in 1985. The theme of the International Year 2010 was Dialogue and *Mutual Understanding*. These international developments along with the process of revision of National Youth Policy (2003) in India strongly reflects the importance of Youth. Young people are a major productive resource, agents for innovations and future leaders. Still it appears that

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their opinions are neither solicited nor are their voices heard.

India has a huge pool of young people ready to provide the much talked about demographic dividend. It is evident in the population pyramid reproduced on the next page.

India: 1950

Males   Females

India: 2010

India: 2050

India: 2100
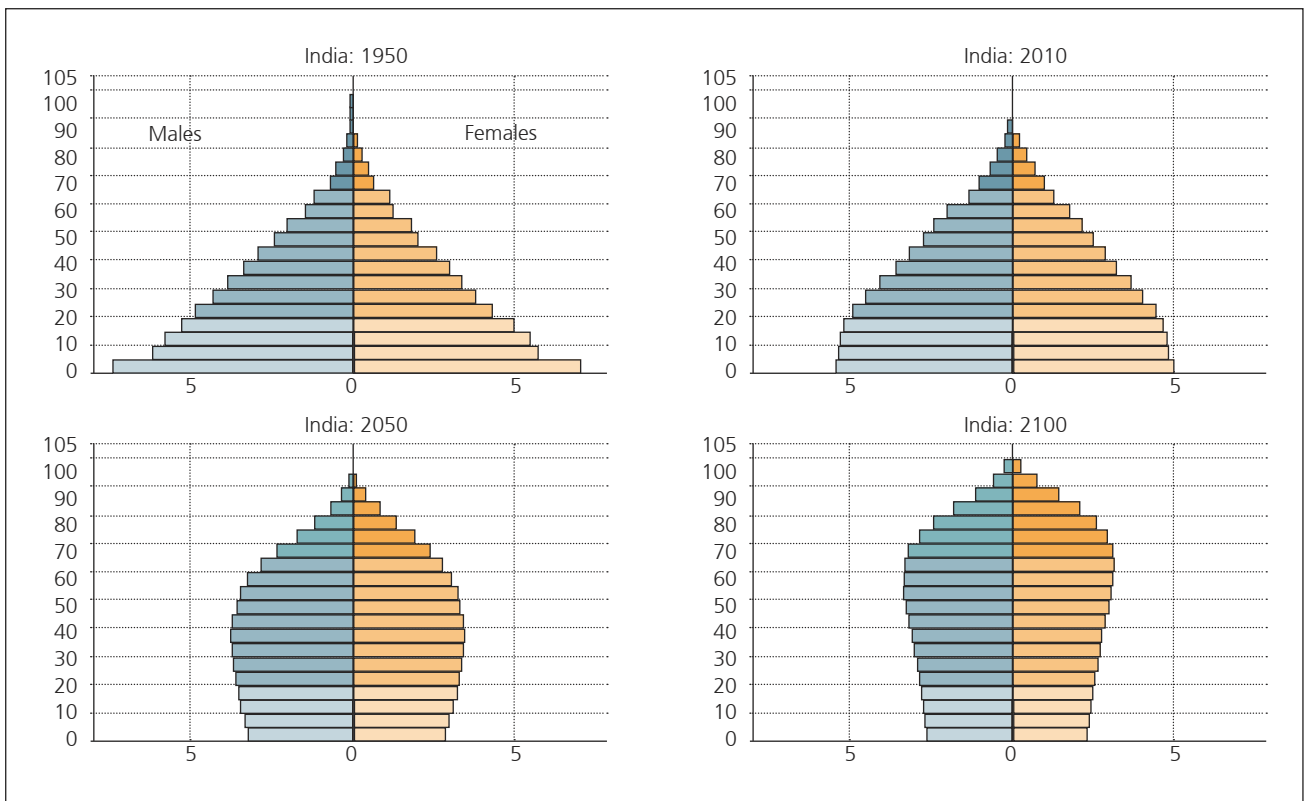
It should also be borne in mind that India is a diverse country where youth across the regions and communities and societies may have relatively homogeneous ultimate aspirations. However the way they would like to see those aspirations met could be extremely heterogeneous. This stems from the fact that youth from different background are dealing with different societal environs and living with different value systems. The level of diversity can be understood by the fact that every district in a state has different characteristics. For example male and female literacy rates for Rewari and Mewat in Haryana are 93 per cent and 71 per cent; and 73 per

cent and 38 per cent respectively. The Population pyramid above clearly indicates why we should have an all-encompassing and realistic Agenda for India by the Youth for the Youth without any delay. I

It is opportune time to begin an exercise for setting up a Youth agenda. However, it should be borne in mind that the youth agenda is not about treating young people as a group of beneficiary, as another quota to be created and then creating programmes for them. It is about mainstreaming their concerns and perspectives in developmental plans and policies that are envisaged in this country.

2   Objective and Scope

Objective of developing Youth Agenda for India was to:

- identify, prioritise and disseminate issues of high relevance for the Youth.

- recommend and suggest policy makers to develop, design and implement appropriate and adequate policy interventions.

- bring a comprehensive view highlighting diversity of the Youth and their issues

- mainstream youths issues into relevant policy decisions.

Scope

The scope of the study was to receive information from maximum number of stake holders keeping

> " The scope of the study was to receive information from maximum number of stake holders keeping in mind the inherent diversity of the Indian society. "

in mind the inherent diversity of the Indian society. The study performed both bottom-up and top-down analysis of the youth issues considering all possible viewpoints.

3   **Methodology**

3.1 Approach

YLTT members performed five rounds of brain storming sessions and discussions internally and also with FES to prepare a working plan, project guidelines and key outcomes. From internal discussion, it came out that there were plethora of problems and issues with different sections, communities, regions and societies in India. A comprehensive research was conducted to understand the current state. There were many reports and papers around various issues and problems related to youth; however most of these researches were focused on either specific areas or in specific context, which, to YLTT's understanding, did little to map the criticality, urgency and relevance of these issues.

> " Size of population and severity in the context of youth were identified as the two key variables to assess all the issues. "

It was determined that the YLTT would work from solution oriented frame of mind and thus the team realised the need to do the mapping of issues with quantum of impact. To decide on the quantum of impact we had to understand the level of importance, criticality for stakeholders and size of the affected group and possible future scenarios of these issues.

Fundamental guiding thought behind the thinking process was "optimal allocation of resources and efforts to bring maximum impact". It was understood that with given limited resources all the problems could not be tackled simultaneously thus prioritisation and scenario building of issues are necessary. The YLTT believed that prioritising issues and building scenarios would have two fold impacts. It would help us focusing on issues in an order of importance and impact. Also various issues are interlinked and have overlapping origins thus solving the one with high priority may also address various other issues which otherwise appear isolated and unrelated.

Size of population and severity in the context of youth were identified as the two key variables to assess all the issues. At the same time, an approach was followed to maintain the fine balance of critical mass vs. size bias in the entire process.

Some of the readers may find various issues missing in this report, which might be attributed to YLTT's approach of balancing size bias with critical mass. Many of the issues which lack critical mass might be of very high priority but we believe that those may be best handled at local level, similarly many issues may have too big a size but should not be allocated with same proportion of resources and efforts. Working with this solution oriented frame of reference, questionnaires, workshops and analytical tools were structured and prepared.

3.2 Process

The YLTT adopted modified Delphi technique addressing given constraints to perform scenario analysis and prepare the Youth Agenda. The Delphi method is a structured communication technique, originally developed as a systematic, interactive forecasting method which relies on a panel of resource persons (Linstone & Turoff, 1975). Three specific steps were taken – field survey, literature review and discussion/ interview with resource persons. The work relies heavily on the information gathered from resource persons (see the list of experts in Appendix J) and field surveys and used available literature only on selected occasions that also in a very broad perspective.

The YLTT consists of members from various geographies and diversified background. The members took responsibility to approach people of different strata of the society in different parts of the country. Members were to collate data following different techniques like surveys, participatory programmes like youth meets, seminars, workshops, symposia, panel discussions, video and short films, personal/ formal interview. A general format was used across the country which contained questions like most important social / political issue that bothers youth, most important economic consideration, how important is technology -amongst many others. (See the survey format in Appendix E) The questions not only included the present scenario regarding the issues but also the probable future scenarios. Members were free to include need based additional inputs.

Post this initial field analysis, a questionnaire was prepared to approach various experts, resource persons and opinion-makers across India. (See the format in Appendix H) Two rounds of workshops were conducted for expert discussion and data analysis in line with the Delphi method. The resource persons represented different sections of society from various States. Only one common factor of age across these sections was maintained. The resource persons were selected with an idea that they represented a large segment of youth from these regions. Over 80 per cent of the resource persons were in the age group of 25-45.

4 Challenges and Constraints

4.1 Agenda setting

The idea of setting youth agenda was driven by lack of policy initiative from the state about the role of youth in driving India's development in the twenty first century. This was further reinforced by the tempting scenario of a demographic dividend that awaits India and the increased communication and mobility facilitated by the new technologies. These two factors have provided both the rationale as well as the means to get the youth involved and work for shaping India's agenda for development. YLTT has considered dividend from a holistic perspective rather than just as economic contribution.

The availability of these inclusive development modes has made some youth demographics more connected where as it has also left a sizeable population out of the contention for agenda setting and driving its implementation. The broad implication of this was evident in our initial attempts to connect to these diverse demographic groups for their views and also involvement in the agenda setting exercise. The exercise was of course fraught with its own sets of challenges and limitations which included correct identification of

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the resource persons and their ability to empathise with the target segment. The methodology for agenda setting also went through several modifications. We tried to use the scenario building which attempted to give adequate importance to opinion of the resource persons as well as help in quantifying the importance across the resource persons.

4.2 Data collection

Identification of resource persons was one challenge but getting them to respond to our data collection tool was even tougher! The resource persons were given adequate briefing about the need for youth agenda and the importance of the data solicited from them for setting the youth agenda. The

response of the resource persons was satisfactory to some extent but this was time consuming and also led to respondent fatigue which slowed the data collection and at times we had to discontinue the subsequent sections. Let us reiterate that it did not in any way harm our analysis as we had made provision to consider each resource person's response to specific demographic and to each issue as an independent unit of analysis. Though we had counted heavily on using internet and related technologies (e-mail, online chat, etc.) to help in getting in touch with resource persons and also collect their responses, but most of the time, it was the good old telephone call or personal meeting which did the trick. Some of the interviewers were also hampered by the lack of complete understanding of the issues and the methodology used for data collection. Through various corrective steps like enlarging the inclusion criteria for resource persons and more details of the issues, we have been able to surmount the challenges of limited data that one might frequently come across in such endeavours.

4.3 Data analysis

In spite of our best efforts, we have not been able to collect adequate data to run statistically significant tests to verify our hypotheses. In the first level of data analysis we reported the results in a tabular form indicating the importance of the issues and the general direction it would take in next five to ten years. As next step we discussed these issues with the resource persons to check whether we have identified relevant and critical issues and if any major one is missing. We also collected detailed information around how these issues are going to shape up and affect youth under three scenarios (positive, negative and neutral). We also gathered views around what are the best ways to address these concerns. It should be borne in mind that our analysis is based on expert inputs and ratings with the assumption that they represent a sizeable population of young people across different geographies and strata. This assumption may be fallacious limiting the objectivity of the data. However, various checks and triangulations were done to minimise this problem.

" Some of the very high priority issues that come from the analysis are: Need For Better Infrastructure, Employment Opportunities, Health Problems, Appropriate Education. "

5.1 Issues – Priority Map

We have created a map that helps issues prioritise using three dimensional variables Population, Severity and Consensus of Estimates. Population depicted in Y axis shows the target group relevant to the specific issue; Severity depicted on X axis shows the level of criticality of the issue and the size of the bubble shows the level of agreement on these two metrics. The map clearly shows that the largest target group does not always mean higher severity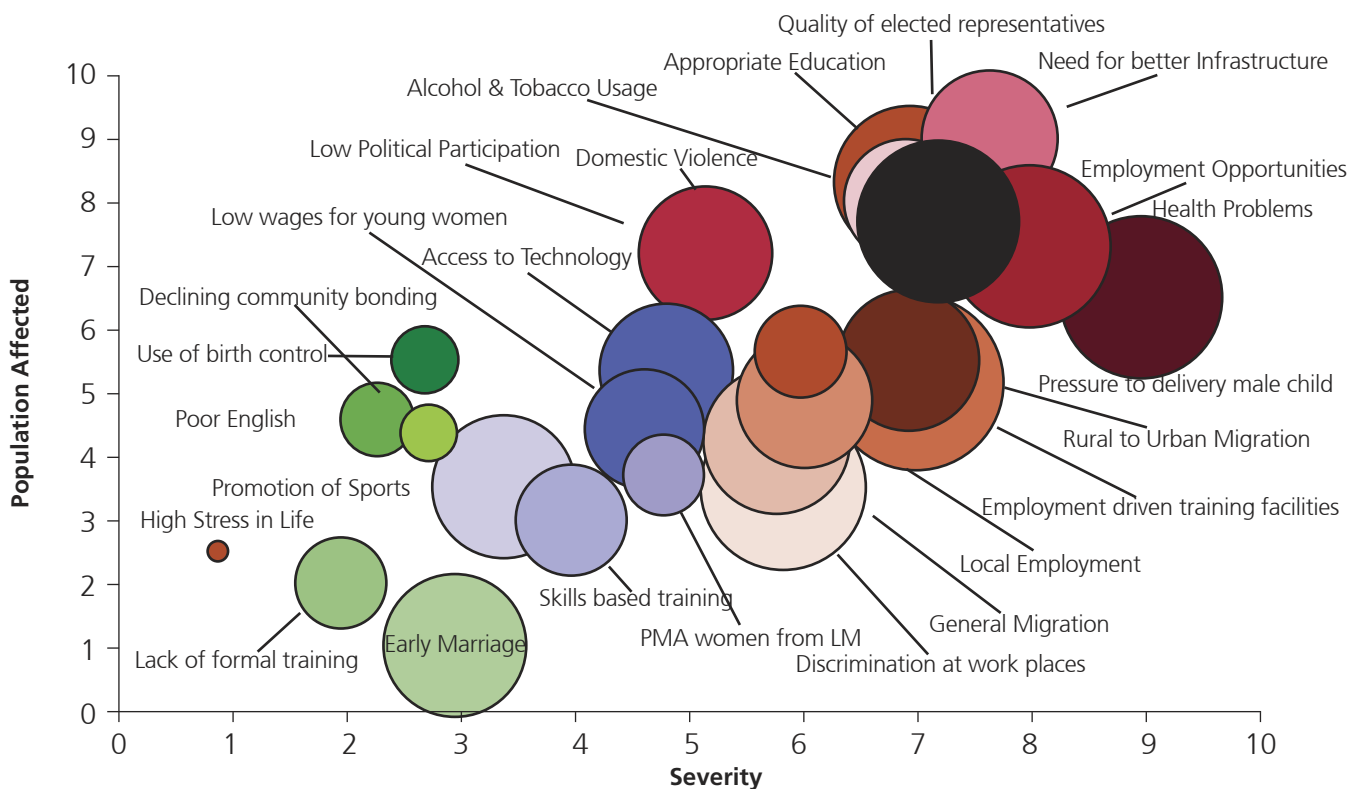 and higher severity alone does not indicate higher priority. Some of the very high priority issues that come from the analysis are: Need For Better Infrastructure, Employment Opportunities, Health Problems, Appropriate Education, and Quality of Elected Representatives. Some of the issues which

otherwise attract so much of attention failed to show up in the grid such as Early Marriage, Skill Based Training, Promotion of Sports, etc. Though this issue grid is a good indication of priorities, however the final assessment should be based on the combination of the issue grid and scenario analysis presented in the next section.

5.2 Analysis of Scenarios and Recommendations

The World Development Report (WDR) 2007 (World Bank, 2006) identified five transitions that the young undergo in learning, work, health, family, and citizenship. It asserts that if made well, "decisions about these transitions will develop, safeguard, and properly deploy human capital"(p5). The report also identifies Migration as one of the key processes and Infrastructure as one of the key policy areas which affect human capital formation during youth transitions. Interestingly, the critical issues emerged after the present exercise to develop Youth Agenda for India, fall nicely into seven categories, i.e., the issues appear to related to Learning, Working, Staying Healthy, Forming Family, Exercising Citizenship, Migration and Facilities/Amenities (Infrastructure). As WDR 2007 highlights the issues related to youth vary from country to country. In this section, all the critical issues are analysed in three different scenarios and recommendations are listed below the scenarios.

5.2.1 Issues related to Learning

While the issue of quality and relevance or Appropriateness of Education has come up as a pan India theme, lack of proper knowledge of English, access to skill based training and employment driven training facilities are considered key barriers in successful transition to the labour market. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue	Scenarios	Expected Outcome

Appropriate education	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Establishment of ideal connect between:
		   ⬧ real life and text books,
		   ⬧ individual's interests and abilities and his/ her choices of the course, and
		   ⬧ curricula and the labour market and emerging need of the society

	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• More emphasis on career oriented courses • Gradual absence of courses in humanities and basic sciences • Higher disconnect in real life and class room
	Negative – "If ignored"	• Closure of courses in basic sciences and humanities or so-called non-professional courses • Proliferation of private universities making access to higher education difficult for the disadvantaged
Recommendations	**Preventive measures** • Provide incentives to students pursuing basic sciences • Bring employability skill training in the mainstream • Include a component on vocational aspects of a subject in teacher training curriculum	
Poor English	Optimistic –"if genuine efforts are made"	• Increased participation in world of organised work for larger population • Check on migration
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Lower participation of non-urban population in the organised and higher paying job market • More entrepreneurial opportunities in creating business models for non-English speaking workers and consumers
	Negative -"If ignored"	• Increase in systemic discrimination in terms of educational and employment opportunities for large non-English educated population

Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Encourage civil society organisations to engage in the English education space especially for the young people who have not learnt the language formally • Devise a policy for regulating quality standards of the organisations responsible to teach English to the adult learners **Preventive measures** • Train the trainers of English teachers in interactive and functional English based on latest researches • Ensure that training happens before language labs get established in schools and colleges • Make English speaking compulsory for two periods a day in a supervised environment • Base English lessons on familiar experiences and local socio cultural environment	
Access to skills based training	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• More acceptance of the fact that skill- based training is not the livelihood option for 'poor' only • Availability of skills based training institution across the country with high placement record of trained individuals
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Large number of vacant seats in training institutions • Low preference for these courses
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Huge skills mismatch (of both demand and supply) most of the trained individuals without employment and industries/sectors with maximum employment avenues with lack of trained manpower
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Make skill training session more demonstration based and less theoretical • Make employability skills training compulsory for all vocational training institutes to ensure placement of all students **Preventive measures** • Highlight and focus on importance of using hand/ manual work since early school years, so that acceptance of courses based on manual skills increases • Make it mandatory for all vocational training institutes to recruit guidance professionals • Train and equip local employment exchanges to map existing skills and available opportunities • Include parents as a key stake holders in the guidance practice	
Employment driven training facilities	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Availability of employment opportunities for all courses and availability of courses for all employment opportunities • Equal access to employment driven training facilities
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now" • Availability of employment driven training opportunities in selected pockets for selected people • Gradual obliteration of courses in basic disciplines with seemingly remote or lesser relevance for labour market	
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Too many people for a few jobs and too many jobs for a few people • Mad rush for 'professional courses' with suitability and employability as the worst causalities • Inequitable access to employment driven training programmes where only a few privileged ones would have access

Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Make employability skills a necessary part of training courses – no permission be given to start a course/institution without this • Highlight employment dimension of every subject in all pre-service and in- service teacher training programmes **Preventive measures** • Use man power projections to fix a limit on establishment of institutions/seats for training for a particular profession in different areas • Introduce new courses/institutions only after careful analysis of skill requirement in that particular area • Encourage opening of new institutions in areas inhabited by disadvantaged communities • Highlight career prospects of so-called non-professional courses using media, professionals and educators

5.2.2 Issues related to Working

While the issue of lack of adequate Employment opportunities cuts across all the demographics and geographies, the issue of Local Employment appears more pronounced in rural areas and among female population. This section is dominated by issues pertaining to women in the world of work. While their post-marriage absence from labour market comes up as a key issue, discrimination at work places and in job opportunities, low wages across regions and profiles emerge as other women-specific issues. For workers in the unorganised sector (which is dominated by women), lack of formal training remains another key issue. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue	Scenarios	Expected Outcome
Employment opportunities	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Higher standard of living in general with increased per capita income
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Widening divide between rich and poor especially in urban areas • Gross underutilisation of skills of women
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Social unrest leading to other problems.
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Constitute a nodal agency specifically to monitor all existing employment related schemes and projects; and brainstorm and incubate potential opportunities in different regions • Develop a portal for disseminating labour market information **Preventive measures** • Make suitability assessments of the individual and organisation mandatory prior to enrolling them for any self-employment initiative • Bring more land under cultivation through reclamation of wasteland • Encourage skill development course and training on farm-related activities and technology development for farmers • Brand farming and allied activities as profitable and 'cool'	

Local Employment	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Marked reduction in employment related migration • More acceptability for farming and craft related activities as profitable ventures
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increase in rural to urban and small to big city migration • Gradual demise of traditional crafts
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Manifold increase in migration from rural areas and small towns • Demise of many traditional skills and occupations
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Provide for social audit to ensure effective implementation of existing employment schemes at local level **Preventive measures** • Establish a livelihoods commission to identify and create employment opportunities at the local level • Map out existing skills at panchayat level thoroughly and allocate budget and build capacity for the same • Initiate mass media campaigns (like Greenathon by NDTV) to showcase profitability of traditional occupations and farm related activities • Document successful examples of profitable ventures for creating local employment • Provide for exposure visits of different stakeholders at these locations	
Post marriage absence of women from labour market	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Proper division of labour with women getting due respect • Improved quality of family life and well-being of children • Inclusion of domestic work under productivity in the true economic sense
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Much wider gender division • Loss of economic and social freedom • More domestic violence • Stronger and more rigid patriarchy
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Social exclusion due to deprivation of social networking opportunities at workplace • Complete lack of confidence in women limiting self-growth
Recommendations	• Widen the definition of labour -- home based workers should be counted as a part of labour • Implement specific training programmes targeted for such women promoting skills that can help generate greater income from home-based work	
Discrimination at work places and job opportunities	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• More female work participation ratio • Enhanced dignity and social recognition for women
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Decrease in female work participation
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Deepening gender divide • Lower self-esteem and lack of enthusiasm among women leading to further decrease in female work participation
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Build facilities to make the work place women-friendly • Implement laws related to sexual harassment strictly **Preventive measures** • Open up all job sectors for women • Highlight the achievements of women who have excelled in the areas not considered suitable for women • Parent counselling so that they encourage their daughters in non-conventional sectors • Make maternity/paternity leave mandatory at work places	

Low wages for majority of young women	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Financial stability and dignity • Stronger social status • Improved decision-making power
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increase in women's dependence on men • Less chances of growth in the number of working women
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Greater social and economic deprivation leading to enhanced exclusion • Social unrest • Lack of confidence • Limited self-growth
Recommendations	**Curative measures:** • Sensitise employers, both in formal and informal sector, about equal wages • Make unequal pay punishable offence for employer • Induct more women in trade unions • Encourage civil society organisations working with women in informal sector to do necessary capacity-building and advocacy to ensure equal wages **Preventive measures:** • (Note: Since skill up-gradation is a key to enhanced remuneration, recommendations related to skill development are applicable here)	
Lack of formal training (for occupation in unorganised sector)	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Many more young people gainfully employed in unorganised sector • Better growth prospect for employees engaged in unorganised sector ensuring better social security nets
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Difficult survival for the huge proportion of labour force (close to 90%) without any growth trajectory
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Some improvement in productivity and income for employees using skill development facilities provided by National Skills Development Commission and a number of non-government organisations
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Build on recommendations of National Commission set up for unorganised sector by introducing a component on launching campaign to attract people for availing existing opportunities with special emphasis on inculcating and reinforcing importance of skill development rather than only 'informing' people • Encourage non- government organisations who are engaged in skill development programmes of people in informal sector **Preventive measures** • Create a cell of qualified professionals who could help the young people choose appropriate courses • Make it mandatory for employers of informal workers to ensure skill development of the workers	

5.2.3 Issues related to Staying Healthy

While Health Problems, as a category, has come up especially in the context of women, Alcohol & Tobacco Usage along with Drug Abuse register a pan Indian issue relevant across various target groups. Interestingly, the issue of High Stress in Life has shown relevance beyond confines of cities. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue	Scenarios	Expected Outcome
Alcohol & Tobacco Usage	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Moderate decrease in consumption • Moderate negative impact on value system but limited adverse impact on economic productivity
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increase in consumption with substantial loss of labour productivity • Increase in usage among younger age group
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Major social imbalance and unrest • Higher penetration among school students and young children • Substantial loss of labour productivity and human life
Recommendations	**Curative measures:** • Make it compulsory for grassroots level institutions (such as panchayat and government schools) to link affected individuals with existing de-addiction/rehabilitation facilities • Focus on localised campaigns highlighting economic/health ill-effects instead of social aspect • Link alcohol/ tobacco related problems to performance of Panchayats with increased accountability and authority to monitor and control the number of liquor shops, with provision of social audits **Preventive measures:** • Develop sports and entertainment facilities specifically in small towns and rural areas • Introduce related topics in the school level curricula to sensitise the young • Emphasise more on peer- to- peer dialogue by preparing peer trainers (in line with ASHA) • Bring legal recourse for affected passive smokers	
Drug Abuse	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Significant drop in crime rate • Enhanced social harmony and social values
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Significant increase in crime rate
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Increase in epidemic deaths • Adverse effect on health and socio-economic status of women as well • Increase in social imbalance • Further increase in domestic violence • Escalation in crime rate
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Identify highly affected areas and targeted intervention for the same • Improve and increase rehabilitation facilities • Allocate more fund to rehabilitation facilities • Set up fast track courts for speedy implementation of anti-drug laws **Preventive measures** • Identify most vulnerable areas and plan and implement targeted intervention for the same • Create new, intense and visible anti-drug use campaigns engaging celebrities and cultural icons as ambassadors (like the successful pulse polio campaign) • Include ill-effects of drug abuse in school level curricula • Promotion of sports to provide channels to youth	

Health Problems	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Improved quality of life for underserved rural population and urban poor • Significant reduction in mortality and increase in longevity due to improved health care • Even distribution of health care cost across society and state for provision of health care
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Uneven concentration of health care facilities in urban areas and focus on super-speciality facilities • Increased burden on state • Increased financial distress and health related debt-traps for financially vulnerable sections
	Negative - "if ignored"	• Complete dismantling of the public health system • More financial vulnerabilities for large rural and urban poor • Undue focus on treatment and neglect of prevention
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Establish widespread distribution network for generic medicines • Make it mandatory for government doctors to prescribe generic medicines **Preventive measures** • Set standards for low cost treatment plans for common ailments to encourage risk coverage by insurance companies • Make rural stints mandatory for health officials especially in tribal areas • Increase investments in popularising preventive measures	
High Stress in Life	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• No need for learning coping strategies • Closure of all the researches and organisations engaged in understanding and helping in stress management • No stress related violence • Enhanced productivity • Better sense of well-being
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increase in competition driven stress for everyone in general but more for youth in particular • Decline in productivity and creativity of youth
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Increase in social unrest especially in rural/semi urban areas • Observable increase in health hazards • Likely increase in crime rate
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Provide adequate platforms like counselling centres, sports, recreational and entertainment events for youth **Preventive measures** • Introduce mandatory stress management professionals in all schools/ colleges/ organisations/companies • Introduce relevant courses in school that helps individuals set realistic goals in life	

5.2.4 Issues related to Starting family

The issues under this theme include: Early marriage specifically in rural pockets, Inadequate Use of contraceptives and birth control measures, Pressure to deliver male child especially in the large part of North India and Domestic Violence even in relatively more developed Southern States. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue	Scenarios	Expected Outcome
Use of contraceptives and birth control	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Increase in women's participation in the socio-economic and political processes • Improvement in women's health and quality of life
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Marked improvement in population control • No significant improvement in the intra-family decision-making for use of contraceptives
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Serious risk to health of female population and increased pressure on the scarce family and national resources
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Behavioural change communication (targeted communications for starting, modifying or stopping a particular reproductive behaviour) for targeting the high fertility groups (with fertility ranging from 2.1 children (replacement level) to four children per woman) **Preventive measures** • Sustained engagement with moderate religious leaders for communicating birth control messages	
Early Marriage	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Decrease in cases of early marriage
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Early marriages will continue, in some cases to cover up trafficking of girls
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Increase in bride purchasing • Increase in maternal mortality rate • Increase in infant mortality • Increase in child brides sold as sex workers to brothels
Recommendations	**Preventive measures** • Provide impetus to existing campaigns focused on dissuading early marriages • Increase counselling of parents in rural areas and urban slums • Implement compulsory registration of marriages • Register marriages only when girl's age is verified	
Pressure to deliver male child	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Improvement and stabilisation in sex ratio • Reduction in pressure on women to deliver a male child
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Sex ratio will continue to get skewed
	Negative - "If ignored"	• More female foeticide • Unbridgeable sex ratio • Weakened family relations • Wider gender divide • Increase in mental illness among mothers
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Make Panchayat and Anganwadi workers to monitor childbirth and collect data • Publish annual status report on Panchayat level sex-ratio • Plan for targeted intervention in Panchayats with skewed sex ratio **Preventive measures** • Educate the masses about the ill-effects of an imbalanced sex ratio • Increase counselling focused on decision-makers in the family • Implement policies like Bhagyalakshmi across India	

Domestic Violence	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Reporting of more cases of domestic violence due to increased mass awareness • More anti-domestic violence campaigns
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Only sporadic reporting of cases and lesser resistance
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Increase in the instances of domestic violence • Further degradation in status of women leading to wider gender divide
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • 'Broaden the present definition of domestic violence by adding deprivation of adequate clothes, food and housing to the category of economic abuse, as per the UN recommendations, 2008 • Monitor and document implementation and reporting of domestic violence cases • Create support system for domestic violence victim so that others feel safe to come out **Preventive measures** • Sensitise and train police to tackle domestic violence cases • Raise mass awareness through media, academic institutions • Curb alcohol and drug abuse to reduce incidences of domestic violence	

5.2.5 Issues related to Citizenship

Low level of political participation both as a voter and as a representative has been seen as an issue of national relevance. Poor quality of elected representatives along with a sense of declining community bonding emerge as key issues under this theme. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue	Scenarios	Expected Outcome
Low level of political participation	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Democratisation of policy-making • Meaningful representation of youth, women and marginalised sections of the society including minorities
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increased alienation of large masses due to vote bank politics
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Increased marginalisation of youth, women and minorities • Increase in political apathy and distrust with the political class leading to political crisis
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Revisit regulations that discourage young people from political participation (e.g., a mother of more than 2 children cannot contest panchayat elections) **Preventive measures** • Promote politics as a career with well-defined salary structure to encourage young people • Introduce module on democratic citizenship in school with emphasis on field visits to political institutions/organisations • Institute a separate quota for youth representatives at all levels, right from Panchayat to the Parliament	

Quality of elected representatives	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• More willingness to join politics from young talent across the broad spectrum of society • Speedy resolution of social, economic and political issues plaguing the country
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increase in disbelief in the role of state as benefactor of citizens • Increase in political apathy
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Further deterioration in governance as policy- making and legislative functions would be guided by tactical and/or non-statesman considerations
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Conduct 3 to 6 months rigorous orientation programmes on the line of management development programmes for public representatives • Set up a think tank type of institution on Governance and organise interactions of political representatives regularly with experts from political science, sociology and public service management **Preventive measures** • Develop and follow a checklist of qualifications and/or experiences in order to give tickets to quality candidates • Ensure compulsory funding from political parties/Election Commission to improve knowledge, attitude and behaviour of the elected representatives	
Sense of declining community bonding	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Increased social cohesion and continuity
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Increase in privatisation of essential community functions like socialisation and cultural preservation
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Individualistic traits might lead to more fragmentation and isolationist tendencies in citizens
Recommendations	• Dedicated public funding for conservation of shared culture and heritage • Creation of community assets including community halls and funding for communal events	

5.2.6 Issues related to Migration

Interstate migration and rural to urban migration in order to avail health, education and livelihood opportunities came up as one of the key issues of national relevance which are shaping life trajectories of millions of young people. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue		Scenarios	Expected Outcome
General Migration (primarily interstate)		Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Substantial economic benefits • Stronger inter community bonding • Reduced caste barriers • Availability of right skills
		Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Destruction of local culture and traditions • Loss of identity • Poorer basic amenities for migrants • High concentration of skills in few cities and very low availability in other areas
		Negative - "If ignored"	• Worsened law and order situation • Skewed development of States and regions, posing a threat to the federal structure

Recommendations		**Curative measures** • Start migrant support services (such as getting LPG connection, finding suitable accommodation) to help them make smooth transitions to the new life • Regularise the settlements occupied by migrants **Preventive measures** • Provide liberal loan policy/ tax breaks with adequate technical support for local business/ entrepreneurs • Create one model University, College and School for 4-5 districts, for each district and for each block respectively • Award any contract with a clause of "local area development expense" with exempt tax liability • Develop more urban centres in pockets (e.g., one economic hub per 5 districts) • Implement proper and fair land acquisition policy • Create Non farming market-forces driven employment in the small towns/ rural areas • Compensate land acquisition by jobs for youth
Rural to Urban Migration	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Substantially higher income level of non-skilled labourers • Optimum level of skill based labour's migration • Better quality of life for migrants in cities
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Decline in non-skilled labour migration with some positive effect on income level • High concentration of skilled workers in few cities and unavailability in most other areas • Further deterioration in infrastructure of cities
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Very poor quality of life for migrants • Rise in violence • Social and political unrest • Over exploitation of resources such as ground water • Emergence of a new "underprivileged " category – migrants
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Implement proactive management of resources in cities • Mandatory provision of municipal facilities for slums/ villages **Preventive measures** • Develop adequate rural infrastructure to sustain micro and small scale industries - both farm and non-farm based • Build high class targeted training facilities in line with local employment potential, e.g., tourism/apple business in Kinnaur, Makhana based business in North Bihar, etc	

5.2.7 Issues related to Amenities/Facilities

While Lack of promotion of sports was voiced primarily in the North East, need for better infrastructure in Power and Communication sector and poor access to technology particularly for the rural communities came up as important issues under this theme. Possible scenarios of these issues in the near future and some preventive and/or curative recommendations are given below:

Issue	Scenarios	Expected Outcome	
Need for better infrastructure	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Partial check on intra and inter-state migration • Evenly distributed development for the hinterland	
	Neutral – if tackled as right now"	• Impetus in intra-state migration leading to a complete breakdown of the system	
	Negative - "If ignored"	• Massive scale urban migration • Disruption in the dynamics of tradition and local culture	
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Give examples of cases where the RTI Act was used to expose malaise in infrastructure projects in all RTI related training programmes • Make provision for compulsory social audit for projects related to infrastructure development **Preventive measures** • Do a infrastructure audit of each State and launch new projects based on the assessment • Add a module, in the capacity-building programmes, on ways and means to create infrastructure using developmental funds allocated to the panchayat • Make it mandatory for industrial houses to contribute a share of their profits for infrastructure development in their area		
Poor access to technology	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Optimum harnessing of digital dividend, leading to leap-frogging in terms of access to education, health and employment opportunities	
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Existence of digital divide as an important distinction for educational and employment preparedness	
	Negative – "If ignored"	• Broadening of digital divide leading to social unrest	
Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Entrust Lok Mitra Kendra with the additional responsibility of capacity building for the use of technology specially in the rural context • Use researches on technology adoption to ensure optimum use of existing technological infrastructure **Preventive measures** • Make it mandatory to build capacity for using technology, before giving access to technology in order to minimise non-use • Document and disseminate existing traditional technologies initiated by National Innovation Foundation		
Lack of promotion of sports	Optimistic – "if genuine efforts are made"	• Improved overall health indicators for the youth • Reduction in violent and disruptive activities due to positive outlet of energy • Improved performance in international sporting events	
	Neutral – "if tackled as right now"	• Higher awareness about importance of sports in general • Slow demise of traditional sports	
	Negative - "If ignored"	• More youth in anti-social activities • Near absence of traditional sports • Nil achievement in international sporting events	

Recommendations	**Curative measures** • Replace all politicians from sports federation by sportspersons • Ensure decent post-retirement engagement for Olympians and other sports achievers **Preventive measures** • Provide for daily sporting time in school calendar • Make participation in sports at school level one of the indicators for student's assessment • Identify young people with potential for pursuing a career in sports at primary school level and provide with necessary facilities • Provide high class training facilities at district level • Allocate funds to panchayats to cover provision of basic sporting infrastructure in rural areas • Introduce formal mechanism to leverage ex- sportspersons for coaching youngsters

6 Conclusion

Almost two years ago, YLTT initiated formulation of a Youth Agenda for India. After a series of interactions with young people and youth experts from different geographies at different levels we have been able to identify and prioritise critical issues from Youth perspective. Some of us may find various issues missing in this report which might be attributed to our approach of balancing size bias with critical mass. Many of the issues which lack critical mass might be of very high priority but we believe that those may be best handled at the local level. Similarly, many issues may have too big a size but should not be allocated with same proportion of resources and efforts. We used inputs of experts to create a map that helps to prioritise issues using three-dimensional variables: Population, Severity and Consensus of Estimates. The map clearly shows that the largest target group does not always mean higher severity and higher severity alone does not indicate higher priority. Some of the very high priority issues that come from the analysis are: Need for Better Infrastructure, Employment Opportunities, Health problems, Appropriate Education, Quality of Elected representatives. Some of the issues which otherwise attract so much of attention failed to show up in the grid such as: Early Marriage, Skill Based Training, Promotion of Sports. This prioritisation of issues is likely to help us focus on issues in an order of importance and impact. At the same time, since various issues are interlinked and have overlapping origins, solving the one with high priority may also address the various other issues which otherwise appear isolated and unrelated. We also used the inputs gathered from experts to develop scenarios (positive, negative and neutral) for 25 issues and articulate a set of curative and preventive measures which could help in improving the situation related to each of these issues.

While we have attempted to create a comprehensive document on Youth Agenda for India which is likely to provide important guideline to all the stakeholders going forward in realising the dream of harnessing demographic dividend, we are aware of the fact that the Youth Agenda cannot be static in nature. For many it may sound an obviously logical conclusion to make, but for us, it comes from rigorous research where analysis of facts and observations highlight that various issues would shape up differently going forward and thus need regular modification not only in the way those are tackled but also the frame they would be looked at. For example, an issue which may be more urban at this point of time may become more relevant in rural context few years down the line. Thus it is important to have a mechanism where regular evaluation of work done around specific issues concerning youth would be assessed and a self-correcting loop has to be built by incorporating feedback from the ground. We aspire to keep the process of consultation continued through various forums and platforms so that a complete agenda which include issues and proposal around frameworks and policies. The work is dynamic in

> " Some of the very high priority issues that come from the analysis are: Need for Better Infrastructure, Employment Opportunities, Health problems, Appropriate Education, Quality of Elected representatives. "

nature and leaves the scope of ongoing refinement as in when more substantial inputs come. The work will be helpful for any person or body interested in youth issues at a macro level namely policy makers, civil societies, youth organisations and Think Tanks.

During this two-year long exercise we were touched by the demonstration of extreme optimism of both experts as well as the young people amidst the general mood of "nothing being right at the state level". This is most promising because young people and those representing them still believe that they CAN make a difference. No matter how pessimistic and dire the outlook may look or how desperate the young people may sound but there is hope that we can influence the political, economic and social processes for brighter and inclusive future. It is this simmering anger as well as lingering hope for a better future which gives hope for drafting and implementing an engaging Youth Agenda for India.

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Appendices

Appendix A

YLTT and Youth Agenda: The Genesis

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) India Office initiated a network of young people called the "Young Leaders Think Tank" or YLTT. *The YLTT initiates discussions and develops strategies on political, social and economic issues for India, infuses fresh perspectives and processes them with FES to energise public debate.* In 2010, YLTT initiated a discussion on whether India needs a 'Youth Agenda' in order to redefine the role and enhance the visibility of young people in governance and development processes. With an objective of initiating a process of youth agenda a workshop-cum-consultation was organised during May 28-30, 2010. Besides YLTT members, it was attended by resource persons with rich and diverse experiences of working with Youth. All participants agreed that a youth agenda was necessary. A youth agenda needs to be made FOR the youth, but also BY the youth. The possible contents and structure of the proposed Youth agenda emerged during the workshop necessitate inclusion of the following dimensions:

1. Build a self-empowering network of stake-holders, especially but not exclusively of young people. Several institutions were named which already work on the issue. A strategic youth agenda would have to take as many stake holders into account, as possible.

2. Media, as a social agent and as a field in which many young professionals themselves work, would be an important ally.

3. A participative political process should include young citizens. Young people should be enabled to inform themselves about political involvement in differing intensities.

Young people should also be enabled to enter existing structures, and allies for this enterprise should be connected.

4. Young people should themselves form pressure or lobby groups, the Young Leaders Think Tank being one of them.

5. Policies should be formulated, lobbied for by civil society and put into action by existing political decision-makers.

6. The full social and regional strata of Indian Society should be included in the process of formulating the agenda as well as in the objectives of the agenda.

7. Educational tools other than formal education should be created, used or promoted to generate more participation and knowledge of the political process.

8. A broad variety of developmental issues were raised, including regional migration, health, good governance, sustainability.

These issues could be addressed in an agenda. The YLTT's role, as decided, was to develop a concept in consultation with FES on how to draft the youth agenda, with whom and which issues to include and build scenarios for the same.

Members of YLTT decided that each member would explore and exploit diverse youth issues in their own geographical area. (See Appendix K for a list of YLTT members) The group is a representative of members from different regions of India and from diversified academic and professional background. The action plan included regional consultations and documentation of opinions and voices of youth from across India.

Appendix B

Round 1: Identification of issues

To collect information from stakeholders for identifying key issues in different geographies, individual YLTT members used a number of methods, such as surveys, participatory programmes like youth meets, seminars, workshops, symposia, panel discussions, video and short films, personal/formal interviews. A break-up of regional representation is given in the Figure below:

Figure: Views represented by different regions (%age)
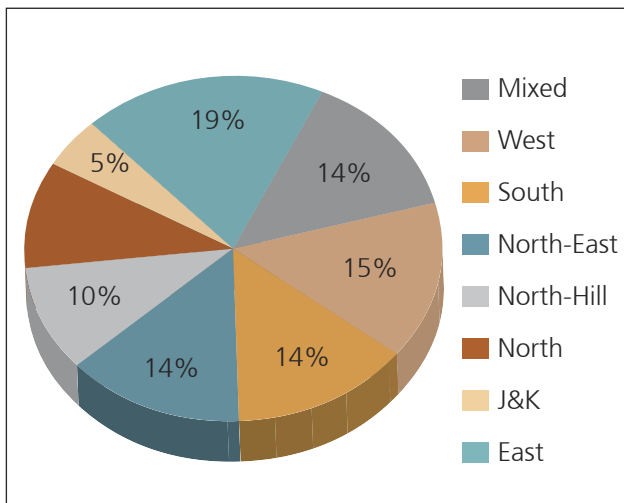
Some of the issues identified during this process included:

- Lack of awareness regarding youth's own right and responsibilities

- Lack of proper forum to express their grievances and expectations

- Opportunity for flexible education system

- Disgraceful outlook towards nation's political environment

- Job opportunities

- Migration in less developed and rural areas

- Gender bias in terms of education and job opportunities

- Corruption

- Lack of scopes for financial assistance from government agencies for entrepreneurs

- Dependence on government jobs

- Job-oriented trainings and courses

- Environment and pollution

Appendix C

Round 2: Composite listing of issues

In order to understand the findings emerged after regional consultations by individual YLTT members, another workshop was held in 2011 when we started our formal deliberation and discussion. We started with identifying issues through problem tree analysis. The main problem statement we started with was "how can India receive her demographic dividend from her young population". We followed "sum of the parts" approach to assess demographic dividend thus we looked at the problems from youth perspective rather than the receiver perspective.

Based on the field based interaction with different demographics like rural/urban, literate/illiterate etc, the YLTT members' experiences with young people in different part of the country, we prepared a list of 60 issues that concerned youth across the country. We classified these issues as per the framework developed by the World Bank (2006), which included following themes: Learning, Working, Staying healthy, Starting family, Citizenship, Migration, global communication, Amenities/facilities. The list is given below in the Table:

Issues for the youth agenda

Transitions	Issues affecting youth in India	Ranking
Education	Level of school enrollment by gender	
	Primary, secondary, post secondary completion	
	Learning achievement—end-primary and end-secondary—(Quality)	
	Readiness to pursue post secondary education	
	High rate of school drop out	
	Universal education system or Right to Education	
	Basic Sciences/ Courses vs Job Oriented Courses	
World of work	Guidance for choosing most appropriate course	
	Incidence of child labour (Premature entry in labour market)	
	Labour force participation	
	Unemployment for rural and urban youth	
	Not in education, employment or training	
	Employability skills	
	Information and guidance system for career choice and development	
	Employment in public sector	
	Employment in unskilled areas	
	Employment in farming	
	Employment in private sector	
	Employment in new areas – arts, culture, freelancer in creative field	

	Tobacco usage	
	Nutrition level	
32	Drug abuse	
	Youth engaged in unprotected sex	
	Prevalence of awareness of HIV/AIDS	
	Prevention of HIV	
	Maternal and child health	
Staying healthy	Life-style related diseases like diabetes	
	Fertility rates	
	Young people becoming teen parents	
	Young women using antenatal care	
	Guidance on parenting	
	Family planning	
	Malnutrition among children and women	
	Drug-abuse, tobacco and alcohol	
	Population growth	
	Youth with political awareness	
	Awareness and achievement of MDGs	
	Maintaining inter-community (religious) relations	
	Maintaining inter-community (caste) relations	
	Problems of organised crime	
	Article 370	
	Uniform Civil Code	
	Corruption at high places	
	Human Rights	
	Sustainable Development	
	Political representation	
Citizenship	Reforms in the Judicial system	
	Deliberate transition of power to younger generation	
	Women and minorities in leadership roles	
	Media's role in nation-building	
	E-governance	
	Right and duty to vote	
	Social welfare and social security	
	Role of civil services in nation-building	
	Individual privacy vs. national security	
	Rights of differently abled	
	Rights of LGBT (Sexual Minorities)	

Migration/ Divide	Youth studying/working outside their place of birth	
	Interstate Migration for employment	33
	Digital Divide	
	English vs Non English Speaking Segments	
Communicating global scale	Internet and communication technology for networking and knowledge sharing	
	Major international pro-democracy events like Arab uprising	
ICT (Information, Communication and Technology)	Computer and Internet	
	Mobile Phones and Advanced applications	
	Modern face of Cinema, TV and Radio	
Amenities/ Facilities	Roads, Power and Water	
	Housing, Accommodation	
	Facilities for sports and other physical activities	

Appendix D

Round 3: Reduction of number of issues for deeper analysis

Before the next stage of resource persons interviews, the discussion group shared the outcome of this process with rest of the group for pruning the list to make it brief and yet inclusive. The most important reason for pruning was to make it less daunting for both-the YLTT members and the resource persons. Each of the 18 present members of YLTT gave their rating on each issue as per the degree of importance on a scale of 1-10 where 1 meant not at all important and 10 meant extremely important. We arrived at an indicative score for importance of items by averaging the ratings. Thus, a mix of quantitative and qualitative approaches was used in preparing the final list of issues. All issues with the mean rating of less than 5 were removed, issues with similar connotations were merged and it was also ensured that each of the major themes get a representation. The final list consisted of 32 issues.(See Table below).

	Issues for the youth agenda
1	Level of school enrollment by gender
2	Article 370 and Uniform civil code
3	Basic Sciences/ Courses vs Job Oriented Courses
4	Corruption at high places
5	Drug abuse
6	Employment in farming
7	Employment in private sector
8	English vs Non English Speaking Segments
9	High rate of school drop out
10	Incidence of child labour (Premature entry in labour market)
11	Infrastructure (Roads, Power and Water, Housing, Sports facility)
12	Internet and communication technology for networking and knowledge sharing (Web ,mobiles, etc).
13	Interstate migration for education
14	Interstate Migration for employment
15	Judicial system reforms
16	Maintaining inter-community (caste) relations
17	Maintaining inter-community (religious) relations
18	Major international pro-democracy events like Arab uprising
19	Maternal and child health
20	Media's (including print and audio-visual)role in nation building
21	Not in education, employment or training
22	Political representation and participation
23	Population growth
24	Prevalence and Prevention of HIV

25	Primary, secondary, post secondary completion
26	Problems of organised crime
27	Social welfare and social security
28	Tobacco and Alcohol usage
29	Unemployment for rural and urban youth
30	Universal education system or Right to Education
31	Women and minorities in leadership roles
32	Youth with political awareness

Appendix E

Round 4: Detailed analysis of the pruned list of issues

We collected information from various resource persons spanning across the regions. Some resource persons filled out the data sheets, some preferred giving qualitative information. We also talked and gathered information from various socially active young leaders across the country while participating in youth camps and seminars.

While analysing the data, we created specific variables reflecting relevance of the information in terms of number of youth affected, severity of the issue, confidence level of the resource persons, and the forward looking scenarios of the issue. We made our best efforts to remove bias from the information by normalising the information using background of the resource persons. However, it was not possible to completely remove bias from the information as we received most of the data through informal discussion in qualitative form. We asked our resources persons to provide information on the basis of what they believe relevant in the current situation and not what they believe should be the case and wherever possible we helped our resource persons in making this distinction.

Data analysed from second round provided some great insights. We would like to emphasise on the point that what are highlighting below is based on the information provided by the resource persons and it does not really reflect what we as a Think Tank believe.

The major themes from the analysis are summarised below:
a) Demographic diversity of the issues is important as resource persons have identified different set of issues for different youth demographies. However, we would like to highlight the fact that there are strong pan India issues from Youth perspective as well.

b) There are some very specific issues related to specific target group. Youth from specific region such as North East part of India and Jammu and Kashmir and Tribal areas have specific but critical issues.

c) There are national issues cutting across broad target groups such as issues related to youth in rural areas, issues related to youth in metropolis and big cities, etc.

d) There are some issues which are of very high importance for the specific target groups e.g. youth in hills, migrated youth, youth from some states such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha.

e) "Young Women and Females" this is a large category cutting across sub-categories that may have similar issues but require very specific treatment from young population. We have been able to ascertain with great degree of confidence that various measures targeting youth simply cannot work in the case of young women and the whole agenda must approach various issues in a specific context for women. The current lack of gender mainstreaming seems to be fulfilling this gap.

f) Another specific segment that came up in our analysis is the 'Youth without Entitlement'. They are mostly either from extremely poor background or migrated from some place or both. Where youth from all other categories have specific issues which can be addressed through various proactive planning and policy mechanism, problems of this segment need very different approach as their biggest concern is their 'claim on entitlement' which affects every aspect of their life.

Themes Cutting Across Nearly All Target Groups

No.	Issue	Highlight	Forward View
1	Alcohol and Tobacco Usage	Even very young people	Extremely critical
2	Appropriate Education	quality of education and relevance of courses	Significant improvement over next five to ten years
3	Migration	Both Urban and Rural driven by employment opportunities	Situation will worsen i.e. more migration
4	Employment opportunities	Non-farm specifically for semi urban/ rural India	Situation will worsen i.e. employment opportunities would decrease.
5	High level of Drop-outs	post school (specifically 10+2)	No clarity. Though inclusive evidence points to improvement. It also means delayed entry to workforce for India's young population.
6	Employment driven training facilities	Both academic and vocational	Remains as it is but privatisation may show some improvement.
7	Low level of political participation	Both as voter and representative	Improve especially as representative.

Themes Cutting Across Broad Target Groups

No.	Issue	Highlight	Forward View
1	Drug Usage	Critical in disturbed areas	Extremely Critical for productive contribution in the society
2	Interstate Migration	Driven by education and health	Will decrease due to programs such as MGNREGA
3	Local employment	specifically in organised sector	Situation will worsen as development is concentrated in specific big cities
4	Competition driven Stress	Education especially 10+2 and for government jobs.	Extremely critical specifically for very young population
5	Intrastate Rural to Urban Migration	High for developed States	Will worsen in the long run specifically for skilled persons
6	Absence from labour market		No clarity
7	Need for better Infrastructure	specifically power and communication	Will improve. Need would increase and also the provision but deterioration in resource match in next 5 years.
8	High stress in life	Much more than just metros	Will worsen to a level where productive youth would become un-productive.
9	Poor access to technology		Improve
10	Lack of formal training	for occupation in unorganised sector	No clarity

Themes for Specific Target Group

No.	Issue	Highlight	Forward View
1	Dowry system	State and community specific	Improve
2	Pressure to deliver male child	large part of North India	Remains same
3	Domestic Violence	even in relatively developed southern states	Will worsen
4	Early marriage	specifically for rural pockets	Will end
5	Migration of young females as domestic workers	specifically from Eastern India	Will decrease
6	Migration due to lack of high income generating opportunities	North East, Kerala	Will worsen
7	Lack of promotion of Sports	specifically in North East	Will worsen
8	Quality of elected representatives	Specifically Eastern Part	Will worsen
9	Very poor infrastructure	connectivity and power specifically Eastern and North Eastern India	Will improve
10	Sense of Declining Community bonding	Majorly inter religion	Will worsen
11	Poor English	works as an entry barrier in getting private sector jobs	Remain same
12	Inequality of opportunities	driven by income inequality	Extremely critical

Young Women

No.	Issue	Highlight	Forward View
1	Local employment opportunities	Self-employment	Remains same
2	Access to Skills based training	which does not require higher academic qualification	Remains same though in pockets, it might improve because of NSDC kind of initiatives.
3	Employment opportunities	which factors in the inherent challenges of young married women and help them get financial independence	Worsen
4	Domestic Violence	major problem even in relatively developed southern states	Will worsen
5	Specific Training facilities	to participate in productive work conducive to female sensitivities	No clarity
6	Health problems	Make women less productive than men	Will improve
7	Migration due to marriage	Prevalent across barring some southern states	Remains same
8	Low wages for majority of young women	involved with basic, non skilled work	Remains same
9	Use of contraceptives and birth control	Responsible for their irregular participation in labour force	Remains same
10	Discrimination at work places and job opportunities	Across regions and profiles	Remains same

Apart from looking at some of these key issues, we also tried to understand how these issues would evolve going forward. There are clearly three categories of issues, one which would become more critical; second, which would subside with time; and third, which would remain stagnant.

Appendix F

Draft tool for regional consultation

About self:
- Name (optional):
- Age:
- Sex:
- Education Qualification:
- Occupation:
- Location: Town/Village, Tehsil, District, State
- Caste: General/OBC/SC/ST
- Religion: Hindu/Muslim/Christian/Baudh/Sikh/Jain
- Economic status: Upper/Upper middle/Lower middle/Lower

Issues:
1. Most important SOCIAL issue (which you personally believe) in your village/ community specifically in the context of youth:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
2. Most important POLITICAL issue that bothers you specifically in the context of your voting constituency and from youth perspective:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
3. The most important ECONOMIC consideration for you that you think will help you manage your life the way you want:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?

4. How important technology is for you considering your personal scenario:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
5. Your key concern/ issue with media/ communication in the context of youth and your local scenario:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
6. How important cultural and traditional systems are for you and what is the most influential cultural aspect of your society:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
7. What is the state of education in your society and what is the most important issue there:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
8. What are the three most desirable things you want in the context of youth in your area:
   - What changes do you expect in 5 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 10 years time from now in this regard?
   - What changes do you expect in 15 years time from now in this regard?
9. Any other issue which should be included in youth agenda for your community?

Basic guidelines for YLTT Youth Agenda Survey

Please comment on these specific issues based on your personal views/ experiences only. Here country means – the region you know well, Youth means the youth you understand. **Please be specific and crisp in your comments** – avoid generic remarks such as poverty, corruption etc. You don't need to know everything to comment on these topics – use whatever you know.

What is your key concern as an Individual	1. 2.
What is your key concern as a youth	1. 2.
How do you think you are making contributions to address the concerns you have	1. 2.
What do you think a youth can do to bring the required changes	1. 2.
What should be ideal inclusions in the Youth Agenda for India	1. 2. 3.

Personal Profile

- Name
- Age
- Sex
- Education
- Domicile State
- Religion (not mandatory)
- Caste (not mandatory)
- Work Profile

Appendix H

Glimpse from the field

Group 1	
Venue:	Government Senior Secondary School, Udaipur, Chamba (HP),
Occasion:	Annual NSS (National Service Scheme) camp
	Sample size and characteristics: : 70 volunteers (40 College students, 30 Higher Secondary students; 25 girls and 45 boys; age range 16-22 years; from different parts of the District; largely Hindu; all caste groups; lower middle and low SES)
Method:	Group discussion facilitated by the NSS programme officer
	Discussion issues: Youth issues in the region now, after 5 years, 10 years, and 15 years in the following spheres: Society, Polity, Economy, Media, and Culture.
Outcomes:	Although they were supposed to discuss issues specific to their region, the discussion got diverted to national issues such as caste, corruption, unequal distribution of resources, and irresponsible media. But when it came to discussing culture, they got animated and showed concern over preserving cultural traditions in the mountain context and talked about reviving traditional values and ways of life.
Group 2	
Location:	Delhi Public School , Gandhidham Near Kandala Port , Bhuj (Gujarat)
Sample size and characteristics:	19 (10 female, 5 male, 4 not specified, Class 10, 11,12 students in the age range of 15-18, from upper middle and high SES)
Method:	Survey method using a questionnaire
Outcomes:	Like previous group comments on Political, Economic and Media domains were similar, but they did raise some local issues. A list of the key issues affecting young people in the area is given below: 1. Transportation: Better railway station and airport 2. More preference on Business and less on academic persuasion; more focus on money and less on learning 3. Brain drain due to lesser opportunity for higher education and 4. Media should be more focused on youth issues, should report from small and remote places as well. Positive should be given more space. Should be less after TRPs 5. No opportunity for higher education and professional courses in the area 6. For some respondents cultural traditions are "opportunities to show off prosperity and time for entertainment". For some others people are going to forget the culture anyway. For yet others youth should show interest for traditional dance and music 7. Too much money in social and political sectors 8. Too much dependence on technology, less use of brains, in future youth is going to be like a robot unable to take decisions using brain. 9. Bad habits such as smoking, drinking, laziness 10. Low belief in self 11. More cleanliness and hygiene 12. Lesser health consciousness 13. Financial independence 14. Better teacher required 15. More opportunity for personality development in school 16. Industrial development in the region 17. Pollution 18. Narrow mindedness 19. Low level of education 20. Preference for male child.

Appendix I

Format for detailed issue wise analysis in Round 4

Issue_____

	Demographic Segment	Level of Importance	Level of confidence	Change in Importance in next 5 years
		0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	50 75 90 100	Increase Decrease Stable Irrelevant
Nativity	Urban			
	Semi-Urban			
	Rural			
Geographic Region	North			
	South			
	East			
	West			
	North-East			
Religion	Hindu			
	Muslim			
	Sikh			
	Christians			
	Others			
Literacy	Illiterate			
	School Educated			
	College Educated			
Caste	General Caste			
	OBC			
	SC			
	ST			
Gender	Male			
	Female			
Employment	Unemployed			
	Self Employed			
	Government Employment			
	Private Employment			
	Unskilled Employment			
	Skilled Employment			

Disturbed areas	Insurgency			
	Naxal/Maoist			
Physiographic regions	Hills			
	Plains			
	Coastal			
	Arid			
Overall- Youth in General				

Existing status and provisions

	Engagement of youth	Efforts in engaging with the youth	Promotion of the full involvement of youth through existing			Existing mechanism for partnership for	
	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Policies	Processes	Structures	Solution-seeking process	Implementation of solutions
Local/ Community							
State/ regional							
National							

Suggestions/recommendations/modifications

	Promotion of the full involvement of youth through proposed			Proposed mechanism for partnership for	
	Policies	Processes	Structures	Solution-seeking process	Implementation of solutions
Local/ Community					
State/ regional					
National					

Your own involvement with the_____has been at the level of

General awareness	Participation in civil society discussion	Participation in government discussion	Direct involvement in the field with youth

Your involvement with _____has been for

Last six months	About six months to 2 years	More than 2 years but less than 5 years	More than 5 years

Would you share your own experiences on _____?

Any other comment that you would like to share with us about _____

Expert   YLTTian

Appendix J

Sample Output for Survey in Round 4

Issue: High rate of school drop out

	Demographic Segment	Level of Importance	Level of confidence	Change in Importance in next 5 years
		0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	50 75 90 100	Increase Decrease Stable Irrelevant
Nativity	Urban	3	75	Decrease
	Semi-Urban	6	90	Decrease
	Rural	8	90	Stable
Geographic Region	North	4	75	Stable
	South	2	90	Decrease
	East	5	90	Stable
	West	5	75	Stable
	North-East	4	75	Decrease
Religion	Hindu	4	90	Decrease
	Muslim	4	90	Stable
	Sikh	8	90	Stable
	Christians	6	90	Decrease
	Others	3	75	Stable
Literacy	Illiterate	3	90	Decrease
	School Educated	8	90	Decrease
	College Educated	8	90	Decrease
Caste	General Caste	4	90	Decrease
	OBC	6	90	Decrease
	SC	8	90	Stable
	ST	9	90	Stable
Gender	Male	4	90	Decrease
	Female	8	90	Decrease
Employment	Unemployed	8	90	Stable
	Self Employed	5	75	Stable
	Government Employment	5	75	Decrease
	Private Employment	6	75	Decrease
	Unskilled Employment	8	90	Stable
	Skilled Employment	2	90	Decrease
Disturbed areas	Insurgency	8	90	Stable
	Naxal/Maoist	8	90	Stable

Physiographic regions	Hills	6	75	Stable
	Plains	6	90	Stable
	Coastal	5	90	Decrease
	Arid	6	75	Stable
Overall- Youth in General		5	90	Decrease

Existing status and provisions

	Engagement of youth	Efforts in engaging with the youth	Promotion of the full involvement of youth through existing			Existing mechanism for partnership for	
	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Policies	Processes	Structures	Solution-seeking process	Implement-ation of solutions
Local/ Community	2	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
State/ regional	2	2	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
National	3	3	No idea	No idea	No idea	Awareness, consultation, subsidised education	Decentralised nodal agency to be performed at local level and coordinated at national level

Suggestions/recommendations/modifications

	Promotion of the full involvement of youth through proposed			Proposed mechanism for partnership for	
	Policies	Processes	Structures	Solution-seeking process	Implementation of solutions
Local/ Community	Policy to awareness amongst youth for education	Awareness among youth contributes Awareness in society and family	Local level committee for discussion and review	Local level programmes, involving youth, involving families and communities	Awareness subsidised education (primary and secondary), social support
State/ regional	To achieve 100% enrollment irrespective of gender	Promoting girl education at subsidised fee	Make a separate board with local level agency to perform	Subsidised education and sponsored awareness programme	District level boards (implementation)
National	To achieve 100% school enrollment irrespective of gender	Target oriented projects given to state, civil society	Nodal agency to coordinate with government board, NGOs	Ensure school enrollment for girls	With authority from Centre in guidance of nodal agency, NGOs and government authorities

Your own involvement with the issue has been at the level of

General awareness	Participation in civil society discussion	Participation in government discussion	Direct involvement in the field with youth

Appendix K

List of experts

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Appendix L

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Appendix M

Consultation in process: Some still images

About the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is a German political foundation committed to social democracy, pluralism and international cooperation. It was established in 1925 as the political legacy of Germany's first democratically elected president, Friedrich Ebert.

Banned in 1933 and re-established in 1947, the FES today continues to promote social democracy and political education. The main field in which the foundation is active are:

- Social cohesion
- Democratic culture
- Innovation and participation
- Globalisation based on solidarity