2008

Youth in India: Situation and needs 2006-2007, Maharashtra

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MINISTRY OF HEALTH & FAMILY WELFARE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

Youth in India: Situation and Needs 2006–2007

MAHARASHTRA

*International Institute for
Population Sciences, Mumbai*

Population Council

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

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Youth in India: Situation and Needs 2006–2007

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Foreword

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

Effective implementation of policies and programmes, however, has been difficult because of the lack of evidence on young people's situation and needs. The project Youth in India: Situation and Needs is intended to provide this evidence. Research has been conducted in a total of six states of India – Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu. It provides a wealth of evidence on married and unmarried young women and young men from both rural and urban settings of each state. It covers almost every major dimension of youth life: education, work force participation, family life, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation. It provides state-level evidence on the magnitude and patterns of sexual and reproductive practices in and outside of marriage as well as related knowledge, decision-making and attitudes. Findings from the study provide important base-line indicators against which the long-term impact of programmes may be measured and will certainly go a long way in guiding policy, programmes and advocacy on youth issues.

This report focuses on findings from Maharashtra and is based on interviews with 7570 youth from all over the state. The report provides an enormous amount of information for the first time at the state level. The information will be useful to policy makers, programme implementers in government and non government sectors, rights activists and researchers alike who are committed to addressing the needs of Maharashtra's young generation. I appreciate the efforts put in by the International Institute for Population Sciences, Population Council and the technical advisory committee who guided the study.

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सम्पर्क से पहले सोचो, एच आईवी/एडस से बचो **HIV/AIDS : Prevention is better than cure**

Acknowledgements

This first report from the *Youth in India: Situation and Needs Study* describes the transition to adulthood experienced by young men and women in Maharashtra. It covers multiple dimensions of their situation, ranging from education, work and marriage to sexual and reproductive health and behaviours. Evidence and recommendations contained in this report highlight, moreover, directions for programming and research that will enable youth in Maharashtra to make a successful transition to adulthood.

The *Youth in India: Situation and Needs Study* has benefited immeasurably from the input of many. We are grateful to the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India, for granting permission to conduct this study and to the Secretary, Shri Naresh Dayal, for his support throughout the project. Shri G. C. Chaturvedi, Mission Director, National Rural Health Mission, Shrimati S. Jalaja, former Additional Secretary, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Shri S.K. Das, Additional Director General and Dr. Ratan Chand, Chief Director, Ministry of Health and Family Welfare, Government of India for their support and guidance. We would also like to acknowledge the significant contribution of Shrimati S. Jalaja as chair of our Project Advisory Committee.

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We are grateful to our Project Advisory Committee members for their inputs into ensuring that our study did indeed address all of the key issues that require policy and programme attention. We appreciate their contributions both during the formal meeting of the committee and in various one-on-one discussions during the course of the project.

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Executive summary

The *Youth in India: Situation and Needs Study* (referred to as the Youth Study), implemented by the International Institute for Population Sciences, Mumbai, and the Population Council, New Delhi, is the first-ever sub-nationally representative study conducted to identify key transitions experienced by married and unmarried youth in India. Young people (aged 10-24) constituted almost 315 million and represented 31% of the Indian population in 2001. Not only does this cohort represent India's future in the socio-economic and political realms, but its experiences will largely determine India's achievement of its goal of population stabilisation and the extent to which the nation will be able to harness its demographic dividend. While today's youth are healthier, more urbanised and better educated than earlier generations, social and economic vulnerabilities persist. In the course of the transition to adulthood, moreover, young people face significant risks related to sexual and reproductive health, and many lack the knowledge and power to make informed sexual and reproductive choices.

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

The Youth Study focused on married and unmarried young women and unmarried young men aged 15-24 and, because of the paucity of married young men in the younger ages, married men aged 15-29 in both rural and urban settings. It collected information pertaining to key transitions experienced by youth, including those related to education, work force participation, sexual activity, marriage, health and civic participation, the magnitude and patterns of young people's sexual and reproductive practices within and outside of marriage as well as related knowledge, decision-making and attitudes.

The Youth Study comprised three phases, and included both a survey and qualitative data gathering exercises prior to and after the survey. The study was conducted in a phased manner in six states of India: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu.

This report focuses on findings from the survey conducted in Maharashtra. The survey was undertaken between January and August 2006. During the survey, 8,649 young people were contacted, of which a total of 7,570 married and unmarried young women and men were successfully interviewed.

Characteristics of the household population

A total of 25,641 households were selected for interview. Among these, interviews were successfully completed in 23,077 sample households, and 111,389 individuals, who were usual residents in these households, were enumerated. The age distribution was typical of a population in which fertility has fallen rapidly in the past 10–15 years, with relatively small proportions in both the younger (0–9 years) and older (60+ years) age groups. With regard to the youth population, the distribution suggests that at the time of the survey, 11% of the population was aged 10–14 years, 10% was aged 15–19 years and 9% was aged 20–24 years. A total of 19.3% of the population was aged 15–24 years.

Overall, the sex ratio of the *de jure* population of the state was 947 females per 1,000 males. Of major concern is the sex ratio of the child population (aged 0–6), which was 862 females per 1,000 males; standard errors were relatively small and the 95% confidence interval ranged from 828 to 895. Even using the upper limit of this estimate, it would appear that there has been some decline in the child sex ratio as compared to that observed in the 2001 Census (913).

One-quarter of the population aged 6 years and above had no formal education. Fewer males than females fell into this group: 16% and 34%, respectively. At the other extreme, 18% and 10% of males and females, respectively, had received 12 or more years of education. Median years of schooling was 8 years for males and 5 years for females, but was roughly three years higher in the urban compared to the rural population (8 and 5 years, respectively).

Overall, 19% of all households lived in *kuchcha* houses (constructed from mud, thatch or other low-quality materials), 46% lived in semi-*pucca* houses (constructed using a mix of low- and high-quality materials) and 35% lived in *pucca* houses (constructed entirely from cement, masonry or other high-quality materials). About four-fifths of households had electricity, including almost all urban households (96%) and 71% of rural households. The majority of households (85%) reported that their main source of drinking water was either piped water, or water obtained from a hand-pump or a covered well. Access to a toilet facility of any kind was reported by about half of all households (49%); 85% in urban areas and 21% in rural areas.

The distribution of households by wealth quintiles shows that more than one-third of urban households were in the highest (fifth) wealth quintile; in contrast, only 7% of rural households were in this quintile. Likewise, about one-third of rural households were in the lowest (first) quintile compared to only 4% of urban households in this quintile.

Situation of youth

As mentioned earlier, a total of 7,570 youth were interviewed. Age profiles suggest that the unmarried were younger than the married, and rural youth were somewhat younger than their urban counterparts. About four in five youth were Hindu and about one-tenth were Muslim. Caste-wise distributions show that 36–41% of youth belonged to general castes, 15–17% to scheduled castes, 11–16% to scheduled tribes and 27–31% to other backward castes. Over four in five youth reported that both parents were surviving. For those with just one parent surviving, this parent was more likely to be the mother (10–11%) than the father (2%). Finally, 1% reported that neither parent was alive.

Education

Educational profiles indicate that over 90% of youth in the state had been to school. At the time of interview, about half of all unmarried youth (and very few married) were still in school or college. Findings also indicate that youth who were ever enrolled in school by and large remained in school up to Class 5, with very gradual declines in attendance. Following Class 5, declines became somewhat steeper. There was a particularly steep decline between Classes 9 and 10 for all youth, highlighting that many youth did not undertake or pass the school leaving examination in Class 10. While three-quarters of young men and 70% of young women who were ever enrolled in school had completed Class 9, just three-fifths and half, respectively, had completed Class 10. While gender differences have declined impressively, findings suggest that married and rural youth were considerably less likely than their respective counterparts to have attended high school.

Findings suggest, moreover, that youth were considerably better educated than their parents. The median number of years of education completed by fathers of young men and women was 7 years; mothers of young men and women were far less educated, with over half of mothers having no formal education.

Leading reasons for discontinuation among young men and women who discontinued at middle and high school levels were school-related factors (academic failure, distance to school, poor school quality and infrastructure), economic issues (required for work on the family farm/business or for outside wage earning work, or the family could not afford school-related expenses) and attitudes and perceptions of parents and youth (such as for example, that education was unnecessary or that children were not interested). Of note is that school-related factors, particularly poor academic performance, were significant motivating reasons behind discontinuation, reported by 47% of young men and 52% of young women who discontinued schooling before completing Class 10. While percentages were small, transitions into adult roles – getting a job or marriage – also became increasingly more likely reasons for school discontinuation among those who discontinued at high school levels.

The majority of youth at all levels attended government schools or colleges. Nonetheless, between one in four and two in five young men and women studied at a private school or college at higher levels of education. Findings also show that amenities available within the educational facility attended and schooling experiences differed vastly between youth who were still in school and those who had discontinued their education. For example, youth who were still in school were more likely to report the availability of such amenities as toilets and libraries than were those who had discontinued schooling. Moreover, they were more likely to have taken private tuition and to have passed the last examination for which they had appeared. Notably, gender differences in the type of educational facility attended, i.e., government or private facility, and additional investment in schooling made, particularly in terms of private tuition, were negligible.

Work

Work profiles suggest that about two-thirds of young men and two-fifths of young women had ever engaged in paid or unpaid work. Indeed, almost all married young men and almost two-thirds of unmarried young men had done so, compared with half and one-third of married and unmarried young women, respectively. Likewise, more rural youth than urban youth had ever worked. Economic activity was often initiated at an early age: almost one in five youth (17-19%) reported initiating work as a child (before age 15). The majority of young

men (98% of married and 62% of unmarried) and a substantial proportion of young women (36% and 29%, respectively) had engaged in paid or unpaid work at some point in the 12 months preceding the survey. Three-quarters or more of young men and women who worked in the year prior to interview had done so for the major part (at least six months) of the year.

Findings also show substantial levels of unemployment among young men (20%) and women (17%). Unemployment tended to be considerably higher among unmarried than married youth and was particularly high among the educated and better off. Youth were clearly interested in acquiring skills that would enable employment generation; 64% of young men and 71% of young women reported interest in vocational skills training. However, far fewer – just over one-fifth of young men and one-third of young women – had attended at least one vocational training programme.

Media exposure

Large proportions of youth were exposed to the media, typically newspapers, magazines or books (92% of young men and 79% of young women with five or more years of education) and television (94% of all young men and 85% of all young women). Exposure to the internet was limited, with 14% of young men and 9% of young women with five or more years of education reporting having ever accessed the internet.

Findings also suggest that as many as two in five young men and hardly any young women accessed pornographic or “blue” films and over half of those reported that they accessed these films sometimes or frequently. One quarter of young men had read pornographic materials and two-fifths had accessed such materials on the internet, compared to many fewer young women. Finally, well over half of young men and women acknowledged the influence that media have on youth behaviours.

Socialisation experiences and communication with parents

Findings underscore the gendered nature of socialisation among youth. Responses from both young men and women suggest that unequal gender norms regarding freedom of movement and housework expectations were prevalent in study households. Moreover, the extent to which youth behaviours were controlled by parents was evident from the large proportions of young men and especially young women who reported that their parents would disapprove of social activities in which youth tend to participate, particularly those involving members of the opposite sex. For example, while less than 8% of young men and women reported that their mothers or fathers would disapprove if they brought same-sex friends to their home, nearly two-thirds of young men and over three-quarters of young women reported expecting parental disapproval if they brought an opposite-sex friend home (the married were asked to report on the time before they were married).

Findings regarding communication with parents on issues relevant to youth – such as school performance, friendships, being teased or bullied, physical maturation, romantic relationships and reproductive processes – show that such communication was far from universal. In general, sensitive topics such as romantic relationships, reproduction and contraception among all youth, and even issues of adolescent body changes among young men, were rarely discussed with either parent (reported by fewer than 7% of youth). Nevertheless, among young women, mothers were reported as the most likely confidante on such matters as menstrual problems and experience of teasing by a boy.

Young people's family lives were marked by violence, both experienced and witnessed. About one in five youth had observed their fathers beating their mothers. Many youth reported being beaten by a parent during adolescence; almost two in five young men and one in six young women reported such experiences.

Peer networks and interaction

Growing up was associated with close peer networks. Almost all youth reported having same-sex friends. Young men reported larger networks of friends than did young women. Opposite-sex peer networks were less common but nonetheless reported by nearly two-fifths of young men and one-quarter of young women. Interaction with friends tended to be restricted to activities such as chatting and studying, especially among young women, although young men did tend to report engaging in outside activities such as going on picnics or to see films. An important measure of support was derived from these networks, however, with peers reported as the most likely confidante for both young men and women on issues related to boy-girl relationships.

Agency and gender role attitudes

Substantial proportions of young men and the majority of young women did not exercise agency in their everyday lives. For example, 63% of young men and 35% of young women reported independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey, namely, decisions on choice of friends, spending money and purchase of clothes. Likewise, freedom of movement even within the village or neighbourhood was not universal among young women; only 70% of young women had the freedom to even visit locations within their own villages or neighbourhoods unescorted. Findings also show that control over financial resources among youth tended to be limited, and particularly so among young women. Although young women were more likely than young men to have money saved (41% and 27%, respectively), they were moderately less likely to own a bank or post office savings account (15% and 18%, respectively) and much less likely than their male counterparts to operate these accounts themselves (48% and 94%, respectively, of those who had an account).

As far as gender role attitudes were concerned, relatively large proportions of youth espoused egalitarian attitudes. Even so, 64% of young men and 50% of young women justified wife-beating in at least one situation. Notably, young men were consistently more likely than young women to report unequal gender role attitudes and more likely to justify wife beating.

Finally the evidence suggests that marriage curtails young women's agency to a considerable extent. By and large, compared to the unmarried, married young women were less likely to make decisions independently, had less freedom of movement and less access to savings; at the same time they were more likely to hold unequal gender role attitudes.

Awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters

Findings underscore young people's, and particularly young women's, limited awareness of most sexual and reproductive matters, ranging from how pregnancy occurs to contraception, HIV and safe sex practices. Indeed, fewer than half of youth were even aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex. Moreover, even on issues about which young people were generally aware, findings show that in-depth understanding was limited. For example, in-depth awareness of condoms and oral contraceptives, the methods most familiar to youth, was

reported by just 83% and 27% of young men and 30% and 45% of young women, respectively. Likewise, between just one-third and one-half of all youth had comprehensive knowledge of HIV and its transmission routes. Findings suggest, moreover, that unmarried young women were the most poorly informed about sexual and reproductive matters, implying that many young women – and fewer young men – enter marriage uninformed.

Not surprisingly, youth reported few reliable sources of information about sexual matters or contraception. Friends and the media were leading sources of information on both issues for young men and women. Neither of these is necessarily a reliable source of information. Other sources, such as teachers, health care providers and family members, assumed to be a more reliable source of information, were less frequently and less consistently cited as leading sources of information. Teachers played an important role in apprising unmarried young women about sexual matters but were not important sources of information for other groups. Health care providers played an important role in addressing the information needs of the married but not the unmarried, reflecting the Reproductive and Child Health Programme's emphasis on the married. And family members were an important source of information only among married young women and only as far as contraception was concerned.

Few youth had attended family life or sex education programmes either in or outside the school setting – just one in eight young men and one in four young women. Despite this, youth were overwhelmingly in favour of the provision of family life or sex education to young people; typically, young people preferred to receive this education from a professional (health care provider, teacher and so on). Findings suggest, moreover, that youth who had received family life or sex education were indeed more knowledgeable about sexual and reproductive matters than those not exposed to this education.

Pre-marital romantic relations

Findings confirm that despite strict norms prohibiting pre-marital opposite-sex mixing, opportunities do exist for the formation of pre-marital romantic relations. Indeed, significant minorities of young men and women had received or made a “proposal” for a romantic relationship (24-30%), and noteworthy, if smaller, percentages reported that they had been involved in a romantic partnership (23% and 7% of young men and women, respectively). Patterns of pre-marital romantic partnerships suggest that where partnerships occurred, they were initiated at an early age and were usually hidden from parents but not from peers. There was a clear progression in reported physical intimacy and sexual experience with romantic partners: while over 90% of young men had held hands with a romantic partner, about half had engaged in sexual relations; and among young women, while over four in five had held hands with a romantic partner, 13% had engaged in sexual relations with this partner. Notable disparities in expectations of a longer-term commitment emerged that show that young women were considerably more likely than young men to have expected a romantic relationship to lead to marriage. Partner communication and negotiation regarding safe sex were rare, and sex was unprotected for many. For a small minority of young women who had engaged in sexual relations with a romantic partner, sex was not consensual.

Pre-marital sexual experiences in romantic and other relationships

In total, 16% of young men and about 3% of young women reported the experience of pre-marital sex within romantic and/or other partnerships. In general, first pre-marital sex took place earlier among young men than young women, and among rural than urban youth. Moreover, initiation into pre-marital sexual activity increased as young people transitioned from early adolescence (before age 15) to late adolescence (before age 20) and further as they transitioned into young adulthood (before age 25).

While sex with a romantic partner characterised pre-marital experiences for many of the sexually experienced, findings suggest that young men, but not young women, also engaged in sex in other contexts – mainly with sex workers, married women and casual partners. Many sexual experiences were risky, for example, approximately one-third of young men and women reporting pre-marital sex had engaged in sex with more than one partner. Moreover, consistent condom use was limited – just 7% of sexually active young women and 22% of sexually active young men reported condom use in all pre-marital encounters.

While we acknowledge that youth, especially young women, may not report sexual experience in a survey situation, the Youth Study experience suggests that a series of direct questions supplemented by an opportunity to report sexual experience in an anonymous format provided higher estimates of sexual experience than did face-to-face questioning alone or anonymous third-party reporting of peer behaviours.

Transition to marriage and early married life

Findings indicate that although most youth preferred to marry after age 18, as many as 35% of young women aged 20–24 were married before age 18. In contrast, just 2% of young men were married before age 18. Almost all youth reported arranged marriages. Dowry characterised the marriages of almost three in five young men and more young women (70%). Moreover, while the young person's approval of the prospective spouse was sought in most instances, just one-fifth were permitted to meet and interact with their spouse-to-be alone prior to marriage, and between half and two-thirds had met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. Compounding the lack of pre-marital acquaintance was the lack of awareness of what to expect of married life, reported by three-quarters or more young women and men. Limited couple communication on contraceptive use further undermined married young people's ability to adopt protective actions.

Physical violence and forced sex within marriage were reported by significant minorities of youth. For example, more than one-quarter of young women reported ever experiencing violence perpetrated by their husbands and a similar percentage of young men reported perpetrating violence on their wives. Recent violence was likewise reported by almost one-quarter of young women and one-fifth of young men. Sexual violence was also reported. Indeed, almost one-quarter of young women reported that the first sexual experience within marriage was forced. Overall, 27% of young women reported ever being forced to engage in sex with their husbands; in comparison, just 9% of young men reported forcing their wives to engage in sex.

While the Youth Study did not explore extra-marital sexual experiences in detail, the available data indicate that 3% of young men reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. In contrast, hardly any young women reported an extra-marital sexual encounter.

Contraceptive practice and pregnancy experience

Contraceptive use at any time within marriage was reported by 36% of young men and 30% of young women. However, just one-quarter of all young men and one-fifth of all young women reported use of contraception at the time of interview. Among contraceptive methods typically used, oral contraceptives and condoms were most likely to be reported; however, significant minorities of young women were already sterilised at the time of interview. Few young people practised contraception to delay the first birth – one-fourth of young men and one in 10 young women. Not surprisingly, pregnancy typically occurred some eight months following marriage among those who reported that they or their wives had been pregnant at least once. Moreover, large proportions of youth reported experiencing unintended pregnancy. For example, of those women who were not pregnant at the time of interview and those men whose wives were not pregnant at the time of interview, 11% of young men and 25% of young women reported that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted.

Circumstances of the first birth suggest that neither institutional delivery nor skilled attendance at delivery were universal: only 50% of young men and 62% of young women reported that their first births were delivered institutionally and about four-fifths of both young men and women reported delivery by a skilled attendant.

Son preference was evident. Although most respondents wanted one child of each sex, of those who preferred more than two children, the majority preferred to have more sons than daughters.

Substance use

Findings show that substantial proportions of young men reported the consumption of tobacco and alcohol; about one-third of young men reported tobacco consumption and one-tenth reported alcohol consumption. Drug use was reported by just 0.2 percent. Few young women reported that they consumed any of these substances.

Health seeking behaviour

Although youth is a generally healthy period of life, significant minorities reported experiencing general, mental, and sexual and reproductive health problems in the period immediately preceding the interview. For example, between about one-quarter and one-third of youth had experienced high fever, and 5% of young men and 16% of young women reported the experience of symptoms of genital infection. Moreover, about one in five young women reported menstrual problems; at the same time, over one-quarter of young men reported anxiety about nocturnal emission. Finally, responses indicative of mental disorders were reported by some 13% of young men and 17% of young women.

As far as care seeking for general and sexual and reproductive health problems was concerned, patterns varied by type of problem. While the large majority of those experiencing high fever, for example, sought care, many fewer sought care for sexual and reproductive health problems. Of those who sought treatment, the majority sought advice or treatment from a private facility or provider, irrespective of the type of problem. It is notable, however, that in the case of anxiety about nocturnal emission, youth rarely sought advice from a health care provider, preferring to do so from peers.

Findings suggest that youth were uncomfortable about seeking sexual and reproductive health services. Large proportions of youth – minorities in the case of married young men, but larger proportions in the case of unmarried young men and all young women – would indeed find it difficult to seek appropriate care for sexual and reproductive matters.

Finally, small minorities reported that they had undergone HIV testing – 10-18% of the married and 3-5% of the unmarried. Married women were more likely than youth in any other group to have undergone testing, likely associated with antenatal services. Youth were, however, overwhelmingly in favour of pre-marital HIV testing.

Participation in civil society and political life

Although a number of programmes are held to build youth skills, relatively few youth (one-quarter of young men and almost one-third of young women) reported familiarity with either government- or NGO-sponsored programmes organised at the community level in which youth could participate. Far fewer youth — 15% of young men 8% of young women — reported participating in any such programme. Many more – 63% and 27% of young men and women, respectively — reported that they had participated in community-sponsored programmes such as cleanliness drives, celebration of festivals and national days and so on. Finally, about one-fifth of young men, compared to 8% of young women, reported membership in organised groups.

Among those eligible, few had cast their vote in the most recent election for which they were eligible to vote. While 87% of married young men reported voting, just under two-thirds of unmarried young men and married young women and fewer than half of unmarried young women did so. Also of note is that while most youth perceived that elections were fair and permitted one to vote without fear, the large majority (75-80%) reported disillusionment with the commitment of political parties to work for change at the community level.

By and large, youth reported secular attitudes; 90% or more reported that they mixed freely with individuals of different religions and castes. However, just about one in five agreed that it was better to tolerate rather than punish someone who insulted their religion. Findings typically suggest that young women and rural youth were more likely than others to report conservative views.

Considerable proportions of young men and women acknowledged that physical fights among young men and also among young women did occur in their villages or urban neighbourhoods. However, just 10% of young men and 2% of young women reported that they had been involved in a physical fight in the year preceding the interview.

Young people's perceptions of the leading problems facing youth varied enormously by sex. Among young men, the majority reported difficulty in finding employment as the leading problem, followed by concerns about poverty more generally and lack of amenities or infrastructure. In contrast, the leading problems expressed by young women were the lack of amenities or infrastructure, and to a lesser extent, difficulty in finding employment, poverty more generally and lack of opportunities for education.

Recommendations for programmes

Findings presented above underscore the fact that youth face numerous challenges while making the transition to adulthood. These challenges call for multiple areas for programme intervention at the youth, family and service delivery levels. Key recommendations emerging from the present study are outlined below.

Although young people in Maharashtra are spending much of their adolescence pursuing their education, concerted efforts are needed if the state is to meet the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring universal primary school completion. Efforts must be made to address the economic pressures that may lead parents to withdraw their children from school in favour of work; that promote positive attitudes towards education and school completion among youth and their parents; and that address school-level barriers, notably, poor infrastructure, quality of education and academic failure. There is a need to incorporate livelihoods skills building models in the school setting and to provide opportunities for those in school to gain market-driven job skills that will expand young people's aspirations regarding their education and career. Moreover, investments in improving the quality of the schooling experience are needed that focus on providing better training and ensuring accountability for teachers. At the same time, efforts are needed that give those who discontinued their education prematurely a second chance to continue their education.

High levels of unemployment observed among youth, particularly among the educated, call for efforts that enable youth to acquire skills for which there is an established market demand, and that link eligible youth to employment opportunities.

Findings that a sizeable proportion of young men and some young women reported having engaged in sex before marriage, and that sexual relations were generally uninformed, unsafe or unwanted, underscore the need to build sexual and reproductive health awareness of young people, develop their skills in negotiating safe sex and communicating with partners, while at the same time, make available appropriate family planning and infection prevention services for both married and unmarried young men and women.

There is clearly a need for action to delay the marriages of young women. These efforts need to be multi-pronged; for example, building community support for delayed marriage by involving youth themselves as well as their families; ensuring a greater commitment on the part of law enforcement agencies to enforce existing laws on minimum age at marriage and the registration of marriages; and at the individual level, ensuring the greater involvement of school, health and other authorities to support young women in negotiating with parents to delay marriage.

Parents must also be apprised of the need to involve children in marriage-related decisions and enable them to interact with their prospective spouses prior to the wedding day. Parents must also be made aware of the physical and mental health dangers of early marriage and the adverse experiences of many young women (and some young men) who were married early or who were unprepared for marriage.

The provision of family life or sex education to young people has been a controversial issue in Maharashtra. Youth study findings on young people's limited understanding of sexual and reproductive matters, their articulated demand for such education, and the fact that substantial minorities had engaged in sexual risk taking call for school-based family life or sex education for those in school and community-based expert-led education for

those out-of-school, that provides information tailored not only to raise awareness among youth about sexual and reproductive matters and rights, but also to enable young people to correctly understand and assess the risks they face and to adopt appropriate protective actions. Attention must simultaneously be paid to the training of trainers.

Findings highlight the limited agency of young women and even some young men, and the persistence of inequalitarian gender role attitudes, notably among young men. These findings call for attention to promote life skills education programmes for youth, especially young women, both unmarried and married, which will enable them to have an informed say in their own lives and gain access to economic resources. Safe spaces should be identified in which young women can build social networks and find social support among peers. At the same time, programmes must promote new concepts of masculinity and femininity among youth and promote messages that build egalitarian relations between women and men.

Findings that married young women are notably disadvantaged call for efforts that address the health and empowerment needs of married young women, enable young women to have greater control over resources, break down their social isolation and encourage couple communication, negotiation and conflict management skills early in marriage. Providers must be trained and charged with the responsibility of reaching married young women and men – including those who have not yet experienced pregnancy —with information regarding contraception and other reproductive health matters as well as contraceptive supplies and pregnancy-related care. Intervention models that address these needs should be reviewed and scaled up as appropriate.

The Youth Study confirms both an adverse sex ratio of the child population in the state and the persistence of a preference for sons over daughters even among youth. While the adverse child sex ratio cannot be attributed to young people alone, it is likely, given low fertility rates and early marriage, that family formation will be concentrated at young ages and the preferences and behaviours of youth will shape the extent to which sex ratios remain adverse to females or become more balanced. Programmes are needed, therefore, that sensitise youth – and particularly the about-to-be-married and the newly-married – about the value of daughters and long-term consequences of an unbalanced sex ratio at birth, on one hand, and about the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PNDT) Act and the fact that sex selective abortion is illegal, on the other.

Limited interaction and social distance between parents and young people while growing up and the gendered nature of the socialisation experiences call for efforts to create a supportive environment for young people. Programmes are needed that address parental inhibitions about discussing sexual matters with their children, encourage greater openness and interaction between parents and children and enable the adoption of gender-egalitarian child-rearing practices.

Although the Reproductive and Child Health Programme has advocated special services for youth, including the unmarried, these services had not reached youth in our survey. Action is needed that sensitises health care providers about the special needs, heterogeneity and vulnerability of unmarried and married young women and men, and orients them to the need for developing appropriate strategies to reach these diverse groups, including young newly-weds. Programmes must be inclusive of unmarried young people and recognise their need and right to sexual and reproductive health and related information and services. Counselling and contraceptive services must be made available to unmarried young people in a non-threatening, non-judgmental and confidential environment. Indeed, these findings call for the implementation of strategies outlined under the National Rural Health Mission's Reproductive and Child Health Programme. At the same time, efforts must be made to address the mental health concerns of youth.

Directions for future research

Findings presented in this report provide a broad picture of youth in Maharashtra. At the same time, findings have raised a number of issues that require further investigation, particularly with regard to the determinants and consequences of youth behaviours and practices during the transition to adulthood. While the Youth Study is indeed a rich source of data that will enable investigators to fill many of the information gaps identified, there are several gaps in knowledge will require additional research efforts.

Youth Study findings highlight the need for further research in terms of formative research that explores in greater depth factors impeding successful transitions to adulthood, including the completion of education, entry into the labour force, initiation of sexual activity, and marriage and parenthood. Research is also needed that explores the role of peers, socialisation practices, access to information and access to services in young people's lives, and the ways in which these may contribute to or impede young people's ability to make successful transitions. A general research recommendation is the urgent need for prospective or panel study designs that follow a cohort of adolescents at regular intervals up to age 24. Prospective study designs would enable researchers to take a life course approach, identify, with compelling data, the factors responsible for healthy transitions to adulthood and point to the ways in which the situation and experiences of youth in adolescence influence their life courses at later ages.

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

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

1.1 Rationale

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

In recognition of the importance of investing in young people, several national policies formulated since 2000 have underscored a commitment to addressing the multiple needs of this group in India. The National Population Policy 2000 recognised, for the first time, that adolescents constitute an under-served group with special sexual and reproductive health needs, and advocates special programmatic attention to addressing this population (MOHFW, 2000). The National Youth Policy 2003 focuses on the needs of those aged 13–35, but recognises adolescents (aged 13–19) as a special group requiring a different approach from that appropriate for young adults (aged 20–35), and promotes strategies to meet youth needs in areas including education, training and employment, health, recreation and sports, and good citizenship (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, 2003). Also notable is the commitment to addressing the needs of adolescents and young people articulated in the Tenth and Eleventh Five-Year Plans (Planning Commission, 2002; 2006) and the National Adolescent Reproductive and Sexual Health Strategy that provides the framework for the adolescent sexual and reproductive health services proposed in the Reproductive and Child Health (RCH) Programme II (MOHFW, 2006). The National Rural Health Mission (2005–12) has incorporated adolescent health services as part of its service guarantees in health sub-centres, primary health centres and schools (MOHFW, 2005).

Effective implementation of both policies and programmes, however, has been handicapped by a lack of evidence on young people's situation and needs. Currently available evidence is limited, at best, and comes largely from small scale and unrepresentative studies. The most recent National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3) obtained, for the first time, valuable data on unmarried young women and men (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a). Even

so, the information that it provides on young people's various transitions remains limited and the small sample sizes obtained in most states preclude the possibility of in-depth analysis and of obtaining state-representative estimates of behaviours and practices among different sub-groups of young people.

1.2 Study objectives

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

The Youth Study focused on married and unmarried young women and unmarried young men aged 15–24 and, because of the paucity of married young men in the younger ages, married men aged 15–29 in both rural and urban settings. The study was conducted in a phased manner in six states of India: Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu. This report focuses on findings from Maharashtra.

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

1.3 Maharashtra: Overview of demographic and socio-economic features

The state of Maharashtra, situated in the west of India, is India's third largest state in terms of area, covering a total of 307,713 square kilometres. The state contains six administrative divisions, namely, Amravati, Aurangabad, Konkan, Nagpur, Nashik and Pune.

Maharashtra, with a population of 96.8 million in 2001, ranks second in terms of total population among states in India (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a). The state's population more than doubled between 1961 and 2001 and is projected to have reached 106 million by 2007 (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2006). The sex ratio (females per 1,000 males) of Maharashtra's population has been low since independence but reached its lowest point in 2001, at 922 females per 1,000 males. Population density in the state was 314 persons per square kilometre in 2001; however, almost half of the state's population was concentrated in only two divisions – Konkan (containing Mumbai) and Pune. Religion- and caste-wise distributions indicate that 80% of the state's population was Hindu and 11% was Muslim. Ten percent of Maharashtra's population belonged to scheduled castes and 9% belonged to scheduled tribes (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b).

With 42% of the total population living in urban areas in 2001, the state ranked second to Tamil Nadu (44%) in terms of percentage of the population residing in urban areas. Both intra- and inter-state migration are high in Maharashtra, particularly into the highly industrialised Pune and Konkan divisions, the latter of which includes Greater Mumbai and Thane (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001c).

Maharashtra is one of the most economically developed states in the country; in 2005–2006, it accounted for about 13% of the national Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and ranked second among major Indian states in terms of per capita income, at Rs. 37,081 (Ministry of Finance, 2008). Maharashtra's Gross State Domestic Product (GSDP) at current prices stood at Rs. 432,413 crore in 2005–06 (Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, 2008); at constant prices (1993–94), the GSDP increased by 9.2% between 2004–05 and 2005–06. The primary, secondary and tertiary sectors contributed 13.9%, 24.6% and 61.4%, respectively, to the state's economy in 2005–06; indeed, the performance of the primary sector has been subdued over the last few years and growth in the industrial and service sectors has remained the driving force behind the increase in state income (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Maharashtra, 2007).

Despite commendable growth in Maharashtra's economy, poverty levels remain high. About one-third of the state's population (30.7%, based on Uniform Recall Period consumption distribution) is estimated to live below the poverty line with little differential between urban (32.2%) and rural (29.6%) areas in the year 2004–05 (Planning Commission, 2007). Unemployment rates are low in Maharashtra; in 2004–05, 2.1% and 4.6% of rural and urban males, respectively, were unemployed for a major part of the year, as measured by the usual principal status definition. The corresponding figures for females are 0.5% and 5.8%, respectively (NSSO, 2006).

Maharashtra fares better in terms of social indicators. For example, the state ranks fifth among Indian states in terms of literacy; the overall literacy rate was 77% in 2001, ranging from 68% among females to 86% among males (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). Literacy rates in Maharashtra are considerably higher than the national average of 54% for females and 75% for males (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a).

The state's achievements in the health sector are also notable. Life expectancy is higher in Maharashtra than in India in general: 68 and 66 years, respectively, for females and males during 2001–05, compared to 64 and 62 years for females and males in India as a whole (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2007). The infant mortality rate was 37.5 in 2005. This compares with a national rate of 57.0. By 2005–06, the total fertility rate in Maharashtra had dropped to replacement levels (2.1) and current contraceptive use had reached 67%. This compares with a total fertility rate of 2.68 in India as a whole and contraceptive prevalence of 56% (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a).

As is well known, however, Maharashtra is one of six states in India in which HIV prevalence is highest. During 2005–06, the HIV prevalence rate in the state was reported to be 0.48% for females (aged 15–49) and 0.75% for males (aged 15–54), more than double the national estimates of 0.22% and 0.35%, respectively (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a).

1.4 Situation of youth in Maharashtra

Young people aged 10–24 constituted a total of 29.4 million, and accounted for 30% of the state's population in 2001. The youth population, that is, those aged 15–24 numbered 18.7 million, accounted for about 19% of the state's population (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b).

Maharashtra provides youth with a range of educational opportunities. Educational attainment levels among youth are higher in Maharashtra than in India overall, and gender differences in enrolment relatively narrow. In Maharashtra, among young people (aged 10–24), 94% of men and 88% of women were literate in 2001 (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). Data on gross enrolment ratios also highlight the state's achievement in the educational field; the gross enrolment ratio among children aged 6–11 years was 110% in 2004–05, indicating that primary school enrolment was nearly universal. The corresponding figures for 11–14

year-olds and 14–16 year-olds were 98% and 69%, respectively. The Gender Parity Index (GPI) at the elementary, secondary and higher secondary levels of education indicates that learning opportunities are nearly equally available to boys and girls in the state; the GPI score ranged from 0.99 at the elementary level to 0.91 at the secondary and higher secondary level in 2004–05 (Ministry of Human Resource Development, 2007).

However, as elsewhere in the country, unemployment rates in Maharashtra were much higher among young people than among the general population discussed above. For example, among the population aged 15–29, unemployment rates, as measured in terms of principal usual status, were 5.2% and 10.5% among young men in rural and urban settings, respectively, compared to 1.5% and 13.3% among young women, respectively, during 2004–05 (NSSO, 2006).

The sexual and reproductive health profile of young people in Maharashtra indicates that marriage occurs during adolescence for large proportions of young women but for few young men. As recently as 2005–06, 40% of women aged 18–29 were married by age 18; in comparison, just 13% of men aged 21–29 were married by age 21. Moreover, as many as one in seven 15–19 year-old girls have begun childbearing (IIPS and Macro International, 2007b).

While it is clear that sexual relations are initiated early and within the context of marriage for large proportions of young women, less is known about pre-marital sexual relations among young men and women in India, including in Maharashtra. What is available from Maharashtra comes from small and unrepresentative studies (Abraham and Kumar, 1999; Bang et al., 1989; Bhende, 1995). An exception is a recent population-based study in Pune district that concluded that 16–22% of young men and 1–4% of young women in rural and urban areas had experienced pre-marital sexual relations and many of the sexually active reported multiple partner and unprotected relations (Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b).

Despite the early onset of sexual relations within or before marriage among significant proportions of youth, available evidence suggests that young people's knowledge of sexual and reproductive health matters tends to be limited. For example, data from NFHS-3 indicate that only one-third of young women and over one-half of young men had comprehensive knowledge about HIV/AIDS. Likewise, only 43% of young women and 87% of young men were aware of a source of condoms (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a).

1.5 Youth-related policy and programme environment in Maharashtra

With the significant shift in the way population and sexual and reproductive health issues were conceptualised nationally and internationally during the 1990s, several states, including Maharashtra, announced state-specific health and population policies in the late 1990s and in early 2000. The main objectives of the Maharashtra Population Policy 2000 are to reduce fertility, reduce infant mortality and maternal mortality, improve comprehensive family health and improve services in under-served areas (Public Health Department, Government of Maharashtra, 2000). The policy articulates a number of strategies to improve the situation of adolescents, including providing special health services and counselling for adolescents, raising community awareness around issues related to age at marriage, enforcing the Child Marriage Restraint Act and implementing an investment scheme to improve the status of the girl child by providing monetary incentives for completing schooling and postponing marriage till the age of 20 years.

The Maharashtra state government has also initiated a number of programmes to meet the needs of young people. Notable among these are the School Adolescent Life Skills Education Programme (SALSEP) and Adolescent Reproductive Health Initiatives for in-school and-out-of school adolescents under the National Rural Health Mission. The SALSEP has been implemented since 2004–05, and was preceded by the AIDS Prevention and

Education Programme implemented during 1994–2004. It aims to impart life skills, including communications, negotiation and decision-making regarding sexual health, and enhance self and social awareness among students of Class 9 and Class 11 (Directorate of Health Services, Government of Maharashtra, n.d.a). Under the Adolescent Reproductive Health Initiatives, the government has proposed to implement a health education programme for in-school and out-of-school adolescents, phase in adolescent health clinics in district and selected rural hospitals for preventing reproductive tract infections in adolescent girls, orient health staff to cater to the reproductive and sexual health needs of adolescents and include adolescent issues in all training programmes and communication materials developed as part of the RCH Programme (Directorate of Health Services, Government of Maharashtra, n.d.b).

1.6 Study phases

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

1.6.1 Pre-survey qualitative phase

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

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

The pre-survey qualitative phase was undertaken during April–August 2005 and covered at least one urban area and one rural area of all six regions of the state. In total, 18 focus group discussions were held with young people; 41 key informant interviews were held with community leaders, health care providers, teachers and youth leaders; and 72 in-depth interviews were held with mothers and fathers.

1.6.2 Survey phase

Fieldwork was undertaken between January and August 2006. A total of 7,570 married and unmarried young women and men were interviewed during this phase.

1.6.3 Post-survey qualitative phase

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

At the conclusion of the survey interview, interviewers sought the consent of respondents for an in-depth interview. Those who consented were then approached by a trained investigator who conducted the interview in the form of an unstructured conversation. In-depth interviews therefore took place at around the same time as did the survey. A total of 32 in-depth interviews were completed, 20 from among rural respondents and 12 from among urban respondents.

Findings from the survey are presented in this report.¹

1.7 Study instruments

1.7.1 Interview guidelines

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

1.7.2 Questionnaires

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

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

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

The development of individual questionnaires was informed by other survey instruments, notably the World Health Organisation core questionnaire for youth surveys (Cleland, 2001) and a recent survey conducted in Pune district on the formation of partnerships among youth (Alexander et al., 2003). Other instruments consulted included surveys of youth conducted in India (Andrew, Patel and Ramakrishna, 2003; IIPS and Population Council,

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

2002; Sebastian, Grant and Mensch, 2003), Pakistan (Sathar et al., 2003), the Philippines (DRDF and UPPI, 2002), Vietnam (Mensch, Anh and Clark, 2000) and sub-Saharan Africa (Guttmacher Institute, 2004a; 2004b; 2004c). Finally, our survey instrument drew upon the questionnaire used in the NFHS-3 (IIPS and Macro International, 2007c).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Awareness of sexual and reproductive matters: This section probed young people's awareness about sexual intercourse, pregnancy, contraceptive methods, HIV/AIDS and sexually transmitted infection (STI) as well as the legal minimum age at marriage and conditions under which abortion was legally permitted. This section also probed young people's sources of information on sexual matters and contraception, the extent to which they had obtained formal sex or family life education, and their experiences and perceptions about this education.

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

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

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

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

Same-sex, paid and forced sexual experiences: This was a second highly sensitive section in which respondents were asked a series of questions on their personal experience of several types of sexual encounters, for example, sex with a same-sex partner, paid or exchange sex, forced sex perpetrated on the respondent and casual sex. In the case of male respondents, additional questions were asked about relations with sex workers and married women (other than their wife for married males) and whether they had ever perpetrated forced sex. All married respondents were also asked about the experience of extra-marital sexual relations. Respondents who reported any of these

experiences were probed about their age at their first experience of such a sexual encounter and the extent to which they had used condoms in these encounters.

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

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

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

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

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

Draft tools were extensively reviewed at meetings of the study's Technical Advisory Committee and were then translated into four languages (Hindi, Marathi, Tamil and Telugu), extensively pre-tested and finalised after appropriate modification. Copies of all these instruments are provided in the CD enclosed with this report.

1.8 Study design and sample size estimation for individual interviews

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

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

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

The chances of finding an unmarried young man were greater than the chances of finding a married young man in a given household, and conversely, the chances of finding a married young woman were greater than the chances of finding an unmarried young woman. As a result, our strategy was to estimate the number of households required to obtain the target number of married young men aged 15–29 in the male primary sampling units (PSUs), that is, the harder to reach group of males. Similarly, in female PSUs, the strategy was to identify the total number of households required based on the target number of unmarried young women aged 15–24, again, the harder to reach group of females.

Following from the assumptions described above, and in consultation with the study's Technical Advisory Committee, the required sample of each sub-group of youth was determined at 1,000 married young men, 1,250 unmarried young men, 1,250 married young women and 1,750 unmarried young women each for urban and rural areas, that is, a total sample size of 5,250 in each area.² However, our early experience suggested that because of the considerable mobility of youth, there was likely to be a shortfall in achieving these numbers. Hence, in Maharashtra, the urban sample size was revised to 1,200 married young men, 1,500 unmarried young men, 1,500 married young women and 2,100 unmarried young women, that is, a total sample size of 6,300 in urban areas. In order to achieve the above-mentioned number of individual interviews, an estimated 25,500 households required to be covered in Maharashtra.

We further determined that a total of 300 PSUs – villages in rural areas and Census Enumeration Blocks (CEBs) in the urban areas – would be visited in order to conduct interviews in the required number of households. Thus, the average number of household interviews to be conducted in each rural PSU was calculated to be 114 among female PSUs and 62 among male PSUs. Corresponding averages for each urban PSU were 96 and 67, respectively.

1.8.1 Sample selection strategy

The study treated rural and urban areas of each state as independent sampling domains and, therefore, drew sample areas independently for each of these two domains. In order to avoid potential risks associated with interviewing both women and men from the same PSU, we decided to conduct interviews in separate PSUs for female and male respondents, that is, interviews with young women in 150 PSUs and young men in the remaining 150 (referred to as female and male PSUs, respectively). These 150 PSUs were further divided equally into rural and urban areas, that is, 75 for rural respondents and 75 for urban respondents. Within each sampling domain, a

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

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

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

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

systematic, a multi-stage stratified sampling design was adopted. Sample selection procedures differed somewhat in rural and urban areas, as described below.

1.8.1.a Sample selection in rural areas

In rural areas, the 2001 Census list of villages served as the sampling frame for the selection of villages. This list was stratified using four variables, namely, region, village size, proportion of the population belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and female literacy. At the first level of stratification, the state of Maharashtra was stratified into six contiguous geographical regions, with districts classified into these regions as follows:

Region I:	Thane, Raigarh, Ratnagiri, Sindhudurg
Region II:	Nandurbar, Dhule, Jalgaon, Nashik
Region III:	Pune, Ahmednagar, Solapur, Satara, Kolhapur, Sangli
Region IV:	Buldana, Akola, Washim, Amravati, Hingoli, Parbhani, Jalna, Aurangabad, Bid, Latur, Osmanabad
Region V:	Wardha, Nagpur, Yavatmal, Nanded
Region VI:	Bhandara, Gondiya, Gadchiroli, Chandrapur

In each region, villages were further stratified by village size and the percentage of the population belonging to scheduled castes or scheduled tribes. Table 1.1 gives detailed information on the stratification scheme in rural areas along with the population in each stratum. The last level of stratification was implicit for all strata, consisting of an ordering of villages within each stratum by level of female literacy, ordered alternatively in increasing and decreasing level of female literacy (obtained from the 2001 Census Village Directory).

Table 1.1: Sampling stratification scheme

Details of the stratification used for sampling, Maharashtra (rural), 2006

Stratum number	Stratification variables			Total population ¹
	Region	Village size (number of residential households)	Percent of SC/ST population	
1	1	≤1,450	NU	3,099,752
2	1	>1,450	NU	3,039,692
3	2	≤2,200	NU	3,999,101
4	2	>2,200	NU	4,018,950
5	3	≤2,860	≤10	3,724,773
6	3	≤2,860	>10	3,979,249
7	3	>2,860	≤15	4,224,502
8	3	>2,860	>15	3,744,285
9	4	≤1,900	≤17	3,888,862
10	4	≤1,900	>17	3,682,348
11	4	>1,900	≤17	3,794,557
12	4	>1,900	>17	3,429,973
13	5	≤1,600	NU	3,238,655
14	5	>1,600	NU	3,233,401
15	6	NU	NU	4,211,263
Total	NA	NA	NA	55,309,363

Note: The level of female literacy (2001 Census) was used for implicit stratification. Villages with less than 50 households in the 2001 Census were excluded from the sampling frame. NA: Not applicable. NU: Not used for stratification. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe.

¹ 2001 Census population.

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

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

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

where

n^R = number of eligible respondents in a particular category to be interviewed (target number of interviews as described before), and

N^R = projected rural population of eligible respondents in the state as of April 1, 2006.

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

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

where

a = number of PSUs selected from rural areas for the particular category,

v_i = population of the i^{th} PSU, and

$\sum v_i$ = total rural population of the state.

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

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

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

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

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

Because we expected more unmarried than married males in our age groups, we required to visit fewer households to obtain the required number of unmarried compared to married males. Likewise, because we expected more married than unmarried females, we required to visit fewer households to obtain the required number of married compared to unmarried females. Appropriate intervals were computed to operationalise each of these selection processes.

1.8.1.b Sample selection in urban areas

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

In urban areas, in accordance with the proportion of the population, 44 PSUs were allocated to Mumbai and Greater Mumbai (suburban), and the remaining 106 to other urban areas of the state. In urban areas, excluding Mumbai and Greater Mumbai, the 2001 Census list of wards was first arranged by districts, and within each district by level of female literacy. The sample was then selected in three stages. At the first stage of selection, 53 wards were selected systematically with probability proportional to size. At the second stage, within each selected ward, CEBs were arranged by their administrative number and one CEB (designated as a male PSU) was selected using probability proportional to size. For each selected male CEB, an adjacent CEB was chosen to represent the female PSU in the same ward.

The strategy for Mumbai and Greater Mumbai differed because information was available only by “sections,” typically comprising several CEBs of similar size. Two components were made: in the first component, consisting of self-selected sections, the number of PSUs in each such section was allocated according to each one’s share of the total population of self-selected sections. The required number of PSUs was then selected by the systematic probability proportional to size method, as described above. In case of the second component, sections were first arranged by level of female literacy and a sample of sections was selected first. The required number of PSUs was then selected by systematic probability proportional to size in a similar manner.

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

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

where

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

The probability of selecting a ward (or section) from urban Maharashtra (f_1^U) was computed as:

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

where

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

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

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

where

c_i = population of i^{th} CEB from a selected ward, and
 $\sum c_i$ = total population of the selected ward.

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

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

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

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

1.8.2 Selection of individual respondents within selected households

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

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

1.8.3 Sample weights

In Maharashtra, the sample was weighted at the level of the sampling domain, that is, urban and rural males and females, respectively, that is, a total of four sampling domains. In order to consider differential non-response rates in different geographical areas, non-response rates were calculated in smaller sub-domains of 2–3 PSUs within each domain. If W_{Di} is the design weight for the i^{th} domain ($i=1\dots4$) and R_{Hij} is the response rate for households in the j^{th} sub-domain within the i^{th} domain, then the household weight for the j^{th} sub-domain within the i^{th} domain (W_{Hij}) was calculated as follows:

$$W_{Hij} = \frac{W_{Di}}{R_{Hij}}$$

where W_{Di} was calculated as the inverse of the probability of selecting an eligible married male in urban and rural male domains, respectively; and similarly, of selecting an eligible unmarried female in urban and rural female domains.

Weights were also calculated for eligible married males and unmarried females, denoted by W_{Eij} and calculated as follows:

$$W_{Eij} = \frac{W_{Di}}{R_{Hij} \times R_{Eij} \times K_{ij}}$$

where

R_{Eij} = response rate for married males or unmarried females in the j^{th} sub-domain within the i^{th} domain and,

K_{ij} = probability that a married male or an unmarried female is selected by the Kish table procedure in the j^{th} sub-domain within the i^{th} domain.

The design weight described above was also used in the case of unmarried males and married females in each domain. Also, since the survey did not attempt to interview an unmarried male or a married female in all selected households, an additional interval needed to be incorporated in the weight calculation. Hence, weights for eligible unmarried males and married females, denoted by W_{Eij} were calculated using the following equation:

$$W_{Eij} = \frac{W_{Di}}{R_{Hij} \times R_{Eij} \times K_{ij}} \times I_i$$

where I_i is the interval at which selected households were assigned for the interview of a married female (in female PSUs) or an unmarried male (in male PSUs) in the i^{th} domain.

The weights were then normalised so that the total number of cases was unchanged after weighting. Hence, the normalised weights for households and eligible respondents were:

$$W'_{Hij} = \frac{\sum n_{ij}}{\sum W_{Hij} \times n_{ij}} \times W_{Hij}$$

$$W'_{Eij} = \frac{\sum n_{ij}}{\sum W_{Eij} \times n_{ij}} \times W_{Eij}$$

where n_{ij} refers to the number of completed interviews in the j^{th} sub-domain within the i^{th} domain.

In order to provide estimates for all young males or females (married and unmarried), multiplication factors were computed for married and unmarried males and females (four categories) in urban and rural areas, which, when multiplied with existing individual weights, provided the combined weights for the male and female samples, respectively. For example, the multiplication factor for the male sample (M_k^l) was computed as follows:

$$M_k^l = \frac{\frac{p_k^l}{p^l}}{\frac{s_k^l}{s^l}}$$

where

p_k^l = number of eligible male respondents of category k (married or unmarried) in the l^{th} area (urban or rural),

p^l = number of eligible male respondents in the l^{th} area (urban or rural),

s_k^l = number of completed interviews with male respondents from category k (married or unmarried) in the l^{th} area (urban or rural), and

s^l = number of completed interviews with male respondents in the l^{th} area (urban or rural).

Similar fractions were computed for the female sample.

1.9 Recruitment, training and fieldwork

Some 40 young men and 40 young women underwent interviewer training. On the basis of their performance, 58 youth were recruited as field investigators. In addition, some 20 individuals were separately trained for mapping and house-listing exercises.

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

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

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

1.10 Ethical considerations

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

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

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

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

Fourth, before entering a PSU, teams were instructed to apprise community leaders of the study and seek their support for its implementation in the community. This step ensured that community support was forthcoming and enabled team members to build rapport within the community easily. We note that despite the sensitive nature of the questions, not a single PSU in Maharashtra refused permission to our teams on the grounds of study content.

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

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

Seventh, every effort was made to maintain privacy in the course of the interview. Interviewers were permitted to skip to relatively non-sensitive sections in case the interview was observed by parents or other family members. If possible, particularly in the case of young men, interviews were held outside the home – often in a nearby field – in order to ensure privacy. Each team was trained to assign one interviewer to conduct parallel discussion sessions with bystanders, thereby providing privacy to the interview. This proved particularly useful in the case of interviews

with young women. Finally, interviewers were instructed that if privacy could not be ensured, the interview must be terminated without asking sensitive questions. Due to these strategies, few interviews had to be terminated for want of privacy and in no case was a young respondent's privacy breached.

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

Finally, many youth were in need of information on sexual and reproductive health matters. On occasion, interviewers themselves responded to their questions. In addition, easy to read booklets (for example, the *Neeli Kitab* prepared by TARSHI) were distributed to youth who requested them. In total, some 400 booklets were distributed.

1.11 Data processing

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

1.12 Interview outcomes

Table 1.2 provides the outcome of household interviews by type of PSU (male or female) and residence. In all, of the 25,641 households selected for interview, 9% could not be contacted because the house was vacant or the entire household was absent over an extended period of time. In total, however, the response to the household questionnaire was high: 98% in female PSUs and 99% in male PSUs. A total of 11,184 and 11,893 interviews were completed in urban and rural areas, respectively. Response rates in urban and rural areas were identical. We note that only about 1% of selected households in urban areas and hardly any in rural areas refused to be interviewed.

Table 1.3 presents similar findings with regard to interviews with eligible respondents. In Maharashtra, 7,570 interviews were completed: 1,065 with married young men, 2,017 with unmarried young men, 1,947 with married young women and 2,541 with unmarried young women. Response rates for individual interviews were in the range of 85–90% and did not vary much by residence, except among married young women (83% in rural areas versus 88% in urban areas). In general, response rates for unmarried respondents, both male and female, were somewhat better than those for married respondents. The main reason for non-response was that the respondent was not at home, ranging from 8% among unmarried young women in urban areas to 14% among married young women in rural areas. The high level of non-response for married young women may be attributed to their relatively frequent movement to their natal homes, particularly for delivery, a finding also noted in other studies of married youth (see for example, Santhya et al., 2008). We attribute the low refusal rates to efforts described earlier that were implemented for ethical reasons, which, at the same time, enabled the development of considerable rapport and trust between study communities and our interview teams.

Table 1.2: Results of household interviews

Percent distribution of surveyed households by results of interviews, according to residence (unweighted), Maharashtra, 2006

Results of interview	All PSUs		Male PSUs		Female PSUs	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Combined						
a. Interview completed	90.0	23,077	91.1	8,995	89.3	14,082
b. No respondent or no competent respondent at home at the time of visit	0.5	123	0.2	21	0.6	102
c. Entire household absent for extended period of time	4.8	1,236	5.3	522	4.5	714
d. Refused	0.6	162	0.6	56	0.7	106
e. Dwelling vacant/destroyed/ not found	3.0	774	2.2	217	3.5	557
f. Address not a dwelling	0.6	156	0.5	45	0.7	111
g. Other	0.4	113	0.2	19	0.6	94
Total households selected	100.0	25,641	100.0	9,875	100.0	15,766
Response rate (HRR)	98.3		98.9		97.9	
Urban						
a. Interview completed	91.5	11,184	91.5	4,592	91.5	6,592
b. No respondent or no competent respondent at home at the time of visit	0.1	17	0.1	4	0.2	13
c. Entire household absent for extended period of time	4.4	543	5.3	268	3.8	275
d. Refused	1.2	144	1.0	50	1.3	94
e. Dwelling vacant/destroyed/ not found	2.2	270	1.7	84	2.6	186
f. Address not a dwelling	0.2	25	0.2	12	0.2	13
g. Other	0.3	42	0.2	8	0.5	34
Total households selected	100.0	12,225	100.0	5,018	100.0	7,207
Response rate (HRR)	98.2		98.7		97.9	
Rural						
a. Interview completed	88.6	11,893	90.7	4,403	87.5	7,490
b. No respondent or no competent respondent at home at the time of visit	0.8	106	0.4	17	1.0	89
c. Entire household absent for extended period of time	5.2	693	5.2	254	5.1	439
d. Refused	0.1	18	0.1	6	0.1	12
e. Dwelling vacant/destroyed/ not found	3.8	504	2.7	133	4.3	371
f. Address not a dwelling	1.0	131	0.7	33	1.1	98
g. Other	0.5	71	0.2	11	0.7	60
Total households selected	100.0	13,416	100.0	4,857	100.0	8,559
Response rate (HRR)	98.4		99.2		97.9	

Note: The household response rate (HRR) was calculated as: $HRR = (a/a+b+d+g)*100$. PSU: Primary sampling unit.

Table 1.3: Results of eligible respondent interviews

Percent distribution of eligible respondents by results of interviews, according to residence (unweighted), Maharashtra, 2006

Results of interview	Combined				Urban				Rural			
	Married		Unmarried		Married		Unmarried		Married		Unmarried	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Men												
a. Interview completed	85.7	1,065	89.6	2,017	85.2	506	89.9	1,246	86.1	559	89.0	771
b. Interview partially completed	0.2	2	0.1	2	0.0	0	0.1	1	0.3	2	0.1	1
c. Respondent not at home	12.6	156	8.7	195	13.1	78	8.3	115	12.0	78	9.2	80
d. Respondent refused	1.1	14	0.5	12	1.2	7	0.5	7	1.1	7	0.6	5
e. Respondent's parent refused	0.2	2	0.3	6	0.3	2	0.4	6	0.0	0	0.0	0
f. Respondent incapacitated	0.2	3	0.8	19	0.2	1	0.8	11	0.3	2	0.9	8
g. No reason given	0.1	1	0.0	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.2	1	0.1	1
Total selected	100.0	1,243	100.0	2,252	100.0	594	100.0	1,386	100.0	649	100.0	866
Response rate (IRR)	85.7		89.6		85.2		89.9		86.1		89.0	
Women												
a. Interview completed	85.2	1,947	88.5	2,541	88.4	901	89.9	1,328	82.7	1,046	87.1	1,213
b. Interview partially completed	0.6	13	0.6	18	0.0	0	0.2	3	1.0	13	1.1	15
c. Respondent not at home	12.4	283	8.3	239	10.0	102	8.1	119	14.3	181	8.6	120
d. Respondent refused	0.7	17	0.9	27	0.2	2	0.7	11	1.2	15	1.1	16
e. Respondent's parent refused	0.4	10	0.8	23	0.7	7	0.6	9	0.2	3	1.0	14
f. Respondent incapacitated	0.2	5	0.6	18	0.1	1	0.3	5	0.3	4	0.9	13
g. No reason given	0.4	9	0.1	4	0.6	6	0.2	3	0.2	3	0.1	1
Total selected	100.0	2,284	100.0	2,870	100.0	1,019	100.0	1,478	100.0	1,265	100.0	1,392
Response rate (IRR)	85.2		88.5		88.4		89.9		82.7		87.1	

Note: The individual response rate (IRR) was calculated as: $IRR = (a/a+b+c+d+e+f+g) \times 100$.

1.13 Structure of the report

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

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

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

Profile of surveyed communities, households and youth

This chapter presents a summary of the community-level characteristics of the rural areas surveyed as well as household- and respondent-level profiles of the surveyed population. First, using data drawn from the community questionnaire, it describes the rural communities in which the survey was undertaken in terms of village size, agricultural land holding and access to facilities more generally available in urban settings. Thereafter, drawing on data from the household questionnaire, the chapter profiles surveyed households in terms of socio-demographic and housing characteristics, agricultural land holding and economic status. Comparisons are drawn throughout between the distribution of the population as recorded in the present survey and that reported by the 2001 Census of India (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a; 2001b) as well as the most recent NFHS (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a). Finally, we present the socio-demographic characteristics of youth respondents and their parents drawn from individual questionnaires.

2.1 Profile of rural communities surveyed

This section provides a profile of the rural PSUs (150 selected villages and 10 link villages) in which the survey was conducted. It should be noted that as sampling of rural PSUs was conducted with the probability of selection proportional to size, the proportion of large villages in our sample is likely to have been greater than the proportion of such villages in Maharashtra as a whole. As indicated in Table 2.1, 21% of the villages surveyed were relatively small in size (less than 1,000 persons, or about 200 households), while another 21% were large villages (5,000 or more persons, or about 1,000 households). The remaining three-fifths of the surveyed villages were of medium size (1,000–4,999 persons). The majority of villages surveyed contained fewer than 1,000 hectares of agricultural land. Irrigated land was limited: for example, more than half of all agricultural land was irrigated in just 24% of the surveyed villages.

Table 2.2 presents data regarding access to a variety of facilities among the rural population surveyed. Findings show that the median distance to the nearest town was 14 kilometres from the village of residence. Just over one-fourth of the rural population (29%) reported having an all-weather road in their village; the median distance to the nearest all-weather road was 5 kilometres. About one-third of the rural population (32%) had a bank located in their village and over one-half (58%) had a post office.

Table 2.1: Profile of surveyed villages

Percentage of surveyed villages and residents by village size and agricultural land holding, Maharashtra (rural), 2006

Village characteristics	Villages		Residents	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Current population (no. of persons)				
Less than 1,000	20.6	33	16.5	9,050
1,000-4,999	58.8	94	61.2	35,625
5,000-9,999	11.3	18	12.2	7,165
10,000 or more	9.4	15	10.1	6,257
Size of agricultural land (hectares)				
Less than 500	35.0	56	34.9	20,595
500-999	17.5	28	17.3	8,649
1,000-4,999	20.0	32	22.3	13,359
5,000 and more	2.5	4	2.7	1,624
Proportion of irrigated agricultural land owned				
Less than 25%	32.5	52	35.6	20,049
25-49%	15.6	25	15.1	8,432
50-74%	15.0	24	16.0	9,628
75% or more	9.4	15	8.7	5,755
Total	100.0	160	100.0	58,097

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% or the total number due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses.

Primary schools were available in the village of residence of virtually the entire population. Middle, secondary and higher secondary schools were progressively less likely to be available; 70%, 47% and 22% of rural residents, respectively, resided in a village containing these facilities. The median distance to the nearest secondary school was 2 kilometres and to a higher secondary school, 6 kilometres. Colleges and technical institutions were much less accessible; just 7–8% of the population had such a facility within the village and the median distance to the nearest college was 12 kilometres and the nearest technical institution, 16 kilometres.

As far as health facilities were concerned, *anganwadis* were available in the village of residence of almost the entire population surveyed (97%). Sub-centres were less accessible: 40% of the population surveyed had a sub-centre within the village. The median distance to the nearest such centre was 2 kilometres. As in the case of education, higher-level facilities were less accessible: only 14% of the population resided in a village containing a primary health centre. Median distances to the nearest primary health centre and community health centre or rural hospital were as much as 6 and 14 kilometres, respectively, highlighting that access to government health facilities – even primary health centres – remains difficult in the rural areas of Maharashtra. It is interesting to note, however, that private clinics or hospitals (including those practising Indian systems of medicine and homoeopathy) were quite accessible to the rural population; 46% and 18% of rural residents had access to a private clinic and hospital, respectively, within the village and median distances to a private clinic and hospital were 2 and 10 kilometres, respectively.

The availability of civic organisations and entertainment facilities was also assessed. More than half of the population (58%) resided in villages containing at least one club or *mandal*; more than two in five reported a community hall within their villages. Other entertainment facilities were less likely to be available. Just 3–10% of the rural population reported a cinema theatre, drama theatre or video parlour within the village of residence.

Table 2.2: Proximity of study residents to selected facilities

Percentage of residents covered by the survey by distance from the nearest facility/service, Maharashtra (rural), 2006

Nearest facility/service	% of residents						Median distance to nearest facility/service (km)
	Within village	<2 km	2-5 km	6-9 km	10-19 km	20 km or more	
Town	NA	2.9	8.3	12.8	38.7	37.4	14.0
District headquarters	NA	0.0	0.6	0.0	7.4	92.0	55.0
Railway station	4.8	0.8	7.4	8.0	13.7	65.3	25.0
Transport service to other places	26.5	4.2	18.6	9.1	23.7	17.9	6.0
All-weather road	28.6	5.5	17.0	8.6	21.1	19.2	5.0
Post office	58.3	5.6	26.9	5.1	3.2	0.9	NC
Bank	32.4	3.0	27.8	18.5	15.1	3.2	3.0
Educational facilities							
Primary school	99.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	NC
Middle school	70.2	3.7	22.1	3.0	1.0	0.0	NC
Secondary school	47.2	2.7	29.0	9.5	9.8	1.8	2.0
Higher secondary school	22.0	1.3	22.2	20.7	25.3	8.6	6.0
College	7.9	0.0	10.9	15.7	38.9	26.7	12.0
Technical school/college	6.9	0.0	7.4	11.5	32.6	41.6	16.0
Ashram school	12.0	0.0	14.3	11.6	25.8	35.5	13.0
Madarsa	13.0	0.7	12.6	10.3	17.5	44.8	14.0
Any of the above	99.5	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	NC
Health facilities							
ICDS (<i>anganwadi</i>)	96.9	2.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	NC
Sub-centre	39.7	3.1	32.5	14.2	8.1	2.4	2.0
Primary health centre	13.8	2.1	31.9	17.9	25.6	8.7	6.0
CHC/Rural hospital	5.2	1.5	8.0	11.9	42.5	30.9	14.0
Government dispensary	4.4	1.5	9.4	10.1	28.6	46.0	16.0
Government hospital	4.6	0.7	3.6	4.7	19.3	67.1	30.0
Private clinic, including ISMH	45.5	2.9	18.4	11.0	12.1	10.1	2.0
Private hospital	17.6	0.8	11.6	13.7	28.5	27.8	10.0
Any of the above	96.9	2.3	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	NC
Club/ <i>mandal</i>	57.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Entertainment/sports facilities							
Community hall	42.6	0.0	15.4	10.1	12.3	19.7	3.0
Playground	19.0	1.5	11.3	8.1	19.6	40.5	14.0
Sports club	16.5	0.0	8.3	9.3	21.3	44.6	16.0
Video parlour	10.3	1.5	9.0	15.4	33.5	30.2	12.0
Cinema theatre	5.9	0.0	9.5	14.3	33.7	36.6	14.0
Drama theatre	2.6	0.0	3.2	6.8	15.7	71.6	35.0
Any of the above	54.4	0.8	14.4	9.2	12.7	8.4	NC

Note: CHC: Community health centre. ICDS: Integrated Child Development Services. ISMH: Indian systems of medicine and homoeopathy. NA: Not applicable. NC: Median cannot be calculated.

Distances to the nearest such facilities were also considerable; for example, the nearest cinema theatre was an average of 14 kilometres from the village. Playgrounds and sports clubs were available in the village of residence to just 19% and 17% of the population, respectively; the nearest such facilities was located at an average distance of 14–16 kilometres.

2.2 Profile of the household population: Age-sex distribution

Age and sex distributions play an important role in the study of demographic processes. Details of the age and sex distribution of the *de jure* population in the survey area are presented in Table 2.3. Corresponding distributions from the 2001 Census are provided to enable comparison. The age distribution was typical of a population in which fertility has fallen rapidly in the past 10–15 years, with relatively low proportions in both younger (0–9 years) and older (60+ years) age groups. The decrease in the proportion of the population aged 0–4 years between 2001 and 2006 is also indicative of the recent declining trend in fertility in Maharashtra. This trend is observed in both urban and rural areas. Data from consecutive NFHS confirm that during the period between 1999 and 2005–06, the total fertility rate declined by 15%, from 2.5 to 2.1 (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a). Sample Registration System data also show a decline in the total fertility rate from 2.5 in 1999 to 2.2 in 2004 (RGI, 2002; 2006).

With regard to the youth population, the distribution suggests that at the time of the survey, 11% of the population was aged 10–14 years, 10% was aged 15–19 years and 9% was aged 20–24 years. A total of 19.3% of the population was aged 15–24 years, unchanged from the 2001 Census (19%) (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b).

Overall, the sex ratio of the *de jure* population of the state was 947 females per 1,000 males. While the rural sex ratio was similar to that observed in the 2001 Census (962 and 960, respectively), the urban sex ratio observed in the Youth Study was considerably higher (926 and 873, respectively).

Of major concern is the sex ratio of the child population (aged 0–6), which is significantly influenced by the sex ratio at birth, gender differences in infant and child mortality as well as possible undercount of female births. Findings presented in Table 2.3 suggest a child sex ratio of 862 females per 1,000 males aged 0–6; standard errors were relatively small and the 95% confidence interval ranged from 828 to 895. Even using the upper limit of this estimate, it would appear that there has been some decline in the child sex ratio as compared to that observed in the 2001 Census (913) (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). The child sex ratio as calculated from NFHS-3 (2005–06) data for Maharashtra was, in contrast, higher than both the census and the Youth Study (922 females per 1,000 males). We note, however, that because the size of the sample of children aged 0–6 covered in NFHS-3 was much smaller than that covered in the Youth Study (6,699 and 13,601, respectively), standard errors of these estimates were much higher in NFHS-3 (the 95% confidence interval ranged from 806 to 1,037). Hence, the possibility of a decline in the child sex ratio, as indicated earlier, is not ruled out.

2.3 Profile of the household population: Marital status

Table 2.4 presents the marital status distribution of the surveyed population, classified by age, residence and sex. A comparison with the marital status distribution as obtained in the 2001 Census (data not shown in tabular form) suggests a similar distribution, except that proportions never married have increased somewhat in the period 2001–06 (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001b). The currently married include both those who have married and cohabited with their spouse as well as those for whom cohabitation has not been initiated. Findings suggest wide gender differences in marriage age distributions, notably between the ages of 15 and 29: of those aged 15–19 years, just 1% of young men and 16% of young women were currently married. This increased to 20% and 69%, respectively, for those aged 20–24 years and further to 63% and 91% for those aged 25–29 years. Patterns were similar for both rural and urban areas, but larger percentages of both young men and women were married in each age group up to age 30 in rural versus urban areas.

Table 2.3: Distribution of the surveyed population by age and sex

Percent distribution of the surveyed population by age and sex, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006, and population distribution as reported in the 2001 Census for Maharashtra

Age (years) (%)	Youth Study, 2006			Census, 2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Combined						
Below 1	1.6	1.6	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6
1-4	6.6	6.9	6.3	8.3	8.3	8.2
5-9	9.7	10.1	9.4	10.6	10.5	10.6
10-14	10.9	11.3	10.5	11.7	11.8	11.6
15-19	10.1	10.0	10.2	9.9	10.4	9.3
20-24	9.2	9.5	9.0	9.1	9.5	8.8
25-29	7.9	7.5	8.3	8.5	8.3	8.7
30-34	7.5	7.4	7.6	7.6	7.5	7.7
35-39	7.6	7.3	7.8	7.2	7.0	7.4
40-44	6.0	6.1	5.9	5.7	6.0	5.5
45-49	5.5	5.5	5.5	4.7	4.8	4.6
50-54	4.1	4.3	3.8	3.6	3.7	3.4
55-59	3.5	3.4	3.6	2.8	2.6	2.9
60-64	3.5	3.0	3.9	2.8	2.4	3.3
65-69	2.9	2.7	3.1	2.7	2.4	3.0
70-74	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.8
75 and above	1.7	1.6	1.7	1.5	1.4	1.7
Age not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Number	111,389	57,324	54,059	96,878,627	50,400,596	46,478,031
Median age (years)	25.0	25.0	26.0	24.0	24.0	25.0
Sex ratio, all ages ¹	947	NA	NA	922	NA	NA
Sex ratio, age 0-6 years ¹	862	NA	NA	913	NA	NA
Urban						
Below 1	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
1-4	6.3	6.4	6.2	7.5	7.3	7.7
5-9	8.8	8.9	8.6	9.7	9.5	10.0
10-14	10.4	10.5	10.1	10.9	10.7	11.0
15-19	10.0	10.0	9.9	10.2	10.6	9.8
20-24	10.2	10.5	10.0	10.4	10.8	9.9
25-29	9.0	8.7	9.3	9.7	9.6	9.8
30-34	8.4	8.5	8.4	8.4	8.5	8.3
35-39	8.1	7.8	8.4	7.7	7.6	7.8
40-44	6.6	6.8	6.4	6.1	6.4	5.7
45-49	5.7	5.8	5.6	4.9	5.0	4.8
50-54	4.2	4.4	4.0	3.7	3.9	3.5
55-59	3.3	3.4	3.2	2.6	2.6	2.6
60-64	2.9	2.6	3.3	2.3	2.1	2.5
65-69	2.1	2.0	2.2	1.9	1.7	2.2
70-74	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.4
75 and above	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.1	1.4
Age not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1
Number	53,292	27,686	25,606	41,100,980	21,941,919	19,159,061
Median age (years)	26.0	26.0	26.0	25.0	25.0	25.0
Sex ratio, all ages ¹	926	NA	NA	873	NA	NA
Sex ratio, age 0-6 years ¹	878	NA	NA	908	NA	NA

Cont'd on next page...

Table 2.3: (Cont'd)

Age (years) (%)	Youth Study, 2006			Census, 2001		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Rural						
Below 1	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.6
1-4	6.8	7.3	6.4	8.8	9.0	8.6
5-9	10.5	11.0	10.0	11.2	11.3	11.0
10-14	11.4	12.0	10.7	12.3	12.6	12.0
15-19	10.1	9.9	10.3	9.6	10.3	8.9
20-24	8.5	8.8	8.2	8.2	8.4	8.0
25-29	7.1	6.7	7.6	7.6	7.3	7.9
30-34	6.9	6.6	7.1	7.1	6.8	7.3
35-39	7.2	6.9	7.4	6.8	6.6	7.0
40-44	5.5	5.5	5.6	5.5	5.6	5.3
45-49	5.4	5.3	5.5	4.5	4.6	4.4
50-54	3.9	4.1	3.7	3.4	3.5	3.3
55-59	3.6	3.3	3.9	2.9	2.6	3.1
60-64	3.8	3.3	4.4	3.2	2.6	3.8
65-69	3.5	3.3	3.8	3.3	3.0	3.6
70-74	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0
75 and above	2.0	2.1	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.9
Age not stated	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1
Number	58,097	29,638	28,453	55,777,647	28,458,677	27,318,970
Median age (years)	25.0	24.0	26.0	24.0	23.0	25.0
Sex ratio, all ages ¹	962	NA	NA	960	NA	NA
Sex ratio, age 0-6 years ¹	852	NA	NA	916	NA	NA

Note: NA: Not applicable. ¹Sex ratio is defined as the number of females per 1,000 males.

Table 2.4 also provides estimates of the singulate mean age at marriage (SMAM), calculated from the age-specific proportion of never-married individuals obtained in the household survey. As suggested above, the singulate mean age at marriage was considerably higher among the male population compared to the female: 26 and 21 years, respectively. Differences were also observed by rural-urban residence, with singulate mean age at marriage about two years higher among urban compared to rural males and females. Findings also suggest that women tended to marry men who were an average of five years older than themselves.

In order to assess age at marriage among those married more recently, the Youth Study household questionnaire asked specifically about marriages that had taken place in the three years prior to interview among the household's usual residents at that time. Table 2.5 suggests the median age at marriage for those who married in the recent past was 24 years among young men and 19 years among young women. Rural-urban differences were evident, with the median age at marriage for urban men one year higher than for rural men, and for urban women, two years higher than for rural women. Findings also show that while 16% of young women had married before they were aged 18, that is, the legal minimum age at marriage for females, only 1% of young men had married before age 18. Notably, however, 14% of young men had married before they were 21, the legal minimum age at marriage for males. Rural-urban differences were notable: 20% of rural females compared to 8% of urban females had married before they were 18 years of age. In contrast, 17% and 9% of young men in rural and urban areas, respectively, had married before they reached 21 years.

Table 2.4: Marital status of the surveyed population

Percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by marital status and sex, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Age (years) (%)	Marital status					
	Male			Female		
	Never married	Currently married ¹	Separated/ divorced/ widowed	Never married	Currently married ¹	Separated/ divorced/ widowed
Combined						
6-9	99.2	0.5	0.0	98.9	0.7	0.0
10-14	99.5	0.4	0.1	99.3	0.6	0.1
15-19	98.9	1.1	0.0	83.9	15.8	0.2
20-24	79.8	20.0	0.2	29.5	68.8	1.7
25-29	36.1	63.3	0.6	6.5	90.5	3.0
30 and above	2.2	94.0	3.8	1.1	77.0	21.7
Total	45.0	53.0	1.9	33.2	55.4	11.3
SMAM ² (years)	25.7			20.8		
Urban						
6-9	99.4	0.3	0.1	99.2	0.4	0.1
10-14	99.7	0.3	0.0	99.4	0.5	0.0
15-19	99.3	0.7	0.0	88.9	10.9	0.2
20-24	83.8	16.0	0.2	42.6	56.0	1.4
25-29	44.7	54.9	0.3	11.3	86.3	2.4
30 and above	3.6	93.1	3.2	2.1	77.2	20.6
Total	46.1	52.3	1.6	35.3	54.1	10.5
SMAM ² (years)	26.6			21.9		
Rural						
6-9	99.1	0.6	0.0	98.7	0.9	0.0
10-14	99.3	0.5	0.1	99.2	0.6	0.1
15-19	98.6	1.4	0.0	80.4	19.3	0.2
20-24	76.2	23.5	0.2	17.8	80.2	2.0
25-29	27.5	71.5	0.9	2.2	94.3	3.5
30 and above	1.0	94.6	4.3	0.4	76.9	22.5
Total	44.1	53.6	2.2	31.7	56.4	11.9
SMAM ² (years)	24.9			19.8		

Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. ¹Includes both those who are currently married and cohabiting as well as those who have not yet initiated cohabitation. ²SMAM: Singulate mean age at marriage (for those whose first marriage occurred between the ages of 6 and 55 years).

2.4 Profile of the household population: Educational attainment

Table 2.6 shows the percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by educational level and median years of schooling according to sex, age and residence. One-quarter of the population aged 6 years and above had no formal education. More females than males fell into this group: 34% and 16%, respectively.

Table 2.5: Age at marriage of usual residents of households

Age at marriage of usual residents of surveyed households who were married in the three years preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Age at marriage	Combined	Urban	Rural
Median age at marriage of usual residents married in the 3 years preceding the interview (years)			
Male	24.0	25.0	24.0
Female	19.0	20.0	18.0
Of those married in last 3 years, males married (%):			
Before age 18	1.1	0.4	1.6
Before age 21	13.8	9.2	17.2
Of those married in last 3 years, females married before age 18 (%)	15.7	8.1	19.9

Table 2.6: Educational attainment

Percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by educational level and median years of schooling, according to age, sex and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Age (years)	Completed years of schooling (%)				No. of persons	Median years of schooling
	None¹	1-7	8-11	12 and above		
Combined						
Total						
6-9	30.5	69.4	0.0	0.0	8,347	2.0
10-14	5.0	79.1	15.8	0.0	12,025	6.0
15-19	6.4	17.6	63.0	12.9	11,317	9.0
20-24	9.9	17.2	40.0	32.8	10,528	10.0
25-29	15.1	19.7	37.0	28.3	8,918	9.0
30 and above	37.0	25.6	23.2	14.1	48,862	5.0
Total	24.4	33.6	27.7	14.3	99,997	7.0
Male						
6-9	29.9	70.0	0.0	0.0	4,345	2.0
10-14	4.2	80.6	15.1	0.0	6,362	5.0
15-19	4.7	16.2	66.0	13.2	5,842	9.0
20-24	5.7	15.3	43.1	35.9	5,575	10.0
25-29	7.4	16.3	41.5	34.9	4,429	10.0
30 and above	22.0	27.6	30.2	20.1	24,641	8.0
Total	15.5	34.5	32.0	18.0	51,194	8.0
Female						
6-9	31.1	68.8	0.0	0.0	4,002	2.0
10-14	6.0	77.4	16.7	0.0	5,663	6.0
15-19	8.2	19.1	60.0	12.7	5,474	9.0
20-24	14.5	19.4	36.5	29.4	4,953	9.0
25-29	22.4	22.9	32.7	22.0	4,489	8.0
30 and above	52.2	23.6	16.1	8.0	24,217	0.0
Total	33.7	32.6	23.3	10.4	48,798	5.0

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Table 2.6: (Cont'd)

Age (years)	Completed years of schooling (%)				No. of persons	Median years of schooling
	None¹	1-7	8-11	12 and above		
Urban						
Total						
6-9	22.1	77.9	0.0	0.0	3,674	2.0
10-14	2.4	76.1	21.4	0.0	5,531	6.0
15-19	3.3	13.4	64.1	19.2	5,370	9.0
20-24	5.6	14.2	37.1	43.0	5,488	10.0
25-29	9.5	14.8	36.5	39.1	4,765	10.0
30 and above	20.9	22.9	31.4	24.6	23,345	9.0
Total	14.1	30.4	32.6	22.8	48,173	8.0
Male						
6-9	21.6	78.3	0.0	0.0	1,900	2.0
10-14	2.4	78.3	19.2	0.0	2,911	6.0
15-19	3.1	14.0	65.1	17.8	2,838	9.0
20-24	3.6	13.8	39.7	42.8	2,920	10.0
25-29	5.5	12.3	39.1	43.0	2,407	10.0
30 and above	10.8	20.5	36.5	32.1	11,990	10.0
Total	8.4	29.4	35.5	26.6	24,966	9.0
Female						
6-9	22.6	77.4	0.0	0.0	1,774	2.0
10-14	2.5	73.6	23.9	0.0	2,620	6.0
15-19	3.6	12.7	63.0	20.7	2,532	10.0
20-24	8.0	14.6	34.1	43.2	2,568	10.0
25-29	13.5	17.3	33.9	35.3	2,358	10.0
30 and above	31.7	25.5	26.0	16.7	11,355	7.0
Total	20.2	31.4	29.6	18.8	23,207	7.0
Rural						
Total						
6-9	35.8	64.1	0.0	0.0	4,673	1.0
10-14	6.8	81.1	12.0	0.0	6,494	5.0
15-19	8.7	20.7	62.2	8.3	5,947	9.0
20-24	13.7	20.0	42.6	23.7	5,040	9.0
25-29	20.3	24.3	37.4	18.1	4,153	9.0
30 and above	49.0	27.6	17.0	6.3	25,517	2.0
Total	32.2	36.0	24.0	7.7	51,824	5.0
Male						
6-9	35.0	64.8	0.0	0.0	2,445	1.0
10-14	5.5	82.2	12.4	0.0	3,451	5.0
15-19	6.0	17.8	66.6	9.6	3,004	9.0
20-24	7.6	16.6	46.2	29.6	2,655	9.0
25-29	9.2	20.2	43.8	26.8	2,022	9.0
30 and above	30.7	33.2	25.2	10.9	12,651	5.0
Total	21.0	38.5	29.2	11.3	26,228	6.0
Female						
6-9	36.6	63.2	0.0	0.0	2,228	1.0
10-14	8.4	80.0	11.7	0.0	3,043	5.0
15-19	11.5	23.6	57.9	7.1	2,942	9.0
20-24	20.4	23.7	38.7	17.1	2,385	9.0
25-29	30.3	28.0	31.5	10.2	2,131	7.0
30 and above	67.0	22.2	8.9	1.8	12,862	0.0
Total	43.6	33.5	18.7	4.1	25,591	3.0

Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. ¹Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Rural-urban differences were also wide: 14% of the urban population compared to 32% of the rural population had never been to school. At the other extreme, 14% of the total population had received 12 or more years of education. Gender and rural-urban differences remained evident: 18% and 10% of males and females, respectively, and 23% and 8% of the urban and rural populations, respectively, had reached this level of education. Median years of schooling was 7 years for males and 5 years for females, and was roughly three years higher in the urban compared to the rural population (8 and 5 years, respectively).

2.5 Profile of the household population: Work participation

Table 2.7 presents the percentage distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above reported to have been working in the seven days prior to interview date according to sex and residence. While 47% of the total population was reported as working, a larger percentage of males (62%) than females (30%) and a larger proportion of the rural than urban population (53% and 38%, respectively) were working. This difference is attributable to vast differences in work participation observed among rural and urban females (43% and 13%, respectively). In comparison, percentages of working males were identical (62%) in urban and rural areas. A positive association between age and work was observed: 5% of those aged 10–14 reported working, compared with 27% of those aged 15–19. This percentage nearly doubled in the 20–24-year age group, to 54%, and continued to increase thereafter.

Table 2.7: Work participation

Percent distribution of the surveyed population aged 6 years and above by work participation, according to age, sex and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Age (years) (%)	Combined			Urban			Rural		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
6-9	0.6	0.4	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.8	0.5	1.1
10-14	4.7	4.9	4.5	1.8	2.7	0.9	6.7	6.5	7.0
15-19	27.0	34.9	18.9	17.4	29.1	4.7	34.0	39.3	28.8
20-24	53.8	73.8	31.4	43.7	68.8	15.2	63.0	78.3	45.8
25-29	66.5	93.6	40.7	55.6	92.9	18.3	76.7	94.3	60.8
30 and above	64.4	86.6	42.0	53.1	85.8	18.4	72.9	87.2	58.8
Total	46.6	62.1	30.4	38.4	61.9	13.2	52.8	62.3	43.2

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

2.6 Socio-demographic characteristics of households and heads of households

Table 2.8 presents selected characteristics pertaining to households and their heads, according to residence, for all households as well as for those containing youth eligible for interview (that is, all young women aged 15–24 years, unmarried young men aged 15–24 years and married young men aged 15–29 years).

Findings suggest that heads of households were overwhelmingly male and typically aged 35 years and above. Age differences suggest that heads of rural households were older than heads of urban households: for example, the age of the head of household was 55 years or more among 27% of urban households compared to 35% of rural households. Differences were similar even among households that contained youth eligible for interview in the Youth Study.

Table 2.8: Socio-demographic characteristics of households and heads of households

Percent distribution of all surveyed households and households containing youth eligible for interview by selected socio-demographic characteristics of heads of households, household size and type of family, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Socio-demographic characteristics (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth
Sex of household head						
Male	89.1	91.9	88.5	90.0	89.6	93.2
Female	10.9	8.1	11.5	10.0	10.4	6.8
Current age of household head (years)						
Below 25	2.1	4.1	2.1	4.1	2.0	4.1
25-34	15.4	15.6	16.4	15.6	14.6	15.6
35-44	27.4	17.0	29.4	17.8	25.8	16.5
45-54	24.1	34.5	25.5	36.8	23.0	32.7
55 and above	31.1	28.8	26.6	25.7	34.6	31.1
Religion of household head						
Hindu	81.6	80.1	74.1	71.6	87.3	86.4
Muslim	9.0	10.4	14.2	16.9	5.0	5.6
Christian	1.1	0.9	2.1	1.7	0.3	0.3
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	6.5	7.2	6.3	7.4	6.7	7.0
Other ¹	1.7	1.3	3.1	2.4	0.6	0.5
Caste/tribe of household head						
SC	15.1	16.1	16.0	18.1	14.5	14.6
ST	8.6	9.5	3.8	4.4	12.3	13.1
VJNT	4.8	5.5	2.9	3.7	6.3	6.8
OBC	30.5	29.7	26.5	27.0	33.6	31.6
General ²	39.2	37.8	48.3	44.8	32.2	32.8
Caste/tribe unknown	1.7	1.4	2.5	2.0	1.1	1.0
Schooling of household head (years)						
None ³	25.6	23.6	14.3	14.9	34.2	30.0
1-7	29.3	31.9	23.0	26.4	34.1	35.9
8-10	25.1	27.0	31.8	32.8	19.9	22.7
11-12	8.9	8.6	11.5	11.0	7.0	6.9
Above 12	11.0	8.7	19.3	14.8	4.6	4.2
Current work status of household head⁴						
Working	84.9	86.8	81.5	82.9	87.4	89.7
Not working	15.1	13.2	18.5	17.1	12.6	10.3

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Table 2.8: (Cont'd)

Socio-demographic characteristics (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth
Number of members in the household						
1	3.7	0.1	3.2	0.3	4.1	0.0
2	9.4	3.2	8.2	3.7	10.2	2.8
3	12.6	10.1	14.8	10.9	10.8	9.5
4	23.4	22.3	26.6	23.9	20.9	21.1
5	21.1	24.1	20.5	23.6	21.6	24.6
6	13.2	15.8	11.8	15.2	14.3	16.3
7 or more	16.6	24.4	14.9	22.5	18.0	25.7
Mean household size	4.8	5.6	4.8	5.5	4.9	5.7
Type of family						
Nuclear	59.5	48.5	62.3	53.0	57.4	45.1
Non-nuclear	40.5	51.5	37.7	47.0	42.6	54.9
Households with at least one literate member aged 18 and above	87.1	94.3	94.1	97.3	81.7	92.1
Number of households	23,077	8,766	11,184	4,169	11,893	4,597

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹ Includes Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ² Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. ³ Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling. ⁴ Defined as reported work activity in the seven days prior to interview.

Distributions by religion suggest that 82% of household heads were Hindu, 9% were Muslim, 7% were Buddhist or neo-Buddhist, 1% were Christian and about 2% belonged to other religions. Distributions were similar among all households and those containing youth eligible for interview in the Youth Study. Rural-urban differences were however evident, with Muslims far more likely to reside in urban than rural areas (14% and 5%, respectively). As far as caste was concerned, the largest group belonged to general castes (39%), followed by other backward castes (31%) and scheduled castes (15%). Scheduled tribes and *Vimukta jati* nomadic tribes (VJNT) comprised some 9% and 5%, respectively, of heads of all households.

Educational attainment levels suggest that over half of all heads of households had either no schooling or 1–7 years of schooling; just as educational distributions differed for the general population, here too, heads of households in urban areas were more likely to be well-educated than their rural counterparts. The vast majority of heads of households reported working in the last seven days (85%), with those in rural areas somewhat more likely to be working than their urban counterparts.

Households contained an average of 4.8 members. This number was slightly higher (5.6) among those containing youth eligible for interview in the Youth Study. Rural-urban differences were negligible. As far as family type was concerned, about 60% of all households, irrespective of rural-urban residence, consisted of a nuclear family. Family type distributions varied when only those households containing youth eligible for interview in the Youth Study were considered: 52% of households contained a non-nuclear family, ranging from 47% in urban areas to 55% in rural areas.

Finally, about 87% of all households contained at least one literate member aged 18 and above, a percentage that was somewhat higher (94%) in households containing eligible youth. Rural-urban differences were wide among the total population (94% and 82% of urban and rural households, respectively, contained at least one literate member aged 18 and above), but much narrower among households containing eligible youth (97% and 92%, respectively).

2.7 Profile of the household population: Housing characteristics

Table 2.9 provides information on ownership of residence, housing quality, access to basic amenities and indicators of crowding. Information was obtained from responses to the household questionnaire and, in the case of housing type, interviewer observations. Information is presented by rural-urban residence separately for all surveyed households and households containing youth eligible for the Youth Study. Characteristics of both types of households are basically similar.

The vast majority of households (85%), irrespective of whether or not they contained youth, owned the structure in which they resided. Considerably more rural than urban households, however, reported owning their residence (91% and 76%, respectively). Overall, interviewers observed that 19% of all households lived in *kuchcha* houses (constructed from mud, thatch or other low-quality materials), 46% lived in semi-*pucca* houses (constructed using a mix of low- and high-quality materials) and 35% lived in *pucca* houses (constructed entirely from cement, masonry or other high-quality materials).

Table 2.9: Housing characteristics

Percent distribution of all surveyed households and households containing youth eligible for interview by selected housing characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Housing characteristics (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth
Ownership of residence						
Yes	84.5	85.4	75.7	75.7	91.2	92.6
No	15.5	14.6	24.3	24.3	8.7	7.4
Type of house						
<i>Kuchcha</i>	19.2	17.7	7.7	7.6	28.1	25.1
Semi- <i>pucca</i>	45.8	48.0	33.4	35.9	55.4	56.9
<i>Pucca</i>	34.6	34.0	58.7	56.5	16.1	17.4
Number of rooms in the house¹						
1-3	0.6	27.5	31.0	29.9	30.3	25.6
2-3	56.6	58.2	54.6	55.4	58.2	60.2
4-5	9.3	10.3	11.5	11.4	7.5	9.5
6 or more	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.7	1.5	1.8
Average number of persons per room						
Up to 2	60.2	53.5	62.8	55.6	58.2	52.0
3-4	23.9	27.8	22.5	25.6	24.9	29.3
5-6	10.9	12.2	10.9	13.0	10.9	11.5
More than 6	3.4	4.7	3.3	5.2	3.5	4.4
Mean number of persons per room	2.7	3.0	2.6	3.0	2.8	3.1
Source of lighting						
Electricity	79.8	81.8	96.3	97.0	67.2	70.7
Kerosene	20.0	18.0	3.6	2.9	32.5	29.1
Other lighting sources ²	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2

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Table 2.9: (Cont'd)

Housing characteristics (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth
Source of drinking water						
Own piped water/hand-pump/covered well	43.5	43.3	70.9	69.4	22.4	24.1
Public piped water/hand-pump/covered well	41.6	41.9	27.8	29.3	52.2	51.2
Own open well	1.7	1.8	0.1	0.1	2.9	3.1
Public open well	11.6	11.3	0.5	0.5	20.1	19.2
Surface water ³	0.8	0.8	0.0	0.0	1.5	1.4
Other water sources ⁴	0.8	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.9
Toilet facility						
Own flush toilet	20.9	19.3	40.1	36.9	6.2	6.3
Shared flush toilet	12.4	12.7	26.0	27.4	1.9	1.9
Own pit toilet	12.9	12.9	14.1	14.5	12.0	11.8
Shared pit toilet	2.5	2.6	4.5	4.9	1.0	0.9
Other toilet facility ⁵	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.2	0.3
No toilet facility	51.0	51.8	14.7	15.3	78.8	78.7
Main type of fuel used for cooking						
Liquid petroleum gas	38.3	37.2	73.2	71.8	11.5	11.6
Bio-gas	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.6
Kerosene	6.9	6.8	13.4	14.2	1.8	1.4
Wood/crop residue/dung cakes/coal/charcoal	53.8	55.0	12.1	12.9	85.8	86.2
Other types of fuel ⁶	0.7	0.6	1.3	1.0	0.2	0.2
Number of households	23,077	8,766	11,184	4,169	11,893	4,597

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. ¹Excludes toilets/bathrooms but includes kitchen. ²Includes oil, gas, etc. ³Includes water of a spring, river, stream, pond, lake or dam. ⁴Includes rain water and tanker truck. ⁵Includes twin pit/composting and dry toilets. ⁶Includes electricity, straw, shrubs and grass.

Most residential structures contained one room (31%) or 2–3 rooms (57%) and the number of rooms varied little with rural-urban residence. The mean number of persons per room was 2.7 for all households and 3 for those containing eligible youth. Rural-urban differences were negligible.

Respondents were asked about their household’s main source of lighting, drinking water, toilet facilities and cooking fuel. As Table 2.9 shows, 80% of households had electricity, including almost all urban households (96%) and 71% of rural households (compared with 84% for Maharashtra as a whole as assessed in NFHS-3). The majority of households (85%) reported that their main source of drinking water was either piped water, water obtained from a hand-pump or a covered well (while definitions differ somewhat, this compares with 93% as assessed in NFHS-3; IIPS and Macro International, 2007b). These facilities were reported as self-owned for half of households reporting as such, and as public or shared facilities for the remainder. Again, rural-urban differences were marked: while 99% of urban households had access to these safe sources of drinking water, just three-quarters of rural households reported as such.

Access to a toilet facility of any kind was reported by about half of all households (49%, compared to 53% as assessed in NFHS-3; IIPS and Macro International, 2007b): these included owned or shared flush toilets (21% and 12%, respectively) and owned or shared pit toilets (13% and 3%, respectively). Large rural-urban differences were observed: 79% of rural household, compared to 15% of urban households had no access to toilet facilities.

Finally, the main source of cooking fuel was coal, charcoal, wood, crop residue or dung cakes, reported by 54% of all households (compared to 48% as assessed in NFHS-3; IIPS and Macro International, 2007a), and 86% of all rural households compared to 12% of urban households. Liquid petroleum gas was used, in contrast, by 38% of all households, ranging from 12% in rural areas to 73% in urban areas. Patterns of access to these facilities in households containing youth eligible for interview in the Youth Study were similar to those observed for all households, described above.

2.8 Profile of the household population: Ownership of agricultural land

Table 2.10 presents information on ownership of agricultural land for households in both rural and urban areas (irrigated and non-irrigated). Most households in Maharashtra owned no land (61% of all households and 58% of those containing eligible youth). This proportion was much higher for urban households (88%), however, than for rural households (41%). Fewer than one-fifth of households owned up to 2.5 acres of land and about one-tenth owned between 2.51 and 5 acres of land; just 8% owned more than 5 acres of land. Not only were most land holdings small in area, but they were also, by and large, not irrigated. Even in rural areas, only about one in five households had some irrigated land.

Table 2.10: Household ownership of agricultural land

Percent distribution of all surveyed households and households containing youth eligible for interview by ownership of agricultural land, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Land holding (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth
Land holding (in acres)						
Landless	61.4	57.5	88.2	86.3	40.8	36.3
Marginal (≤ 2.50)	17.0	16.6	3.3	3.6	27.4	26.2
Small (2.51-5.00)	11.1	13.0	2.7	3.2	17.6	20.3
Medium (5.01-10.00)	5.3	6.3	1.4	1.6	8.3	9.9
Large (>10.00)	3.1	4.2	1.2	1.5	4.6	6.3
Own any irrigated land	14.2	16.2	4.3	4.8	21.7	24.6
Number of households	23,077	8,766	11,184	4,169	11,893	4,597

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses.

2.9 Profile of the household population: Overall economic status

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

Type of house: 2 for *pucca*; 1 for semi-*pucca*; 0 for *kuccha*

Agricultural land owned: 4 for more than 10 acres; 3 for 5.1–10.0 acres; 2 for 2.6–5.0 acres; 1 for less than 2.6 acres, or if the household owns some land but does not know how much; 0 for no land

Irrigated land owned: 1 for any irrigated land; 0 for no land

Access to toilet facility: 4 for own flush toilet; 2 for shared flush toilet or own pit toilet; 1 for shared pit toilet or other types of toilet; 0 for no toilet facility

Cooking fuel used: 2 for liquid petroleum gas, electricity or bio-gas; 1 for kerosene, wood, crop residue, dung cakes, coal or charcoal; 0 for other types of cooking fuel, for example, dry leaves

Access to drinking water facility: 4 for own piped water, hand-pump or covered well; 3 for own open well; 2 for public or shared piped water, hand-pump or covered well; 1 for public or shared open well; 0 for other sources of drinking water, for example, surface water, tanker/truck or rainwater

Access to electricity: 3 for electricity; 0 for no electricity

Ownership of household assets: 4 for car or truck; 3 each for motor cycle or scooter, refrigerator, computer/laptop, telephone (landline or mobile), colour television; 2 each for bicycle, electric fan, radio or transistor, black and white television, sewing machine, water pump, animal-drawn cart; 1 for watch or clock; 0 for each of the above items that the household does not possess.

Index scores, so constructed, ranged from 0 to 54. Households were then ranked according to the index score. This ranked sample was divided into quintiles – i.e., five groups, each containing an equal number of households – with the first quintile representing households of the lowest wealth status and the fifth quintile representing households with the highest wealth status. In the Youth Study, the wealth quintiles were developed at the state level on the basis of the weighted sample for the whole state.

Findings are presented in Table 2.11. As far as ownership of household assets was concerned, the two items most likely to be owned were a watch or clock (81%) and an electric fan (65%). Between one-fifth and one-third of all households owned a bicycle, television set, radio, telephone, refrigerator or motorcycle/scooter. Wide rural-urban differences were observed, with rural households far less likely than urban households to report ownership of most items. For example, while 66% of urban households owned a colour television set, just 12% of rural households did; and while over half of all urban households (51%) owned a telephone, just 11% of rural households did. A significant minority of all households (12%) and those containing eligible youth (8%) did not own a single item; again, this proportion was much higher among rural households than urban (3% and 1% of all households and those containing youth did not own a single item in urban areas, compared to 20% and 13%, respectively, in rural areas).

The distribution of households by wealth quintiles shows that more than one-third of urban households were in the highest (fifth) wealth quintile; in contrast, only 7% of rural households were in this quintile. Likewise, about one-third of rural households were in the lowest (first) quintile of the index compared to only 4% of urban households in this quintile.

2.10 Profile of surveyed youth: Background characteristics

A total of 7,570 youth were interviewed. Table 2.12 presents the socio-demographic characteristics of surveyed youth. Age profiles suggest that the unmarried are clearly younger than the married. Among married young women, one-quarter were between 15 and 19 years of age and three-quarters were aged 20–24 years; in contrast, few married young men were between the ages of 15 and 19 (2%). Among the unmarried, gender differences were narrower, but young women were still more likely to be concentrated in the 15–19 year age group than young men (75% and 57%, respectively). Rural-urban differences suggest that rural youth were somewhat younger than their urban counterparts.

Table 2.11: Household assets and wealth status

Percentage of all surveyed households and households containing youth eligible for interview owning selected household assets and percent distribution of households by wealth quintile, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Housing characteristics (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth	All households	Households with youth
Assets owned						
Watch/clock	81.1	85.4	92.1	93.4	72.7	79.5
Electric fan	64.7	67.2	93.0	94.1	43.0	47.4
Bicycle	34.8	40.7	39.3	43.7	31.4	38.5
Radio and/or transistor	29.0	30.2	44.7	45.1	17.0	19.2
Colour television	35.7	36.6	65.9	66.6	12.4	14.4
B/W television	18.3	20.7	15.3	15.4	20.6	24.6
Telephone (land-line /mobile)	28.2	28.9	51.1	51.0	10.7	12.5
Refrigerator	20.9	20.0	42.1	40.5	4.6	4.9
Motorcycle/scooter	19.7	20.4	31.9	30.3	10.4	13.1
Sewing machine	12.9	14.6	18.8	20.7	8.5	10.1
Animal-drawn cart	8.2	10.8	0.9	0.9	13.9	18.1
Water pump	6.4	7.7	2.1	2.4	9.7	11.6
Personal computer/laptop	3.4	3.4	7.5	7.6	0.3	0.3
Car/truck	2.3	2.1	4.6	3.9	0.6	0.7
Tractor	0.8	1.1	0.3	0.3	1.1	1.7
Thresher	0.5	0.7	0.1	0.2	0.7	1.1
None of the above	12.2	8.0	2.5	1.4	19.7	12.9
Wealth quintile						
First	20.0	16.4	4.0	3.1	32.3	26.3
Second	20.0	20.1	8.3	8.6	29.0	28.6
Third	20.0	21.4	20.1	20.3	19.9	22.2
Fourth	20.0	22.2	30.8	32.8	11.7	14.4
Fifth	20.0	19.8	36.8	35.2	7.1	8.5
Number of households	23,077	8,766	11,184	4,169	11,893	4,597

The distribution of youth by religion was fairly similar to that observed in the household population: about four in five youth were Hindu (varying from about 69–73% among those in urban settings to 86–88% among those in rural settings) and about one-tenth were Muslim (varying from 17–19% in urban areas to 5–6% in rural areas). Caste-wise distributions were generally similar, with between one-third and two-fifths falling into general castes, about one-sixth into scheduled castes and between one-quarter and one-third into other backward castes.

Educational distributions suggest that youth were better educated than the population at large and that gender differences were narrow. In total, 4% of young men and 8% of young women had no formal education (compared to 16% and 34%, respectively, of the general population described in Table 2.6) and 22% and 20% had 12 or more years of education (compared to 18% and 10% of the general population). Differences were, nonetheless evident by marital status and rural-urban residence. Among married youth for example, 10% of young men and 15% of young women had no formal education and a slightly higher proportion (19% and 14%, respectively) had attained 12 or more years of education. The unmarried were typically better educated than the married: 2–3% had no formal education and 24–25% had more than 12 years of education. Urban youth were generally better educated than rural youth: for example, 29% of young men and 30% of young women in urban areas had completed 12 or more years of education compared to 16% and 12% of rural youth, respectively.

Table 2.12: Background characteristics of surveyed youth

Percent distribution of surveyed youth by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics	Men (M) ⁴ 15-24		Women (W) ⁴ 15-24		Married men (MM) ⁴ 15-29		Married women (MW) ⁴ 15-24		Unmarried men (UM) ⁴ 15-24		Unmarried women (UW) ⁴ 15-24	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Combined												
Age (years)												
15-19	50.0	1,136	51.8	2,349	1.8	17	23.9	445	56.7	1,119	75.2	1,904
20-24	50.0	1,200	48.2	2,139	29.5	302	76.1	1,502	43.3	898	24.8	637
25-29	NA	NA	NA	NA	68.7	746	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	81.3	1,859	78.5	3,472	82.3	865	80.4	1,530	81.0	1,598	77.1	1,942
Muslim	10.8	298	10.7	514	11.0	126	10.2	225	10.9	261	11.0	289
Christian	0.7	20	1.2	59	0.4	4	0.9	20	0.8	20	1.5	39
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	6.1	128	8.4	384	5.5	61	7.7	156	6.1	108	8.9	228
Other ¹	1.1	31	1.0	50	0.8	9	0.5	11	1.2	30	1.4	39
Caste												
SC	15.2	356	17.1	789	17.6	186	15.9	322	14.7	296	18.0	467
ST/VJNT	16.0	308	11.3	479	19.2	192	12.2	220	15.3	248	10.5	259
OBC	30.7	708	27.0	1,179	27.6	298	27.5	517	31.2	624	26.6	662
General ²	35.6	891	41.4	1,893	33.4	363	40.3	808	36.1	785	42.3	1,085
No caste/do not know	2.6	73	3.3	148	2.3	26	4.1	80	2.6	64	2.7	68
Educational level (years)												
None ³	3.7	74	8.2	334	10.2	97	14.8	269	2.0	31	2.7	65
1-7	17.6	394	21.5	937	26.7	283	28.9	557	15.5	294	15.3	380
8-11	56.8	1,307	50.3	2,267	43.7	469	42.2	822	58.9	1,169	57.1	1,445
12 and above	21.9	561	20.0	950	19.3	216	14.0	299	23.5	523	25.0	651
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	66.6	1,506	31.5	1,309	97.6	1,043	35.5	602	61.8	1,196	28.5	703
No	33.0	823	68.3	3,172	2.1	21	64.3	1,331	37.8	821	71.4	1,834
Wealth quintile												
First	16.1	281	14.0	563	21.9	207	15.7	259	14.4	202	12.8	304
Second	20.1	388	18.6	762	22.2	214	21.7	385	19.3	312	16.0	377
Third	21.5	486	22.0	987	20.7	226	24.3	484	21.3	410	19.9	503
Fourth	23.3	619	24.0	1,126	20.2	235	23.2	494	24.3	559	24.6	632
Fifth	18.9	562	21.4	1,050	15.1	183	15.0	325	20.7	534	26.7	725
Total	100.0	2,336	100.0	4,488	100.0	1,065	100.0	1,947	100.0	2,017	100.0	2,541
Urban												
Age (years)												
15-19	46.9	663	48.3	1,064	0.7	3	18.7	168	53.1	660	67.3	896
20-24	53.1	719	51.7	1,165	27.4	133	81.3	733	46.9	586	32.7	432
25-29	NA	NA	NA	NA	71.9	370	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	73.2	1,020	69.0	1,539	74.4	377	68.2	615	73.0	919	69.5	924
Muslim	18.7	250	16.9	379	18.5	93	18.5	167	18.7	225	15.9	212
Christian	1.2	16	2.3	50	0.5	2	1.7	15	1.3	16	2.7	35
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	5.0	68	10.1	222	4.8	26	10.6	96	4.7	58	9.7	126
Other ¹	2.0	28	1.7	39	1.8	8	1.0	8	2.3	28	2.2	31
Caste												
SC	16.0	219	21.0	466	18.3	91	19.5	178	15.3	190	21.9	288
ST/VJNT	6.9	97	7.1	159	7.8	40	7.9	71	7.2	91	6.5	88
OBC	28.7	401	22.4	500	27.2	143	23.8	214	29.2	367	21.6	286
General ²	44.2	607	45.8	1,024	43.2	214	44.7	402	43.8	543	46.5	622
No caste/do not know	4.2	58	3.7	80	3.7	18	4.1	36	4.5	55	3.4	44

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Table 2.12: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics	Men (M) ⁴ 15-24		Women (W) ⁴ 15-24		Married men (MM) ⁴ 15-29		Married women (MW) ⁴ 15-24		Unmarried men (UM) ⁴ 15-24		Unmarried women (UW) ⁴ 15-24	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Urban												
Educational level (years)												
None ³	1.8	23	5.0	115	5.7	29	10.5	94	1.0	11	1.6	21
1-7	14.9	200	16.3	367	23.8	118	25.6	230	12.9	160	10.4	137
8-11	54.0	750	48.5	1,079	43.2	223	41.5	375	55.3	689	52.9	704
12 and above	29.2	409	30.1	668	27.2	136	22.4	202	30.8	386	35.1	466
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	59.0	801	16.3	355	98.9	503	13.2	115	53.5	669	18.3	237
No	40.8	578	83.7	1,873	0.7	3	86.8	784	46.3	577	81.6	1,091
Wealth quintile												
First	2.6	33	2.6	59	4.6	23	3.3	30	2.2	25	2.2	29
Second	8.8	118	8.3	189	14.6	71	13.3	121	7.4	92	5.2	68
Third	19.7	267	21.0	474	22.8	116	27.1	245	18.7	230	17.1	229
Fourth	34.8	468	33.0	703	31.1	153	33.3	291	35.4	427	32.8	412
Fifth	34.2	496	35.0	804	26.9	143	23.1	214	36.4	472	42.7	590
Total	100.0	1,382	100.0	2,229	100.0	506	100.0	901	100.0	1,246	100.0	1,328
Rural												
Age (years)												
15-19	52.5	473	54.6	1,285	2.6	14	26.9	277	59.8	459	83.0	1,008
20-24	47.5	481	45.4	974	30.9	169	73.1	769	40.2	312	17.0	205
25-29	NA	NA	NA	NA	66.5	376	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	87.7	839	85.9	1,933	87.7	488	87.3	915	87.6	679	84.6	1,018
Muslim	4.6	48	5.8	135	5.8	33	5.5	58	4.4	36	6.1	77
Christian	0.5	4	0.4	9	0.3	2	0.4	5	0.5	4	0.3	4
Buddhist/Neo-Buddhist	6.9	60	7.1	162	6.1	35	6.1	60	7.3	50	8.0	102
Other ¹	0.3	3	0.4	11	0.2	1	0.2	3	0.3	2	0.6	8
Caste												
SC	14.5	137	14.0	323	17.1	95	13.8	144	14.2	106	14.2	179
ST/VJNT	23.2	211	14.5	320	27.2	152	14.7	149	22.1	157	14.3	171
OBC	32.2	307	30.5	679	27.8	155	29.6	303	32.9	257	31.4	376
General ²	28.8	284	38.0	869	26.7	149	37.8	406	29.8	242	38.2	463
No caste/do not know	1.3	15	3.1	68	1.3	8	4.1	44	1.1	9	2.0	24
Educational level (years)												
None ³	5.2	51	10.6	219	13.2	68	17.3	175	3.0	20	3.8	44
1-7	19.6	194	25.5	570	28.9	165	30.8	327	17.7	134	20.2	243
8-11	59.0	557	51.8	1,188	44.0	246	42.7	447	61.9	480	61.1	741
12 and above	16.2	152	12.1	282	13.9	80	9.2	97	17.4	137	15.0	185
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	72.7	705	43.4	954	96.6	540	48.2	487	68.7	527	38.5	466
No	26.8	245	56.3	1,299	3.0	18	51.5	547	30.9	244	61.3	743
Wealth quintile												
First	26.8	248	22.9	504	34.0	184	22.7	229	24.5	177	23.1	275
Second	29.1	270	26.6	573	27.4	143	26.4	264	29.2	220	26.7	309
Third	23.1	219	22.7	513	19.0	110	22.8	239	23.5	180	22.7	274
Fourth	14.2	151	17.0	423	12.6	82	17.6	203	15.1	132	16.5	220
Fifth	6.9	66	10.7	246	7.0	40	10.5	111	7.6	62	11.0	135
Total	100.0	954	100.0	2,259	100.0	559	100.0	1,046	100.0	771	100.0	1,213

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

Gender differences were wide with regard to work status: 67% of young men compared to 32% of young women had ever worked in paid or unpaid activities in the 12 months preceding the interview. Married youth were typically more likely to be engaged in work activities than the unmarried: while 98% of married young men had worked in the year preceding the interview, 62% of unmarried young men had done so, and among young women, correspondingly, 36% and 29%. Also evident was that rural youth were more likely to be engaged in work activities than were urban youth: 73% of young men and 43% of young women in rural areas compared to 59% and 16%, respectively, in urban areas.

Economic status distributions, as measured by wealth quintiles, show some variation from household distributions. Gender differences were narrow but the married were generally more likely to be concentrated in the lower quintiles than were the unmarried. For example, 22% and 16% of married young men and women fell into the lowest (first) quintile, compared to 14% and 13%, respectively, of the unmarried; conversely, 15% of the married compared to 21–27% of the unmarried fell into the uppermost (fifth) wealth quintile. Rural-urban differences were wide, with rural youth more likely than their urban counterparts to be concentrated in the lower wealth quintiles; conversely, more urban than rural youth belonged to the uppermost wealth quintile.

2.11 Profile of surveyed youth: Parental characteristics

The Youth Study inquired about the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents' parents, including their survival status, education and occupation. Findings, presented in Table 2.13, suggest that among over four in five respondents both parents were surviving. Gender differences were narrow among the unmarried, but married young men tended to be somewhat less likely to report that both parents were alive than married young women (74% and 84%, respectively), clearly a function of the fact that married young men in our sample were older than married young women. Rural-urban differences were generally narrow. For those with just one parent surviving, this parent was more likely to be the mother (10–11%) than the father (2%). Finally, 1% or fewer youth reported that neither parent was alive.

Parents' educational attainment was considerably lower than that of youth respondents. For example, the median number of years of education completed by fathers of young men and women was 7 years. Fathers of the unmarried were generally better educated (7–8 years of education) than fathers of the married (4–5 years). Rural-urban differences were wide, with rural fathers having completed 4–5 years and urban fathers 9 years of schooling. Maternal education patterns were similar, but levels were much lower, with over half of mothers of both young men and women having no formal education. Wide differences were observed, however, by marital status and residence of respondents: mothers of the unmarried typically had 2–4 years of schooling, while the majority of those of the married had never been to school. Mothers of urban youth were similarly better educated than those of rural youth: mothers of urban youth typically had 5 years of schooling, while the majority of those of rural youth had never been to school. Differences in parental educational attainment by marital status of youth may be attributed to the fact that better educated parents may be more likely than the poorly educated to delay the marriages of their children.

The Youth Study also inquired about the current or last main occupation of respondents' parents. Main occupational distributions suggest that fathers of 13% and 21% of young men and women, respectively, were working on their own farms, compared to mothers of 10% and 16%, respectively, of young men and women. In contrast, 22–30 of both fathers and mothers were agricultural labourers; 16–19% of fathers and 1–3% of mothers were engaged in skilled manual occupations; and 19–20% of fathers and 6–7% of mothers were unskilled non-agricultural labourers. About one-tenth of fathers and 2–3% of mothers were in administrative, executive, managerial or clerical occupations, and 6% of fathers and less than 1% of mothers were doing their own business.

Table 2.13: Parental characteristics of surveyed youth

Percent distribution of surveyed youth by parental characteristics, according to residence,
Maharashtra, 2006

Parental characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Survival status						
Both parents dead	0.6	0.9	2.6	1.3	0.4	0.6
Only father alive	2.0	1.7	4.7	2.3	1.5	1.3
Only mother alive	11.0	10.2	18.9	12.8	10.1	8.0
Both parents alive	86.4	87.1	73.8	83.6	87.9	90.0
Educational attainment level						
Median years of schooling of father	7.0	7.0	4.0	5.0	7.0	8.0
Median years of schooling of mother	NC	NC	NC	NC	2.0	4.0
Current/last occupational status of father						
Cultivator	13.3	21.3	19.5	28.3	12.8	15.5
Agricultural labourer	29.6	22.1	35.2	25.4	28.4	19.5
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	10.6	10.5	6.6	6.8	11.5	13.7
Business	6.0	6.4	3.5	4.7	6.4	7.7
Skilled manual/machinery	19.0	15.9	14.0	13.5	19.6	17.8
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	19.1	20.4	18.4	18.1	18.9	22.2
Other	1.1	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.1	1.4
Never worked	0.3	1.0	0.6	0.9	0.3	1.1
Current/last occupational status of mother						
Cultivator	10.1	16.4	10.4	23.0	9.9	11.0
Agricultural labourer	28.2	24.0	31.5	26.5	27.4	22.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	1.9	2.7	0.9	1.5	2.1	3.7
Business	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.8	0.4	0.7
Skilled manual/machinery	1.4	2.6	1.2	2.1	1.4	3.0
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	6.1	6.7	7.2	6.2	5.6	7.2
Other	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.4
Housewife/never worked	51.5	46.3	48.2	39.7	52.9	51.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Survival status						
Both parents dead	0.7	1.4	3.7	2.8	0.7	0.6
Only father alive	2.4	1.9	5.0	2.8	2.2	1.2
Only mother alive	11.7	11.0	22.1	14.0	10.6	9.0
Both parents alive	85.2	85.7	69.2	80.3	86.6	89.1
Educational attainment level						
Median years of schooling of father	9.0	9.0	5.0	7.0	9.0	10.0
Median years of schooling of mother	5.0	5.0	NC	NC	5.0	7.0
Current/last occupational status of father						
Cultivator	7.3	8.4	20.1	17.4	6.0	2.7
Agricultural labourer	3.2	3.6	8.7	6.4	2.7	1.7
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	18.9	16.4	10.3	10.3	20.1	20.3
Business	10.9	10.1	6.6	8.6	11.0	11.0
Skilled manual/machinery	29.6	23.9	23.1	21.1	30.7	25.7
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	26.9	32.7	27.9	30.9	26.0	33.9
Other	1.6	2.5	1.1	2.7	1.9	2.5
Never worked	0.5	1.3	0.9	1.0	0.5	1.3

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Table 2.13: (Cont'd)

Parental characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Current/last occupational status of mother						
Cultivator	2.6	5.6	6.2	12.6	2.1	1.1
Agricultural labourer	1.3	3.3	3.2	5.8	1.3	1.7
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	3.3	4.1	0.9	2.0	3.6	5.5
Business	1.0	1.0	0.7	1.1	1.0	0.9
Skilled manual/machinery	1.5	3.6	1.4	3.2	1.5	3.9
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	8.1	11.6	8.0	9.7	7.2	12.8
Other	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.4
Housewife/never worked	81.9	70.3	79.7	65.3	83.0	73.5
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Survival status						
Both parents dead	0.7	0.6	1.9	0.5	0.3	0.6
Only father alive	1.6	1.7	4.5	1.9	1.0	1.4
Only mother alive	10.4	9.6	16.6	12.2	9.7	7.0
Both parents alive	87.3	88.1	77.0	85.4	89.0	90.9
Educational attainment level						
Median years of schooling of father	4.0	5.0	2.0	4.0	4.0	7.0
Median years of schooling of mother	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC	NC
Current/last occupational status of father						
Cultivator	18.1	31.4	19.0	34.5	18.4	28.1
Agricultural labourer	50.6	36.6	53.7	36.2	49.8	37.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	4.0	6.0	4.0	4.8	4.3	7.2
Business	2.3	3.5	1.4	2.5	2.5	4.5
Skilled manual/machinery	10.5	9.6	7.7	9.2	10.4	10.0
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	12.9	10.8	11.6	10.9	13.0	10.7
Other	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.4
Never worked	0.1	0.8	0.3	0.9	0.1	0.8
Current/last occupational status of mother						
Cultivator	16.0	24.9	13.4	28.9	16.3	20.8
Agricultural labourer	49.4	40.1	51.3	38.3	49.1	42.1
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	0.8	1.6	1.0	1.2	0.8	2.0
Business	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.4
Skilled manual/machinery	1.3	1.8	1.0	1.5	1.3	2.1
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	4.5	2.9	6.7	4.1	4.1	1.7
Other	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4
Housewife/never worked	27.5	27.4	26.2	24.9	28.1	30.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. NC: Not calculated, as more than 50% had no formal education.

Finally, mothers of 52% and 46% of young men and women, respectively, were housewives; just a handful of fathers (1% or less) had never worked. Rural-urban differences were evident. While rural parents were largely cultivators and agricultural labourers, urban parents were more likely to be concentrated in skilled manual occupations, unskilled non-agricultural activities, and administrative, managerial or clerical occupations, and in the case of mothers, in housework. That considerably larger percentages of the parents of married compared to unmarried youth in urban settings were in agricultural occupations may be attributed to in-migration into urban areas by married youth.

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

3.1 Educational attainment

The Youth Study obtained information on whether the respondent had ever been to school and, if so, the number of years of schooling successfully completed. Current schooling status was also assessed and a Life Event Calendar inquired about schooling status of all respondents from the age of 12. Findings are presented in Table 3.1.

The vast majority – over 90% – of youth in Maharashtra had been to school and completed at least one year of school. Gender differences were relatively narrow: 4% of young men compared to 8% of young women had never been to school. Differences by marital status were wider: 2–3% of the unmarried had never been to school, compared to 10–15% of the married. A somewhat larger percentage of rural than urban youth had never attended school.

Educational attainment levels suggest that irrespective of sex and marital status, youth had 8–9 years of schooling; urban youth typically had one more year of schooling than rural youth. However, gender disparities were evident in terms of the proportion who had completed high school (Class 10): 44% of young men and 39% of young women. Married youth, however, were considerably less likely to have completed high school than the unmarried (36% and 47%, respectively, among married and unmarried young men; 29% and 47%, respectively, among young women) and rural youth considerably less likely to have completed high school than urban youth (37% and 53%, among young men from rural and urban areas, respectively; 30% and 51% among young women, respectively). We note that disparities by marital status may be wider than what is reflected here because the unmarried were younger and more likely to be pursuing their education at the time of interview.

At the time of interview, 41% of young men compared to 29% of young women were in school or college. These differences were strongly influenced by marital status distributions of youth. Indeed, gender differences disappeared when the married and unmarried were considered separately: 47% and 52% of unmarried young men and women, respectively, were still studying, compared to hardly any married youth (1% and 2% of young men and women, respectively). Among the unmarried, in addition, rural-urban differences were pronounced, with urban youth considerably more likely to be studying at the time of interview than their rural counterparts.

Table 3.1: Educational attainment and current educational status

Percent distribution of youth by years of schooling successfully completed, median years of schooling and percentage currently in school, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Schooling status (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Completed years of schooling						
None ¹	3.7	8.2	10.2	14.8	2.0	2.7
1-4	4.9	4.7	11.0	6.5	4.1	3.2
5-7	12.7	16.8	15.8	22.4	11.5	12.0
8-9	34.4	31.4	26.9	27.4	35.2	34.7
10-11	22.4	18.9	16.8	14.8	23.7	22.4
12 and above	21.9	20.0	19.3	14.0	23.5	25.0
Median years of schooling	9.0	9.0	9.0	8.0	9.0	9.0
Currently in school	41.2	29.0	0.8	2.0	47.3	51.6
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Completed years of schooling						
None ¹	1.8	5.0	5.7	10.5	1.0	1.6
1-4	3.8	3.3	9.2	5.4	2.6	1.9
5-7	11.2	13.1	14.6	20.3	10.3	8.4
8-9	30.1	28.1	26.3	26.1	30.1	29.4
10-11	24.0	20.4	16.9	15.4	25.2	23.6
12 and above	29.2	30.1	27.2	22.4	30.8	35.1
Median years of schooling	10.0	10.0	9.0	9.0	10.0	10.0
Currently in school	46.1	36.8	0.7	3.7	52.1	58.1
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Completed years of schooling						
None ¹	5.2	10.6	13.2	17.3	3.0	3.8
1-4	5.7	5.9	12.3	7.2	5.3	4.5
5-7	13.9	19.6	16.6	23.6	12.4	15.6
8-9	37.9	34.0	27.3	28.1	39.4	40.0
10-11	21.1	17.8	16.7	14.5	22.4	21.1
12 and above	16.2	12.1	13.9	9.2	17.4	15.0
Median years of schooling	9.0	9.0	9.0	8.0	9.0	9.0
Currently in school	37.4	22.9	0.8	1.0	43.3	45.3
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. ¹Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

3.2 Differentials in educational attainment

Differentials in educational levels of young men and women, measured with respect to completed years of schooling, are presented in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, respectively. Findings show a positive association between age and years of education completed, a finding attributed to the likelihood that the younger cohort may not yet have completed their education and, therefore, the experiences of youth who were pursuing their education at the time of interview are likely to have been truncated.

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

Percent distribution of young men by educational level, according to selected background characteristics and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	Completed years of schooling											
	M, 15-24				MM, 15-29				UM, 15-24			
	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+
Combined												
Age (years)												
15-19	2.9	17.4	41.1	38.6	*	*	*	*	2.6	17.0	41.3	39.2
20-24	4.6	17.7	27.7	50.0	14.6	29.6	29.3	26.4	1.4	13.7	27.1	57.7
25-29	NA	NA	NA	NA	8.1	24.9	26.0	41.1	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	3.7	16.4	35.5	44.4	10.6	25.4	28.1	35.9	2.1	14.3	36.2	47.5
Muslim	4.7	27.7	28.5	39.1	12.0	38.5	20.5	29.1	1.8	25.1	29.7	43.4
Other ²	2.2	16.2	31.9	49.7	2.7	23.3	23.3	50.7	1.8	15.2	32.7	50.3
Caste												
SC	2.2	19.4	39.0	39.3	5.3	28.9	32.1	33.7	1.4	17.6	40.9	40.2
ST/VJNT	8.5	20.7	38.3	32.4	20.7	27.6	24.1	27.6	5.2	18.8	40.5	35.6
OBC	4.0	19.3	33.1	43.6	11.3	28.3	25.6	34.8	2.1	17.9	33.8	46.2
General ³	1.8	12.9	31.8	53.5	4.8	23.6	27.0	44.7	1.0	10.4	31.8	56.8
Wealth quintile												
First	14.0	28.8	36.0	21.2	27.2	38.4	24.1	10.3	9.3	27.7	39.1	23.9
Second	4.4	25.4	37.1	33.1	11.9	37.0	24.3	26.8	2.3	23.6	39.2	34.9
Third	1.4	20.9	40.3	37.4	5.0	28.3	34.7	32.0	0.5	18.6	41.3	39.7
Fourth	1.3	11.9	36.1	50.7	2.8	16.2	31.5	49.5	0.6	10.2	35.7	53.5
Fifth	0.0	2.7	21.6	75.7	0.0	7.5	18.0	74.5	0.0	2.6	22.0	75.4
Total	3.7	17.6	34.4	44.3	10.2	26.7	26.9	36.1	2.0	15.5	35.2	47.2
Urban												
Age (years)												
15-19	1.0	14.4	37.0	47.6	*	*	*	*	1.0	14.4	36.8	47.8
20-24	2.7	15.4	23.9	58.0	9.1	29.8	28.1	33.1	0.9	11.4	22.6	65.1
25-29	NA	NA	NA	NA	4.7	21.5	25.3	48.4	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	1.3	13.4	30.4	54.9	4.3	22.1	29.4	44.2	0.7	11.2	30.5	57.5
Muslim	4.1	25.3	28.9	41.8	12.3	34.6	19.8	33.3	1.7	23.3	29.7	45.3
Other ²	2.4	4.8	29.8	63.1	(6.5)	(12.9)	(12.9)	(67.7)	0.0	5.3	28.9	65.8
Caste												
SC	2.4	16.8	38.9	41.9	7.5	23.8	30.0	38.8	1.4	15.6	39.0	44.0
ST/VJNT	2.8	9.7	30.6	56.9	(5.9)	(23.5)	(35.3)	(35.3)	1.5	9.0	29.9	59.7
OBC	2.0	16.4	29.2	52.3	5.8	24.2	25.8	44.2	0.7	15.4	29.2	54.7
General ³	1.7	13.3	26.6	58.4	3.2	23.4	23.4	50.0	1.0	10.2	27.1	61.7
Wealth quintile												
First	3.7	37.0	40.7	18.5	*	*	*	*	(5.0)	(35.0)	(40.0)	(20.0)
Second	12.1	27.2	36.3	24.2	18.5	36.9	24.6	20.0	7.4	27.9	36.8	27.9
Third	2.4	28.8	39.0	29.8	7.0	34.0	31.0	28.0	1.2	26.0	41.6	31.2
Fourth	0.8	14.4	31.6	53.2	2.2	20.6	32.4	44.9	0.0	12.0	31.5	56.5
Fifth	0.0	2.8	20.8	76.4	0.0	7.6	16.1	76.3	0.0	3.0	21.0	76.0
Total	1.8	14.9	30.1	53.2	5.7	23.8	26.3	44.2	1.0	12.9	30.1	56.0

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Table 3.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	Completed years of schooling											
	M, 15-24				MM, 15-29				UM, 15-24			
	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+
Rural												
Age (years)												
15-19	4.2	19.5	44.1	32.2	*	*	*	*	3.8	18.9	44.6	32.7
20-24	6.3	19.7	31.1	42.9	18.0	29.9	29.9	22.2	1.8	16.0	31.6	50.6
25-29	NA	NA	NA	NA	10.6	27.6	26.4	35.5	NA	NA	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	5.3	18.3	38.9	37.5	14.4	27.3	27.3	31.0	3.0	16.4	40.2	40.4
Muslim	6.6	36.1	26.2	31.1	(11.1)	(50.0)	(22.2)	(16.7)	(2.1)	(31.9)	(29.8)	(36.2)
Other ²	3.0	24.8	33.7	38.6	(0.0)	(31.7)	(31.7)	(36.6)	3.4	23.6	36.0	37.1
Caste												
SC	2.1	21.6	39.5	36.8	3.7	32.7	33.6	29.9	1.9	19.4	41.9	36.8
ST/VJNT	9.9	23.4	39.9	26.7	23.5	28.2	22.4	25.9	6.6	21.3	43.4	28.7
OBC	5.5	21.3	36.0	37.2	15.0	31.2	25.4	28.3	2.8	19.9	37.1	40.2
General ³	2.1	12.4	38.1	47.4	6.6	23.4	31.1	38.9	0.9	10.7	37.8	50.6
Wealth quintile												
First	14.8	28.2	35.6	21.4	28.2	37.6	23.9	10.3	9.6	27.4	38.9	24.1
Second	2.6	24.9	37.3	35.2	9.8	37.0	23.7	29.5	1.2	22.7	39.8	36.3
Third	0.7	15.6	41.2	42.5	3.4	23.5	37.8	35.3	0.0	13.6	41.1	45.3
Fourth	2.1	7.0	44.9	46.0	2.6	7.7	29.5	60.3	1.8	6.7	43.6	47.9
Fifth	0.0	2.2	24.7	73.0	(0.0)	(6.8)	(25.0)	(68.2)	0.0	1.2	26.2	72.6
Total	5.2	19.6	37.9	37.3	13.2	28.9	27.3	30.6	3.0	17.7	39.4	39.9

Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling. ²Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ³Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.

Differences by religion were modest for the overall populations, shown in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, but the pattern in urban settings suggests that Muslims tended to be more disadvantaged than those from other religions. For example, only 42% of Muslim men in urban areas had completed at least 10 years of education, compared to 55% of Hindus and 63% of young men belonging to other religions. Likewise, 39% of Muslim young women in urban areas compared to 54% of Hindus and 47% of young women belonging to other religions had completed 10 years or more of education.

Caste differences were more consistent, with those belonging to general castes considerably most likely than others to have completed 10 or more years of schooling among both young men and young women, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

Also consistently observed was a positive association between the economic status of young people’s households, measured in wealth quintiles, and young people’s educational attainment levels. For example, among young men, just 21% of those from households in the poorest quintiles had completed 10 or more years of schooling, compared to 76% of those from households in the richest quintile. Among young women, the association was somewhat steeper: just 8% of those in the poorest quintile compared to 73% of those in the richest had completed 10 or more years of education. Patterns were similar for both the unmarried and the married and those residing in rural and urban areas. However, urban respondents were uniformly more likely to be educated than rural respondents for every category of household economic status.

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

Percent distribution of young women by educational level, according to selected background characteristics and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	Completed years of schooling											
	W, 15-24				MW, 15-24				UW, 15-24			
	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+
Combined												
Age (years)												
15-19	5.5	22.4	37.7	34.4	14.4	38.6	29.4	17.6	3.1	18.1	39.9	38.9
20-24	11.1	20.5	24.6	43.9	15.0	25.8	26.7	32.5	1.4	6.7	19.1	72.8
Religion												
Hindu	8.3	20.7	31.2	39.8	15.0	27.7	27.2	30.1	2.6	14.5	34.7	48.2
Muslim	8.4	27.6	30.3	33.8	14.1	36.2	25.1	24.6	3.9	20.8	34.1	41.2
Other ²	6.6	21.5	33.9	38.0	14.1	31.0	31.5	23.4	2.0	15.2	35.3	47.5
Caste												
SC	9.1	26.1	34.1	30.7	18.6	36.3	25.4	19.6	2.4	18.3	40.4	38.9
ST/VJNT	19.4	25.1	28.3	27.1	29.7	28.5	25.9	15.9	9.4	21.4	30.8	38.3
OBC	7.8	20.8	34.6	36.7	13.7	27.7	27.2	31.5	2.8	14.8	41.1	41.2
General ³	4.6	18.0	29.0	48.4	9.3	26.4	28.4	35.9	0.9	11.5	29.3	58.3
Wealth quintile												
First	25.8	38.2	27.6	8.4	39.7	36.7	18.7	4.9	12.0	40.0	36.3	11.7
Second	13.2	36.0	32.7	18.1	22.7	41.5	23.2	12.6	2.7	29.7	43.2	24.3
Third	6.6	24.3	37.4	31.8	10.5	32.9	32.5	24.1	2.6	15.4	42.3	39.7
Fourth	1.9	13.3	35.7	49.0	3.8	20.4	34.3	41.6	0.6	7.7	36.8	54.9
Fifth	0.7	4.3	21.9	73.1	2.0	9.5	23.1	65.3	0.1	1.8	21.2	76.9
Total	8.2	21.5	31.4	38.9	14.8	28.9	27.4	28.9	2.7	15.3	34.7	47.3
Urban												
Age (years)												
15-19	3.4	15.7	35.3	45.7	13.5	34.6	31.6	20.3	1.5	12.4	35.9	50.2
20-24	6.6	16.9	21.3	55.2	9.8	23.5	24.7	42.0	1.7	6.3	16.0	76.0
Religion												
Hindu	5.3	13.7	27.0	54.1	11.0	22.6	24.0	42.4	1.7	8.1	28.8	61.3
Muslim	5.7	26.0	29.0	39.2	11.4	34.8	26.5	27.3	1.5	19.4	30.8	48.3
Other ²	2.9	17.8	32.2	47.1	6.4	28.7	36.2	28.7	1.1	11.4	30.3	57.3
Caste												
SC	4.4	21.5	37.0	37.0	8.7	35.5	30.4	25.4	2.2	13.4	40.8	43.7
ST/VJNT	16.5	21.6	23.0	38.8	(30.4)	(33.9)	(21.4)	(14.3)	6.1	11.0	24.4	58.5
OBC	6.1	17.2	29.6	47.2	12.0	25.7	24.0	38.3	1.8	11.0	33.7	53.5
General ³	2.8	11.2	23.5	62.5	6.3	18.7	25.7	49.2	0.5	6.5	22.1	70.9
Wealth quintile												
First	35.8	37.7	18.9	7.5	(43.5)	(34.8)	(17.4)	(4.3)	(27.6)	(41.4)	(20.7)	(10.3)
Second	18.2	40.0	26.7	15.2	27.4	43.2	15.8	13.7	3.1	35.4	44.6	16.9
Third	8.0	30.5	33.2	28.3	13.0	38.0	27.6	21.4	2.8	22.8	39.1	35.3
Fourth	2.2	12.8	35.7	49.3	4.7	19.1	34.5	41.7	0.7	8.7	36.6	54.0
Fifth	0.4	3.6	18.9	77.0	1.2	8.6	19.1	71.0	0.2	1.9	18.8	79.2
Total	5.0	16.3	28.1	50.6	10.5	25.6	26.0	37.9	1.6	10.4	29.4	58.7

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Table 3.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	Completed years of schooling											
	W, 15-24				MW, 15-24				UW, 15-24			
	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+	None ¹	1-7	8-9	10+
Rural												
Age (years)												
15-19	6.9	27.1	39.4	26.6	14.7	40.5	28.2	16.5	4.3	22.7	43.0	29.9
20-24	15.0	23.6	27.5	33.8	18.3	27.2	28.1	26.4	0.9	7.4	25.0	66.7
Religion												
Hindu	10.2	25.0	33.9	30.8	16.8	30.0	28.6	24.6	3.2	19.8	39.5	37.5
Muslim	15.0	31.3	32.7	21.1	19.1	39.7	22.1	19.1	10.3	24.4	42.3	23.1
Other ²	11.6	26.6	36.2	25.6	22.2	33.3	26.7	17.8	3.4	21.0	43.7	31.9
Caste												
SC	15.0	31.4	30.3	23.2	26.9	36.8	21.6	14.6	2.8	26.0	39.8	31.5
ST/VJNT	20.5	26.5	30.3	22.7	29.5	26.8	27.3	16.4	10.9	26.1	33.7	29.3
OBC	8.9	22.9	37.5	30.7	14.4	28.6	28.6	28.3	3.5	17.5	46.1	32.9
General ³	6.4	24.5	34.1	35.0	11.1	31.6	30.3	27.1	1.6	17.4	37.8	43.1
Wealth quintile												
First	25.0	38.2	28.3	8.5	39.4	36.5	18.8	5.3	10.5	39.9	37.8	11.8
Second	12.1	34.8	34.2	19.0	21.4	41.0	25.4	12.2	2.6	28.6	43.1	25.7
Third	5.6	19.7	40.5	34.2	8.9	29.4	35.8	25.9	2.4	9.7	45.2	42.8
Fourth	1.6	14.2	35.4	48.7	2.8	22.0	33.9	41.3	0.5	5.7	37.1	56.7
Fifth	1.1	5.9	29.5	63.5	2.3	10.8	28.5	58.5	0.0	1.4	30.5	68.1
Total	10.6	25.5	34.0	29.8	17.3	30.8	28.1	23.8	3.8	20.2	40.0	36.1

Note: Row totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases.

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

3.3 School attendance

Figure 3.1 presents schooling status at ages 12 and 15, representing periods before and after puberty was attained for many. Findings suggest that even at age 12, schooling was far from universal: 91% and 85% of young men and women, respectively, were in school at age 12 and far fewer – 76% and 66%, respectively, – at age 15. Married youth were far less likely than unmarried youth, and rural respondents by and large were less likely than their urban counterparts, to be in school at ages 12 or 15. Findings also imply different rates of retention in school between ages 12 and 15: for example, while about three-quarters of both married young men and women were in school at age 12, this percentage fell to 59% among young men and to 50% among young women at age 15. There was, in contrast, considerably less drop-out among the unmarried: 92–93% of unmarried young men and women were in school at age 12 and 80–81% remained in school at age 15. Drop-out between ages 12 and 15 was more pronounced among rural than urban young women; among young men, differences were negligible.

Figures 3.2a-c show graphically the cumulative percentages of youth (all youth who had ever attended school) who had attended each year of education from Class 1 to Class 17, using life table techniques. Findings show that youth who were ever enrolled in school by and large remained in school up to Class 5 (95% had completed Class 5), with very gradual declines in attendance. In rural areas, however, while 93–94% continued until they had completed Class 5, we note that somewhat fewer married young men than any other group had completed Class 5 (86% compared 91–95%, respectively).

Following Class 5, declines became progressively steeper, with differences between the married and the unmarried widening. Completion rates fell below 90% for the first time in Class 7; 89% of young men and 87% of young women had completed Class 7. Patterns of school completion in Classes 9 and 10 suggest that there was a particularly steep decline between these two classes for all youth, irrespective of sex, marital status or rural-urban residence. For example, while 76% of young men and 70% of young women had completed Class 9, 58% and 52%, respectively, had completed Class 10. These findings suggest that many youth discontinued their education at high school level. A second notable decline occurred among the unmarried between Classes 15 and 16, suggesting that a considerable proportion who had attended or completed the last year of college did not continue their education. This was particularly evident among those in urban areas (43% who had completed Class 15 compared to 27% who had completed Class 16 among urban young men; and 55% and 27% among urban young women, respectively).

Rural and urban patterns of school attendance (Figures 3.2b and 3.2c) diverged from about Class 5, gradually for young men but steeply among young women. By Classes 9–10, disparities were particularly marked. For example, among young men, 78% of those in urban areas had completed Class 9 compared to 65% who had completed Class 10; corresponding percentages among young men in rural areas were 73% and 53%. Among young women, wide differences were apparent even in completion of Class 9 (78% and 64% of urban and rural respondents, respectively), and differences in percentages who completed Class 10 were even wider (62% and 42%, respectively). Findings thus suggest that rural youth, particularly rural young women, were markedly disadvantaged in terms of school retention particularly at the high school level.

Figure 3.1: Percentage of youth who were in school at ages 12 and 15, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Figure 3.2a: Cumulative percentage of youth who had attended each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), Maharashtra (combined), 2006

Figure 3.2b: Cumulative percentage of youth who had attended each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), Maharashtra (urban), 2006

Figure 3.2c: Cumulative percentage of youth who had attended each year of education (Classes 1 to 17), Maharashtra (rural), 2006

3.4 Reasons for school non-attendance or discontinuation

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

In view of the small numbers of youth who had never been to school, rural-urban differentials are not presented in Table 3.4a. Findings suggest that key reasons for never going to school were economic, cited by 75% of young men and 64% of young women. Specifically, over half of all respondents reported that their families could not afford to send them to school; one-fifth reported that they were required to work on the family farm or business and about one-tenth in wage earning activities. Housework-related factors were reported by somewhat larger percentages of young women than men (46% and 39%, respectively). Attitude or perception-related reasons for never attending school were also reported by large percentages (44% and 40% of young men and women, respectively). Safety concerns or low value placed on education was, however, more likely to be expressed by young women (3% and 9%, respectively) than young men (0% and 4%, respectively), while lack of interest in studies was more likely to be reported by young men than women (41% and 30%, respectively). School-related reasons were cited by relatively fewer (10% of young men and 19% of young women). Finally, a small but considerable percentage of respondents – 16% of young men and 9% of young women – cited health-related reasons (mostly the sickness or death of a family member) for never attending school.

Table 3.4a: Reasons for never attending school

Percentage of youth who never attended school by reasons for never attending school, Maharashtra, 2006

Reasons (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Economic reasons						
Required for work on farm/family business	18.4	18.5	21.1	18.3	(22.0)	20.6
Required for outside work for payment in cash/kind	9.2	8.7	13.8	7.6	(4.9)	13.4
Family could not afford it (cost too much)	63.6	53.6	56.0	52.9	(75.6)	55.9
At least one economic reason	75.0	64.3	68.5	63.2	(85.7)	69.1
Housework-related reasons	34.1	45.5	28.7	42.7	(45.2)	58.8
Parental or youth attitudes and perceptions						
Not safe to send girls/boys to school	0.0	3.3	1.9	3.8	(0.0)	0.0
Education not considered necessary	3.4	8.5	7.4	8.3	(0.0)	10.3
Respondent not interested in studies	40.9	30.0	36.1	30.4	48.8	27.9
At least one attitude/perception-related reason	43.7	40.1	44.0	40.5	(48.8)	38.2
School-related reasons						
School too far away/transport not available	5.7	15.5	9.2	15.9	0.0	13.4
Poor quality of school facilities, teaching or education	5.7	4.4	2.8	5.5	7.3	0.0
At least one school-related reason	10.3	18.5	10.1	19.7	(7.3)	13.4
Health-related reasons	14.8	9.0	7.4	8.7	(21.4)	10.3
Number who never attended school	74	334	97	269	31	65

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases.

Table 3.4b reports findings for those who had discontinued their education before completing Class 12. In addition to the five sets of reasons included above, an additional category, early transition into adult roles, has been included, containing such reasons as marriage and employment. Reasons are presented separately for those who had dropped out of school before completing middle school (Class 7), high school (Class 10) and higher secondary education (Class 12), respectively. As evident also from Figures 3.3a and 3.3b, reasons varied considerably by level at which education was discontinued, as well as sex and marital status of the respondent.

Among those who had completed just 1–6 years of schooling, economic considerations dominated reasons for school discontinuation for young men, irrespective of marital status or rural-urban residence (cited by 70% of all young men). Fewer young men cited attitude or perception-related reasons (52%) and school-related reasons (26%). Among young women, four key reasons were cited: economic (51%), attitude or perception-related (45%), housework-related (38%) and school-related (31%). Although reasons reported by rural and urban youth were roughly similar, some notable differences were evident. Among young women, more rural than urban respondents cited (economic, housework-related and school-related reasons); conversely, more urban than rural young women cited attitude or perception-related reasons. Among young men, patterns reported by rural and urban youth were more similar, except that rural young men were much more likely to cite school-related obstacles than urban youth (34% and 10%, respectively).

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

Percentage of youth who had discontinued schooling before completing Class 12 by reasons, according to levels of discontinuation and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Reasons (%)	Combined						Urban						Rural					
	M		W		MM		MW		UM		UW		M		W		MM	
	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24
Discontinued before completing Class 7																		
Economic reasons	27.7	13.8	28.1	15.5	25.9	11.8	13.3	2.7	12.5	3.8	12.3	1.4	34.7	19.7	35.9	21.5	32.6	17.3
Required for work on farm/family business	14.6	3.8	18.6	2.9	14.0	4.7	19.0	1.1	17.8	0.0	19.6	2.8	12.4	5.2	19.1	4.4	11.6	5.8
Required for outside work for payment in cash/kind	48.4	42.7	59.1	44.2	47.6	4.3	59.0	42.6	73.6	46.2	56.1	36.1	43.2	42.9	51.1	43.1	43.4	42.4
Family could not afford it (cost too much)	70.0	51.0	76.8	53.9	69.4	46.4	73.8	43.5	83.6	47.6	71.4	36.1	68.0	55.1	72.5	57.1	69.0	51.8
At least one economic reason	16.7	37.9	23.6	41.3	14.6	32.7	16.9	30.1	24.7	34.0	15.8	23.6	16.6	42.0	23.7	44.9	14.6	37.4
Housework-related reasons																		
Parental or youth attitudes and perceptions																		
Not safe to send girls/boys to school	0.0	4.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	4.3	0.0	3.8	0.0	2.9	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.1	0.0	3.9	0.0	4.3
Further education not considered necessary	17.8	18.7	12.8	16.5	18.8	22.3	13.3	23.4	12.5	17.0	14.3	33.3	19.5	16.5	13.0	16.2	20.2	16.7
Respondent not interested	42.7	30.4	29.1	26.5	46.8	36.7	44.6	40.2	34.7	33.0	48.2	52.8	41.4	25.2	26.0	23.0	45.7	28.3
At least one attitude/perception-related reason	52.0	45.2	37.9	42.1	55.9	49.8	49.4	56.0	41.7	48.6	52.6	68.1	53.3	39.4	35.9	38.5	57.4	40.6
School-related reasons																		
School too far away/transport not available	7.5	19.8	6.4	19.6	5.9	20.4	1.2	10.9	0.0	14.3	1.8	5.6	10.7	24.3	9.9	22.4	7.8	28.1
Poor quality of school facilities, teaching or education/no female teacher	6.3	4.3	3.0	3.9	7.6	4.7	1.2	2.7	0.0	2.8	1.8	2.8	8.9	5.2	4.6	4.9	10.1	5.8
Failure	15.0	9.8	7.4	8.4	16.2	11.8	8.4	12.5	5.6	9.5	8.8	16.7	18.2	8.4	7.6	7.8	19.4	9.4
At least one school-related reason	25.7	31.4	13.8	29.7	27.4	33.6	9.5	25.0	5.6	25.5	10.5	25.0	33.7	34.7	18.3	32.2	34.9	38.4
Transition into adult roles																		
Got married/engaged	0.0	3.4	0.0	5.2	0.0	0.5	0.0	2.2	0.0	3.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.0	0.0	5.9	0.0	0.7
Got job	4.3	0.9	5.9	1.0	4.3	0.9	10.7	0.5	11.1	0.9	8.9	0.0	1.8	1.2	3.1	1.0	1.6	1.4
Completed education	0.8	0.4	0.0	0.3	1.1	0.5	2.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.7
At least one reason related to transition into adult roles	5.1	4.5	5.9	6.5	4.9	1.4	12.0	2.7	11.1	4.7	12.3	0.0	1.8	5.5	3.1	7.4	1.6	2.2
Health-related reasons																		
Number who discontinued before completing Class 7	230	514	201	307	163	207	105	211	82	134	76	77	125	303	119	173	87	130
Discontinued after completing Class 7 and before completing Class 10																		
Economic reasons	22.1	8.0	28.0	6.9	20.4	9.8	7.7	1.8	8.8	2.7	7.5	0.9	31.9	11.6	40.7	9.0	29.4	15.4
Required for work on farm/family business	13.2	2.3	13.9	2.1	12.3	2.7	14.7	1.2	20.4	1.2	12.7	1.3	12.1	2.9	9.5	2.5	12.0	3.7
Required for outside work for payment in cash/kind	46.7	31.4	57.1	29.8	43.8	33.8	47.7	31.0	63.9	30.6	43.4	31.3	46.1	31.7	52.5	29.4	44.0	35.2
Family could not afford it (cost too much)	65.2	36.7	78.0	34.2	61.3	40.3	58.9	32.2	77.0	32.2	54.2	32.2	69.5	39.3	78.3	35.2	66.1	45.5
At least one economic reason	17.7	23.6	22.0	20.7	17.0	28.0	14.7	15.5	15.6	14.0	13.7	17.5	19.7	28.2	26.2	23.9	19.1	34.8
Housework-related reasons																		
Parental or youth attitudes and perceptions																		
Not safe to send girls/boys to school	0.6	5.4	0.3	5.1	0.6	5.7	0.4	3.2	0.0	3.5	0.5	3.1	0.5	6.6	0.5	6.1	0.7	7.3
Further education not considered necessary	8.5	16.9	5.2	15.8	9.4	18.5	8.5	17.1	4.8	14.7	9.9	20.2	8.4	16.8	5.4	16.3	9.0	17.5
Respondent not interested	31.0	21.8	26.6	20.4	31.8	23.7	34.0	31.2	29.1	27.5	34.9	36.1	29.0	16.4	27.3	16.9	29.8	15.8
At least one attitude/perception-related reason	36.4	38.4	29.6	36.2	37.6	41.5	39.1	45.5	32.4	41.5	40.6	50.4	34.5	34.4	27.6	33.5	35.5	35.8
School-related reasons																		
School too far away/transport not available	5.3	22.8	5.4	25.8	5.1	18.4	0.4	9.9	0.0	14.7	0.5	3.5	8.7	30.0	9.0	31.2	8.4	28.1
Poor quality of school facilities, teaching or education/no female teacher	1.7	5.0	1.1	6.2	2.0	3.4	1.2	2.0	2.0	2.3	0.9	1.3	2.1	6.7	0.5	8.0	2.7	4.8
Failure	42.4	29.7	35.5	21.5	44.9	41.5	40.3	36.2	32.7	27.5	44.3	47.8	43.7	26.0	37.1	18.6	45.3	37.5
At least one school-related reason	46.8	51.6	39.7	47.6	49.0	57.3	41.7	46.7	34.7	42.8	45.5	51.5	50.3	54.3	43.0	50.0	51.7	61.1

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Table 3.4b: (Cont'd)

Reasons (%)	Combined						Urban						Rural					
	M	W	MM	MW	UM	UW	M	W	MM	MW	UM	UW	M	W	MM	MW	UM	UW
	15-24	15-24	15-29	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-29	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-29	15-24	15-24	15-24
Discontinued after completing Class 7 and before completing Class 10																		
Transition into adult roles																		
Got married/engaged	0.3	11.3	0.3	19.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	8.5	0.0	15.1	0.0	0.0	0.5	12.9	0.5	21.1	0.7	0.0
Got job	5.6	0.6	7.0	0.8	5.5	0.3	8.1	1.0	8.1	1.2	7.5	0.9	4.0	0.3	6.3	0.6	4.0	0.0
Completed education	0.6	2.3	0.5	2.3	0.6	2.4	1.6	3.6	0.7	2.7	1.4	4.4	0.0	1.6	0.5	2.1	0.0	0.8
At least one reason related to transition into adult roles	6.4	14.1	7.3	22.0	6.5	2.6	9.3	13.1	8.1	19.0	9.0	5.3	4.5	14.6	6.8	23.4	4.7	0.8
Health-related reasons																		
Number who discontinued after completing Class 7 and before completing Class 10	11.8	9.4	10.9	8.2	11.4	11.0	7.8	10.9	9.5	10.5	7.1	11.4	14.5	8.6	12.2	7.3	14.4	11.0
	624	1,344	368	776	497	568	342	569	171	330	290	239	282	775	197	446	207	329
Discontinued after completing Class 10 and before completing Class 12																		
Economic reasons																		
Required for work on farm/family business	21.6	4.3	28.4	3.9	21.8	5.4	8.2	1.6	13.7	2.8	8.9	0.0	32.8	6.2	38.8	4.5	33.0	9.7
Required for outside work for payment in cash/kind	13.1	2.0	13.6	0.7	12.4	4.2	20.6	1.1	24.3	0.9	20.3	1.4	6.8	2.6	5.8	0.6	6.5	6.5
Family could not afford it (cost too much)	44.1	19.5	44.3	15.8	46.2	26.8	40.2	19.1	50.7	14.0	44.3	27.0	46.6	19.9	39.8	16.9	47.8	26.6
At least one economic reason	62.9	22.6	66.3	18.3	63.5	30.4	56.7	20.7	67.1	16.7	58.2	28.4	68.1	23.8	65.0	19.8	68.1	32.3
Housework-related reasons																		
Parental or youth attitudes and perceptions	15.5	12.4	17.0	12.7	16.4	11.4	17.5	11.2	19.2	13.0	17.7	8.1	13.8	13.2	15.5	12.4	15.2	14.0
Not safe to send girls/boys to school	0.0	5.6	0.0	4.2	0.0	7.8	0.0	4.3	0.0	2.8	0.0	6.8	0.0	6.2	0.0	5.1	0.0	8.6
Further education not considered necessary	11.3	17.8	8.5	17.5	12.4	18.5	8.2	19.7	11.0	21.3	7.6	16.2	13.8	16.5	6.8	15.3	17.4	19.4
Respondent not interested	18.3	19.7	20.0	19.0	18.8	21.0	24.7	26.1	21.9	22.4	25.6	32.0	12.9	15.8	18.4	16.9	13.0	12.9
At least one attitude/perception-related reason	25.8	37.3	26.3	35.2	27.6	41.1	29.9	44.4	30.1	41.1	30.4	50.0	22.4	32.2	24.3	31.6	25.0	33.3
School-related reasons																		
School too far away/transport not available	7.5	24.9	10.2	23.9	5.8	26.9	0.0	9.6	0.0	13.0	0.0	4.0	13.7	35.5	17.5	30.5	10.9	45.7
Poor quality school facilities, teaching or education/no female teacher	3.3	3.7	1.1	3.2	3.5	4.8	0.0	2.7	1.4	2.8	0.0	1.4	6.0	4.8	1.0	3.4	6.5	7.5
Failure	35.7	18.2	38.3	14.1	34.1	25.7	26.8	17.6	23.3	13.9	26.6	23.0	43.1	18.7	49.0	14.7	41.3	27.7
At least one school-related reason	41.3	41.9	43.8	37.3	39.4	50.6	26.8	27.7	24.7	27.8	26.6	27.0	53.4	52.0	57.8	43.5	50.5	69.1
Transition into adult roles																		
Got married/engaged	0.0	24.7	1.7	38.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	17.6	1.4	27.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	29.8	2.0	44.1	0.0	1.1
Got job	7.5	1.1	12.5	0.4	7.6	2.4	12.4	1.6	19.2	0.9	12.7	2.7	3.4	0.7	7.8	0.0	3.3	2.1
Completed education	2.8	5.9	2.3	5.6	2.9	6.5	3.1	8.0	2.7	7.4	2.5	9.3	2.6	4.4	1.0	4.0	3.3	4.3
At least one reason related to transition into adult roles	10.3	30.6	16.5	42.8	10.5	8.3	15.5	26.6	23.3	35.2	15.2	12.2	6.0	33.3	11.7	47.5	6.5	5.4
Health-related reasons																		
Number who discontinued after completing Class 10 and before completing Class 12	7.0	5.0	10.2	2.5	5.9	9.5	6.2	9.1	11.0	5.6	7.6	14.9	6.9	1.8	9.7	0.6	5.4	4.3
	214	453	180	285	172	168	124	215	87	137	105	78	90	238	93	148	67	90

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Among those who had completed Classes 7–9, gender differences were more pronounced. While the leading reason for young men continued to be economic (65%), school-related reasons, particularly academic failure, and attitude or perception-related reasons also accounted for discontinuation among large percentages of young men (47% and 36%, respectively). Among young women in, contrast, school-related factors, notably, distance to school and academic failure, were most often reported as reasons for discontinuation (52%), followed by attitude or perception-related factors (38%) and economic factors (37%). And notably, marriage was reported as a reason for school discontinuation by one-fifth of married young women. As far as rural-urban differences were concerned, more rural than urban youth reported economic and school-related reasons and more rural than urban young women reported housework-related reasons. In contrast, fewer rural than urban youth reported attitude or perception-related reasons.

Among those who had discontinued their education after completing Classes 10 or 11, gender differences continued to be wide. Among young men, leading reasons again were economic (63%); school-related (41%); and attitude

Figure 3.3a: Percentage of married youth who had discontinued schooling by class when discontinued and reasons for discontinuation, Maharashtra, 2006

Figure 3.3b: Percentage of unmarried youth who had discontinued schooling by class when discontinued and reasons for discontinuation, Maharashtra, 2006

or perception-related (26%). Among young women, once again, school-related factors dominated (42%). Other important reasons were attitude or perception-related (37%), mainly the lack of priority placed on higher education for girls and lack of interest, and economic factors (23%). Of note is the finding that 36% of young men and 18% of young women cited academic failure as a reason for discontinuing their education. Moreover, 38% of married young women reported discontinuing their education in order to marry. Rural-urban differences were relatively negligible, with some exceptions. More rural than urban youth reported school-related reasons (52–53% of rural youth and 27–28% of urban youth) and more rural than urban married young women reported marriage as a reason for discontinuing their education (44% and 28%, respectively). More urban than rural young men reported getting a job as a reason for discontinuing their education (12% and 3%, respectively), but more rural than urban young men cited economic reasons (68% versus 57%). Also, urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report attitudes or perceptions – particularly lack of interest in studies – as reasons for discontinuing school (30% and 22%, respectively, among young men; 44% and 32%, respectively, among young women).

3.5 School/college type, quality and experiences

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

3.5.1 School/college type and quality

Table 3.5 shows that the majority of youth, irrespective of sex, rural-urban residence, level of education attained or current schooling status, attended co-educational facilities. At the high school and higher secondary levels, mild gender differences were evident, with young women somewhat less likely than young men to report attending a co-educational school.

The majority of youth at all levels attended government schools or colleges. This was particularly evident among those who discontinued their education at the primary or middle levels (80–84%). Among young men and women at higher levels of education, irrespective of current schooling status, sex or rural-urban residence, between one in four and two in five studied at a private school or college.

School quality was assessed by questions on the availability of drinking water, toilets, playgrounds and library facilities. Findings from Table 3.5 show that among those pursuing their education at the time of interview, the overwhelming majority of those at higher secondary or college levels (over 90%) had access to each facility; similar patterns were observed for young men and women and, by and large, for those in rural and urban areas. Among those in high school at the time of interview, drinking water and playgrounds were available to over 90% of youth irrespective of sex, rural-urban residence. In contrast, toilet facilities were available to just three-quarters of young men and four fifths of young women attending high school and even fewer reported library facilities in their school (63–74%). Rural-urban differences were evident, with urban youth much more likely than rural youth to report the availability of these two facilities.

Table 3.5: Educational facilities availed

Percentage of youth who had ever attended school by type and characteristics of educational facility currently or last attended, according to current schooling status and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Facility characteristics (%)	Combined						Urban						Rural					
	Primary/ middle school			High school			Higher secondary and above			Primary/ middle school			High school			Higher secondary and above		
	M		W	M		W	M		W	M		W	M		W	M		W
	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24
A. Currently continuing education																		
Type of facility																		
Co-educational	*	*	92.9	88.4	94.8	84.1	*	*	*	92.1	83.7	95.4	82.8	*	*	93.4	92.2	94.0
Private ¹	*	*	43.2	38.1	41.5	38.5	*	*	*	42.7	39.8	43.1	37.7	*	*	43.5	36.6	38.7
Fully government aided	*	*	51.9	57.5	53.7	55.2	*	*	*	56.1	57.6	52.3	56.3	*	*	48.8	57.7	55.8
Partially government aided	*	*	4.5	3.0	4.6	5.0	*	*	*	1.2	1.9	4.0	4.5	*	*	6.9	3.9	5.5
Available amenities																		
Drinking water	*	*	94.3	95.0	98.1	98.8	*	*	*	99.4	99.6	99.7	99.1	*	*	91.2	91.3	95.4
Toilet facility	*	*	74.1	81.3	93.1	96.6	*	*	*	92.7	97.8	98.7	98.7	*	*	62.5	67.9	85.2
Playground	*	*	90.8	94.9	95.6	98.5	*	*	*	91.5	98.1	94.8	98.2	*	*	90.7	92.2	96.8
Library	*	*	62.9	74.0	92.4	94.5	*	*	*	77.4	90.0	95.4	96.6	*	*	53.7	61.1	88.0
All of the above	*	*	53.5	65.1	85.9	91.7	*	*	*	72.0	87.8	91.8	95.3	*	*	41.9	46.8	77.8
Number currently in school/college	22	24	401	632	569	718	11	7	224	302	418	495	11	17	177	330	151	223
B. Discontinued education before completing Class 12																		
Type of facility																		
Co-educational	89.5	88.1	91.8	85.2	92.9	79.9	82.3	86.0	91.4	80.3	(94.4)	66.1	93.8	89.1	92.2	88.2	92.2	88.2
Private ¹	16.4	14.3	32.7	32.2	43.4	34.2	20.3	12.4	27.6	30.9	(52.8)	26.8	14.0	15.2	36.4	33.0	39.0	38.7
Fully government aided	79.7	83.7	63.2	64.5	51.3	63.1	78.4	86.0	70.9	66.9	(47.2)	71.4	80.2	82.6	57.5	63.0	53.2	58.1
Partially government aided	1.0	1.2	3.7	2.7	3.5	2.7	0.0	1.0	1.2	1.6	(0.0)	1.8	1.6	1.3	5.5	3.3	5.2	3.2
Available amenities																		
Drinking water	90.5	84.9	97.0	95.2	97.3	98.0	97.3	93.7	98.8	98.2	(94.4)	98.2	86.4	80.5	95.7	93.2	97.4	97.8
Toilet facility	49.9	51.8	69.2	77.0	87.6	88.6	55.8	69.8	83.1	91.6	(94.4)	98.2	46.5	42.7	59.0	67.8	83.1	82.8
Playground	85.4	83.8	91.3	94.8	93.8	94.6	74.1	86.3	85.5	96.4	(88.9)	94.6	92.6	82.6	95.7	94.0	96.1	94.6
Library	26.7	43.0	52.4	70.0	77.9	87.2	26.5	45.1	58.4	78.9	(80.6)	91.1	26.7	41.9	48.0	64.4	76.6	84.9
All of the above	16.9	31.9	41.4	60.7	72.6	77.2	21.8	40.3	54.5	76.1	(78.4)	83.9	14.0	27.7	31.6	50.9	68.8	73.1
Number who discontinued education before completing Class 12	372	912	591	1,253	105	146	189	360	336	569	46	66	183	552	255	684	59	80

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. * Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. ¹While private, fully government aided and partially government aided were mutually exclusive options for school type, their combined total may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses.

The situation was somewhat different among youth who had discontinued their education. Drinking water and playgrounds were available at schools/colleges attended by over 80% of youth, irrespective of the level at which they had discontinued their education. In contrast, while only about half of those who discontinued their education at primary or middle levels reported that toilet facilities were available, considerably larger proportions of youth who discontinued at high school or higher secondary levels reported the availability of toilets (69–77% and 88–89%, respectively). A similar situation was apparent with regard to the availability of library facilities, with 27%, 52% and 78%, respectively, among young men who discontinued their education at primary or middle, high school and higher levels and 43%, 70% and 87% among young women, respectively, reporting so. Urban youth were far more likely than rural youth to report having a toilet facility at their school, especially at the primary, middle and high school levels. Rural-urban differences in school library access were negligible at all educational levels for those who had discontinued their education.

Availability of all four amenities – drinking water, playgrounds, toilets and libraries – increased systematically with level of schooling attained for all youth, irrespective of whether or not they had discontinued their education. Among those still in school, all four amenities were available to 54% of young men and 65% of young women at the high school level and 86% and 92%, respectively, of those at higher levels. Among those who had discontinued their education, availability of all four amenities increased from 17–32% among those who discontinued at the primary or middle school levels, to 41–61% and 73–77% of those who discontinued at the high school and higher secondary levels, respectively. Availability of all four amenities was consistently more likely to be reported by those who were studying at the time of interview than those who had discontinued their education, suggesting that availability of amenities may well have played a role in school continuation. Gender differences were apparent, with larger percentages of young women than men reporting the availability of all four amenities, most likely because the presence of these amenities was considered a prerequisite for girls to be enrolled in school. Finally, urban youth were considerably more likely to report the availability of all four amenities than rural youth, irrespective of school continuation status, level of education attained or sex of respondent.

3.5.2 School/college experiences

Table 3.6 presents young people's schooling experiences, namely, whether or not they attended class regularly, took private tuition, considered the academic workload to be heavy and had passed the last examination for which they had appeared. Among those still in school or college, almost all youth (90% or more) reported that they attended classes regularly. About one-third to two-fifths of in-school youth reported that they had taken private tuition and about one-third reported feeling that the academic workload was heavy. It is notable that young women were equally or slightly more likely than young men, and urban youth considerably more likely than rural youth, to have attended coaching classes. Over 90% reported that they had passed the last school or college examinations for which they had appeared.

Among youth who had discontinued their education, those who had done so at the primary or middle levels were less likely than those who discontinued later to attend school regularly. Percentages reporting private tuition increased with level of education at which schooling was discontinued (4–5%, 11–21% and 13–16%, among those who discontinued at primary or middle, high school or higher secondary levels, respectively) and between 40% and 50% of all youth perceived the academic workload to be heavy. Finally, percentages that passed the last examination for which they had appeared fell uniformly with level of education at which schooling was discontinued and more steeply among young men than young women. Among young men, for example, 64% of those who discontinued at primary or middle levels passed the last examination for which they appeared, compared to 46% and 24% at the two higher levels. Among young women, percentages who passed were consistently higher: 84%, 62% and 37% at primary or middle, secondary and higher levels, respectively.

Table 3.6: Schooling experiences

Percentage of youth who had completed primary/middle school, high school or higher secondary and above, respectively, by characteristics of school attendance and performance, according to current schooling status and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

School attendance and performance characteristics (%)	Combined						Urban						Rural						
	Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above		Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above		Primary/ middle school		High school		Higher secondary and above		
	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	
	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	
A. Currently continuing education																			
Attended classes regularly	*	*	96.9	95.4	89.5	91.9	*	*	*	98.2	97.4	94.1	93.7	*	*	96.2	93.7	82.9	88.2
Private tuition taken	*	*	34.0	40.5	31.4	41.0	*	*	*	53.7	62.6	43.5	49.8	*	*	21.9	22.8	13.9	23.8
Perceived the academic workload to be heavy	*	*	32.1	35.1	29.7	30.5	*	*	*	29.9	34.1	24.4	29.2	*	*	33.5	35.7	37.5	33.0
Passed last examination for which appeared	*	*	92.7	94.7	93.1	97.2	*	*	*	89.6	93.3	93.2	97.3	*	*	94.6	95.8	93.1	96.9
Number currently in school/college	22	24	401	632	569	718	11	7	224	302	418	495	11	17	330	151	223	223	223
B. Discontinued education before completing Class 12																			
Attended classes regularly	77.4	79.2	90.5	95.2	86.7	86.6	74.1	81.5	88.3	92.8	(94.4)	87.5	79.4	78.1	91.9	96.7	83.1	87.0	87.0
Private tuition taken	4.1	5.1	10.6	20.6	13.3	16.1	3.4	5.7	13.3	30.3	(19.4)	28.6	4.5	4.6	8.4	14.6	10.4	7.6	7.6
Perceived the academic workload to be heavy	41.8	47.8	46.7	42.7	41.6	41.6	38.1	43.5	46.1	42.7	(36.1)	42.9	44.4	50.0	46.8	42.7	44.2	40.9	40.9
Passed last examination for which appeared	63.7	84.1	45.5	61.7	23.9	36.9	65.5	84.1	51.0	60.0	(27.8)	41.1	62.6	84.2	41.4	62.8	22.1	34.4	34.4
Number who discontinued education before completing Class 12	372	912	591	1,253	105	146	189	360	336	569	46	66	183	552	255	684	59	80	80

Note: () Based on 25-49 unweighted cases. * Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases.

Schooling experiences were clearly different among those who had discontinued schooling after primary/middle school and those who were studying at the time of interview. The exception was regular attendance at school or college, reported by over 85% of both groups. In contrast, youth who were continuing their education were considerably more likely to report private tuition (31–41% compared to 11–21% of those who discontinued their education at the high school level or above) and less likely to report that the academic workload was heavy (30–35% compared to 42–47%, respectively). The widest difference was in percentages who had passed the last examination for which they had appeared: while almost all youth who were still in school reported passing this examination (93–97% of those at the high school level or higher), only 46% and 62% of young men and women who discontinued their education at high school level and 24% and 37% of those who discontinued before completing Class 12 so reported. Clearly, academic failure was an important factor precipitating school discontinuation and was perhaps a more compelling factor for young men than young women.

3.6 Summary

While the vast majority of youth in Maharashtra had been to school, significant minorities of youth (4–8%) had never attended school. Findings show, moreover, that youth who were ever enrolled in school by and large remained in school up to Class 5, with very gradual declines in attendance. Following Class 5, declines became somewhat steeper, with differences between young women and men, the married and the unmarried and the rural and the urban widening. There was a particularly steep decline between Classes 9 and 10 for all youth. Cumulative percentages of youth attending each class suggest that three-quarters of young men and 70% of young women had attended Class 9; but that just three-fifths and half, respectively, had attended Class 10. Married and rural youth were considerably less likely to have attended high school than were other groups. Findings generally highlight that many youth did not undertake or pass the school leaving examination in Class 10.

What is notable is that, at the time of interview, about half of all unmarried youth (and very few married) were still in school or college, and among them it was young women who were more likely to have been in school or college at the time of interview than young men, particularly in urban areas.

Leading reasons for discontinuation among young men and women who discontinued at middle and high school levels were school-related factors (academic failure, distance to school, poor school quality and infrastructure), economic issues (child required for work on the family farm/business or for outside wage earning work, or the family could not afford school-related expenses) and attitudes and perceptions of parents and youth (such as for example, that education was unnecessary or that children were not interested). School-related factors, somewhat more likely to be reported by young women than men who discontinued education in the younger classes, became increasingly important reasons among those who discontinued at middle and high school levels; notably, poor academic performance, was a significant motivating factor behind discontinuation, especially among young men. While percentages were small, transitions into adult roles – getting a job or marriage – also became increasingly more likely reasons for school discontinuation among those who discontinued at high school levels.

Vast differences were observed in the educational facilities and schooling experiences of youth who were still in school and those who had discontinued their education at various levels. For example, youth still studying were more likely to report the availability of toilets and libraries than were those who had discontinued schooling. Schooling experiences were notably different. Those who had discontinued their education were less likely than those who were still in school to report private tuition and more likely to report a heavy academic workload. They were considerably less likely, moreover, to have passed the last examination for which they had appeared, suggesting that poor school performance was a significant factor leading to school discontinuation. While gender differences in school performance were negligible among those still in school, among those who had discontinued schooling, young men were notably less likely than young women to have passed the last examination for which they had appeared, suggesting that poor performance may have been particularly important in precipitating discontinuation among young men.

Economic and non-economic activity

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

4.1 Economic activity

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

Work profiles varied widely, as shown in Table 4.1. In total, about two-thirds of young men and two-fifths of young women reported that they had been engaged in paid or unpaid work at some point in their lives. We acknowledge that a large part of unpaid work may be considered housework, even though productive and, hence, despite our efforts to probe for information on unpaid work, we may not have succeeded in capturing accurate levels of unpaid work, especially among young women. Indeed, just 13% of young men and 6% of young women reported having ever engaged in unpaid work. Almost all married young men and almost two-thirds of unmarried young men had at some time engaged in paid or unpaid work; this compares with about half and one-third of married and unmarried young women, respectively. Rural-urban differences suggest, moreover, that more rural than urban youth had ever worked – 75% versus 61% of young men and 51% versus 23% of young women.

Considerable percentages of youth (19% of young men and 17% of young women) reported that they had initiated either paid or unpaid work by the time they were aged 15. More married than unmarried and more rural than urban youth had initiated economic activity from an early age, irrespective of sex.

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

Table 4.1: Economic activity

Percentage of youth who ever worked and who worked in last 12 months, and percent distribution of youth by duration of work and main occupation in the last 12 months, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Economic activity (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Ever worked						
Paid work	65.8	35.0	97.6	42.0	60.9	29.4
Unpaid work	13.3	6.4	18.4	8.3	12.3	4.9
Either paid or unpaid work	68.9	38.6	98.6	47.0	64.3	31.8
Started working by age 15	19.2	17.0	27.8	22.4	16.5	12.6
Ever worked in last 12 months						
Paid work	63.3	28.2	96.4	30.9	58.2	26.2
Unpaid work	7.0	4.7	5.8	5.8	7.2	3.8
Either paid or unpaid work	66.6	31.5	97.6	35.5	61.8	28.5
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Duration of paid work in last 12 months						
Most of the year (6 months or more)	78.8	74.6	92.0	77.4	75.4	71.9
Part of the year (3-5 months)	11.3	13.2	6.8	13.6	12.5	12.8
Rarely (less than 3 months)	9.8	10.4	1.1	7.0	12.0	13.8
Main occupation (paid work)						
Cultivator	4.6	8.7	6.6	13.5	4.2	4.1
Agricultural labourer	25.2	57.5	24.1	63.5	25.4	51.7
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	7.7	9.3	6.8	4.2	8.6	14.2
Business	4.3	1.0	5.6	0.7	4.5	1.4
Skilled manual/machinery	25.8	9.6	28.2	8.8	25.0	10.3
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	29.7	11.8	26.3	8.7	29.2	14.8
Other	1.6	1.0	1.1	0.3	1.9	1.7
Number engaged in paid work in last 12 months	1,432	1,181	1,026	534	1,124	647
Urban						
Ever worked						
Paid work	58.9	22.4	99.5	24.3	53.3	21.1
Unpaid work	6.4	1.7	9.6	1.6	6.2	1.9
Either paid or unpaid work	60.8	22.7	99.5	24.8	55.5	21.5
Started working by age 15	9.2	4.2	17.8	6.9	7.3	2.4
Ever worked in last 12 months						
Paid work	57.0	15.8	98.9	12.7	51.3	17.8
Unpaid work	3.7	1.0	3.0	0.8	3.8	1.0
Either paid or unpaid work	59.0	16.3	98.9	13.2	53.5	18.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Duration of paid work in last 12 months						
Most of the year (6 months or more)	88.0	84.6	97.9	89.9	86.0	82.1
Part of the year (3-5 months)	8.8	7.7	1.8	6.7	10.0	8.0
Rarely (less than 3 months)	3.0	7.1	0.2	3.4	3.8	8.9

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Table 4.1: (Cont'd)

Economic activity (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Main occupation (paid work)						
Cultivator	1.2	2.3	1.2	4.4	1.5	1.4
Agricultural labourer	1.0	4.9	0.9	7.8	1.3	3.2
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	15.9	32.0	13.2	18.9	17.9	38.5
Business	7.5	2.6	9.7	2.2	7.4	3.2
Skilled manual/machinery	37.1	20.1	40.6	27.8	35.5	16.3
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	33.9	34.6	31.6	37.8	32.6	33.0
Other	2.4	2.3	2.1	1.1	2.8	2.7
Number engaged in paid work in last 12 months	772	342	499	114	639	228
Rural						
Ever worked						
Paid work	71.2	45.0	96.2	52.1	67.2	37.6
Unpaid work	18.7	10.1	24.4	12.3	17.5	7.9
Either paid or unpaid work	75.3	51.0	97.9	59.8	71.6	42.1
Started working by age 15	27.2	27.1	34.8	31.3	24.1	22.7
Ever worked in last 12 months						
Paid work	68.3	37.9	94.6	41.2	63.9	34.5
Unpaid work	9.8	7.6	7.8	8.5	10.0	6.6
Either paid or unpaid work	72.7	43.4	96.9	48.2	68.7	38.5
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Duration of paid work in last 12 months						
Most of the year (6 months or more)	72.7	71.5	87.7	75.1	68.3	66.7
Part of the year (3-5 months)	12.9	15.0	10.5	14.9	14.2	15.2
Rarely (less than 3 months)	14.3	11.4	1.7	7.6	17.5	16.3
Main occupation (paid work)						
Cultivator	6.7	10.8	10.5	15.1	6.0	5.4
Agricultural labourer	41.3	74.5	40.9	73.5	41.7	76.0
Administrative/executive/managerial/clerical	2.3	1.9	2.2	1.6	2.4	2.0
Business	2.1	0.4	2.4	0.4	2.6	0.5
Skilled manual/machinery	18.3	6.2	19.1	5.3	17.9	7.2
Unskilled non-agricultural labourer	27.0	4.4	22.5	3.5	26.9	5.7
Other	1.0	0.6	0.3	0.2	1.3	1.1
Number engaged in paid work in last 12 months	660	839	527	420	485	419

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

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

Findings also suggest that among youth who worked for remuneration in the year prior to interview, the majority (75% or more) worked for at least six months of the year. While gender differences were not wide, larger proportions of married than unmarried as well as urban than rural youth reported working for most of the year.

Occupational distributions of those engaged in remunerated work in the 12 months preceding the interview were very different among rural and urban respondents. Among rural respondents, leading occupations were agricultural, particularly among young women: 48% of young men and 85% of young women. The overwhelming majority of these youth worked as agricultural labourers, however, rather than cultivators. Large proportions of rural young men were, in addition, engaged in unskilled non-agricultural (27%) and skilled labour (18%), occupations reported by just 11% of rural young women.

Among urban respondents, the leading occupations were skilled and unskilled non-agricultural labour, together reported by 71% of young men and 55% of young women. Administrative, executive, managerial and clerical occupations were reported by 16% of young men and 32% of young women. What is notable is that while married and unmarried young men and married young women reported similar occupational profiles, unmarried young women were less likely than other urban groups to report skilled or unskilled labour (49% compared to two-thirds or more) and, conversely, more likely to report administrative, executive, managerial or clerical occupations (39% compared to less than 20%).

4.2 Unemployment

To measure unemployment rates among respondents, the Youth Study assessed (a) whether youth had worked in the 12 months preceding the interview and if so, the number of months worked; and (b) whether youth were seeking work and if so, the number of months during which they had been searching for work. Table 4.2 reports unemployment rates, defined as those seeking employment for the major part of the year preceding the interview as a fraction of those in the labour force. Labour force refers to those who were working or seeking work for the major part of the year. It does not, therefore, include those exclusively studying, those who may have worked for a short period in the year preceding the interview, or those who had sought work for a short period in the year preceding the interview.

Measured in this way, the percentage of unemployed youth was 20% among young men and 17% among young women, rates considerably higher than those observed by the National Sample Survey (NSS) (NSSO, 2006) among youth using the principal usual status definition. We note, however, that rates obtained in the Youth Study are not quite comparable to the NSS, not only because questions were not identical, but also because of differences in the frequency with which information was obtained and corresponding differences in the recall period (quarterly in the NSS as compared to a 12-month recall period in the Youth Study) and differences in the household member eligible to provide information on youth unemployment (any household member in the NSS compared to the individual herself or himself in the Youth Study).

Table 4.2: Unemployment**Percentage of youth in the labour force who were unemployed, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006**

Unemployment (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Unemployed Number in labour force	19.5 1,501	16.7 1,151	4.6 1,015	12.1 529	23.2 1,195	21.3 622
Urban						
Unemployed Number in labour force	17.8 847	25.6 395	1.4 498	24.1 137	21.1 714	26.3 258
Rural						
Unemployed Number in labour force	20.7 654	13.2 756	7.1 517	9.4 392	24.9 481	18.1 364

Note: ¹Unemployment rate: Youth who were seeking work for the major part of the year preceding the interview as a proportion of those in the labour force (namely, those who were employed and/or seeking work for the major part of the year).

Findings suggest, moreover, considerable variation by marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents. For example, the married were considerably less likely to be unemployed than the unmarried. Among young men, 5% of the married compared to 23% of the unmarried reported unemployment; among young women, correspondingly, 12% and 21% reported unemployment. Unemployment rates among urban young women were twice as high as among their rural counterparts (26% versus 13%).

Table 4.3 describes socio-economic differentials in reported unemployment among young men and women. Unemployment appeared to be higher among younger (aged 15–19) than older (aged 20–24) men. While differences were narrower, the reverse was true among young women.

Differences by religion were not uniform but suggest that among young men, unemployment rates were lower among Muslims than those belonging to other religions; among young women, religion-wise differences were negligible. Caste-wise differences were also, by and large, negligible. Differences by education were, in contrast, wide and consistent, corresponding closely with NSS data. Better educated youth were more likely to report unemployment than other categories of youth, suggesting the relative dearth of opportunities for the educated. Young women who had completed Class 12 reported exceptionally high rates of unemployment (40%), a finding reiterated in other studies (Chandrasekhar, Ghosh and Roychowdhury, 2006). Finally, unemployment rates increased uniformly with family economic status, particularly among young women. Patterns by rural-urban residence and marital status were, by and large, similar to the patterns observed for young men and women in general.

4.3 Work-related mobility

Among young men who had ever worked, a notable segment – over one-quarter – reported the experience of work-related mobility, as shown in Table 4.4. Fewer young women, in contrast, had lived away from home for work-related reasons (5%), clearly the result of the greater restrictions placed on the independent movement of young women than men. Differences by marital status indicate that married young men were considerably more likely to have experienced work-related mobility than unmarried men (41% versus 24%), perhaps a function of the fact that married men tended to be older and have more work experience than the unmarried. Finally, rural youth were more likely to report work-related mobility than urban youth, suggesting that employment pressures were felt by more rural than urban youth.

Table 4.3: Unemployment by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth in the labour force who were unemployed by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15-19	27.6	13.1	*	5.0	28.4	15.8
20-24	15.5	19.2	4.0	13.9	19.9	29.6
25-29	NA	NA	4.9	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	20.0	16.1	4.3	11.7	24.3	20.7
Muslim	12.6	20.0	2.6	*	14.2	22.0
Other ¹	24.8	20.0	13.0	14.1	25.8	24.2
Caste						
SC	26.7	16.4	8.6	9.5	31.4	22.4
ST/VJNT	20.9	15.0	5.3	13.0	26.6	17.4
OBC	19.4	15.5	2.9	9.2	22.9	21.8
General ²	17.0	19.1	3.7	15.3	19.8	22.7
Educational level (years)						
None ³	4.8	1.1	3.9	1.4	(4.9)	(0.0)
1-7	5.4	2.3	3.8	2.1	7.1	2.5
8-11	19.2	20.4	5.4	16.5	22.0	23.7
12 and above	36.9	39.6	5.0	48.5	40.3	36.7
Wealth quintile						
First	13.0	4.3	6.2	0.0	16.4	8.7
Second	19.7	9.4	5.8	4.7	23.6	15.4
Third	18.6	17.4	3.3	17.3	22.6	17.5
Fourth	22.5	30.9	5.7	29.2	25.5	32.0
Fifth	24.0	33.3	1.9	29.1	26.7	35.6
Total	19.5	16.7	4.6	12.1	23.2	21.3
Urban						
Age (years)						
15-19	24.6	22.0	*	*	25.3	23.3
20-24	15.2	27.0	4.2	25.5	19.0	27.8
25-29	NA	NA	0.6	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	19.6	22.7	1.3	19.3	23.7	24.2
Muslim	10.2	(32.4)	2.5	*	11.5	(34.6)
Other ¹	20.4	33.9	(3.3)	*	22.0	(29.2)
Caste						
SC	21.1	31.3	(2.5)	*	26.1	31.3
ST/VJNT	30.4	(33.3)	0.0	*	35.0	*
OBC	18.0	25.8	1.7	(18.8)	20.6	30.4
General ²	15.6	21.5	1.1	27.3	19.4	18.9

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Table 4.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Educational level (years)						
None ³	*	(0.0)	(0.0)	*	*	*
1-7	4.5	7.4	0.0	(12.5)	6.1	(3.4)
8-11	16.1	33.7	2.1	30.6	18.0	35.3
12 and above	32.4	29.7	1.7	34.3	36.0	28.3
Wealth quintile						
First	(4.8)	*	*	*	*	*
Second	12.0	(14.8)	3.2	*	13.7	*
Third	10.7	21.3	1.0	(27.3)	14.2	(17.0)
Fourth	18.9	27.4	1.5	(29.0)	21.7	27.7
Fifth	25.8	31.2	1.7	(28.0)	28.7	32.0
Total	17.8	25.6	1.4	24.1	21.1	26.3
Rural						
Age (years)						
15-19	29.3	10.9	*	3.8	30.4	13.6
20-24	15.9	15.0	4.4	11.0	20.5	32.6
25-29	NA	NA	8.4	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	20.3	13.7	6.3	10.2	24.7	18.8
Muslim	(17.0)	(8.1)	(2.9)	*	(22.2)	*
Other ¹	(28.1)	10.9	(20.5)	(4.2)	(28.3)	(18.2)
Caste						
SC	31.8	8.9	13.5	4.6	36.0	14.1
ST/VJNT	18.7	11.0	6.4	12.5	24.5	9.2
OBC	20.4	12.1	3.8	7.1	24.8	17.9
General ²	18.1	18.2	7.5	11.8	20.8	26.2
Educational level (years)						
None ³	(6.1)	1.3	5.3	1.6	*	(0.0)
1-7	6.0	1.4	6.0	0.6	7.7	2.3
8-11	21.5	16.4	7.5	13.9	24.7	18.9
12 and above	42.0	58.3	9.8	(64.5)	44.6	54.5
Wealth quintile						
First	13.3	4.4	6.8	0.0	17.1	9.1
Second	22.0	8.8	6.7	4.4	25.8	14.4
Third	24.6	15.3	5.2	13.8	28.8	19.1
Fourth	27.9	34.6	13.9	29.3	31.8	(40.0)
Fifth	17.0	39.1	(2.6)	(30.0)	(18.8)	*
Total	20.7	13.2	7.1	9.4	24.9	18.1

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable.

OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ²Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.

³Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Table 4.4: Work-related mobility

Percentage of youth who had ever lived outside their home village/area for work, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Mobility characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Work-related mobility						
Ever stayed outside village/area for work	27.7	4.7	41.3	5.1	24.0	4.2
Number ever worked	1,554	1,618	1,052	833	1,240	785
Stayed outside village/area for 3 months or longer	70.8	58.8	77.6	(60.9)	68.5	(57.6)
Number ever stayed out of home village/ area for work	417	70	420	42	283	28
Urban						
Work-related mobility						
Ever stayed outside village/area for work	23.3	1.8	38.1	2.9	19.6	1.1
Number ever worked	828	501	504	221	693	280
Stayed outside village/area for 3 months or longer	81.0	*	83.0	*	80.0	*
Number ever stayed out of home village/ area for work	184	8	187	5	134	3
Rural						
Work-related mobility						
Ever stayed outside village/area for work	30.6	5.8	43.6	5.7	26.9	5.9
Number ever worked	726	1,117	548	612	547	505
Stayed outside village/area for 3 months or longer	65.9	60.3	74.6	(62.8)	62.7	(56.7)
Number ever stayed out of home village/ area for work	233	62	233	37	149	25

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases.

A large proportion of young men (71%) who reported work-related mobility had remained outside their home village or neighbourhood for three months or longer. Not only did few young women report having lived out of the home village or neighbourhood for work, but among those who had, fewer than their male peers reported living away for three or more months (59%).

4.4 Economic activity and schooling status

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

Figure 4.1a: Economic activity and schooling status among youth aged 15–24, by age, Maharashtra, 2006

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

Figure 4.1b: Economic activity and schooling status among married men aged 15–29 and married women aged 15–24, by age, Maharashtra, 2006

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

Figure 4.1c: Economic activity and schooling status among unmarried men and women aged 15–24, by age, Maharashtra, 2006

A comparison of the two panels of Figure 4.1a shows, first, that the proportion of youth reporting school attendance declined steadily across all groups as young people transitioned out of early adolescence to late adolescence and young adulthood. For example, while 91% of young men and 85% of young women were in school (a small minority of these were also working) at age 12, the percentage who remained in school at age 15 fell to 76% for young men and 66% for young women. Second, very few young people (13% or fewer) reported having combined studying and working at any age. Third, exit from school was accompanied by a steady rise in work participation over the ages for both young men and women; however, the increase was steeper among young men and plateaued at a higher level among them than among young women. Finally, significant proportions of young women but not young men were neither in school nor working from age 12 onwards. Among young men, small proportions (fewer than one in 10) were neither working nor in school at any age. Among young women, there was a steady increase by age. At age 12, 10% of young women were neither working nor in school; percentages increased to 19% at age 15 and 52% at age 20.

Figures 4.1b and 4.1c suggest similar patterns for the married and unmarried with some notable exceptions. For one, the married were less likely to be in school at each age. For example, 75–75% of the married and 92–93% of the unmarried were in school (a small minority of these were also working) at age 12, and the percentages of those who remained in school fell more steeply among the married than the unmarried for each age thereafter. At age 20, for example, only 14% of married young men and 8% of married young women were pursuing their education, compared to 35% and 52% of unmarried young men and women, respectively. Second, while exit from school was accompanied by a steady rise in work participation by age among both married and unmarried young men and unmarried young women, work participation plateaued among married young women at about age 18. Finally, we note that considerably larger percentages of unmarried than married young women were neither in school nor working from age 12 onwards and differences became more pronounced with age.

4.5 Participation in non-economic activity

The Youth Study also inquired about the extent to which young men and women participated in domestic chores. All youth were asked whether and how frequently they were engaged in activities such as housework (cooking, cleaning, child/sibling care), shopping for groceries for the family and tasks such as collecting firewood or fetching water, and paying electricity or phone bills (as appropriate for urban and rural areas). Findings, reported in Table 4.5 and Figure 4.2, highlight the gendered nature of young people's participation in domestic chores. They show that the large majority of young women (85%) were engaged in housework on a regular basis, compared with just 12% of young men. It is notable, nonetheless, that about three in five young men reported "sometimes" participating in housework. In contrast, 90% of young men reported sometimes or often shopping for groceries, compared with 58% of young women. Tasks such as collecting firewood or fetching water, and paying electricity or phone bills were conducted by both young men and women. Larger proportions of young men than women reported participating in these tasks – 89% and 69%, respectively – suggesting that young women were more likely than young men to be engaged in work inside the home, and less likely to be engaged in tasks that violated norms restricting their mobility outside the home.

In terms of differences in household work participation by marital status, patterns varied by type of activity and sex of the respondent. For example, among young women, the unmarried were as likely as the married to engage in housework and shopping but less likely than the married to engage in other tasks; among young men, differences by marital status were mild.

Table 4.5: Participation in household chores

Percent distribution of youth by extent of participation in various household chores, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Types of chores (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Housework¹						
Never	27.3	1.5	33.1	0.2	26.6	2.7
Sometimes	61.1	13.3	57.6	0.4	61.4	24.2
Often	11.6	85.2	9.4	99.4	11.9	73.2
Shopping						
Never	10.3	41.8	7.0	43.0	10.7	40.9
Sometimes	60.6	35.9	51.6	30.8	62.1	40.1
Often	29.1	22.3	41.4	26.1	27.3	19.0
Other tasks²						
Never	10.7	30.6	8.1	25.7	11.2	34.7
Sometimes	52.3	21.4	45.8	16.6	53.3	25.5
Often	37.0	47.9	46.1	57.7	35.5	39.9
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Housework¹						
Never	39.2	2.9	45.4	0.3	38.5	4.7
Sometimes	55.5	20.3	49.5	1.1	55.9	32.5
Often	5.3	76.8	5.0	98.6	5.6	62.8
Shopping						
Never	9.3	36.5	5.5	34.7	9.6	37.7
Sometimes	69.4	41.6	56.8	34.9	71.5	45.8
Often	21.3	21.9	37.7	30.4	18.9	16.4
Other tasks²						
Never	11.5	45.6	5.7	41.2	12.0	48.4
Sometimes	63.2	24.2	57.0	17.3	64.2	28.6
Often	25.3	30.3	37.3	41.5	23.8	23.0
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Housework¹						
Never	17.8	0.4	24.4	0.1	16.7	0.8
Sometimes	65.6	7.9	63.2	0.0	66.0	15.9
Often	16.6	91.7	12.4	99.9	17.3	83.4
Shopping						
Never	11.1	45.9	8.1	47.8	11.5	44.0
Sometimes	53.6	31.4	47.9	28.5	54.4	34.5
Often	35.2	22.7	43.9	23.7	34.2	21.6
Other tasks²						
Never	10.1	19.0	9.6	16.9	10.4	21.2
Sometimes	43.6	19.3	38.1	16.3	44.3	22.4
Often	46.3	61.7	52.3	66.9	45.2	56.5
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. ¹Includes cooking, cleaning, etc.

²Respondents were given examples of other tasks such as collecting firewood, fetching water, grazing, paying bills, etc.

Frequency of engaging in domestic activities varied. In every case, larger proportions of married than unmarried young women reported engaging in these tasks on a regular basis; likewise, married young men were more likely than the unmarried to report shopping and engaging in such tasks as collecting firewood or fetching water, and paying electricity or phone bills on a regular basis.

4.6 Participation in vocational training programmes

A number of vocational training opportunities are available to youth through government, non-government and private organisations. Our survey inquired whether respondents had attended any such programmes, and the kinds of programmes they would like to attend, if offered. Findings, presented in Table 4.6 and Figure 4.3, indicate that 22% of young men and 33% of young women had ever attended a vocational training programme. The unmarried were considerably more likely to have received training than the married, and urban respondents were far more likely to have received training than their rural counterparts.

The kind of training received varied widely by sex of the respondent and rural-urban residence. Among young men, leading training programmes reported were focused on computer skills (57%), auto mechanics or electrical work (24%) and driving (11%). Key training received by young women was quite different: 52% reported training in tailoring, 32% in computer skills, 17% each in handicrafts and beauty parlour activities. The unmarried were more likely to report training in new technologies than the married. For example, 60% of unmarried young men compared to 30% of married young men reported computer training; corresponding figures for young women were 42% and 15%, respectively. Finally, training received by rural youth was considerably more likely than that obtained by urban youth to fall into more traditional activities. For example, rural young women were far more likely than their urban counterparts to have received training in tailoring and, conversely, less likely to have been trained in computer skills.

Figure 4.2: Percentage of youth who participated in domestic chores, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Table 4.6: Participation in vocational training programmes

Percentage of youth who ever attended a vocational training programme and type of programme attended, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Programmes/courses attended (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Ever attended a vocational training programme	21.9	33.0	17.9	26.8	23.4	38.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Types of programmes/courses attended						
Tailoring	2.3	51.7	6.3	72.7	1.9	39.3
Auto mechanic/electrical work	23.7	0.3	26.3	0.0	23.4	0.4
Driving	10.9	0.3	29.2	0.0	9.1	0.4
Plumbing/masonry	3.3	0.3	7.3	0.4	3.0	0.2
Poultry/goat farm	1.2	0.1	3.1	0.2	1.1	0.1
Beauty parlour/salon	0.2	16.8	0.5	12.9	0.2	19.0
Nurse's aid	0.2	1.8	0.5	1.3	0.2	2.0
Computer training	57.1	32.1	29.8	15.4	60.2	42.0
English language/typing/shorthand	6.4	13.1	8.4	9.0	6.8	15.5
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	3.5	16.7	6.3	13.7	3.0	18.3
Number ever attended any vocational training	583	1,548	204	558	540	990
Urban						
Ever attended a vocational training programme	31.7	47.3	25.8	37.0	33.5	53.9
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Types of programmes/courses attended						
Tailoring	2.1	40.7	4.4	64.8	2.0	30.1
Auto mechanic/electrical work	17.0	0.3	20.4	0.0	16.3	0.4
Driving	10.3	0.4	33.9	0.0	8.8	0.6
Plumbing/masonry	2.4	0.2	4.4	0.4	2.3	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.1
Beauty parlour/salon	0.3	19.1	0.0	17.2	0.3	20.1
Nurse's aid	0.0	2.2	0.0	2.3	0.0	2.2
Computer training	68.7	42.6	45.2	24.1	71.3	50.7
English language/typing/shorthand	8.2	17.1	9.7	14.1	8.5	18.4
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	1.8	17.2	5.3	17.2	1.3	17.4
Number ever attended any vocational training	446	1,050	132	336	421	714
Rural						
Ever attended a vocational training programme	14.2	21.9	12.3	20.9	15.0	22.8
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Types of programmes/courses attended						
Tailoring	2.7	70.1	9.1	80.7	1.8	60.3
Auto mechanic/electrical work	36.0	0.2	35.1	0.0	37.0	0.3
Driving	11.8	0.0	22.1	0.0	9.7	0.0
Plumbing/masonry	4.9	0.4	11.7	0.4	4.2	0.3
Poultry/goat farm	2.7	0.2	7.8	0.4	2.4	0.0
Beauty parlour/salon	0.0	12.7	1.3	8.8	0.0	16.4
Nurse's aid	0.5	0.9	1.3	0.4	0.6	1.4
Computer training	36.2	14.3	6.5	6.6	39.4	21.8
English language/typing/shorthand	3.2	6.4	6.5	3.9	3.6	8.6
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	6.5	15.6	7.8	10.4	6.1	20.8
Number ever attended any vocational training	137	498	72	222	119	276

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

Large proportions of youth – 64% of young men and 71% of young women – reported interest in attending vocational training programmes, as shown in Table 4.7. Skills in which youth wished to be trained virtually mirrored the patterns revealed above. The majority of young women continued to wish to be trained in areas such as tailoring, handicrafts and beauty salon skills, although significant proportions – particularly those in urban areas – reported a preference for computer training, and English language and secretarial skills. Young men's preferences, in contrast, were focused on computer training, driving and auto mechanics or electrical work.

Figure 4.3: Percentage of youth who ever attended a vocational training programme and percentage who were interested in participating in such programmes, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Table 4.7: Willingness of youth to participate in vocational training programmes

Percentage of youth interested in participating in vocational training programmes and type of programme they were interested in participating in, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Programmes/courses (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Interested in participating in a vocational training programme	64.4	71.1	48.3	58.6	66.4	81.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Types of programmes in which youth wished to participate						
Tailoring	5.0	58.1	5.4	72.4	4.8	49.5
Auto mechanic/electric work	43.6	0.3	47.3	0.3	42.7	0.3
Driving	27.7	0.8	37.5	0.2	26.2	1.1
Plumbing/masonry	9.2	0.0	21.0	0.0	7.5	0.0
Poultry/goat farm	7.6	0.4	18.4	1.1	6.5	0.1
Beauty parlour/salon	0.6	33.9	1.0	27.9	0.6	37.4
Nurse's aid	0.2	3.9	0.0	3.0	0.2	4.5
Computer training	53.4	30.3	17.9	12.0	58.1	41.3
English language/typing/shorthand	15.8	10.1	5.1	4.4	17.2	13.5
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	13.3	31.5	14.8	30.4	13.1	32.1
Number interested in participating in a vocational training programme	1,483	3,220	501	1,140	1,321	2,080

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Table 4.7: (Cont'd)

Programmes/courses (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Interested in participating in a vocational training programme	60.3	76.8	33.8	62.0	63.1	86.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Type of programme in which youth wished to participate						
Tailoring	1.9	43.7	3.4	63.0	1.9	34.7
Auto mechanic/electric work	33.0	0.3	38.5	0.2	32.4	0.3
Driving	22.8	1.2	39.2	0.2	21.3	1.6
Plumbing/masonry	5.4	0.0	11.6	0.0	4.2	0.0
Poultry/goat farm	2.2	0.0	8.1	0.0	1.7	0.0
Beauty parlour/salon	0.5	37.0	1.4	34.4	0.3	38.1
Nurse's aid	0.0	3.1	0.0	4.1	0.0	2.7
Computer training	68.5	39.4	34.5	16.4	71.8	49.9
English language/typing/shorthand	20.0	12.8	9.5	4.8	20.8	16.5
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	11.2	31.2	17.6	28.5	10.7	32.5
Number interested in participating in a vocational training programme	844	1,705	176	560	789	1,145
Rural						
Interested in participating in a vocational training programme	67.7	66.7	58.4	56.5	69.2	77.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Type of programme in which youth wished to participate						
Tailoring	7.2	71.1	6.3	78.2	7.0	65.9
Auto mechanic/electric work	51.1	0.4	50.7	0.3	50.5	0.4
Driving	31.2	0.4	36.9	0.1	29.8	0.6
Plumbing/masonry	11.9	0.1	24.6	0.0	10.1	0.1
Poultry/goat farm	11.5	0.8	22.6	1.7	10.1	0.2
Beauty parlour/salon	0.7	31.1	0.8	23.8	0.8	36.6
Nurse's aid	0.3	4.7	0.0	2.4	0.4	6.4
Computer training	42.8	22.1	11.4	9.3	47.8	31.7
English language/typing/shorthand	12.9	7.7	3.3	4.1	14.4	10.3
Handicrafts/painting/embroidery/cooking	15.0	31.6	13.7	31.5	15.0	31.7
Number interested in participating in a vocational training programme	639	1,515	325	580	532	935

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

4.7 Summary

Work profiles suggest that about two-thirds of young men and two-fifths of young women had at some time engaged in paid or unpaid work. Indeed, almost all married young men and almost two-thirds of unmarried young men had done so, compared with half and one-third of married and unmarried young women, respectively. Likewise, more youth in rural than urban areas had ever worked. Economic activity was often initiated at an early age: almost one in five (17–19%) youth reported initiating work as children (before age 15). Data on work participation in the 12 months prior to interview indicate that the majority of young men (98% of married and 62% of unmarried) and a substantial proportion of young women (36% and 29%, respectively) had engaged in paid or unpaid work at some point in the 12 months preceding the survey. Three-quarters or more of young men and women who worked in the year prior to interview had done so for the major part (at least six months) of the year. Such regular work was far more likely to be reported by the urban compared to the rural, and the married compared to the unmarried.

Occupational profiles were very different among rural and urban respondents. Among rural respondents, leading occupations were agricultural, particularly among young women. The overwhelming majority of these youth worked as agricultural labourers, however, rather than cultivators. Large proportions of rural young men but not women were, in addition, engaged in skilled and unskilled non-agricultural labour. Among urban respondents, leading occupations were also skilled and unskilled non-agricultural labour. Of interest is the finding that administrative, executive, managerial and clerical occupations were reported by larger proportions of unmarried young women than men.

Findings also show substantial levels of unemployment among young men (20%) and women (17%). Unemployment tended to be considerably higher among unmarried than married youth and was particularly high among the educated and better off. Youth were clearly interested in acquiring skills that would enable employment generation; 64% young men and 71% of young women reported interest in vocational skills training. However, far fewer – 22% of young men and one-third of young women – had attended at least one vocational training programme.

Media exposure and access to pornographic materials

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

5.1 Mass media exposure

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

Findings are presented in Table 5.1 and Figure 5.1. They suggest that youth were exposed to a variety of media, but that typically, more young men than women reported media exposure. The largest proportion of youth was exposed to print materials (newspapers, magazines or books; 92% of young men and 79% of young women who had completed five or more years

Figure 5.1: Percentage of youth exposed to television, films, print media and the internet, Maharashtra, 2006

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

Table 5.1: Mass media exposure

Percent distribution of youth exposed to various mass media by frequency of exposure, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Exposure indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Frequency of watching television						
Never	5.8	14.7	11.8	21.1	4.9	9.4
Sometimes	64.9	37.3	67.6	40.3	64.2	34.8
Often	28.6	47.8	19.3	38.4	30.3	55.6
Frequency of watching films						
Never	13.2	52.0	16.6	62.0	12.9	43.8
Sometimes	80.4	41.5	79.4	32.9	80.4	48.6
Often	6.0	5.5	3.6	4.2	6.4	6.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Frequency of reading newspapers/ magazines/books¹						
Never	7.6	20.5	9.0	30.9	6.9	13.2
Sometimes	54.9	51.0	61.0	53.4	54.1	49.4
Often	37.2	28.3	30.0	15.6	38.7	37.2
Frequency of accessing the internet¹						
Never	86.1	90.7	91.8	96.5	85.0	86.5
Sometimes	11.2	7.0	7.0	2.6	12.1	10.1
Often	2.4	1.9	1.1	0.5	2.7	3.0
Number with 5 or more years of education	2,154	3,948	852	1,552	1,913	2,396
Urban						
Frequency of watching television						
Never	3.2	4.1	5.7	7.2	2.8	2.0
Sometimes	59.8	29.1	69.2	34.4	58.1	25.7
Often	37.0	66.8	24.7	58.4	39.1	72.2
Frequency of watching films						
Never	7.1	38.3	7.8	47.0	7.4	32.7
Sometimes	87.7	55.3	88.8	48.2	87.0	59.8
Often	5.1	5.5	3.0	3.5	5.6	6.7
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Frequency of reading newspapers/ magazines/books¹						
Never	5.2	16.3	7.0	27.7	4.9	9.9
Sometimes	54.9	46.6	60.1	50.7	54.5	44.5
Often	39.8	36.9	33.0	21.5	40.5	45.5
Frequency of accessing the internet¹						
Never	77.0	84.4	85.3	94.3	75.5	78.9
Sometimes	18.8	11.5	12.3	4.4	19.9	15.5
Often	4.1	3.8	2.4	1.0	4.5	5.4
Number with 5 or more years of education	1,310	2,039	432	758	1,203	1,281

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Table 5.1: (Cont'd)

Exposure indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Rural						
Frequency of watching television						
Never	7.9	22.9	16.1	29.0	6.6	16.7
Sometimes	69.0	43.7	66.5	43.7	69.3	43.8
Often	21.9	33.0	15.5	27.1	23.0	39.1
Frequency of watching films						
Never	18.0	62.8	22.8	70.6	17.6	54.7
Sometimes	74.8	30.8	72.9	24.1	74.8	37.6
Often	6.8	5.6	4.0	4.6	7.1	6.6
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Frequency of reading newspapers/ magazines/books¹						
Never	9.5	24.0	10.7	32.9	8.7	16.5
Sometimes	54.9	54.8	61.7	55.1	53.8	54.6
Often	35.1	21.0	27.6	11.9	37.0	28.6
Frequency of accessing the internet¹						
Never	93.8	96.0	97.0	97.9	93.3	94.5
Sometimes	5.0	3.1	2.8	1.5	5.3	4.4
Often	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.1	1.1	0.5
Number with 5 or more years of education	844	1,909	420	794	710	1,115

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. ¹Question asked only of respondents who had completed five or more years of education.

of education) and television (94% of all young men and 85% of all young women). Young women were more likely than young men to report frequent television exposure, perhaps indicative of the fact that young women spent more time at home and were more likely to access a television often.

While a similar proportion of young men watched films (86%) either on CD/DVD or at a theatre or video parlour, fewer than half (47%) of young women did so. Few youth with five or more years of education accessed the internet: 14% of young men and 9% of young women.

Differences were also observed by marital status. Unmarried youth, particularly young women, were consistently more likely to be exposed to each medium than the married. Differences by rural-urban residence were also evident, with urban youth – particularly young women – more likely than rural youth to be exposed to the media. Notably, some 23% of young men and 15% of young women in urban settings accessed the internet, compared to 6% and 3%, respectively, of rural young men and women.

5.2 Exposure to pornographic materials

Youth were asked whether they were exposed to pornographic materials by way of films, books and magazines, and the internet (for those who accessed the internet). Table 5.2 reports that 39% of young men had watched “blue” or pornographic films, compared to about 2% of young women. While about as many married as unmarried young men reported having watched pornographic films, differences by rural-urban residence were wide: 31% of rural young men compared to 50% of their urban counterparts had ever watched a pornographic film.

Table 5.2: Exposure to pornographic materials

Percentage of youth exposed to different pornographic materials, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Exposure indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Ever watched a “blue”/pornographic film	39.4	1.9	41.8	2.4	39.5	1.5
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Frequency of watching “blue”/pornographic films						
Rarely	41.4	56.7	48.4	47.9	40.4	(67.5)
Sometimes	53.3	26.7	47.5	29.2	54.1	(22.5)
Often	4.2	7.8	3.1	12.5	4.5	(2.5)
Person accompanying when watching “blue”/pornographic films						
Alone	4.3	16.9	5.4	8.2	4.1	(30.0)
Peer(s)	88.6	48.3	90.6	69.4	88.7	(20.0)
Other(s)	6.8	25.8	3.8	12.2	6.8	(42.5)
Ever forced by anyone to watch “blue”/pornographic films	7.1	7.8	4.3	10.2	7.6	(4.9)
Number who ever watched “blue”/pornographic films	994	92	470	51	864	41
Ever read/looked at pornographic books/magazines	25.2	9.5	22.6	7.7	26.2	11.1
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Frequency of reading/looking at pornographic books/magazines						
Rarely	48.5	46.2	47.7	47.4	49.2	45.3
Sometimes	47.3	46.2	47.3	41.4	46.6	48.8
Often	3.5	4.9	5.0	7.9	3.4	3.2
Number who ever read/looked at pornographic books/magazines	609	440	249	151	548	289
Ever accessed pornographic materials on the internet	39.6	3.6	33.3	0.0	40.0	4.3
Number who ever accessed the internet	355	390	74	59	342	331
Urban						
Ever watched a “blue”/pornographic film	50.4	2.3	56.4	3.0	50.2	1.8
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Frequency of watching “blue”/pornographic films						
Rarely	45.2	68.9	54.3	(57.1)	43.3	*
Sometimes	49.8	26.7	43.3	(38.1)	51.5	*
Often	3.8	4.4	1.6	(4.8)	4.1	*
Person accompanying when watching “blue”/pornographic films						
Alone	3.1	20.0	3.6	(0.0)	3.0	*
Peer(s)	88.9	55.6	91.9	(90.5)	88.9	*
Other(s)	8.0	24.4	4.0	(9.5)	8.0	*
Ever forced by anyone to watch “blue”/pornographic films	3.2	11.1	1.2	(9.5)	3.7	*
Number who ever watched “blue”/pornographic films	700	51	288	27	628	24

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Table 5.2: (Cont'd)

Exposure indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Ever read/looked at pornographic books/magazines	27.3	10.7	25.3	7.6	28.4	12.8
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Frequency of reading/looking at pornographic books/magazines						
Rarely	51.2	55.9	52.3	62.3	51.0	53.4
Sometimes	46.3	42.2	46.8	34.0	46.4	45.3
Often	2.1	1.9	0.9	3.8	2.3	1.2
Number who ever read/looked at pornographic books/magazines	385	237	131	68	358	169
Ever accessed pornographic materials on the internet	46.7	4.3	35.2	(0.0)	47.2	5.1
Number who ever accessed the internet	306	313	61	43	297	270
Rural						
Ever watched a “blue”/pornographic film	30.7	1.7	31.6	2.1	30.5	1.3
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Frequency of watching “blue”/pornographic films						
Rarely	36.5	(43.5)	41.2	*	36.7	*
Sometimes	57.8	(26.1)	52.8	*	57.7	*
Often	4.7	(13.0)	5.0	*	4.7	*
Person accompanying when watching “blue”/pornographic films						
Alone	6.0	(15.2)	7.6	*	5.6	*
Peer(s)	87.8	(39.1)	88.9	*	88.5	*
Other(s)	5.5	(28.3)	3.5	*	5.0	*
Ever forced by anyone to watch “blue”/pornographic films	12.2	(6.5)	8.5	*	13.0	*
Number who ever watched “blue”/pornographic films	294	41	182	24	236	17
Ever read/looked at pornographic books/magazines	23.5	8.6	20.7	7.7	24.3	9.5
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Frequency of reading/looking at pornographic books/magazines						
Rarely	45.8	36.8	43.8	39.2	47.6	34.7
Sometimes	48.1	50.0	47.7	46.4	46.8	53.2
Often	5.2	7.7	8.5	9.3	4.5	5.6
Number who ever read/looked at pornographic books/magazines	224	203	118	83	190	120
Ever accessed pornographic materials on the internet	18.1	1.2	*	*	(17.9)	1.5
Number who ever accessed the internet	49	77	13	16	45	61

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases.

* Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases.

Among young men who had ever watched a pornographic film, almost three in five (58%) reported having viewed such films sometimes or frequently (see Table 5.2). While differences by marital status and residence were moderate, they suggest that somewhat more unmarried than married young men, and somewhat more rural than urban young men, had viewed pornographic films sometimes or often. For the most part, young men had watched films together with friends, but a small minority (7%) — and many more rural than urban young men (12% and 3% respectively) — reported that they had been forced, at least once, to do so.

Exposure to pornographic books and magazines was reported by 25% of young men and 10% of young women, with little variation by marital status or rural-urban residence. About half of all young women and men who reported reading or looking at pornographic books or magazines reported that they did so sometimes or often. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow.

Of those exposed to the internet, a significant proportion of young men (40%) had accessed pornographic materials on the internet; this compared with just 4% of young women. Unmarried and urban youth were considerably more likely than their counterparts to have accessed pornographic materials on the internet.

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

The survey also questioned youth about their perceptions of the influence of television and films on youth behaviours. Specifically, they were asked whether they believed that television and films influenced the way in which their friends dressed, whether violence on television and in films could make youth aggressive and whether they had ever felt like having sex after watching certain films. Table 5.3 suggests that between half and two-thirds

Table 5.3: Perceptions about the influence of television and films on youth behaviours

Percentage of youth reporting perceptions regarding the influence of television and films on youth behaviours, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Perceptions about the influence of television and films (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
TV/films influence the way friends dress	67.1	55.4	62.7	49.4	67.0	60.3
Violence on TV and in films can make youth aggressive	79.8	75.1	77.8	72.0	80.4	77.7
Certain films make respondent want to have sex	26.9	4.8	29.0	8.2	26.9	1.9
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
TV/films influence the way friends dress	70.8	62.1	63.0	58.8	71.7	64.2
Violence on TV and in films can make youth aggressive	81.3	82.2	77.6	79.2	82.2	84.1
Certain films make respondent want to have sex	27.9	4.7	30.4	9.6	27.8	1.6
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
TV/films influence the way friends dress	64.2	50.2	62.5	44.1	63.1	56.5
Violence on TV and in films can make youth aggressive	78.6	69.6	78.0	67.8	78.9	71.4
Certain films make respondent want to have sex	26.0	4.9	28.1	7.4	26.1	2.3
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

of youth believed that television and films influenced the way their friends dressed and many more (80% of young men and 75% of young women) believed that violence on television and in films could make youth aggressive. A minority of respondents (27% of young men and 5% of young women) reported that watching certain films had made them desire sex. Overall, more young men than young women felt that television and films influenced their friends' or their own behaviours.

Differences in reported perceptions by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible among young men. Among young women, unmarried and urban young women appeared more likely than married and rural young women to believe that television and films influenced youth dress and aggressiveness.

5.4 Summary

Findings suggest that large proportions of all youth in Maharashtra were exposed to the media, typically newspapers, magazines or books (92% of young men and 79% of young women with five or more years of education) and television (94% of all young men and 85% of all young women). Exposure to the internet was reported by many fewer (14% of young men and 9% of young women with five or more years of education). Gender differences were apparent, with young men typically more likely to be exposed to each medium than young women. Findings also suggest that as many as two in five young men and hardly any young women accessed pornographic or "blue" films and over half of those who had been exposed to pornographic films reported that they accessed these materials sometimes or frequently. One quarter of young men had read pornographic materials and two-fifths had accessed such materials on the internet, compared to many fewer young women. Finally, well over half of young men and women acknowledged the influence that media have on youth behaviours.

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

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

6.1 Puberty

In order to examine ages at which puberty occurs among young men and women, the Youth Study included questions on age at menarche for young women and age at which voice change and growth of pubic hair were noticed for young men. Table 6.1a shows that mean age at menarche was 13.8 years for young women. Urban young women experienced menarche slightly earlier than rural young women: for example, menarche occurred at or below age 13 for 50% of urban young women compared to 41% of rural young women.

Voice change and appearance of pubic hair for young men occurred almost two years later than did menarche for young women. Table 6.1b shows that the average age at which young men reported voice change and pubic hair growth was 15.4 years. Rural-urban differences in the mean ages at which these changes occurred were mild; however, a larger percentage of young men in rural areas reported that voice change and appearance of pubic hair were noticed at ages 17 or above.

6.2 Family life and interaction with parents

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

Table 6.1a: Age at puberty among young women

Percent distribution of young women aged 15–24 by age at puberty, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Puberty indicators (%)	Combined	Urban	Rural
Age at menarche (years)			
Below 12	0.7	1.2	0.4
12	9.2	13.9	5.4
13	35.0	34.5	35.3
14	29.1	30.0	28.4
15 and above	24.8	20.0	28.5
Not yet menstruated	1.2	0.5	1.8
Mean age at menarche (years) ¹	13.8	13.6	14.0
Number of respondents	4,488	2,229	2,259

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. ¹Excludes those who had not menstruated at the time of the survey.

Table 6.1b: Age at puberty among young men

Percent distribution of young men aged 15–24 by age at puberty, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Puberty indicators (%)	Combined	Urban	Rural
Age at which voice change noticed (years)			
Below 14	4.2	2.6	5.6
14	13.9	11.3	15.9
15	29.1	32.8	26.2
16	19.9	22.0	18.2
17 and above	12.2	8.3	15.3
No voice change yet	7.3	7.3	7.3
Did not notice/don’t remember	13.3	15.8	11.4
Mean age at voice change (years) ¹	15.3	15.3	15.4
Age at which pubic hair noticed (years)			
Below 14	3.4	0.8	5.5
14	13.8	12.5	14.7
15	35.9	38.2	34.1
16	31.4	40.2	24.5
17 and above	12.8	6.7	17.6
No pubic hair yet	2.5	1.5	3.1
Mean age at which pubic hair noticed ¹	15.4	15.4	15.4
Number of respondents	2,336	1,382	954

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. ¹Excludes those who had not noticed voice change/appearance of pubic hair at the time of the survey or did not remember age at the time of voice change/appearance of pubic hair.

6.2.1 Socialisation experiences

Table 6.2 presents findings on the socialisation experiences of youth during their teenage years as compared with siblings, or cousins of the opposite sex if the respondent did not have an opposite-sex sibling. Gender differences were wide, both in relation to respondents’ freedom to go out as well as housework expectations. For example, 84% of young men reported that their sisters or female cousins had less freedom to go out than they did; 46% of young women agreed that they had less freedom to go out than their brothers or male cousins. Likewise, 83% of young men reported that their sisters or female cousins were expected to do more housework than they were and

51% of young women reported that they were expected to do more housework than their brothers or male cousins. Despite these differences, it is notable that significant percentages of young women reported that their mobility was no more restricted than that of their brothers (53%) and that their brothers were expected to do at least as much housework as they were (49%).

Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence show that slightly larger proportions of married and rural respondents reported gender unequal socialisation experiences (see Figure 6.1). These differences were wider in the case of young women. Such findings may be attributable to the fact that rural respondents and those who married early may have come from families adhering more closely to traditional gender norms than the families of other young women.

Table 6.2: Socialisation experiences

Percent distribution of youth by degree of mobility and housework responsibilities relative to an opposite-sex sibling/cousin, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Socialisation experiences (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Respondent had less freedom (W)/more freedom (M) to roam/go out than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	84.2	46.2	88.4	54.5	83.7	39.2
No	15.4	53.2	11.1	45.1	15.9	60.1
Respondent was expected to do more housework (W)/less housework (M) than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	83.3	50.7	84.0	58.2	83.4	44.4
No	16.3	49.0	14.6	41.3	16.3	55.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Respondent had less freedom (W)/more freedom (M) to roam/go out than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	88.3	38.5	92.3	50.9	88.3	30.5
No	11.7	61.1	7.3	48.8	11.7	69.0
Respondent was expected to do more housework (W)/less housework (M) than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	87.6	41.9	91.3	53.2	87.8	34.6
No	12.2	57.9	7.1	46.5	12.2	65.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Respondent had less freedom (W)/more freedom (M) to roam/go out than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	81.0	52.2	85.5	56.5	79.9	47.8
No	18.4	47.1	13.7	42.9	19.3	51.3
Respondent was expected to do more housework (W)/less housework (M) than opposite-sex sibling or cousin						
Yes	79.9	57.6	78.8	61.0	79.8	54.1
No	19.6	41.9	20.1	38.4	19.6	45.5
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to "unsure" responses. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

Parental attitudes towards youth friendships and social activities were probed by asking young men and women about whether their mothers and fathers, respectively, would disapprove if they engaged in a series of activities, ranging from bringing a same-sex friend to their home to having a love marriage. Married youth were asked to respond according to their experience prior to marriage. Findings, presented in Table 6.3, suggest considerable variation in youth perceptions by activity. What is clearly noticeable is parents were most likely to be perceived to disapprove of love marriages for their children, as reported by 88% of young men and 91% of young women. Also noticeable was that youth perceived parents to be far more likely to disapprove of activities conducted with members of the opposite sex than those conducted with same-sex individuals (see Figure 6.2). For example, while less than 8% of young men and women reported that their mothers or fathers would be angry if they brought same-sex friends to their home, 64% of young men and 74–78% of young women reported expecting parental disapproval if they brought an opposite-sex friend to their home.

Also apparent from Table 6.3 is that young women were considerably more likely than young men to report the perception of parental disapproval in reference to almost every theme. For instance, 74% of young women, compared with 55% of young men, reported expecting disapproval from their fathers if they talked with an opposite-sex person from outside the home. Similarly, 48% of young women and 19% of young men reported expecting their father's disapproval for joining a club or *mandal*. Moreover, young women perceived their fathers to be somewhat more likely than their mothers to disapprove of nearly all activities; differences were negligible for young men.

Differences by marital status were narrower but, by and large, unmarried young women were less likely than the married to report parental disapproval for these selected activities, (see also Figure 6.2). Likewise, urban youth were less likely than rural youth to perceive parental disapproval of most activities. With regard to bringing an opposite-sex friend to their home, for example, 69–85% of rural youth versus 55–68% of urban youth reported feeling that their parents would disapprove.

Figure 6.1: Percentage of youth reporting gendered socialisation experiences relative to an opposite-sex sibling/cousin, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

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

Table 6.3: Perceptions of parental reactions to selected activities

Percentage of youth who perceived that their parents would disapprove of them engaging in selected activities, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Perceptions of parental reactions (%)	Father					
	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Father would disapprove if respondent:						
Brought same-sex friends home	7.1	7.3	8.3	9.4	6.8	5.7
Brought opposite-sex friends home	64.0	77.5	65.7	86.1	63.7	70.6
Talked to a person of the opposite sex from outside the home	55.4	74.0	56.8	83.1	55.0	66.9
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with same-sex friends	26.4	32.9	28.5	39.9	25.6	27.3
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with opposite-sex friends	67.7	73.6	68.7	81.6	67.0	67.3
Joined a club or <i>mandal</i>	18.6	48.3	17.1	56.3	18.5	42.0
Had a love marriage	88.3	91.2	86.7	94.2	88.4	88.9
Found a job	NA	32.5	NA	40.8	NA	25.9
Number of respondents¹	2,059	3,978	827	1,658	1,801	2,320
Urban						
Father would disapprove if respondent:						
Brought same-sex friends home	4.9	5.7	4.3	8.2	5.0	4.3
Brought opposite-sex friends home	55.4	67.5	58.8	79.4	55.5	60.5
Talked to a person of the opposite sex from outside the home	47.1	64.9	49.2	75.3	46.4	58.8
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with same-sex friends	16.9	30.1	14.8	38.2	17.2	25.3
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with opposite-sex friends	55.4	66.8	54.6	77.2	55.5	60.7
Joined a club or <i>mandal</i>	15.8	46.5	12.6	57.1	15.5	40.4
Had a love marriage	85.6	86.6	84.6	90.1	85.7	84.6
Found a job	NA	28.5	NA	39.6	NA	22.0
Number of respondents¹	1,213	1,949	375	748	1,106	1,201
Rural						
Father would disapprove if respondent:						
Brought same-sex friends home	8.7	8.5	10.8	10.1	8.3	7.0
Brought opposite-sex friends home	70.8	85.1	70.3	89.9	70.5	80.4
Talked to a person of the opposite sex from outside the home	61.9	81.0	61.4	87.4	62.0	74.8
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with same-sex friends	33.8	35.0	37.3	40.9	32.4	29.4
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with opposite-sex friends	77.4	78.7	77.7	84.0	76.5	73.6
Joined a club or <i>mandal</i>	20.9	49.7	20.0	55.9	21.0	43.7
Had a love marriage	90.4	94.7	88.0	96.4	90.6	93.1
Found a job	NA	35.5	NA	41.5	NA	29.7
Number of respondents¹	846	2,029	452	910	695	1,119

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Table 6.3: (Cont'd)

Perceptions of parental reactions (%)	Mother					
	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Mother would disapprove if respondent:						
Brought same-sex friends home	5.9	3.7	7.2	4.9	5.5	2.8
Brought opposite-sex friends home	63.9	73.6	66.8	81.5	63.4	67.0
Talked to a person of the opposite sex from outside the home	53.3	66.5	54.6	75.4	53.1	59.2
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with same-sex friends	26.8	28.0	27.7	33.3	26.2	23.6
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with opposite-sex friends	66.6	69.5	67.2	75.3	66.1	64.7
Joined a club or <i>mandal</i>	16.2	38.6	15.2	46.0	16.0	32.5
Had a love marriage	87.9	90.7	86.1	93.9	88.2	88.1
Found a job	NA	25.2	NA	33.1	NA	18.6
Number of respondents¹	2,270	4,365	987	1,870	1,973	2,495
Urban						
Mother would disapprove if respondent:						
Brought same-sex friends home	4.7	1.9	4.0	2.5	4.6	1.5
Brought opposite-sex friends home	57.0	63.1	60.1	73.3	56.7	56.7
Talked to a person of the opposite sex from outside the home	44.7	56.4	46.0	66.4	44.4	50.2
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with same-sex friends	15.6	25.4	16.0	31.7	15.4	21.5
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with opposite-sex friends	53.6	63.7	55.0	72.1	54.0	58.5
Joined a club or <i>mandal</i>	11.5	33.4	9.8	43.4	11.7	27.3
Had a love marriage	86.2	85.6	83.5	91.1	86.5	82.2
Found a job	NA	20.4	NA	30.8	NA	14.0
Number of respondents¹	1,341	2,154	463	849	1,212	1,305
Rural						
Mother would disapprove if respondent:						
Brought same-sex friends home	6.9	5.1	9.4	6.2	6.3	4.0
Brought opposite-sex friends home	69.3	81.7	71.3	86.0	69.0	77.3
Talked to a person of the opposite sex from outside the home	60.0	74.4	60.5	80.4	60.3	68.1
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with same-sex friends	35.5	30.0	35.7	34.2	35.0	25.7
Went to a <i>mela</i> /film with opposite-sex friends	76.7	74.0	75.6	77.1	75.9	70.9
Joined a club or <i>mandal</i>	19.8	42.7	18.8	47.5	19.5	37.7
Had a love marriage	89.2	94.7	87.9	95.5	89.5	94.0
Found a job	NA	28.8	NA	34.4	NA	23.1
Number of respondents¹	929	2,211	524	1,021	761	1,190

Note: NA: Not applicable. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. ¹Includes only those respondents reporting that their fathers or mothers, respectively, were alive at the time of interview.

Figure 6.2: Percentage of youth reporting that their father or mother, respectively, would disapprove if they brought same- and opposite-sex friends home, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. Percentages were calculated only of those respondents reporting that their fathers or mothers, respectively, were alive at the time of interview.

Youth were also asked about the extent to which family life was characterised by quarrels and domestic violence between parents, and whether they had witnessed their fathers beating their mothers or vice versa. Findings are reported in Table 6.4. They suggest that 51% of young men and 63% of young women with both parents living acknowledged that they had ever witnessed quarrels between their parents. Just 1% reported that they had witnessed their mothers beating their fathers. Considerably larger proportions – 19% of young men and 20% of young women – reported ever witnessing their fathers beating their mothers. Differences by marital status were narrow, but rural respondents were considerably more likely than urban respondents to have reported witnessing their fathers beating their mothers. While 26% of young men and 22% of young women from rural areas had witnessed their fathers beating their mothers, 9% and 18% of young men and women in urban areas so reported. A notable exception was married young women, among whom rural-urban differences were not observed.

Youth were also asked whether one or both parents had ever beaten them since the age of 12. Findings, shown in Table 6.4, suggest that significant minorities of youth with at least one parent alive at the time of the survey reported being beaten by a parent at any time since the age of 12. Gender differences were evident, with young men considerably more likely to have experienced beatings than young women (39% compared to 17%). No clear differences were observed by marital status. Differences by rural-urban residence were moderate among young men, with rural residents slightly more likely than urban residents to report that a parent had beaten them (42% and 36%, respectively); the reverse was true among young women, among whom 14% of rural and 21% of urban residents reported the experience of parental beating.

6.2.2 Communication with parents

Information regarding communication with parents on issues relevant to youth – such as school performance, friendships, romantic relationships, being teased or bullied, physical maturation, reproductive processes and contraception – was elicited from all respondents reporting that their mothers or fathers were alive at the time of interview. Findings, presented in Table 6.5 and Figures 6.3a-b, reveal that communication on any topic was far from universal. In general, sensitive topics – such as romantic relationships, reproduction and contraception among all groups, and even adolescent body changes among young men – were rarely discussed with either parent.

Table 6.4: Experience of domestic violence

Percentage of youth reporting violence between parents and being beaten by parents, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Experiences of domestic violence (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Parents ever fought	50.7	62.6	52.9	60.1	49.7	64.4
Mother ever beat father	1.3	1.2	1.8	1.2	1.2	1.2
Father ever beat mother	18.7	20.4	20.5	23.2	17.5	18.2
Number with both parents alive	2,009	3,902	778	1,612	1,767	2,290
Respondent beaten by father and/or mother since age 12	39.2	17.2	36.1	16.0	38.4	18.2
Number with at least one parent alive	2,320	4,443	1,036	1,916	2,007	2,527
Urban						
Parents ever fought	47.1	69.6	52.1	70.9	46.3	68.8
Mother ever beat father	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0
Father ever beat mother	8.8	17.8	11.9	22.2	7.4	15.1
Number with both parents alive	1,181	1,908	350	722	1,080	1,186
Respondent beaten by father and/or mother since age 12	35.6	21.4	32.9	22.3	34.7	20.9
Number with at least one parent alive	1,373	2,196	488	875	1,238	1,321
Rural						
Parents ever fought	53.4	57.2	53.5	54.3	52.3	60.1
Mother ever beat father	1.6	1.3	2.3	1.2	1.4	1.4
Father ever beat mother	26.4	22.4	25.7	23.8	25.6	21.1
Number with both parents alive	828	1,994	428	890	687	1,104
Respondent beaten by father and/or mother since age 12	42.0	14.0	38.3	12.5	41.4	15.6
Number with at least one parent alive	947	2,247	548	1,041	769	1,206

Note: Domestic violence refers exclusively to physical violence.

Topics most likely to be discussed with fathers were schooling and friendships: about three-fifths (61%) of all young men and young women reported discussing schooling and over one-third reported discussing friendships (38% and 37% of young men and women, respectively) with their fathers. Five percent or fewer youth reported having discussed the remaining five topics with their fathers. As far as discussion with mothers was concerned, gender differences were prominent. Topics that young men were most likely to have discussed with their mothers were identical to those discussed with their fathers: schooling (53%) and friendships (38%). While much higher proportions of young women discussed these topics with their mothers (68% discussed schooling and 66% discussed friends), large proportions also discussed other topics: for example, adolescent body changes (84%) and being bullied or teased (22%).

Young men were about as unlikely to discuss any issue with their mothers as their fathers, with the exception of schooling, which somewhat larger percentages discussed with their fathers than with their mothers. The opposite was true of young women, who were more likely to discuss all matters with their mothers than with their fathers.

Table 6.5: Parental communication

Percentage of youth who discussed selected matters with parents, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Issues discussed (%)	Father						Mother					
	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined												
School performance	61.0	60.5	41.7	49.9	64.1	68.9	53.3	68.0	33.7	57.9	56.7	76.3
Friendships	37.9	37.4	23.6	30.0	39.7	43.3	37.9	65.7	21.7	58.4	40.3	71.5
Romantic relationships	2.6	1.5	1.9	1.1	2.7	1.9	2.8	5.2	2.3	4.5	2.8	5.7
Being teased/bullied	5.3	6.2	4.2	3.9	4.9	7.9	5.2	22.4	4.0	18.1	5.1	25.9
Adolescent body changes	2.3	5.0	1.4	3.3	2.4	6.3	1.7	84.4	1.7	80.4	1.7	87.5
Reproductive processes	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.3	6.3	0.7	8.3	0.4	4.7
Contraception	0.8	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.3	0.4	3.7	0.6	5.0	0.4	2.7
Number of respondents ¹	2,059	3,978	827	1,658	1,801	2,320	2,270	4,365	987	1,870	1,973	2,495
Urban												
School performance	62.9	70.1	43.8	58.3	65.5	77.0	53.1	80.7	31.8	71.8	56.2	86.2
Friendships	39.0	44.3	26.8	34.2	40.5	50.3	38.0	77.4	20.8	71.3	40.6	81.2
Romantic relationships	1.9	1.8	2.2	1.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	6.7	2.5	5.0	2.2	7.8
Being teased/bullied	3.8	8.7	2.8	6.1	3.7	10.3	3.5	29.9	3.0	25.5	3.3	32.7
Adolescent body changes	2.2	6.3	0.6	3.4	2.5	8.0	1.3	92.3	1.0	89.9	1.5	93.7
Reproductive processes	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.2	5.1	0.8	5.7	0.2	4.8
Contraception	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	2.9	0.5	3.4	0.2	2.5
Number of respondents ¹	1,213	1,949	375	748	1,106	1,201	1,341	2,154	463	849	1,212	1,305
Rural												
School performance	59.6	53.3	40.6	45.2	63.0	61.2	53.6	58.3	34.9	50.3	57.1	66.5
Friendships	37.0	32.2	21.6	27.7	39.2	36.6	37.8	56.6	22.4	51.3	40.0	62.0
Romantic relationships	3.2	1.3	1.8	1.1	3.1	1.5	3.4	3.9	2.2	4.3	3.3	3.5
Being teased/bullied	6.3	4.2	5.3	2.8	6.1	5.7	6.6	16.6	4.6	14.0	6.4	19.1
Adolescent body changes	2.4	3.9	2.0	3.2	2.4	4.6	2.1	78.2	2.0	75.2	1.9	81.3
Reproductive processes	0.7	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.5	7.2	0.9	9.8	0.6	4.5
Contraception	1.1	0.4	1.0	0.5	1.0	0.4	0.5	4.4	0.7	5.9	0.5	2.9
Number of respondents ¹	846	2,029	452	910	695	1,119	929	2,211	524	1,021	761	1,190

Note: For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. ¹Includes only those respondents reporting that their fathers or mothers, respectively, were alive at the time of interview.

Differentials by marital status suggest that the unmarried were typically more likely than the married to have discussed schooling and friendships with a parent. Unmarried young women were more likely, in addition, to have discussed being teased with their mothers. Finally, rural-urban differences among young men were insignificant, but among young women, fewer rural residents discussed these matters with a parent than their urban counterparts. For example, 78% of rural young women discussed adolescent body changes with their mothers compared with 92% of urban young women.

6.3 Peer networks and interaction

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

Figure 6.3a: Percentage of youth who discussed various matters with their fathers, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. Percentages were calculated only of those respondents reporting that their fathers were alive at the time of interview.

Figure 6.3b: Percentage of youth who discussed various matters with their mothers, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage. Percentages were calculated only of those respondents reporting that their mothers were alive at the time of interview.

Table 6.6 reports findings on the size of peer networks. Same-sex peer networks of young men were typically wider than those of young women. The proportion of youth reporting five or more same-sex friends ranged from 56% of young men to 18% of young women and the median number of same-sex friends reported by young men exceeded that reported by young women by three (5 versus 2, respectively). Unmarried young men and women reported more same-sex friends – a median of one additional friend – than their married counterparts.

Table 6.6: Size of peer networks

Percent distribution of youth by number of same- and opposite-sex friends, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Number of friends (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Number of same-sex friends						
None	0.5	3.1	1.4	4.5	0.4	2.0
1	3.9	17.4	4.7	17.4	3.7	17.4
2	12.7	32.2	18.3	35.0	12.0	29.9
3	14.0	18.6	14.8	18.2	13.4	18.9
4	13.2	11.2	14.4	10.6	12.8	11.7
5 or more	55.7	17.5	46.3	14.4	57.7	20.2
Median number of same-sex friends	5.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	5.0	3.0
At least one opposite-sex friend (%)	39.2	23.3	29.2	13.4	40.9	31.6
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Number of same-sex friends						
None	0.3	1.5	0.7	2.0	0.2	1.3
1	2.4	21.0	4.1	21.0	2.3	21.0
2	6.6	31.9	9.8	35.6	6.3	29.5
3	13.2	18.9	13.5	19.1	13.2	18.9
4	11.8	10.4	13.0	10.2	11.5	10.5
5 or more	65.7	16.3	58.9	12.1	66.5	18.9
Median number of same-sex friends	6.0	2.0	5.0	2.0	6.0	2.0
At least one opposite-sex friend (%)	40.7	31.7	29.2	18.4	43.4	40.1
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Number of same-sex friends						
None	0.7	4.4	2.1	5.9	0.5	2.7
1	5.0	14.6	5.1	15.3	4.9	13.8
2	17.5	32.5	24.2	34.7	16.7	30.2
3	14.6	18.2	15.6	17.6	13.7	18.9
4	14.3	11.8	15.4	10.8	13.9	12.9
5 or more	47.7	18.5	37.6	15.7	50.3	21.4
Median number of same-sex friends	4.0	2.0	4.0	2.0	5.0	3.0
At least one opposite-sex friend (%)	38.0	16.7	29.2	10.5	38.6	23.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

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

In terms of rural-urban differences, the median number of same-sex friends reported by young men in urban settings (6) exceeded that reported by those in rural settings (4) by two. In the case of young women, however, no differences were observed among the married (of whom all reported a median number of two friends), while among the unmarried, rural young women reported more same-sex friends than their urban counterparts (3 versus 2).

Opposite-sex peer networks were reported by significant proportions of young people and gender differences were wide. Young men were considerably more likely than young women to report having at least one opposite-sex friend (39% of young men compared to 23% of young women). As in the case of same-sex friends, the unmarried were considerably more likely than the married to report an opposite-sex friend – 41% and 29%, respectively, among young men and 32% and 13%, respectively, among young women (see Figure 6.4). Finally, while rural and urban young men were about as likely to report an opposite-sex friend, rural young women were considerably less likely than their urban counterparts to do so.

Figure 6.4: Percentage of youth reporting at least one opposite-sex friend, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

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

Table 6.7 reports the nature of interaction with same- and opposite-sex friends. Again, the married were asked to recall the situation prior to marriage. Respondents were asked if they went on picnics or to films with their peers, studied together, spent time chatting, engaged in sporting activities or drank and gambled with their friends. The activity in which almost all young people engaged was chatting with their same-sex friends. As shown in Panel A of Table 6.7, same-sex interaction patterns varied considerably by sex: young women were as or more likely than young men to interact in activities generally taking place within the home or neighbourhood, specifically chatting and studying. They were less likely, in contrast, to engage in outside activities, such as going out on picnics or to films. Among young men, the unmarried were somewhat more likely than the married to report studying (65% versus 43%) and engaging in sports (90% versus 68%) with their same-sex friends. In contrast, among young women, activity profiles were more similar except that the unmarried were more likely than the married to report studying (82% versus 75%) and going out on picnics or to films (56% versus 41%) with their same-sex friends, presumably a function of the higher levels of school attainment of the unmarried, on one hand, and the relatively curtailed adolescent experience of the married, on the other. Rural-urban differences were negligible for young men; among young women, however, urban young women were more likely than their rural counterparts to go out on picnics or to films with their same-sex friends (60% versus 41%) but were less likely to be engaged in sports activities with them (59% versus 83%).

Table 6.7: Interaction with same- and opposite-sex friends

Percentage of youth reporting interaction with same- and opposite-sex friends by types of activities, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Activities (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
A. Activities with same-sex friends						
Combined						
Going on picnics/to see films	79.0	49.5	79.7	41.2	79.6	56.3
Studying together	61.9	78.6	42.7	74.8	65.4	81.8
Spending time chatting/gossiping	98.7	98.9	98.7	99.0	98.7	98.9
Playing sports	86.8	72.6	67.8	75.9	89.8	69.9
Drinking or gambling	9.2	0.4	21.6	0.4	7.8	0.4
Number with at least one same-sex friend	2,325	4,336	1,051	1,872	2,010	2,491
Urban						
Going on picnics/to see films	86.1	59.6	85.1	50.9	87.0	65.1
Studying together	60.2	82.3	35.4	77.3	63.8	85.5
Spending time chatting/gossiping	99.6	99.5	99.8	99.6	99.6	99.5
Playing sports	85.6	59.2	60.5	61.8	89.4	57.5
Drinking or gambling	12.0	0.6	29.4	0.6	10.3	0.6
Number with at least one same-sex friend	1,378	2,195	503	884	1,243	1,311
Rural						
Going on picnics/to see films	73.5	41.4	75.9	35.3	73.5	47.5
Studying together	63.2	75.7	47.8	73.2	66.8	78.2
Spending time chatting/gossiping	97.9	98.5	97.9	98.6	97.9	98.3
Playing sports	87.7	83.3	73.1	84.2	90.1	82.3
Drinking or gambling	6.9	0.2	16.1	0.3	5.8	0.2
Number with at least one same-sex friend	947	2,168	548	988	767	1,180
B. Activities with opposite-sex friends						
Combined						
Going on picnics/to see films	45.3	55.4	52.6	47.9	45.3	58.2
Studying together	53.2	68.3	46.8	69.3	54.2	67.9
Spending time chatting/gossiping	94.9	96.0	92.0	93.6	94.8	97.0
Playing sports	29.8	43.5	29.5	53.0	29.2	40.0
Drinking or gambling	0.3	0.8	0.3	1.5	0.2	0.5
Number with at least one opposite-sex friend	926	1,103	307	286	839	817
Urban						
Going on picnics/to see films	54.4	63.9	68.0	55.0	54.3	66.5
Studying together	56.2	71.7	48.4	73.1	56.8	71.3
Spending time chatting/gossiping	97.2	99.2	94.5	98.5	97.0	99.4
Playing sports	19.9	36.9	16.5	43.1	19.5	35.2
Drinking or gambling	0.7	0.5	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.4
Number with at least one opposite-sex friend	569	700	146	166	542	534
Rural						
Going on picnics/to see films	37.6	43.0	41.8	41.0	36.7	43.8
Studying together	50.8	63.2	45.7	65.7	52.0	62.3
Spending time chatting/gossiping	93.0	91.5	90.2	88.8	92.5	92.6
Playing sports	38.2	53.2	38.6	63.0	38.2	48.1
Drinking or gambling	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.2	0.0	0.7
Number with at least one opposite-sex friend	357	403	161	120	297	283

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

The range of activities in which youth engaged with their opposite-sex peers was much narrower. As shown in Panel B of Table 6.7, the only activity in which about as many youth engaged with their opposite-sex friends as their same-sex friends was chatting and gossiping, mentioned by 95–96% of all respondents reporting opposite-sex friends. In other activities, by and large, differences by sex and marital status were relatively narrow. Young women tended to be more likely than young men to report that they studied (68% versus 53%) or played sports (44% versus 30%) with their opposite-sex friends. Differences by marital status were apparent only among young women and in only a couple of activities (for example, going to picnics or films and playing sports). Finally, rural-urban differences were notable for both young men and women with regard to two activities: urban youth were more likely than rural youth to go on picnics or to films with their opposite-sex friends (54% and 64% among urban young men and women, respectively, compared with 38% and 43% among the rural) and conversely, less likely to play sports with them (20% and 37% among urban young men and women, respectively, compared with 38% and 53% among the rural).

6.4 Support networks

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

Findings, reported in Table 6.8a, indicate that the person with whom youth would most likely discuss personal matters varied considerably by sex of the respondent. Young women tended to consider their mothers as their leading confidante on matters relating to taking a job (43%) and menstrual problems (86%). Matters pertaining to boy-girl relationships, however, were most likely to be confided in peers (44%). Even so, sizeable proportions (28%) also cited their mothers as a key confidante on this matter. Although fathers were not reported as the main confidante for boy-girl relationships or menstrual problems, significant minorities of young women reported their fathers as a leading confidante on issues relating to taking a job (34%). Young men, in contrast, were less likely to consider a parent as a key confidante, except on the non-sensitive issue of taking a job (on which 11% cited their mothers and 41% cited their fathers). Parents were rarely cited as key confidantes (less than 3%) by young men on such issues as nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh*, and boy-girl relationships, for which most young men reported peers as their leading confidantes (82% and 93%, respectively). Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible.

The Youth Study also asked young women about the individual in whom they were most likely to confide if they were teased by a boy. Findings, reported in Table 6.8b, show that almost two-thirds reported that they would confide in a parent: 45% in their mothers and 18% in their fathers. Differences by marital status and residence were negligible.

Table 6.8a: Leading confidante on personal matters

Percent distribution of youth by person with whom they were most likely to discuss selected personal matters between ages 15 and 18, according to topic and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Leading confidante (%)	Taking a job						Menstrual problems/anxiety about nocturnal emission or <i>swapnadosh</i>						Boy-girl relationships					
	M		W		MM		MW		UM		UW		M		W		MM	
	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24	15-24
Combined																		
Mother	10.5	43.0	8.9	41.4	10.5	44.4	0.5	86.1	0.4	78.9	0.6	92.1	0.6	28.0	0.7	28.2	0.4	27.6
Father	41.3	33.5	32.9	27.7	42.5	38.3	2.3	0.3	1.9	0.2	2.3	0.4	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.4	0.7	0.6
Sibling	9.4	5.5	9.2	4.6	9.4	6.2	1.2	1.9	1.3	1.8	1.2	1.9	0.9	11.3	0.9	12.3	0.9	10.4
Friend	25.7	3.9	34.9	3.2	24.5	4.4	82.1	1.3	78.9	1.5	82.3	1.1	93.4	43.7	91.7	35.3	93.8	50.6
Spouse	NA	NA	0.1	11.0	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	7.7	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	7.9	NA	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	4.0	0.4	3.5	0.3	4.1	0.5	4.1	0.2	5.8	0.3	4.1	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2
Other	5.7	3.0	5.1	3.2	5.7	2.9	0.1	5.0	0.7	6.9	0.1	3.4	0.5	2.6	0.6	2.1	0.5	3.1
None	3.4	5.6	5.4	8.5	3.3	3.2	9.6	1.6	11.1	2.4	9.3	0.9	3.6	10.0	4.8	13.5	3.4	7.0
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban																		
Mother	9.0	45.6	8.7	45.3	9.3	45.9	0.3	89.2	0.2	81.8	0.3	94.1	0.3	25.1	0.0	23.4	0.3	26.1
Father	47.2	38.2	29.2	31.8	49.2	42.4	1.5	0.5	0.0	0.3	1.7	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.0	0.3	0.4	0.6
Sibling	13.3	5.6	15.9	5.8	12.6	5.4	0.7	2.5	1.4	3.2	1.7	2.1	0.4	13.6	0.7	16.1	0.4	12.0
Friend	20.4	2.7	33.5	1.8	19.0	3.3	85.8	0.7	87.7	0.7	85.7	0.7	95.9	48.3	96.1	41.4	96.1	52.9
Spouse	NA	NA	0.0	8.6	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	6.4	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	4.7	NA	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	1.8	0.2	1.4	0.1	1.9	0.2	3.8	0.2	3.2	0.4	3.8	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.3
Other	5.9	2.1	7.5	2.4	5.7	1.9	0.2	3.6	0.7	5.9	0.2	2.0	0.8	2.5	0.5	1.7	0.8	3.1
None	2.4	2.1	3.6	4.1	2.4	0.9	7.6	0.9	6.8	1.3	7.4	0.6	2.0	7.7	2.3	11.9	1.9	5.0
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural																		
Mother	11.6	41.0	9.1	39.1	11.5	42.9	0.7	83.7	0.5	77.2	0.8	90.3	0.8	30.3	1.1	31.0	0.5	29.7
Father	36.6	29.8	35.4	25.4	36.9	34.3	2.9	0.2	3.2	0.2	2.8	0.2	1.1	0.6	1.8	0.5	0.9	0.7
Sibling	6.3	5.4	4.6	3.9	6.7	7.0	1.6	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.7	1.3	9.5	1.0	10.1	1.4	8.9
Friend	29.9	4.8	36.0	4.0	29.2	5.5	79.2	1.7	72.6	1.9	79.4	1.6	91.4	40.1	88.5	31.9	91.7	48.4
Spouse	NA	NA	0.2	12.4	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	8.4	NA	NA	NA	NA	0.0	9.7	NA	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	5.7	0.6	4.9	0.4	5.9	0.8	4.4	0.3	7.7	0.2	4.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.0
Other	5.6	3.8	3.3	3.6	5.7	3.9	0.0	6.2	0.6	7.5	0.0	4.8	0.4	2.7	0.6	2.3	0.4	3.1
None	4.3	8.4	6.4	11.1	4.0	5.5	11.1	2.1	14.2	3.1	10.8	1.2	4.8	11.8	6.7	14.4	4.7	9.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. Those aged 20 or above were asked to recall the period when they were aged 15–18 years. HCP: Health care provider. NA: Not applicable.

Table 6.8b: Leading confidante on matters relating to the experience of teasing among young women

Percent distribution of young women by person with whom they were most likely to discuss being teased by a boy between ages 15 and 18, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Leading confidante (%)	Combined			Urban			Rural		
	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24
Mother	44.8	40.1	48.7	45.5	39.0	49.6	44.2	40.7	47.9
Father	17.9	17.7	18.1	14.6	14.4	14.7	20.5	19.6	21.5
Sibling	15.3	16.1	14.6	18.8	23.3	15.9	12.7	12.0	13.4
Friend	11.0	8.1	13.3	12.3	8.5	14.8	9.9	8.0	12.0
Spouse	NA	10.6	NA	NA	7.2	NA	NA	12.6	NA
HCP/locally influential person/teacher	0.4	0.3	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.7	0.4	0.3	0.4
Other person	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.9
None	2.7	3.9	1.7	2.8	4.7	1.6	2.7	3.5	1.8
Number of respondents	4,488	1,947	2,541	2,229	901	1,328	2,259	1,046	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. Those aged 20 or above were asked to recall the period when they were aged 15–18 years. HCP: Health care provider. NA: Not applicable.

6.5 Summary

Youth Study findings underscore the gendered nature of socialisation among youth. Responses from both young men and women suggest that unequal gender norms regarding freedom of movement and housework expectations were prevalent in the study population. Moreover, the extent to which youth behaviours were controlled by parents was evident from the large proportions of young men, and especially young women, who reported that their parents would disapprove of social activities in which youth tend to participate, particularly those involving members of the opposite sex. For example, while less than 8% of young men and women reported that their mothers or fathers would be angry if they brought same-sex friends to their home, nearly two-thirds of young men and over three-quarters of young women reported expecting parental disapproval if they brought an opposite-sex friend to their home. In addition, findings confirm that young women were considerably more likely than young men to report the perception of parental disapproval in reference to almost every activity.

Findings regarding communication with parents on issues relevant to youth – such as school performance, friendships, being teased or bullied, physical maturation, romantic relationships and reproductive processes – reiterate those from other studies, showing that such communication is far from universal. Moreover, sensitive topics – such as romantic relationships, reproduction and contraception, among all youth, and even adolescent body changes issues among young men – were rarely discussed with either parent (reported by fewer than 10% of youth). Nevertheless, among young women, mothers were reported as the most likely confidante on such matters as menstrual problems and experience of teasing.

Young people’s family lives were marked by violence, both experienced and witnessed. About one in five youth had observed their fathers beating their mothers. Many respondents reported experiencing a beating by a parent during adolescence; almost two in five young men and one in six young women reported such experiences.

In contrast, growing up was associated with close peer networks. Almost all youth reported having some same-sex friends. Young men, however, reported larger networks of friends than did young women. Opposite-sex peer networks were less common but nonetheless reported by 39% of young men and 23% of young women. Interaction with friends tended to be restricted to activities such as chatting and studying, especially among young women, although young men did tend to report engaging in outside activities such as going on picnics or to films. An important measure of support was derived from these networks, however, with peers reported as the most likely confidante for both young men and women on issues related to boy-girl relationships.

Agency and gender role attitudes

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

7.1 Decision-making

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

Findings, presented in Table 7.1, reveal that irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence, youth were overwhelmingly likely to choose their friends on their own. Gender differences were however, apparent; while 94% of young men reported that they decided on their own who their friends would be, somewhat fewer (84%) young women made this decision on their own. Findings also suggest that 10% of young women, compared to 2% of young men, did not have any say in choosing their own friends and that it was other family members who made these decisions for them. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow, although married young women were less likely than their unmarried counterparts to have chosen their friends on their own.

Fewer youth were involved in making decisions on spending money than on choice of friends, and this was particularly evident among young women. For example, while 74% of young men reported that they made decisions on their own about spending money, only 59% of young women so reported. Findings further suggest that a much larger proportion of young women than young men had no say in decisions related to spending money: 24% of young women, compared to 8% of young men, reported that it was other family members who made decisions on spending money without their involvement. Moreover, as shown in Figure 7.1, marital status differences varied by gender. Among young women, it was the unmarried who were more likely to make independent decisions about spending money (64% versus 53%); among young men, conversely, the married were more likely than the unmarried (88% versus 73%) to make this decision independently. Rural-urban differences were muted but in general suggest that urban youth were more likely than rural youth to be involved – on their own or jointly with someone else – in decisions related to spending money.

Even fewer youth were involved in making decisions about the purchase of clothes for themselves, and differences were particularly pronounced among young women (see Figure 7.1). For example, while 70% of young men decided on their own about purchasing clothes, only 41% of young women did so. A sizeable proportion of young women (almost one-third), but only 10% of young men, reported that they did not have any say in decisions to buy clothes for themselves and that it was other family members who made this decision for them.

Table 7.1: Decision-making

Percent distribution of youth by participation in decision-making on selected matters, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Participation in decision-making (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
A. Choice of friends						
Combined						
Respondent only	94.1	83.5	97.1	79.8	93.8	86.5
Jointly with others	4.4	6.1	2.0	7.9	4.7	4.6
Others only	1.5	10.4	0.9	12.3	1.5	8.9
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Respondent only	94.8	85.6	97.7	82.7	94.8	87.5
Jointly with others	4.8	5.0	2.1	6.5	4.8	4.0
Others only	0.4	9.4	0.2	10.8	0.4	8.5
No. of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Respondent only	93.5	81.9	96.5	78.1	93.0	85.7
Jointly with others	4.0	6.9	2.1	8.7	4.6	5.0
Others only	2.4	11.2	1.4	13.1	2.4	9.3
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
B. Spending money						
Combined						
Respondent only	74.3	58.7	88.4	52.7	72.8	63.7
Jointly with others	17.6	17.0	9.0	20.1	18.4	14.3
Others only	8.1	24.4	2.5	27.1	8.8	22.0
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Respondent only	74.1	61.7	92.0	54.5	72.2	66.3
Jointly with others	21.0	17.1	7.8	19.5	22.3	15.5
Others only	4.9	21.2	0.2	26.0	5.6	18.2
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Respondent only	74.4	56.3	85.9	51.7	73.3	61.0
Jointly with others	14.9	16.8	9.9	20.5	15.2	13.1
Others only	10.7	26.8	4.2	27.8	11.5	25.9
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

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Table 7.1: (Cont'd)

Participation in decision-making (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
C. Buying clothes for oneself						
Combined						
Respondent only	69.6	40.9	88.2	37.0	67.5	44.3
Jointly with others	20.8	28.2	9.1	30.3	22.0	26.5
Others only	9.7	30.8	2.7	32.8	10.6	29.2
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Respondent only	73.0	43.9	91.5	37.8	70.9	47.7
Jointly with others	22.6	30.9	8.2	32.4	24.1	30.1
Others only	4.4	25.2	0.2	29.8	5.0	22.2
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Respondent only	66.9	38.6	86.1	36.5	64.6	40.9
Jointly with others	19.2	26.1	9.6	29.1	20.3	23.0
Others only	13.9	35.3	4.3	34.4	15.2	36.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Figure 7.1: Percent distribution of youth by participation in decision-making on selected matters, Maharashtra, 2006

Differences by marital status were also observed. Married young men were more likely than unmarried young men to make decisions related to buying clothes on their own (88% versus 68%); the reverse was true in the case of young women (among whom 44% of the unmarried and 37% of the married decided independently), highlighting the extent to which marriage limits the decision-making autonomy of young women. Finally, rural-urban differences were narrow, but reiterate that larger proportions of rural youth did not have any say in decisions relating to the purchase of clothes. This was particularly prominent in the case of unmarried young women (36% and 22%, respectively, in rural and urban areas).

In order to assess the extent to which youth had independent decision-making power on all three matters, Table 7.2 presents the percentage of youth who reported that they independently made decisions on choice of friends, spending money and purchase of clothes. In total, 63% of young men compared to 35% of young women reported independent decision-making on all three issues. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were similar to those observed above.

Table 7.2 also presents combined responses on independent decision-making by selected background characteristics. Findings reveal that independent decision-making on all three matters was indeed higher among older than younger respondents, irrespective of sex, marital status or rural-urban residence. Differences by religion in general suggest that Muslim women were less likely than others to report decision-making authority while no differences by religion were evident among young men. In terms of differences by caste, somewhat more youth belonging to general castes reported decision-making than did those from scheduled castes, scheduled tribes or other backward castes.

Table 7.2: Decision-making autonomy by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who independently made decisions on choice of friends, spending money and buying clothes for themselves by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15-19	47.9	29.9	*	21.9	47.7	32.1
20-24	78.0	40.3	78.0	33.2	78.0	58.5
25-29	NA	NA	85.8	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	63.1	35.5	82.6	31.4	60.9	39.1
Muslim	65.7	25.3	89.7	20.1	63.5	29.5
Other ¹	58.4	39.8	76.4	33.7	56.7	43.9
Caste						
SC	62.1	31.5	79.1	27.2	59.5	34.5
ST/VJNT	60.8	29.7	73.0	23.0	59.7	36.2
OBC	60.7	33.0	85.3	30.7	58.6	35.0
General ²	66.9	40.5	88.2	35.2	64.5	44.7
Educational level (years)						
None ³	63.2	14.2	74.1	14.9	(48.8)	11.8
1-7	62.0	18.6	81.1	18.7	57.2	18.3
8-11	58.5	34.2	83.2	34.8	56.6	33.9
12 and above	75.3	62.7	90.3	58.6	74.9	64.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	68.2	30.8	83.3	25.4	66.1	36.5
No	51.9	36.8	*	33.4	51.8	39.4
Wealth quintile						
First	54.8	19.5	73.4	19.0	50.3	20.1
Second	58.8	26.3	83.5	25.7	54.6	27.0
Third	64.6	30.7	81.8	28.7	63.0	32.8
Fourth	67.3	38.9	87.0	35.4	65.5	41.6
Fifth	67.3	52.4	92.5	44.9	66.2	56.0
Total	63.0	34.9	83.0	30.5	60.8	38.6

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Table 7.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Age (years)						
15-19	51.6	32.2	*	22.0	51.4	34.0
20-24	85.3	44.8	86.7	35.4	84.9	60.0
25-29	NA	NA	92.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	70.4	40.1	91.1	34.0	68.0	43.8
Muslim	68.0	28.2	93.8	23.7	65.5	31.3
Other ¹	64.7	44.8	(80.6)	39.4	63.2	47.8
Caste						
SC	68.7	33.6	87.5	31.2	65.0	35.0
ST/VJNT	80.6	33.8	(91.2)	17.9	78.8	46.3
OBC	66.9	31.7	91.6	29.3	65.2	33.3
General ²	71.2	46.7	91.5	39.6	68.6	51.1
Educational level (years)						
None ³	85.0	9.0	(92.3)	6.8	*	*
1-7	71.2	17.4	91.3	16.0	66.1	19.2
8-11	62.6	33.1	90.5	32.8	59.8	33.3
12 and above	80.5	64.2	90.7	64.6	80.1	64.1
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	79.4	45.8	90.8	35.5	77.6	50.6
No	55.2	37.3	*	32.5	55.0	40.7
Wealth quintile						
First	77.8	11.3	*	(8.3)	(70.0)	(14.3)
Second	80.2	17.1	96.9	18.1	73.5	15.4
Third	65.2	25.4	85.0	26.6	63.7	24.1
Fourth	72.0	38.1	90.4	37.2	69.8	38.6
Fifth	66.2	54.5	92.4	46.3	64.9	57.4
Total	69.6	38.7	90.9	32.9	67.1	42.5
Rural						
Age (years)						
15-19	45.2	28.3	*	21.9	45.1	30.5
20-24	71.6	36.3	72.5	31.8	71.2	56.0
25-29	NA	NA	81.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	58.2	32.7	77.6	30.3	56.0	35.2
Muslim	58.3	19.2	(82.9)	11.8	(56.3)	25.6
Other ¹	52.5	33.2	(73.8)	27.8	51.1	37.8
Caste						
SC	56.3	28.9	72.9	24.0	54.5	33.7
ST/VJNT	55.9	28.1	69.4	24.7	54.3	31.7
OBC	56.3	33.7	81.0	31.3	53.9	36.1
General ²	61.6	34.6	84.4	32.3	59.5	37.1
Educational level (years)						
None ³	55.9	16.1	68.7	17.7	*	(8.3)
1-7	56.4	19.1	75.1	19.9	51.8	17.8
8-11	55.6	35.0	78.3	35.8	54.1	34.4
12 and above	67.8	59.7	89.7	50.0	67.2	65.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	61.1	26.5	78.0	23.7	58.7	30.0
No	48.0	36.2	*	34.3	48.1	37.8
Wealth quintile						
First	52.8	20.2	71.5	19.9	48.7	20.6
Second	53.5	28.5	78.5	27.8	50.6	29.2
Third	64.2	34.7	79.8	30.1	62.5	39.3
Fourth	58.3	39.9	81.0	33.5	57.2	47.1
Fifth	71.1	47.0	(93.0)	43.1	71.4	51.1
Total	57.7	31.9	77.7	29.1	55.6	34.8

Note: *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable.

OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ²Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.

³Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Independent decision-making increased with level of education of the respondent. The influence of education was particularly strong among young women. For example, 63% of all young women with 12 or more years of schooling decided independently on all three issues, compared with just 14% of non-literate young women or those without any formal education. Economic activity status, in comparison, was less consistently associated with independent decision-making. Among young men, those who had worked in the last 12 months tended to be more likely than others to make decisions independently. Among young women, this association was noted only among those residing in urban settings and particularly the unmarried. For the most part, however, work did not confer independent decision-making authority; indeed, it was the non-working young women, presumably those from economically better off households, who were more likely to make independent decisions than the working. Finally, we also observe a positive association between the economic status of households and the independent decision-making power of youth: the proportion of youth who made independent decisions about these selected matters consistently increased with advancement in wealth quintile.

7.2 Freedom of movement

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

Findings confirm that freedom of movement even within the village or neighbourhood was not universal, although the mobility of young women, both married and unmarried, was far more limited than that of young men. For example, findings suggest that 66% of young women – 58% and 73% of the married and unmarried, respectively – could go unescorted to a shop or market within the village or neighbourhood compared with 96% of unmarried young men. Mobility to attend programmes within the village or neighbourhood was more restricted than the above, particularly among young women. Only 19% of young women – 15% and 22%, respectively, of the married and unmarried – were allowed to attend community programmes within the village or neighbourhood unescorted compared with 82% of unmarried young men.

Freedom to visit places outside of the village or neighbourhood unescorted was even more restricted than mobility within the village. Of the three sites, freedom to visit a place of entertainment or to attend a programme was more greatly curtailed than to visit a friend or relative residing outside the village or neighbourhood. Young women's mobility was particularly limited: for example, just 9% were permitted to visit a place of entertainment and 12% to attend a programme conducted outside of the village or neighbourhood unescorted. While 60% and 75% were allowed to visit a place of entertainment or attend a programme, respectively, if accompanied, as many as 13% of young women were not allowed to attend a programme and 31% were not allowed to visit a place of entertainment outside the home village or neighbourhood under any circumstances. In comparison, although young men's mobility to visit these sites was not universal, over 70% of unmarried young men reported they were free to visit any of these sites unescorted.

With regard to freedom to visit a health facility unescorted, findings, presented in Table 7.3, reveal that only about one-quarter of young women, compared with 82% of unmarried young men, reported that they could do so.

Table 7.3: Freedom of movement

Percent distribution of youth by extent of freedom to visit selected locations within or outside the village/neighbourhood, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Mobility indicators (%)	Combined				Urban				Rural			
	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24
Permitted to:												
Visit shop/market within village/neighbourhood												
Alone	65.8	57.7	72.5	96.3	74.4	66.5	79.4	97.2	59.2	52.7	65.8	95.5
Only with someone else	24.0	27.4	21.2	3.6	21.4	27.4	17.6	2.8	26.0	27.3	24.7	4.2
Not allowed	10.1	14.8	6.3	0.1	4.1	5.9	3.0	0.0	14.8	19.9	9.5	0.3
Visit friend/relative within village/neighbourhood												
Alone	61.5	53.5	68.3	90.3	68.8	59.4	74.9	92.7	55.9	50.1	61.9	88.3
Only with someone else	31.2	36.0	27.2	8.7	27.2	34.9	22.3	7.2	34.3	36.6	32.0	9.9
Not allowed	7.2	10.5	4.5	1.0	3.9	5.7	2.8	0.0	9.8	13.2	6.2	1.8
Attend programme within village/neighbourhood												
Alone	18.8	15.0	21.9	82.3	21.6	15.7	25.4	88.6	16.5	14.7	18.4	76.9
Only with someone else	72.6	73.8	71.6	16.6	73.6	78.9	70.1	11.1	71.9	70.8	73.0	21.1
Not allowed	8.6	11.1	6.5	1.2	4.8	5.4	4.5	0.2	11.5	14.4	8.5	2.0
Visit friend/relative outside village/neighbourhood												
Alone	34.1	29.8	37.7	82.1	45.4	40.0	48.9	88.3	25.3	23.9	26.7	76.8
Only with someone else	55.9	58.9	53.4	15.7	49.0	52.8	46.5	10.8	61.3	62.4	60.2	19.7
Not allowed	9.9	11.3	8.8	2.3	5.6	7.2	4.6	0.9	13.3	13.6	13.0	3.5
Visit nearby village/neighbourhood for entertainment												
Alone	9.0	7.0	10.6	70.2	13.5	10.6	15.3	82.3	5.4	4.9	5.9	60.0
Only with someone else	60.1	57.5	62.1	23.5	69.8	70.3	69.4	14.9	52.6	50.3	55.0	30.7
Not allowed	30.9	35.4	27.3	6.2	16.8	19.1	15.3	2.7	41.9	44.7	39.1	9.2
Attend programme outside village/neighbourhood												
Alone	11.7	9.6	13.5	73.1	16.7	12.3	19.5	85.0	7.8	8.1	7.5	63.2
Only with someone else	75.2	75.1	75.1	23.6	77.8	81.9	75.2	13.9	73.2	71.3	75.1	31.7
Not allowed	13.1	15.2	11.4	3.3	5.5	5.8	5.3	1.1	19.0	20.6	17.4	5.1
Visit health facility												
Alone	25.2	23.8	26.3	82.4	30.9	27.6	33.1	90.2	20.7	21.7	19.6	75.9
Only with someone else	73.6	74.8	72.7	17.3	68.2	71.9	65.9	9.8	77.9	76.4	79.4	23.4
Not allowed	1.0	1.2	0.9	0.0	0.8	0.6	0.9	0.0	1.3	1.7	0.9	0.0
Number of respondents	4,488	1,947	2,541	2,017	2,229	901	1,328	1,246	2,259	1,046	1,213	771

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. Questions regarding freedom of movement were not asked of married males, as their mobility is generally unrestricted.

Figure 7.2: Percentage of youth allowed to visit selected places within and outside the village/ neighbourhood unescorted, Maharashtra, 2006

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

Irrespective of whether mobility within or outside the village or neighbourhood was considered, the mobility of married young women was more restricted than that of the unmarried. For example, as many as 15% of married young women – compared to 6% of unmarried young women and hardly any unmarried young men – were restricted from visiting a shop or market within the village or neighbourhood, whether on their own or escorted. Mobility to visit a health facility was, however, relatively unaffected by marital status.

Rural-urban differentials were striking with respect to freedom of movement of youth. Rural young men were about as likely as their urban counterparts to be permitted to visit shops and friends within the village/ neighbourhood unescorted but less likely than their urban counterparts to be permitted to visit any other place. In contrast, a more consistent pattern is clear among young women. Irrespective of marital status, those living in urban areas had relatively more freedom than their rural counterparts. For example, a consistently larger proportion of young women in urban compared to rural areas were allowed to go unescorted to a shop or market (74% and 59%, respectively), to visit friends or relatives (69% and 56%, respectively), to attend programmes (22% versus 17%) within their neighbourhood or even to visit a health facility (31% versus 21%). A similar pattern was observed with regard to mobility to visit places of entertainment or friends outside the respondent's village or urban neighbourhood.

Summary measures have been created from the range of questions relating to freedom to visit places within and outside the village or neighbourhood, namely, the percentage who were free to visit at least one place within the village or neighbourhood, on one hand, and outside the village or neighbourhood, on the other. As shown in Table 7.4, 98% and 87% of unmarried young men had freedom to visit at least one place within and outside the village or neighbourhood, respectively. In comparison, only 70% and 35% of young women reported freedom to visit at least one place within and outside the village, respectively. Table 7.4 presents percentages of youth reporting each of these summary measures of freedom of movement as well as freedom to visit a health facility by selected socio-economic and demographic characteristics.

Table 7.4: Freedom of movement by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who could visit various places unescorted by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	Within village/neighbourhood				Outside village/neighbourhood				Health facility			
	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24
Combined												
Age (years)												
15-19	68.3	49.4	73.3	96.6	30.4	17.0	34.1	80.2	19.9	13.1	21.8	75.9
20-24	72.1	67.3	84.6	99.5	40.7	34.8	55.5	94.8	30.8	27.1	40.1	91.1
Religion												
Hindu	72.8	64.5	80.0	97.6	36.4	30.7	41.4	86.2	26.5	24.5	28.2	81.5
Muslim	47.6	46.7	48.0	100.0	21.5	21.6	21.5	90.4	12.5	14.6	11.1	88.1
Other ¹	73.2	67.8	76.9	97.6	41.4	38.8	42.9	86.0	28.2	27.9	28.7	83.6
Caste												
SC	72.2	67.1	76.0	98.6	35.6	32.6	38.0	90.2	24.0	25.5	23.0	83.4
ST/VJNT	73.1	68.1	77.8	97.1	32.3	27.7	36.8	84.5	20.4	21.8	18.8	76.1
OBC	68.0	60.2	74.8	97.9	31.2	26.7	35.1	85.4	22.7	20.9	24.3	82.7
General ²	71.2	62.8	77.8	97.7	39.7	33.5	44.7	86.6	29.4	26.8	31.5	84.2
Educational level (years)												
None ³	59.4	62.3	46.3	(97.6)	22.3	23.2	17.9	(70.7)	15.8	18.0	6.0	(75.6)
1-7	62.0	58.1	68.0	98.1	23.1	23.8	22.2	86.9	16.7	20.1	11.3	77.3
8-11	69.1	62.0	73.6	97.4	33.2	31.4	34.3	83.7	23.2	24.5	22.3	80.7
12 and above	85.7	76.9	89.9	98.7	59.3	49.5	63.9	94.9	43.3	35.5	46.8	90.7
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	70.9	66.7	75.2	98.8	32.7	29.6	35.9	90.9	24.3	24.8	23.9	86.4
No	69.8	61.1	76.4	96.3	36.6	31.0	40.8	79.6	25.6	23.4	27.3	76.1
Wealth quintile												
First	64.8	68.3	61.1	97.2	24.2	27.8	20.7	81.0	14.6	18.0	11.4	68.3
Second	64.4	59.6	69.8	97.4	22.4	23.7	21.1	82.0	17.8	22.1	13.0	78.2
Third	65.0	59.7	70.4	98.4	30.8	29.1	32.4	89.1	22.0	23.2	20.8	83.5
Fourth	73.0	63.4	80.5	98.4	40.2	33.6	45.2	89.2	28.6	26.5	30.2	88.2
Fifth	80.8	67.0	87.3	97.4	53.2	40.5	59.1	89.2	37.9	29.4	42.0	88.0
Total	70.1	63.0	76.1	97.9	35.4	30.5	39.4	86.6	25.2	23.8	26.3	82.4
Urban												
Age (years)												
15-19	74.8	56.4	78.1	96.7	42.1	25.0	45.2	85.2	26.9	16.5	28.8	83.4
20-24	76.0	70.6	84.7	99.3	51.2	44.5	61.7	98.8	34.8	30.1	42.0	97.9
Religion												
Hindu	81.4	72.5	87.0	97.8	51.5	44.1	56.1	91.6	34.5	30.1	37.3	90.3
Muslim	46.5	46.2	47.0	100.0	21.6	19.8	23.0	(90.6)	12.0	13.0	11.9	91.2
Other ¹	80.9	74.5	84.2	94.7	54.0	53.2	54.3	92.1	36.1	35.5	36.4	86.8
Caste												
SC	78.5	71.0	82.6	97.1	45.0	43.5	45.8	95.0	29.1	28.3	29.3	90.7
ST/VJNT	76.3	(69.6)	81.7	97.0	43.9	26.8	56.6	92.4	25.9	23.2	28.0	89.4
OBC	71.5	63.1	77.3	98.5	41.4	36.3	45.2	92.9	29.0	26.2	30.8	91.8
General ²	77.7	70.5	82.1	98.0	52.6	46.5	56.4	88.8	35.1	30.4	38.0	89.3
Educational level (years)												
None ³	57.6	58.1	*	*	23.2	24.3	*	*	22.2	23.3	*	*
1-7	62.3	62.4	62.3	99.2	30.2	30.9	29.2	94.9	18.7	21.5	13.8	90.7
8-11	73.4	65.5	77.4	97.8	42.0	40.3	42.9	87.8	26.7	25.9	27.1	86.6
12 and above	88.7	82.9	91.2	97.9	67.3	60.8	70.0	97.2	46.0	39.9	48.6	96.8
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	85.9	81.7	87.4	99.0	54.7	49.5	57.1	96.7	43.1	39.1	45.0	96.3
No	73.4	65.8	78.6	96.7	45.3	39.6	49.2	85.4	28.6	25.9	30.5	83.0
Wealth quintile												
First	61.5	(60.9)	(60.7)	(94.7)	28.3	(30.4)	(27.6)	(94.7)	18.9	(17.4)	(20.7)	(85.0)
Second	57.9	60.6	53.8	98.5	27.4	27.7	27.7	89.7	15.9	17.0	13.8	92.5
Third	65.1	62.3	68.4	99.4	33.8	34.6	32.9	92.4	23.0	26.7	19.0	91.2
Fourth	78.0	71.8	82.1	98.5	46.7	44.3	48.1	91.4	30.7	29.9	31.2	90.7
Fifth	84.3	74.2	87.9	96.7	60.7	52.1	63.6	91.3	40.5	32.9	43.1	88.9
Total	75.5	67.9	80.3	97.9	46.8	40.9	50.6	91.5	30.9	27.6	33.1	90.2

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Table 7.4: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	Within village/neighbourhood				Outside village/neighbourhood				Health facility			
	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	UM 15-24
Rural												
Age (years)												
15-19	63.8	46.5	69.5	96.5	22.4	13.8	25.2	76.7	15.1	12.0	16.2	70.2
20-24	68.7	65.2	84.3	99.8	31.3	28.6	43.8	91.0	27.3	25.2	36.4	84.4
Religion												
Hindu	67.4	60.9	74.3	97.5	27.0	24.7	29.5	82.4	21.4	22.1	20.7	75.4
Muslim	49.3	48.5	50.0	(100.0)	20.5	23.5	17.9	(89.6)	13.0	17.6	9.0	(77.1)
Other ¹	63.0	60.7	65.5	100.0	24.6	23.6	25.2	80.7	17.8	20.0	16.8	80.7
Caste												
SC	64.8	63.7	65.7	100.0	24.7	23.8	26.0	85.9	18.1	22.8	13.3	77.4
ST/VJNT	71.8	67.6	76.1	97.1	27.9	27.9	27.9	82.3	18.3	21.9	14.8	72.4
OBC	66.1	58.9	73.1	97.5	25.4	22.3	28.1	79.6	19.1	18.5	19.7	76.0
General ²	65.0	57.6	72.5	97.3	27.6	24.8	30.5	83.8	24.0	24.4	23.8	78.0
Educational level (years)												
None ³	60.1	63.7	(43.8)	*	21.7	22.8	(18.8)	*	13.8	15.8	(4.1)	*
1-7	61.8	56.0	70.9	97.4	19.6	20.2	18.6	82.1	15.7	19.4	10.1	69.2
8-11	66.1	60.1	70.3	97.2	26.7	26.5	27.0	80.6	20.5	23.8	18.2	76.2
12 and above	79.9	68.4	87.0	100.0	43.8	34.2	50.0	91.7	37.7	29.8	42.7	82.3
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	66.5	64.2	69.4	98.5	26.2	26.4	26.0	87.2	18.8	22.4	14.0	80.1
No	65.7	56.5	73.5	95.9	26.6	22.7	29.9	72.4	22.2	21.0	23.2	67.3
Wealth quintile												
First	65.1	68.8	61.1	97.8	23.9	27.6	20.3	80.0	14.4	18.0	10.5	67.0
Second	66.0	59.1	72.8	97.5	21.2	22.6	19.9	80.2	18.2	23.5	12.9	75.2
Third	64.9	58.2	72.1	97.7	28.6	25.4	32.1	86.9	21.5	20.8	22.1	78.4
Fourth	65.3	54.4	77.3	97.6	30.5	22.1	39.3	84.8	25.5	22.9	28.4	83.1
Fifth	71.9	57.7	85.1	100.0	34.1	26.2	41.8	81.0	31.0	24.6	37.1	84.5
Total	66.0	60.2	72.0	97.8	26.5	24.6	28.4	82.5	20.7	21.7	19.6	75.9

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. Questions regarding freedom of movement were not asked of married males, as their mobility is generally unrestricted. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ²Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. ³Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Findings reveal that among unmarried young men, socio-demographic differentials were narrow in the case of mobility within the village. Freedom to visit places outside the village and to visit a health centre unescorted increased with age, education, work status and household economic status.

Among young women, in contrast, socio-demographic differentials were wide for most indicators of mobility. Irrespective of measure, young women's mobility increased with age, education and household economic status. Differentials by other indicators were narrow and less consistent except that young Muslim women reported less freedom of movement than those from other religious backgrounds.

Patterns did indeed differ among married and unmarried young women. For example, freedom to move within or outside the village and to visit a health facility increased more systematically with education among the unmarried than the married. Among unmarried young women, for example, 46% of those with no schooling, 68–74% of those with 1–11 years of schooling and 90% of those who had completed 12 or more years of schooling could move unescorted within the village. In contrast, among the married, percentages reporting freedom of movement within or outside the village did not increase, for the most part, except among young women who had 12 or more years of schooling. Freedom to visit a health facility alone increased steeply with education among

both married and unmarried young women. As with patterns of mobility by education, the association between household economic status and freedom of movement was generally positive among unmarried young women and less consistently so among married young women. For example, freedom to visit places outside the village or neighbourhood unescorted among unmarried young women increased from 21% among those from the poorest (first) wealth quintile to 59% among those from the wealthiest (fifth) quintile. Among the married, women from households in the poorest quintile were more likely than those in other quintiles to report freedom of movement within the village; however, it was women from households in the wealthiest quintile who were most likely to report freedom to visit places outside the village or neighbourhood and a health facility. The fact that differences by education and wealth quintiles were wider among the unmarried suggests that marriage may limit the positive association between education and mobility to some extent.

Similar patterns of socio-demographic differentials were observed, by and large, among rural and urban respondents, as seen in Table 7.4. Some notable differences were however, evident among rural and urban young women. For example, while freedom to move within or outside the village/neighbourhood and to visit a health facility increased with economic status of the household among married young women in urban areas, patterns among married young women in rural areas were less consistent and even reversed, as in the case of freedom to visit places within the village. Likewise, while all three summary measures of mobility indicated greater freedom of movement among economically active than among non-working young women in urban settings, no such association was apparent in rural areas.

7.3 Access to money

In order to understand access to financial resources among youth, information was obtained on whether they had any savings, whether they owned an account in a bank or a post office and if so, whether they operated the account themselves. Results are presented in Table 7.5. Wide gender differences were observed. For example, young women were more likely than young men to have reported savings (41% of young women compared to 27% of young men). Wide differences were also observed by marital status and rural-urban residence. While the married were more likely than the unmarried to have some savings among young men (39% versus 26%), the reverse was observed among young women (34% versus 47%). Rural-urban differences suggest that among married and unmarried young women and married young men, those residing in rural areas were far less likely to have savings than were those residing in urban areas; the exception was unmarried young men, among whom similar percentages of rural and urban respondents (26% and 25%) reported having some savings.

Findings on ownership of a bank/post office account reveal a different and more expected picture. Although a minority of youth reported owning a bank/post office account, gender differences were apparent, with 18% of young men and 15% of young women reporting ownership of an account. Differences were particularly pronounced among the married: one in three married young men (35%) compared to about one in 10 married young women (11%) owned an account. Differences by marital status suggest that while married young men were more likely than unmarried young men to own an account (35% and 17%, respectively), somewhat larger percentages of unmarried young women than married young women reported owning an account (18% and 11%, respectively). These findings highlight young women's limited access to resources and the degree to which this access is further curtailed with marriage. Rural-urban differences were apparent as well, with urban residents considerably more likely than rural respondents to report owning a bank account (23% versus 14% among young men and 20% versus 10% among young women).

Table 7.5: Access to money

Percentage of youth who reported having any savings, owning an account in a bank or post office and operating the account themselves, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Savings indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Has savings of any amount	27.0	40.8	39.1	33.8	25.6	46.6
Ownership of a bank/post office account:						
In own (respondent's) name	17.5	11.7	34.6	8.2	16.2	14.7
Jointly with someone else	0.4	2.9	0.4	2.9	0.4	2.8
No account	82.2	85.5	65.0	89.0	83.4	82.6
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Operates bank/post office account themselves	94.3	47.6	95.7	50.2	93.5	46.2
Number with an account	449	682	389	236	364	446
Urban						
Has savings of any amount	27.8	52.8	50.9	45.4	25.4	57.5
Ownership of a bank/post office account:						
In own (respondent's) name	22.4	16.4	48.4	11.3	19.7	19.7
Jointly with someone else	0.5	3.6	0.2	4.0	0.5	3.3
No account	77.2	80.1	51.4	84.7	79.8	77.1
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Operates bank/post office account themselves	94.5	55.1	97.2	56.1	93.0	54.7
Number with an account	310	438	245	136	255	302
Rural						
Has savings of any amount	26.3	31.5	30.8	27.2	25.8	35.9
Ownership of a bank/post office account:						
In own (respondent's) name	13.6	8.1	24.9	6.5	13.4	9.8
Jointly with someone else	0.3	2.3	0.5	2.3	0.3	2.3
No account	86.0	89.6	74.6	91.3	86.4	87.9
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Operates bank/post office account themselves	93.4	36.6	93.8	44.4	94.0	30.3
Number with an account	139	244	144	100	109	144

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

With regard to operation of the account, gender differences were again stark. Almost all young men (94%) who owned an account operated it themselves. In contrast, fewer than half of young women who owned an account did so (48%). Marital status differences were negligible. Rural-urban differences were negligible for young men but quite wide for young women, among whom urban women were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to operate their own accounts (56% and 44%, respectively, among urban and rural married women and 55% and 30%, respectively, among the unmarried).

7.4 Gender role attitudes

In order to understand gender role attitudes, youth were asked seven questions reflecting attitudes, including the relative importance attached to educating boys versus girls, the role of husbands as main decision-makers with regard to spending money, girls' participation in decisions about their own marriages, a woman's need to take permission from her husband for any activity, the comparative performance of girls versus boys in studies, gender roles in domestic work and whether girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased. Findings, presented in Table 7.6, suggest a mixed scenario.

Questions that were most likely to elicit egalitarian attitudes from all categories of youth included whether girls are usually as good as boys in studies, whether husbands should be the main decision-makers with regard to spending money, whether girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriages and whether educating boys was more important than educating girls; 62–90% of young men and 74–91% of young women expressed

Table 7.6: Gender role attitudes

Percent distribution of youth by attitudes towards gender roles, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Gender role attitudes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Educating boys is more important than educating girls						
Yes	38.0	26.1	42.3	32.5	36.1	20.8
No	61.7	73.6	57.4	67.2	63.6	78.9
Husband alone/mainly should decide about spending money						
Yes	24.1	17.9	32.0	22.8	22.6	13.9
No	75.6	81.6	68.0	77.1	77.1	85.3
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriages						
Yes	65.3	76.0	63.3	73.6	66.4	78.0
No	34.3	23.6	36.3	26.2	33.2	21.4
A woman should obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Yes	65.9	57.4	72.0	65.0	65.0	51.0
No	33.7	42.0	28.0	34.8	34.5	48.1
Girls are usually as good as boys in studies						
Yes	89.8	90.6	91.3	89.6	90.0	91.3
No	8.7	8.9	7.1	9.9	8.6	8.1
Boys should do as much domestic work as girls						
Yes	48.2	53.8	43.8	47.1	48.6	59.4
No	51.8	45.9	56.2	52.7	51.4	40.2
Girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased						
Yes	45.9	28.2	46.4	28.5	45.7	27.9
No	53.0	70.1	52.8	69.4	53.2	70.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541

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Table 7.6: (Cont'd)

Gender role attitudes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Educating boys is more important than educating girls						
Yes	40.7	16.5	43.2	20.5	39.3	13.9
No	59.2	83.3	56.8	79.3	60.5	85.9
Husband alone/mainly should decide about spending money						
Yes	30.1	13.1	37.9	17.5	28.9	10.2
No	69.8	86.6	62.1	82.5	71.0	89.2
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriages						
Yes	70.5	80.8	67.9	77.4	71.3	83.0
No	29.5	18.8	31.9	22.5	28.7	16.3
A woman should obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Yes	60.4	46.7	67.4	56.5	59.8	40.4
No	39.3	52.6	32.6	43.2	39.8	58.6
Girls are usually as good as boys in studies						
Yes	91.4	91.9	92.2	90.5	91.9	92.9
No	7.1	7.9	5.5	9.3	6.9	7.0
Boys should do as much domestic work as girls						
Yes	48.7	57.5	46.1	46.6	49.5	64.6
No	51.3	42.3	53.9	53.4	50.5	35.2
Girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased						
Yes	51.7	29.0	53.0	29.4	51.9	28.7
No	47.8	70.5	47.0	70.2	47.6	70.7
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Educating boys is more important than educating girls						
Yes	35.9	33.6	41.8	39.4	33.3	27.7
No	63.6	66.1	57.7	60.2	66.2	72.0
Husband alone/mainly should decide about spending money						
Yes	19.4	21.7	27.8	25.9	17.3	17.5
No	80.2	77.7	72.1	74.0	82.2	81.5
Girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriages						
Yes	61.3	72.3	60.1	71.5	62.4	73.1
No	38.1	27.4	39.4	28.2	37.0	26.5
A woman should obtain her husband's permission for most things						
Yes	70.2	65.7	75.4	69.9	69.3	61.3
No	29.3	33.8	24.6	30.0	30.0	37.8
Girls are usually as good as boys in studies						
Yes	88.6	89.4	90.6	89.2	88.6	89.7
No	10.0	9.7	8.3	10.2	10.0	9.1
Boys should do as much domestic work as girls						
Yes	47.8	50.9	42.3	47.5	47.9	54.4
No	52.2	48.8	57.7	52.3	52.1	45.1
Girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased						
Yes	41.3	27.6	41.8	28.0	40.5	27.2
No	57.1	69.8	56.8	69.0	58.0	70.7
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases, "don't know" or "unsure" responses.

egalitarian views on these matters. Questions that were least likely to elicit egalitarian responses from youth included whether women should obtain their husbands' permission for most things (34% of young men and 42% of young women) and whether boys should do as much domestic work as girls (48% of young men and 54% of young women). Variation in reporting of egalitarian attitudes by topic is highlighted in Figure 7.3.

Young men were consistently more likely than young women to report unequal gender role attitudes in relation to most topics. For example, even though large proportions of youth believed that educating girls was as important as educating boys, more young men than women (38% and 26%, respectively) expressed the traditional attitude that boys should be given preference over girls in terms of education. Similarly, 34% of young men compared to 24% of young women reported that girls should not be allowed to make marriage-related decisions; and while 46% of young men believed that girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased, many fewer (28%) young women expressed this view.

Figure 7.3: Percentage of youth who expressed egalitarian gender role attitudes on selected issues, Maharashtra, 2006

The unmarried reported more egalitarian attitudes than the married with regard to four of the seven statements, and similar attitudes on the remaining three. For example, unmarried youth were more likely than their married counterparts to disagree that educating boys was more important than educating girls (64% versus 57% among unmarried and married young men and 79% versus 67% among unmarried and married young women, respectively), that husbands should be the main decision-makers with regard to spending money (77% versus 68% and 85% versus 77%, respectively) and that women should obtain their husbands' permission for most things (35% versus 28% and 48% versus 35%, respectively) and that boys and girls should do equal amounts of domestic work (49% versus 44% and 59% versus 47%, respectively). Differences by marital status for the remaining three indicators were mild.

Differences by rural-urban residence were less consistent and varied between young men and women. On most topics, urban young women were more likely than their rural counterparts to express gender egalitarian attitudes. Among young men, urban youth were more likely than rural youth to agree that girls should be allowed to decide about their own marriages (71% versus 61%) and disagree that women should obtain their husbands' permission for most things (39% versus 29%). At the same time, they were more likely than those in rural settings to agree that husbands should decide about spending money (30% versus 19%) and that girls who dress provocatively deserve to be teased (52% versus 41%).

7.5 Attitudes towards wife beating

Youth were asked a number of questions to gauge the extent to which beating one's wife was perceived to be an acceptable behaviour. Young people were asked whether they agreed that wife beating was a way of expressing love, and whether wife beating was justified in four situations, including refusal to have sex with the husband. Findings are presented in Table 7.7. Although large proportions (over 80%) of youth disagreed that wife beating was a sign of love, it is notable that about 10% of young people did conform to this view. While there were no gender differences and while the unmarried were somewhat less likely than the married to endorse this view, urban youth were considerably less likely than rural youth to agree with this view (9% and 14% of urban and rural young men; 5% and 12% of urban and rural young women).

Likewise, although youth generally believed that wife beating could not be justified in various circumstances, significant minorities did justify wife beating. Gender differences were apparent: one-half of young women and almost two-thirds of young men felt that wife beating was justified in at least one of the four situations about which information was sought. Of the four situations posed, young people, irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence, were most likely to perceive that wife beating was justified if the woman went out without telling her husband (46% and 38% of young men and women, respectively). They were least likely to justify wife beating if a woman refused to have sexual relations with her husband (33% and 16% among young men and women, respectively).

Differences by marital status were not wide but fairly consistent (see Figure 7.4). As observed earlier, unmarried youth, especially women, were less likely than the married to report that wife beating was justified. For example, 35% and 39% of unmarried and married young men and 21% and 32% of unmarried and married young women reported that wife beating was justified if a woman disagreed with her husband's opinion.

Rural-urban differences were, in contrast, consistently wide. Irrespective of marital status and sex, relatively more rural youth justified wife beating in each situation. For example, 79% and 62% of young men and women, respectively, in rural areas compared to 45% and 34% of young men and women, respectively, in urban areas justified wife beating in at least one situation. Similarly, while 6% of young women living in urban areas justified wife beating if a woman refused sex, this percentage was as high as 24% among their rural counterparts. Corresponding percentages for young men in urban and rural areas, respectively, were 20% and 44% (Table 7.7).

Figure 7.4: Percentage of youth who believed wife beating is justified in selected situations, Maharashtra, 2006

Table 7.7: Attitudes towards wife beating

Percent distribution of youth by attitudes towards wife beating in selected situations, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Attitudes towards wife beating (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Beating wife means husband loves her						
Agree	11.4	9.0	14.3	11.5	11.1	7.0
Disagree	84.8	87.8	82.0	86.0	85.4	89.4
Don't know/can't say	2.3	2.1	0.8	1.2	2.5	2.9
Beating wife is justified if:						
Husband suspects wife has been unfaithful						
Yes	43.1	31.5	42.6	37.5	42.5	26.6
No	56.6	67.9	57.4	62.0	57.1	72.7
Don't know/can't say	0.3	0.6	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.7
Wife goes out without telling husband						
Yes	45.8	38.2	47.2	44.3	44.4	33.2
No	54.0	61.1	52.8	55.0	55.3	66.0
Don't know/can't say	0.2	0.8	0.0	0.7	0.2	0.8
Wife disagrees with husband's opinion						
Yes	36.7	26.2	38.9	31.9	35.3	21.4
No	63.1	72.6	61.0	67.3	64.5	76.9
Don't know/can't say	0.2	1.2	0.1	0.8	0.2	1.7
Wife refuses to have sexual relations with husband						
Yes	33.4	16.2	27.2	21.5	33.4	11.9
No	65.6	78.8	72.6	76.4	65.5	80.6
Don't know/can't say	1.0	5.0	0.3	2.1	1.1	7.4
Believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the above situations	64.2	49.8	64.6	56.5	63.0	44.2
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Beating wife means husband loves her						
Agree	8.5	4.9	10.5	7.5	8.1	3.2
Disagree	88.2	92.3	87.7	90.0	88.6	93.7
Don't know/can't say	2.3	2.0	0.2	1.3	2.5	2.5
Beating wife is justified if:						
Husband suspects wife has been unfaithful						
Yes	31.5	21.6	28.1	27.9	31.7	17.5
No	68.3	78.2	71.9	72.1	68.1	82.0
Don't know/can't say	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.5
Wife goes out without telling husband						
Yes	28.2	25.3	27.2	31.7	27.5	21.2
No	71.5	74.1	72.8	67.8	72.2	78.2
Don't know/can't say	0.3	0.5	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.6
Wife disagrees with husband's opinion						
Yes	18.7	11.6	18.9	16.5	18.1	8.3
No	81.1	87.2	81.1	82.7	81.6	90.0
Don't know/can't say	0.2	1.3	0.0	0.7	0.2	1.7
Wife refuses to have sexual relations with husband						
Yes	19.6	6.0	15.8	9.9	19.4	3.6
No	79.9	89.2	83.8	88.0	79.9	89.9
Don't know/can't say	0.6	4.8	0.5	2.1	0.7	6.5
Believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the above situations	45.2	34.1	41.1	41.7	44.6	29.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328

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Table 7.7: (Cont'd)

Attitudes towards wife beating (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Rural						
Beating wife means husband loves her						
Agree	13.8	12.3	16.9	13.8	13.6	10.6
Disagree	82.1	84.4	78.0	83.7	82.7	85.2
Don't know/can't say	2.3	2.2	1.3	1.2	2.5	3.3
Beating wife is justified if:						
Husband suspects wife has been unfaithful						
Yes	52.3	39.3	52.8	43.1	51.6	35.5
No	47.3	59.9	47.2	56.3	47.9	63.5
Don't know/can't say	0.4	0.8	0.0	0.6	0.5	1.0
Wife goes out without telling husband						
Yes	59.7	48.2	61.2	51.4	58.5	45.0
No	40.1	50.8	38.8	47.7	41.3	54.0
Don't know/can't say	0.2	1.0	0.0	0.9	0.2	1.0
Wife disagrees with husband's opinion						
Yes	50.9	37.5	52.8	40.6	49.4	34.4
No	48.9	61.2	47.0	58.5	50.3	64.0
Don't know/can't say	0.2	1.2	0.2	0.8	0.3	1.6
Wife refuses to have sexual relations with husband						
Yes	44.4	24.2	35.0	28.1	45.0	20.1
No	54.3	70.7	64.6	69.8	53.5	71.5
Don't know/can't say	1.3	5.2	0.3	2.1	1.5	8.4
Believed that wife beating is justified in at least one of the above situations	79.3	62.0	81.0	65.0	78.3	59.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

7.6 Summary

Findings suggest that substantial proportions of young men and the majority of young women do not exercise agency in their everyday lives. For example, 63% of young men and 35% of young women reported independent decision-making on all three issues explored in the survey, namely, decisions on choice of friends, spending money and purchase of clothes. Likewise, freedom of movement even within the village or neighbourhood was not universal among young women; only 70% of young women had the freedom to even visit locations within their own village or neighbourhood unescorted. Findings also show that control over financial resources among youth tended to be limited, and particularly so among young women. Although young women were more likely than young men to have money saved (41% and 27%, respectively), they were moderately less likely to own a bank or post office savings account (15% and 18%, respectively) and much less likely than their male counterparts to operate these accounts themselves (48% and 94%, respectively of those who had an account).

As far as gender role attitudes were concerned, relatively large proportions of youth espoused egalitarian attitudes. Even so, 64% of young men and 50% of young women justified wife beating in at least one situation. Notably, young men were consistently more likely than young women to report unequal gender role attitudes and more likely to justify wife beating.

Findings also suggest that marriage curtails young women's agency to a considerable extent. By and large, compared to the unmarried, married young women were less likely to make decisions independently, had less freedom of movement and less access to savings; at the same time, they were more likely to hold unequal gender role attitudes.

Awareness of sexual and reproductive health matters

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

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

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

8.1.1 Sex and pregnancy

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

Findings, presented in Table 8.1, clearly suggest that awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters was limited. The one exception was knowledge that women cannot become pregnant after kissing or hugging; 97% of young men and 90% of young women were aware of this. Even so, it is notable that as many as 16% of unmarried young women and between 1% and 4% of other groups of youth were either unsure or believed it to be possible.

Awareness of other matters was reported by far smaller proportions of youth and considerable differences were evident by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents. About half of young men and women were aware that women are most likely to become pregnant if they engage in sexual relations mid-cycle. While rural-urban differences were narrow, more married than unmarried youth (74% and 69% of married young men and women, respectively, compared to 50% and 35% of unmarried young men and women, respectively) reported correct knowledge of this issue (see Figure 8.1). Awareness that a woman does not have to bleed at first intercourse was reported by even fewer (44–48%); rural-urban differences were notable, with urban youth generally better informed than rural youth (51–55% compared to 35–45%).

Awareness that a woman can get pregnant at first sex was particularly limited, correctly reported by just 45% of young men and 39% of young women. Unmarried young women were especially poorly informed, with just one-third correctly reporting that a woman could become pregnant at first sex. Rural-urban differences indicate that urban respondents were in general better informed than their rural counterparts (62% and 43% of young men and women in urban areas compared to 33% and 36%, respectively, of rural youth).

Over three-fifths of youth were aware of the availability of tests to determine the sex of the foetus. Young men were somewhat more likely than young women to report such awareness (70% versus 62%). Differences by marital status were narrow. While there were no rural-urban differences among young men, considerably larger percentages of rural than urban young women were aware of sex determination testing (67% compared to 55%).

In order to examine overall knowledge regarding sex and pregnancy, a summary measure was computed that assessed the percentage of youth who were aware of all five matters, and is presented in Table 8.1. Findings confirm that only a handful (9–12%) of youth had correct knowledge of all five issues. Differences by sex and marital status were narrow, except that unmarried young women were least likely to have such awareness. It is notable, however, that urban youth were more knowledgeable than rural youth (11–20% compared to 6–7%).

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

Percent distribution of youth by awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Awareness indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
A woman can get pregnant after kissing/hugging						
True	0.9	2.3	1.1	2.8	0.7	1.9
False	96.8	89.7	98.7	96.1	96.6	84.4
Don't know/not sure	2.3	8.0	0.2	1.0	2.7	13.7
A woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods						
True	52.8	50.4	74.4	68.6	49.7	35.1
False	29.1	21.8	23.2	19.9	29.8	23.4
Don't know/not sure	18.1	27.8	2.4	11.5	20.5	41.5
A woman has to bleed at first intercourse						
True	44.7	27.0	48.5	38.2	43.4	17.6
False	43.9	47.5	49.9	54.7	43.6	41.6
Don't know/not sure	11.5	25.4	1.6	7.1	13.0	40.8
A woman can get pregnant at first sex						
True	45.4	39.2	51.6	45.8	45.1	33.5
False	45.2	42.0	46.3	49.6	44.4	35.7
Don't know/not sure	9.4	18.9	2.1	4.6	10.5	30.9
It is possible to do a medical test to know the sex of a foetus						
True	69.7	61.9	73.5	64.6	69.4	59.6
False	23.8	32.7	23.4	32.4	23.6	32.8
Don't know/not sure	6.4	5.2	3.1	2.5	6.8	7.5
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	11.9	8.8	17.7	11.1	11.7	6.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541

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Table 8.1: (Cont'd)

Awareness indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
A woman can get pregnant after kissing/hugging						
True	0.1	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.1	0.6
False	97.8	93.2	99.3	98.7	97.5	89.8
Don't know/not sure	2.1	6.2	0.2	0.7	2.4	9.7
A woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods						
True	50.0	49.7	72.8	70.9	46.6	36.1
False	32.8	19.9	25.1	17.4	34.1	21.5
Don't know/not sure	17.2	30.4	2.1	11.7	19.3	42.4
A woman has to bleed at first intercourse						
True	36.2	23.3	40.2	36.0	35.4	15.2
False	55.1	51.1	58.4	58.5	55.0	46.5
Don't know/not sure	8.7	25.5	1.4	5.5	9.6	38.3
A woman can get pregnant at first sex						
True	61.7	42.9	73.1	55.2	60.8	35.1
False	28.8	36.1	25.1	39.7	28.7	33.8
Don't know/not sure	9.5	21.0	1.8	5.1	10.5	31.1
It is possible to do a medical test to know the sex of a foetus						
True	70.5	54.9	78.0	56.2	70.0	54.1
False	21.8	41.2	19.7	41.7	21.5	40.9
Don't know/not sure	7.6	3.7	2.3	1.7	8.4	5.0
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	19.8	10.6	32.9	15.3	18.8	7.5
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
A woman can get pregnant after kissing/hugging						
True	1.4	3.7	1.6	4.1	1.2	3.2
False	96.0	87.0	98.2	94.7	95.9	79.1
Don't know/not sure	2.5	9.3	0.2	1.2	2.9	17.7
A woman is most likely to get pregnant if she has sex half-way between her periods						
True	55.1	50.9	75.4	67.3	52.3	34.1
False	26.2	23.3	21.9	21.3	26.2	25.2
Don't know/not sure	18.8	25.8	2.7	11.5	21.5	40.6
A woman has to bleed at first intercourse						
True	51.3	29.9	54.4	39.5	50.0	20.0
False	34.9	44.7	43.9	52.5	34.1	36.7
Don't know/not sure	13.7	25.4	1.8	8.0	15.9	43.3
A woman can get pregnant at first sex						
True	32.5	36.2	36.7	40.5	32.1	31.8
False	58.2	46.5	61.2	55.3	57.4	37.7
Don't know/not sure	9.3	17.2	2.1	4.2	10.5	30.5
It is possible to do a medical test to know the sex of a foetus						
True	69.0	67.3	70.4	69.5	68.9	65.1
False	25.4	26.0	25.9	27.1	25.3	24.8
Don't know/not sure	5.4	6.4	3.7	3.0	5.5	10.0
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	5.6	7.3	7.2	8.7	5.8	5.9
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

Figure 8.1: Percentage of youth reporting awareness of selected sex- and pregnancy-related matters, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Indeed, the highest levels of awareness of the five matters combined were reported by married young men in urban settings, among whom about one-third reported awareness of all issues; in contrast, the lowest levels of awareness were reported by unmarried young men and women in rural settings, among whom just 6% were correctly aware of all five matters.

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

Differentials in awareness, measured with respect to percentage aware of all five issues relating to sex and pregnancy discussed above, are presented in Table 8.2. Findings show a consistent positive association between age, education and household economic status and awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters. For example, awareness of all five matters increased from 3% among uneducated young men to 16% among those with 12 or more years of schooling, and from 8% to 12% among young women, correspondingly. Associations were less consistent when rural and urban youth were analysed separately. Differences by religion, caste and current work status were generally modest and patterns were less consistent.

8.1.3 Awareness of contraceptive methods

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

The vast majority of youth (90% of young men and 88% of young women) reported awareness (spontaneous or prompted) of at least one method of contraception and a similar range of youth were aware of at least one modern contraceptive method. The most widely known methods were oral contraceptives (76% and 85% of young men and women, respectively) and condoms (95% and 62%, respectively). Fewer youth reported awareness

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

Percentage of youth who had correct knowledge of all five sex- and pregnancy-related matters by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15-19	8.9	6.1	*	7.3	9.1	5.8
20-24	14.8	11.6	13.4	12.3	15.1	9.4
25-29	NA	NA	20.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	10.8	8.9	15.5	11.2	10.8	6.7
Muslim	15.7	8.4	28.2	10.1	14.2	6.8
Other ¹	17.8	8.3	28.8	10.9	18.2	6.6
Caste						
SC	10.1	8.5	17.7	11.0	9.2	6.6
ST/VJNT	8.3	8.3	9.3	9.7	9.1	6.8
OBC	11.5	8.6	17.4	11.8	11.7	5.9
General ²	14.8	9.0	23.6	11.2	14.0	7.1
Educational level (years)						
None ³	3.4	7.6	3.7	9.0	(7.1)	0.0
1-7	9.9	6.9	15.8	8.7	8.0	4.1
8-11	11.4	8.5	15.2	11.7	11.4	6.4
12 and above	16.3	12.0	33.7	16.8	15.6	9.8
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	12.0	8.8	17.8	10.9	11.6	6.6
No	11.7	8.7	*	11.3	11.9	6.7
Wealth quintile						
First	6.1	4.6	7.3	5.9	5.9	3.4
Second	8.2	7.2	11.9	10.7	8.2	3.4
Third	9.3	9.2	16.4	11.6	8.6	6.7
Fourth	16.6	10.8	27.3	13.2	16.1	8.8
Fifth	18.0	10.0	31.1	13.3	16.8	8.3
Total	11.9	8.8	17.7	11.1	11.7	6.7
Urban						
Age (years)						
15-19	15.0	7.7	*	12.8	15.0	6.8
20-24	24.1	13.3	28.3	16.0	22.8	9.0
25-29	NA	NA	34.9	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	18.8	11.3	30.4	16.4	18.1	8.0
Muslim	20.6	9.9	35.8	13.7	18.1	7.0
Other ¹	27.4	8.3	(51.6)	11.8	26.3	6.0
Caste						
SC	15.0	8.7	31.6	13.0	14.3	6.1
ST/VJNT	19.7	10.8	(29.4)	12.5	19.7	9.6
OBC	20.4	7.7	30.3	12.5	19.8	4.4
General ²	22.1	12.7	37.6	18.4	20.4	9.4

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Table 8.2: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Educational level (years)						
None ³	10.0	10.1	(3.8)	12.3	*	*
1-7	16.0	9.0	34.6	13.3	9.2	2.3
8-11	19.6	10.6	26.3	16.0	19.7	7.9
12 and above	23.1	11.4	47.9	18.2	21.3	8.8
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	21.6	13.1	32.8	21.5	20.0	9.5
No	17.2	10.1	*	14.5	17.2	7.1
Wealth quintile						
First	22.0	7.5	*	(12.5)	(20.0)	(3.6)
Second	15.2	9.1	28.1	12.8	13.2	3.1
Third	16.7	9.0	26.7	14.1	15.2	3.7
Fourth	20.8	12.0	35.3	16.2	20.1	9.2
Fifth	21.7	10.7	38.1	17.7	20.1	8.4
Total	19.8	10.6	32.9	15.3	18.8	7.5
Rural						
Age (years)						
15-19	4.7	5.1	*	5.1	4.7	5.1
20-24	6.6	10.0	4.1	10.0	7.4	10.1
25-29	NA	NA	8.9	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	5.4	7.4	6.7	9.0	5.7	5.7
Muslim	1.7	4.8	(11.1)	2.9	(0.0)	6.4
Other ¹	9.9	8.2	(11.9)	10.0	10.2	6.7
Caste						
SC	5.8	8.5	7.5	9.4	5.1	7.2
ST/VJNT	5.6	7.4	5.3	8.8	6.1	6.0
OBC	5.4	9.1	8.6	11.4	5.8	7.0
General ²	6.1	5.4	7.8	6.6	6.1	4.3
Educational level (years)						
None ³	1.5	6.4	3.6	7.9	*	(0.0)
1-7	6.2	5.9	5.5	6.5	7.2	4.7
8-11	5.4	6.9	7.6	9.3	5.1	5.1
12 and above	6.6	13.2	13.8	14.9	7.3	12.0
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	5.8	7.5	7.1	9.2	6.1	5.3
No	5.1	7.1	*	8.3	5.3	6.1
Wealth quintile						
First	4.8	4.3	5.1	5.3	4.8	3.4
Second	6.5	6.7	5.2	9.8	7.1	3.5
Third	4.3	9.4	8.3	9.9	4.2	9.0
Fourth	8.6	8.9	13.9	10.1	7.9	8.1
Fifth	3.3	8.1	(11.4)	8.5	3.6	7.8
Total	5.6	7.3	7.2	8.7	5.8	5.9

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

of the IUD (14% of young men and 42% of young women) or emergency contraception (11% and 6%, respectively). Terminal method awareness was not probed, hence, while female sterilisation was spontaneously reported by 48% of young men and 65% of young women, just 36% and 33%, respectively, spontaneously reported awareness of male sterilisation. Fewer than 5% spontaneously reported implants, vaginal methods or injectables. Differences in awareness of any method and, specifically, any modern method, by sex and marital status of the respondent were narrow, except that unmarried young women were far less likely than all other groups to report such awareness. For example, 86% of unmarried young women compared to 95–96% of other groups were aware of at least one method. Rural-urban differences indicate that urban youth were mildly more likely than their rural counterparts to report awareness of at least one method (97–98% versus 84–94%).

Compared to awareness of modern methods, awareness of traditional methods was reported by far fewer youth – 12% of young men and 4% of young women. Differences by marital status indicate that married young men were somewhat more likely than the unmarried to report awareness of at least one traditional method (26% versus 10%). Rural-urban differences were narrow.

Findings also show a significant gender divide in terms of awareness of specific methods; young women were generally more likely than young men to report awareness of female-oriented methods and vice versa. For example, 42% of young women compared to 14% of young men reported awareness of the IUD. In contrast, 95% of young men compared to 62% of young women reported awareness of condoms. One notable exception was awareness of emergency contraceptive pills, about which 11% of young men and 6% of young women reported awareness. Differences by marital status indicate that, in general, married youth were more likely than unmarried youth to report awareness of all methods; differences were not apparent, however, with regard to awareness of condoms among young men. Rural-urban differences show that urban youth were more likely than rural youth to be aware of most methods.

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

Differentials in correct specific knowledge by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence are evident from findings presented in Table 8.3. In general, young women were more likely than young men to report correct specific knowledge of female-oriented methods such as oral contraceptives (45% compared to 27%) and the IUD (20% compared to 6%); conversely, more young men than women reported correct specific knowledge of condoms (83% compared to 30%). Few young men and women had correct specific knowledge about withdrawal (5% compared to 2%) and emergency contraception (2% compared to 1%). Differences by marital status suggest that the married were typically more likely than the unmarried to report correct specific knowledge of every method (see Figure 8.2). Likewise, urban respondents, particularly young women, were more likely than their rural counterparts to report correct specific knowledge of every method.

Table 8.3: Awareness of contraceptive methods

Percentage of youth who reported awareness and correct specific knowledge of various contraceptive methods, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
A. Awareness						
Combined						
Any method	95.1	90.0	96.4	94.6	94.8	86.2
Any modern method	95.1	90.0	96.3	94.6	94.8	86.1
Oral pills	75.9	84.8	86.4	90.1	74.8	80.4
Emergency contraceptive pills	11.1	5.9	18.0	6.9	10.9	5.1
Condom	94.5	62.3	95.3	66.5	94.2	58.6
IUD	14.1	41.7	33.1	56.7	12.9	29.2
Female sterilisation	47.9	64.6	61.0	69.9	46.4	60.2
Male sterilisation	36.4	32.6	49.3	34.2	35.3	31.3
Implant/vaginal methods/injectables	2.0	4.0	3.5	4.1	2.0	3.9
Any traditional method	11.5	4.3	25.7	6.5	9.7	2.4
Withdrawal	8.0	2.9	15.4	4.8	7.4	1.3
Safe period	4.4	1.7	13.3	2.0	3.1	1.4
Traditional/herbal methods	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Any method	96.6	97.9	98.2	99.3	96.4	97.0
Any modern method	96.6	97.9	98.2	99.3	96.4	97.0
Oral pills	77.6	95.2	91.6	97.7	76.0	93.6
Emergency contraceptive pills	8.2	5.6	16.2	4.7	8.0	6.1
Condom	96.5	73.8	97.9	78.0	96.4	71.1
IUD	15.2	45.9	37.2	63.8	14.3	34.5
Female sterilisation	51.9	78.8	64.4	83.2	51.0	76.0
Male sterilisation	39.9	39.0	52.5	41.9	39.2	37.2
Implant/vaginal methods/injectables	2.6	5.1	5.0	4.4	2.6	5.6
Any traditional method	11.1	3.8	21.7	5.5	10.4	2.7
Withdrawal	8.0	2.5	13.7	4.2	7.6	1.4
Safe period	4.6	1.8	11.6	2.0	4.4	1.6
Traditional/herbal methods	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Any method	93.8	83.8	95.2	91.9	93.4	75.5
Any modern method	93.8	83.8	95.1	91.9	93.4	75.4
Oral pills	74.6	76.7	82.8	85.8	73.8	67.5
Emergency contraceptive pills	13.3	6.1	19.3	8.1	13.3	4.1
Condom	92.8	53.3	93.5	60.0	92.4	46.3
IUD	13.3	38.4	30.3	52.6	11.9	23.9
Female sterilisation	44.6	53.6	58.7	62.2	42.6	44.6
Male sterilisation	33.6	27.6	47.0	29.7	32.2	25.5
Implant/vaginal methods/injectables	1.4	3.1	2.4	4.0	1.5	2.1
Any traditional method	11.8	4.7	28.7	7.2	8.9	2.2
Withdrawal	8.2	3.1	16.7	5.1	7.3	1.0
Safe period	4.3	1.6	14.5	2.0	2.0	1.2
Traditional/herbal methods	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

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Table 8.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
B. Correct specific knowledge¹						
Combined						
Any method	84.2	53.6	91.5	69.1	83.2	40.7
At least one modern method	84.0	53.5	91.3	68.9	83.1	40.7
Oral pills	27.0	44.7	46.5	59.0	25.0	32.7
Emergency contraceptive pills	1.5	1.4	3.4	1.6	1.5	1.3
Condoms	83.3	29.5	90.4	40.7	82.4	20.0
IUD	6.3	20.0	18.0	29.1	5.6	12.3
Any traditional method						
Withdrawal	5.1	1.6	11.5	2.8	4.8	0.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Any method	88.7	61.4	95.4	75.9	88.1	52.1
At least one modern method	88.7	61.4	95.4	75.8	88.1	52.1
Oral pills	28.1	52.5	49.5	68.2	26.6	42.4
Emergency contraceptive pills	1.7	2.0	4.1	2.3	1.5	1.9
Condoms	88.6	35.8	95.4	48.3	88.0	27.8
IUD	9.3	24.9	21.9	37.1	8.6	17.0
Any traditional method						
Withdrawal	5.1	2.0	10.5	3.5	4.9	1.0
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Any method	80.6	47.5	88.7	65.2	79.1	29.4
At least one modern method	80.3	47.5	88.4	65.0	78.9	29.4
Oral pills	26.2	38.7	44.3	53.8	23.7	23.1
Emergency contraceptive pills	1.4	0.9	2.9	1.2	1.5	0.6
Condoms	79.1	24.5	87.1	36.4	77.7	12.3
IUD	3.8	16.2	15.3	24.5	3.1	7.6
Any traditional method						
Withdrawal	5.1	1.4	12.3	2.3	4.6	0.4
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

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

8.1.4 Condom-related perceptions

The Youth Study probed youth who reported awareness of condoms regarding three specific aspects of this method, namely, whether condoms are a suitable method for preventing pregnancy, whether condoms can slip off the man and disappear inside the woman's body and whether condoms reduce sexual pleasure. Findings, presented in Table 8.4, show that 94% of young men and 81% of young women agreed that condoms were a suitable method for preventing pregnancy, but that awareness of other issues was reported by many fewer. Just

Figure 8.2: Percentage of youth who reported correct specific knowledge of oral pills and condoms, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

62% and 44% of young men and women were aware that condoms cannot disappear into the woman's body and just 46–47% of young men and women felt that condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure. By and large findings confirm that young men had better awareness of condoms than did young women.

Marital status differences were narrow and observed only in the case of awareness that condoms cannot disappear into the woman's body: 73% and 50% of married young men and women compared to 60% and 39% of unmarried young men and women reported such awareness. Rural-urban differences were negligible among young women, while among young men, fewer rural than urban respondents reported pro-condom perceptions, for example, that condoms do not reduce sexual pleasure (43% and 52%, respectively).

8.1.5 Awareness of contraception prior to marriage

Married youth were specifically asked whether they had been aware of contraception or had known where to obtain contraceptives prior to their marriage. Findings, presented in Table 8.5, suggest that of those who were aware of at least one method of contraception at the time of interview, 79% of young men compared to just 17% of young women had been aware of any contraceptive method before marriage. Likewise, urban youth had been considerably more aware of any contraceptive method before marriage than rural youth (90% and 71% for urban and rural young men, respectively; and 24% and 13% for urban and rural young women, respectively). A similar proportion of married young men (78%) knew, before marriage, about where to obtain contraceptives. Among married young women, the percentage of those who were aware, prior to marriage, of a source of contraceptive method was somewhat lower than those who were aware of a contraceptive method; just 12% knew where to obtain contraceptives. Rural-urban differentials, however, were negligible.

8.1.6 Awareness of medical abortion

Given that medical abortion has been legal since 2002, youth were asked if they were aware of "any pills" that a woman could take to terminate a pregnancy. As evident from Figure 8.3, 17% of young men and 21% of young women reported that they were aware of such a method (since we did not probe further, some of these positive responses may not have been specifically referring to the mifepristone-misoprostol combination). Over two-fifths (43–48%) of youth reported that they were unsure whether such a means of inducing abortion existed. More married than unmarried youth were aware of medical abortion (26% and 16–17%, respectively). Rural-urban differences were negligible.

Table 8.4: Perceptions of selected issues related to condom use

Percent distribution of youth by their perceptions of condom use, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Perceptions (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Condoms are a suitable method for preventing pregnancy						
Agree	94.2	81.2	97.4	84.3	93.8	78.2
Disagree	2.5	10.9	2.0	11.0	2.4	10.8
Don't know/can't say	3.3	7.5	0.6	4.3	3.8	10.7
Condoms can slip off man and disappear inside woman's body						
Agree	15.0	10.6	17.4	13.7	14.8	7.6
Disagree	61.9	44.2	73.3	49.9	60.2	38.8
Don't know/can't say	23.0	44.8	9.3	35.9	25.0	53.2
Condoms reduce sexual pleasure						
Agree	35.3	22.7	47.8	29.9	33.6	16.0
Disagree	46.6	46.2	46.5	50.3	46.2	42.2
Don't know/can't say	18.2	30.7	5.7	19.3	20.3	41.5
Number aware of condoms	2,229	2,842	1,019	1,334	1,921	1,508
Urban						
Condoms are a suitable method for preventing pregnancy						
Agree	94.6	79.9	99.3	83.5	93.9	77.4
Disagree	1.2	11.6	0.2	11.4	1.4	11.7
Don't know/can't say	4.2	8.4	0.5	4.9	4.8	10.8
Condoms can slip off man and disappear inside woman's body						
Agree	9.4	6.4	10.0	8.5	10.1	4.9
Disagree	65.5	43.7	79.7	51.8	63.2	38.1
Don't know/can't say	25.1	49.8	10.3	39.5	26.7	56.9
Condoms reduce sexual pleasure						
Agree	27.6	17.8	41.5	21.8	26.9	14.9
Disagree	51.5	46.4	52.4	53.7	50.2	41.2
Don't know/can't say	20.9	35.7	6.1	24.3	22.9	43.7
Number aware of condoms	1,336	1,643	496	701	1,203	942
Rural						
Condoms are a suitable method for preventing pregnancy						
Agree	93.8	82.5	96.1	84.7	93.8	79.5
Disagree	3.5	10.1	3.2	10.7	3.2	9.4
Don't know/can't say	2.6	6.6	0.7	3.8	2.9	10.4
Condoms can slip off man and disappear inside woman's body						
Agree	19.7	15.1	22.7	17.6	19.0	11.8
Disagree	59.0	44.8	68.6	48.5	57.5	39.9
Don't know/can't say	21.3	39.4	8.5	33.1	23.5	47.6
Condoms reduce sexual pleasure						
Agree	41.5	28.0	52.4	36.0	39.4	17.5
Disagree	42.5	46.0	42.2	47.7	42.7	43.8
Don't know/can't say	16.0	25.2	5.5	15.6	17.9	38.0
Number aware of condoms	893	1,199	523	633	718	566

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

Table 8.5: Awareness of contraception prior to marriage

Percentage of married youth aware of any contraceptive method prior to marriage and percentage aware of a source of contraceptive supplies at that time, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Knowledge/source (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Aware of any contraceptive method before marriage	78.9	17.1	90.0	23.8	70.9	13.0
Aware of a contraceptive source before marriage	77.8	11.6	88.9	16.5	69.7	8.6
Number currently aware of at least one contraceptive method	1,030	1,864	497	895	533	969

Figure 8.3: Percent distribution of youth by awareness of medical abortion, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

8.1.7 Awareness of sexually transmitted infections (STIs) and HIV/AIDS

The Youth Study inquired whether youth had ever heard of infections that were transmitted through sexual contact. Findings, presented in Table 8.6, suggest that awareness of STIs other than HIV/AIDS was extremely limited. Indeed, only 14% of young women and 15% of young men reported awareness of STIs. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were by and large narrow, except that of all the categories of youth, married young men were most likely to report awareness of STIs other than HIV; even so, just 22% reported such awareness.

Among those who were aware of STIs other than HIV, the vast majority (77–79%) could identify at least one common symptom. Urban youth were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to be aware of at least one symptom of infection (79% of young women and 90% of young men in urban areas versus 74% and 71%, respectively, in rural areas).

Questions exploring young people's awareness of HIV/AIDS were adapted from those used in the NFHS (IIPS and Macro International, 2007c). Findings, presented in Table 8.6, show that 91% of young men, compared to 77% of young women, had heard of HIV/AIDS. Among young men, awareness levels were similar among the married and the unmarried, but urban respondents were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to report HIV/AIDS awareness. Among young women in contrast, the unmarried were more likely than the married (81% and 72%, respectively), and the urban more likely than the rural (86% and 70%, respectively), to report awareness.

Table 8.6: Awareness of STIs and HIV/AIDS

Percent distribution of youth who had heard of and had specific knowledge about STIs and HIV/AIDS, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Awareness among young men (%)	Combined			Urban			Rural		
	M 15-24	MM 15-29	UM 15-24	M 15-24	MM 15-29	UM 15-24	M 15-24	MM 15-29	UM 15-24
Heard about STIs ¹	15.0	21.5	14.9	14.2	23.3	14.0	15.6	20.1	15.7
Number of respondents	2,336	1,065	2,017	1,382	506	1,246	954	559	771
Could identify at least one symptom of STIs	78.7	86.4	78.3	89.8	92.2	89.8	71.1	81.7	69.9
Number who had heard about STIs	349	236	299	201	122	178	148	114	121
Heard about HIV/AIDS	91.4	90.3	91.6	95.9	94.5	96.2	87.9	87.3	87.8
Number of respondents	2,336	1,065	2,017	1,382	506	1,246	954	559	771
Of respondents who had heard about HIV/AIDS, those reporting that:									
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by having a single sexual partner	88.1	87.1	88.5	93.5	92.8	93.8	83.3	82.7	83.6
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by consistent use of condoms	83.3	83.7	83.3	91.9	92.0	91.7	75.9	77.2	75.6
One cannot get HIV through mosquito bites	79.7	78.8	80.3	82.1	80.2	83.0	77.7	77.7	77.9
One cannot get HIV by sharing food with an HIV-positive person	88.3	86.2	89.0	91.5	90.8	91.9	85.6	82.8	86.3
One cannot get HIV by hugging an HIV-positive person	88.3	87.2	89.0	90.6	90.4	90.9	86.5	84.7	87.3
One cannot tell if a person is HIV-positive by just looking at him/her	85.1	82.3	85.8	85.6	82.9	86.6	84.5	81.8	85.0
Number who had heard about HIV/AIDS	2,174	973	1,883	1,327	481	1,199	847	492	684
Awareness among young women (%)	Combined			Urban			Rural		
	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24	W 15-24	MW 15-24	UW 15-24
Heard about STIs ¹	14.1	14.6	13.6	17.0	18.2	16.2	11.7	12.6	10.9
Number of respondents	4,488	1,947	2,541	2,229	901	1,328	2,259	1,046	1,213
Could identify at least one symptom of STIs	76.9	78.5	75.4	79.4	78.3	80.0	74.1	78.7	68.8
Number who had heard about STIs	643	295	348	382	165	217	261	130	131
Heard about HIV/AIDS	76.8	71.8	80.8	85.8	82.5	88.0	69.7	65.7	73.8
Number of respondents	4,488	1,947	2,541	2,229	901	1,328	2,259	1,046	1,213
Of respondents who had heard about HIV/AIDS, those reporting that:									
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by having single sexual partner	77.9	81.8	74.9	76.5	80.4	74.1	79.1	82.7	75.8
One can reduce one's chances of getting HIV by consistent use of condoms	56.9	62.2	53.0	57.0	62.4	53.7	56.9	62.0	52.2
One cannot get HIV through mosquito bites	82.0	78.7	84.4	86.7	83.2	88.8	77.5	75.5	79.3
One cannot get HIV by sharing food with an HIV-positive person	89.0	87.2	90.4	93.0	90.4	94.5	85.2	84.7	85.6
One cannot get HIV by hugging an HIV-positive person	90.5	90.1	90.9	93.6	92.1	94.3	87.6	88.6	86.8
One cannot tell if a person is HIV-positive by just looking at him/her	92.6	91.6	93.3	93.7	94.3	93.4	91.5	89.8	93.2
Number who had heard about HIV/AIDS	3,509	1,444	2,065	1,909	742	1,167	1,600	702	898

Among those who reported awareness of HIV/AIDS, knowledge of specific aspects of the disease was by no means complete. For example, just 88% of young men and 78% of young women who had heard of HIV/AIDS were aware that one could reduce the chances of getting HIV by being faithful to a single partner. Awareness that one can reduce the chances of contracting HIV by using a condom every time one has sex was reported by just 83% of young men and 57% of young women. Differences by marital status were negligible in the case of young men, but fewer unmarried than married young women reported awareness of staying faithful to a single partner (75% and 82%, respectively) and condom use (53% and 62%, respectively) as ways of reducing HIV transmission. Rural-urban differences were apparent only among young men, of whom 92% of urban respondents, compared to 76% among rural respondents, were aware that consistent condom use could reduce the chances of getting HIV.

Misconceptions about modes of transmission were prevalent among considerable minorities. For example, 18% of young women and 20% of young men believed that one could acquire HIV through mosquito bites. Somewhat fewer – 15% or fewer – perceived that one could acquire HIV by sharing food with or hugging a person with HIV, and that one could tell if a person was infected by just looking at him or her.

8.1.8 Comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS

We measure comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS on the basis of information obtained regarding respondents' knowledge of HIV prevention and transmission. Comprehensive awareness is defined as knowledge of two ways of preventing HIV (specifically, condom use and single partner relations), rejection of common misconceptions about HIV transmission (namely, that HIV can be transmitted through mosquito bites, sharing food or hugging) and awareness that one cannot tell by looking at a person whether he or she has HIV. Findings are presented in Table 8.7 and suggest limited comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS and wide variation by sex and rural-urban residence. For example, while 48% of young men reported comprehensive awareness, only 33% of young women did so. Likewise, while 63% and 41% of young men and women in urban settings, respectively, reported comprehensive awareness, just 37% and 28% of young men and women, respectively, in rural settings did so. Variation by marital status was negligible among young women, but unmarried young men were more likely than their married counterparts to report comprehensive awareness (50% and 44%, respectively).

Comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS was greater among older, better educated and economically better off youth. For example, as shown in Figure 8.4a, 10% of married young men with no formal education displayed comprehensive HIV/AIDS awareness, compared to 68% of those with 12 or more years of education; comprehensive HIV/AIDS awareness was reported likewise by 7% of married young women with no education compared to 70% of those with 12 or more years of education. Likewise, Figure 8.4b shows that comprehensive awareness increased from 24% among unmarried young men in the lowest (first) wealth quintile to 69% among those in the highest (fifth) wealth quintile, and from 12% to 50%, respectively, among unmarried young women.

While differentials with regard to religion, caste and current occupational status were less consistent, a few notable trends emerge. First, fewer young Muslim women reported comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS than young women of other religions (26% versus 34–39%). Second, young men from scheduled tribes or VJNT were less likely to report comprehensive awareness than were those from other groups (34% versus 48–54%). Third, differences by current economic activity indicate that those not engaged in any economic activity were better informed about HIV/AIDS than those who were engaged in work (55% and 45%, respectively, among young men, and 37% and 26%, respectively, among young women), perhaps because many of those who were not working were in school or college and thereby more likely to be exposed to HIV-related information. Socio-demographic differences in rural and urban settings more or less mirrored the pattern observed for the combined sample.

A comparison of awareness of HIV and other STIs, presented in Figure 8.5, stresses that awareness of STIs other than HIV was far more limited than awareness of HIV/AIDS and even comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS.

Figure 8.4a: Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by educational level, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: *Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Figure 8.4b: Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by wealth quintile, Maharashtra, 2006

Figure 8.5: Percentage of youth by awareness of HIV/AIDS, comprehensive knowledge about HIV/AIDS and awareness of STIs, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: * Other than HIV.

Table 8.7: Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth who had comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15-19	45.1	26.5	*	20.0	45.7	28.2
20-24	51.1	40.8	40.6	37.0	54.5	49.9
25-29	NA	NA	45.7	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	47.4	33.6	42.0	32.7	49.0	34.2
Muslim	48.0	25.7	47.9	24.7	48.4	26.5
Other ¹	56.2	39.3	56.9	43.5	56.1	36.3
Caste						
SC	47.5	35.8	43.5	40.6	48.3	31.9
ST/VJNT	34.1	24.4	28.9	19.2	36.8	29.1
OBC	48.0	31.1	47.1	32.1	48.9	30.2
General ²	54.4	37.4	48.2	36.1	55.8	38.2
Educational level (years)						
None ³	11.5	6.0	10.1	6.9	(9.8)	1.5
1-7	25.7	15.9	29.1	19.5	26.2	10.1
8-11	49.4	33.9	49.5	39.1	49.2	30.6
12 and above	69.1	62.0	68.4	69.9	69.0	58.4
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	44.8	25.5	43.9	22.8	46.0	28.4
No	55.3	37.0	36.4	38.7	55.6	35.7
Wealth quintile						
First	23.3	14.9	25.3	17.6	23.8	12.3
Second	37.8	20.5	34.0	21.1	38.2	19.9
Third	46.8	30.1	45.5	30.0	48.0	30.0
Fourth	58.0	41.2	54.4	44.5	58.4	38.4
Fifth	69.6	51.1	67.7	52.7	69.3	50.4
Total	48.1	33.4	43.7	32.9	49.5	33.6
Urban						
Age (years)						
15-19	59.3	31.5	*	24.2	59.7	32.7
20-24	65.9	49.3	55.8	45.0	68.8	55.9
25-29	NA	NA	60.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	64.5	42.8	57.1	43.5	66.2	42.4
Muslim	51.5	26.4	58.0	25.4	50.9	27.0
Other ¹	73.8	47.3	(80.0)	51.6	74.7	44.6
Caste						
SC	56.6	41.9	50.6	48.6	58.6	38.0
ST/VJNT	63.9	30.7	(51.5)	23.2	68.2	36.1
OBC	65.9	35.7	64.7	37.5	66.3	34.8
General ²	63.2	45.6	59.3	45.1	64.1	45.8

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Table 8.7: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Educational level (years)						
None ³	15.8	8.1	(15.4)	10.8	*	*
1-7	36.8	20.2	39.0	25.4	37.0	12.2
8-11	63.1	37.3	63.7	44.7	62.7	33.7
12 and above	78.9	62.5	76.5	67.3	79.1	60.5
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	60.8	43.1	58.5	34.8	62.2	46.8
No	66.3	40.1	66.7	42.2	66.3	38.8
Wealth quintile						
First	30.8	13.5	*	(20.8)	(30.0)	(7.1)
Second	39.1	21.3	31.3	24.5	39.7	16.9
Third	53.4	29.3	59.0	33.0	53.5	25.5
Fourth	64.6	40.4	60.3	45.5	66.0	37.0
Fifth	74.9	54.4	75.4	56.7	74.3	53.5
Total	62.8	40.7	58.7	41.2	64.0	40.3
Rural						
Age (years)						
15-19	35.0	23.0	*	18.0	35.4	24.6
20-24	38.0	33.2	31.1	32.0	40.6	38.4
25-29	NA	NA	34.8	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	36.0	27.7	33.2	28.0	37.1	27.5
Muslim	36.7	24.0	(25.0)	23.5	(39.6)	24.4
Other ¹	41.6	28.8	(40.5)	35.6	40.4	23.5
Caste						
SC	39.2	28.4	38.3	34.3	38.7	22.7
ST/VJNT	27.1	21.9	24.6	18.0	28.3	26.1
OBC	35.3	28.5	35.1	29.8	36.1	27.1
General ²	43.9	29.6	35.7	30.1	45.6	29.1
Educational level (years)						
None ³	10.3	4.9	8.4	5.6	*	(2.1)
1-7	19.4	13.7	23.2	16.8	20.0	8.9
8-11	39.4	31.3	39.5	35.9	39.2	28.0
12 and above	55.2	61.2	57.5	73.0	54.4	53.6
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	34.4	20.3	33.4	20.8	35.3	19.7
No	42.2	33.4	35.0	35.4	42.4	31.7
Wealth quintile						
First	22.7	15.1	24.4	17.4	23.2	12.8
Second	37.5	20.3	35.1	20.2	37.9	20.5
Third	42.1	30.5	34.5	27.9	44.4	33.4
Fourth	45.2	42.4	44.3	43.3	43.4	41.2
Fifth	48.9	43.0	(46.5)	47.7	50.0	38.3
Total	36.5	27.6	33.2	28.2	37.5	27.0

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. * Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS includes: (1) identifying two major ways of preventing HIV (using condoms and limiting sex to one partner); (2) rejecting three most common local misconceptions about HIV transmission (that people cannot get HIV from mosquito bites, sharing food with a person who has HIV and by hugging someone who has HIV); and (3) knowing that a healthy looking person can be HIV-positive. NA: Not applicable. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ²Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. ³Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

8.2 Knowledge of legal issues related to marriage and abortion

Lack of awareness of such issues as the legal minimum age for marriage and the fact that abortion services are legally available may pose barriers to health promoting behaviours. In this section, we present young people's awareness about the law on each of these issues.

8.2.1 Knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage

The Youth Study collected information on whether youth were aware of the existence of laws relating to the legal minimum age at marriage for males and females in India and probed specific knowledge of these laws. Findings are presented in Table 8.8 and suggest widespread awareness of laws governing minimum age at marriage for both girls (93–98%) and boys (89–98%). Young men were more likely than young women to be aware of such laws, with 98% of young men compared to 89% of young women reporting that there is a legal age at marriage for boys, for example. The exact legal minimum age at marriage for girls and especially boys was far less likely to be known, however. For example, 84–85% of all respondents correctly reported that 18 years was the legal minimum age at marriage for females; however, only 62–69% correctly reported that 21 was the legal minimum age at marriage for males. Differences by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents were mild.

Table 8.8: Knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage

Percentage of youth who had correct knowledge of the legal minimum age at marriage in India, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Knowledge (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Aware that there is a legal age at marriage for:						
Boys	97.5	88.5	96.7	87.1	97.8	89.6
Girls	97.6	93.0	96.7	91.8	98.0	94.0
Aware of correct legal age at marriage for:						
Boys	68.8	61.8	65.4	57.5	69.9	65.3
Girls	85.0	83.7	85.0	82.7	85.5	84.4
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Aware that there is a legal age at marriage for:						
Boys	98.7	91.5	98.2	89.3	98.6	92.9
Girls	98.8	96.2	97.9	94.5	98.9	97.3
Aware of correct legal age at marriage for:						
Boys	69.8	64.3	68.5	58.3	70.9	68.1
Girls	84.6	85.6	86.3	84.4	84.8	86.4
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Aware that there is a legal age at marriage for:						
Boys	96.6	86.2	95.9	85.7	97.1	86.6
Girls	96.6	90.5	95.9	90.2	97.1	90.8
Aware of correct legal age at marriage for:						
Boys	67.9	59.8	63.2	57.1	69.0	62.6
Girls	85.4	82.1	84.1	81.8	86.1	82.5
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

8.2.2 Awareness of the conditions under which abortion is legal

The Youth Study posed a number of questions to gauge youth awareness of conditions under which abortion is legal, for example, if the woman is married, if the woman is unmarried, if the pregnancy exceeds 20 weeks and if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son. Findings are presented in Table 8.9.

Of the four conditions probed, the largest percentages of youth – 78–87% – were aware that sex-selective abortion is illegal, presumably the result of widespread information campaigns against sex-selective abortion. A second issue about which large percentages of respondents were aware was that it is illegal to terminate a pregnancy that has gone beyond 20 weeks, reported by 65–72% of all respondents. Many fewer were aware that an unmarried woman is legally entitled to undergo an abortion (45–56%) and even fewer were aware that a married woman is

Table 8.9: Awareness of the conditions under which abortion is legal

Percent distribution of youth by knowledge of the conditions under which abortion is legal, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Knowledge (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy	28.6	32.1	33.8	33.1	27.9	31.2
Agree that it is legal for an unmarried girl to terminate a pregnancy	44.5	56.0	48.1	57.7	44.4	54.5
Agree that it is illegal to undergo abortion after 20 weeks of gestation	64.5	72.3	64.6	75.4	64.8	69.5
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son	86.9	78.1	89.0	77.9	86.7	78.3
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	10.5	12.0	11.5	13.0	10.5	11.0
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy	32.2	33.9	37.8	33.3	31.9	34.3
Agree that it is legal for an unmarried girl to terminate a pregnancy	50.4	59.7	56.4	60.7	50.1	59.1
Agree that it is illegal to undergo abortion after 20 weeks of gestation	66.5	81.5	68.3	87.7	66.0	77.4
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son	90.4	82.2	92.7	81.3	90.2	82.9
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	14.3	15.3	16.9	17.1	14.1	14.2
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Agree that it is legal for a married woman to terminate a pregnancy	25.8	30.6	30.9	32.9	24.5	28.3
Agree that it is legal for an unmarried girl to terminate a pregnancy	39.8	53.1	42.2	56.0	39.7	50.1
Agree that it is illegal to undergo abortion after 20 weeks of gestation	63.0	65.2	62.1	68.5	63.8	61.7
Disagree that it is legal to abort a pregnancy if the foetus is female but the couple wants a son	84.1	74.9	86.4	76.0	83.8	73.7
Had correct knowledge of all of the above	7.6	9.4	7.8	10.8	7.4	7.9
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Figure 8.6: Percentage of youth who were aware of selected conditions under which abortion is legal, Maharashtra, 2006

legally entitled to undergo abortion (29–32%) (see Figure 8.6). Young women were less likely than young men to be aware that sex-selective abortion is illegal (78% compared to 87%). While young men and women were nearly equally likely to report that abortion is legal for married women (29% of young men versus 32% of young women), they differed considerably in awareness about the legality of abortion for the unmarried, with young women more likely than young men to report correctly (56% and 45%, respectively). The married were as or more likely than the unmarried to be aware of each of the legal conditions under which abortion is permitted. In general, urban youth were more likely than rural youth to report awareness of each condition probed.

As is evident from Table 8.9, few youth (11–12%) could correctly report the legality of all four conditions probed. Differences were mild by marital status. Urban youth, however, were consistently more likely than rural youth to report awareness of all four legal situations.

8.3 Sources of information on sex and reproduction

The Youth Study questionnaire asked respondents about their sources of information on sexual matters and contraception. For the married, questions about sources of information on sexual matters referred to the situation prior to marriage; in contrast, questions relating to sources of information about contraception related to the current situation, that is, around the time of interview.

8.3.1 Sources of information on sexual matters

Findings, presented in Table 8.10, suggest that young women had few sources of information on sex and reproduction. Indeed, over half of young women reported that they had never received any information on sexual matters (prior to marriage among the married). While young men were far more likely to have been informed, 14% reported that they never received information on sex or reproduction (prior to marriage among the married). Among young women, the married were more likely than the unmarried to report that they had never received any information on sexual matters (65% versus 46%); no such differences were observed among young men. In contrast, rural-urban differences were negligible among young women; however, considerably more young men in rural than in urban settings were uninformed about sexual matters (18% versus 10%).

Leading sources of information on sex and reproduction varied between young men and women. Among young men, the leading sources of information reported were friends and neighbours (76%), followed by the media (60%) and posters/billboards (11%). Among young women, the leading sources of information were the media (24%), teachers (18%) and friends or neighbours (16%). Differences by marital status indicate that more unmarried youth than married youth cited mass media a source of information (62% and 31% of unmarried young men and women, respectively, compared to 57% and 15% of married young men and women, respectively). While

Table 8.10: Sources of information on sexual matters before marriage

Percentage of youth by sources of information on sexual matters before marriage, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Sources of information (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Never received information	14.3	54.5	13.1	65.2	14.0	45.6
A family member other than spouse	1.1	7.1	1.6	6.1	0.9	7.9
Spouse/partner	0.1	1.7	0.8	3.7	0.0	0.0
Friend/neighbour	75.6	15.8	78.4	12.7	75.4	18.4
Teacher/school	9.7	17.9	4.1	9.9	10.8	24.5
Health care provider	9.9	5.8	19.3	4.0	8.6	7.4
Mass media ¹	59.9	23.9	57.1	15.0	61.6	31.2
Youth/ <i>mahila mandal</i> /NGO worker	1.2	0.5	1.1	0.5	1.3	0.5
Poster/billboard	11.1	1.7	9.4	1.1	11.8	2.1
Don't remember	1.3	4.1	0.8	4.8	1.5	3.5
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Never received information	9.9	52.3	8.4	62.8	9.4	45.5
A family member other than spouse	0.2	2.9	0.7	2.3	0.2	3.4
Spouse/partner	0.0	0.5	0.9	1.3	0.0	0.0
Friend/neighbour	80.6	14.7	82.2	12.5	81.2	16.1
Teacher/school	11.5	25.0	5.9	16.0	12.2	30.8
Health care provider	4.1	7.2	12.8	5.4	3.2	8.2
Mass media ¹	72.8	28.1	74.4	22.5	73.9	31.8
Youth/ <i>mahila mandal</i> /NGO worker	0.4	0.5	0.9	0.6	0.4	0.3
Poster/billboard	19.4	2.3	19.4	2.4	20.1	2.3
Don't remember	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.8	0.9	0.6
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Never received information	17.8	56.3	16.3	66.6	17.9	45.6
A family member other than spouse	1.8	10.3	2.2	8.2	1.5	12.4
Spouse/partner	0.2	2.7	1.0	5.2	0.0	0.1
Friend/neighbour	71.7	16.7	75.8	12.9	70.6	20.7
Teacher/school	8.5	12.3	2.9	6.4	9.5	18.4
Health care provider	14.5	4.8	23.9	3.2	13.1	6.4
Mass media ¹	49.7	20.6	45.0	10.8	51.5	30.7
Youth/ <i>mahila mandal</i> /NGO worker	1.9	0.5	1.3	0.4	2.2	0.6
Poster/billboard	4.5	1.2	2.4	0.4	4.8	1.9
Don't remember	1.8	6.8	0.8	7.1	2.1	6.4
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. For married respondents, questions referred to the period prior to marriage.

¹Include newspapers, books/magazines, radio/television and the internet.

19% of married young men reported that they had obtained information on sex and reproduction from health care providers, they were mentioned as a source of information by fewer than 10% of the remaining three groups. Teachers and schools, in contrast, were more likely to be reported by unmarried young men and women compared to their married counterparts.

Patterns were similar in urban and rural areas, yet urban youth were more likely than rural youth to cite mass media as the main source of information. Additionally, urban young men were more likely to report peers and posters/ billboards as sources of information, and urban young women were more likely to report teachers as a source of information, compared to their respective rural counterparts. In contrast, rural young men were more likely to report a health care provider and rural young women to report a family member other than spouse as a source of information on sexual matters, compared to their respective urban counterparts.

8.3.2 Current sources of information on contraception

Table 8.11 describes current sources of information on contraception as reported by youth who were aware of at least one contraceptive method. Findings reiterate, as above, that friends and the media played important roles in conveying contraception-related information to young people.

However, sources of information varied by sex, marital status and place of residence of respondents. For example, key sources of information for young men were male friends (86%) and mass media (72%). Among married young men, wives were reported as a source of information by just 8%. Differences by marital status were narrow, except that unmarried young men were far less likely than married young men to obtain contraceptive information from health care providers. Rural-urban differences suggest that young men in rural settings were somewhat less likely than those in urban settings to obtain information from the media (63% and 83%, respectively) or posters and billboards (5% and 20%, respectively) and somewhat more likely to obtain this information from a health care provider (23% and 5%, respectively).

Among young women, patterns were somewhat different. Clearly, young women had a greater variety of sources of information on contraceptives than men. While mass media continued to be the main source of information on contraception among young women as well (68%), such sources as female friends/neighbours (28%), family members other than spouse (23%) and health care providers (23%) were also common sources of information. Differences by marital status were evident among young women. About half (47%) of married young women reported that they obtained information on contraception from their husbands. Considerable percentages of married young women also received information on contraception from the media (50%), health care providers (35%), family members other than spouse (31%) and female friends/neighbours (26%). Compared to married young women, unmarried young women's leading sources of information on contraceptives were the mass media (84%), followed by female friends/neighbours (30%) and family members (16%). Rural-urban differences were less marked for young women than for young men, but suggest that young women in rural settings were more likely than those in urban settings to rely on family members (29% versus 16%) and female friends (33% versus 23%), and less likely to rely on the mass media (51% versus 87%), for information on contraception.

Of note with regard to both young men and young women are findings suggesting that health care providers reached just one-third of married youth and even fewer (12%) of the unmarried. This is likely a consequence of the lack of attention that the RCH Programme has paid, thus far, to the unmarried. Teachers, likewise, reached a minority of the unmarried (8–11%).

A comparison of sources of information on sex and reproduction (prior to marriage for the married) and contraception suggests that leading sources of information on both matters were peers and the media, which are not necessarily the most reliable sources of information. In contrast, family members, teachers and health care providers – often assumed to be reliable sources of information – were not necessarily reported as such. For example, health care providers were important sources of information on contraception just for the married; they were far less likely to have provided information to the unmarried. Teachers, in contrast, were likely sources of information on sexual matters (but not contraception) among unmarried young women but were rarely cited

Table 8.11: Current sources of information on contraception

Percentage of youth reporting awareness of contraceptives by current sources of information, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Family member other than spouse	1.1	23.2	1.4	30.6	1.0	16.3
Spouse/partner	0.9	22.7	7.8	47.3	0.0	0.0
Female friend/neighbour	1.3	27.9	0.8	25.5	1.5	30.1
Male friend/neighbour	85.5	0.6	83.8	0.3	85.4	0.9
Teacher/school/college	7.1	6.6	3.9	1.6	7.6	11.1
Health care provider	14.8	22.5	34.1	34.6	12.0	11.5
Mass media ¹	71.9	67.9	64.8	49.9	74.3	84.1
Poster/billboard	11.5	6.6	10.1	4.7	12.0	8.4
Youth/ <i>mahila mandal</i> /NGO worker	1.1	0.4	0.9	0.5	1.3	0.2
Number aware of contraceptives	2,238	4,068	1,030	1,862	1,928	2,206
Urban						
Family member other than spouse	0.6	16.4	0.7	25.8	0.6	10.2
Spouse/partner	0.9	18.2	7.4	46.0	0.0	0.0
Female friend/neighbour	1.4	22.7	1.6	19.4	1.4	24.9
Male friend/neighbour	87.7	0.5	90.2	0.1	87.4	0.7
Teacher/school/college	8.8	8.1	5.8	2.8	9.1	11.6
Health care provider	5.0	18.9	15.8	31.7	3.5	10.5
Mass media ¹	82.9	86.5	80.7	75.5	83.8	93.6
Poster/billboard	19.6	9.5	19.1	7.7	20.2	10.7
Youth/ <i>mahila mandal</i> /NGO worker	0.5	0.1	0.9	0.0	0.6	0.1
Number aware of contraceptives	1,337	2,184	497	895	1,203	1,289
Rural						
Family member other than spouse	1.5	29.4	1.8	33.6	1.4	24.2
Spouse/partner	0.9	26.7	8.0	48.1	0.0	0.1
Female friend/neighbour	1.3	32.6	0.2	29.2	1.6	36.7
Male friend/neighbour	83.6	0.7	79.2	0.4	83.7	1.1
Teacher/school/college	5.8	5.1	2.5	0.8	6.3	10.5
Health care provider	22.7	25.9	47.2	36.3	19.2	12.7
Mass media ¹	63.0	51.0	53.4	34.1	66.2	72.1
Poster/billboard	4.9	3.9	3.9	2.8	5.1	5.4
Youth/ <i>mahila mandal</i> /NGO worker	1.6	0.7	0.8	0.9	1.8	0.4
Number aware of contraceptives	901	1,884	533	967	725	917

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to multiple responses. ¹Includes newspapers, books/magazines, radio/television and the internet.

by other groups of youth as sources of information on either matter. Few youth cited a family member as a source of information on sex or contraception; the exception was married young women who cited both husbands and other family members as sources of information on contraception.

8.4 Perceptions and experience of family life or sex education

In the Youth Study, we asked respondents about their thoughts on the importance of imparting family life or sex education to youth, the best age at which youth should receive information about sexual matters and the best person to provide that information. We also asked youth whether they had received formal family life or sex education and if so, the source of this education and their opinion about its quality.

Table 8.12 presents findings on young people's perceptions of family life or sex education. The vast majority (over 85%) of respondents felt that it is important to impart family life or sex education to youth. Young men were moderately more likely than young women to report so (93% compared to 87%). Differences by marital status were negligible. Urban youth, irrespective of sex and marital status, were more likely than their rural counterparts to report this perception (91–97% versus 83–90%).

Of those who perceived family life or sex education to be important, over half of young men and two-fifths of young women reported that such education should be provided to young people at ages between 15 and 17 years. Young women were more likely to believe that information on sexual matters should be provided from an earlier age: while just 13% of young men believed that this information should be provided to youth before they reached age 15, as many as 40% of young women held this view. By and large, differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were narrow.

In terms of youth perceptions about the best person to impart education on sex or family life matters, young men and women revealed quite different preferences. As shown in Table 8.12, among young men who perceived family life or sex education to be important, leading preferred sources of such education were teachers (50%), health care providers and other experts (32%) and friends (11%). Among young women who perceived family life or sex education to be important the most commonly cited preferred sources were teachers (38%), parents (39%), and health care providers or experts (23%). Indeed, findings suggest that while young women would like to obtain information on sex or family life matters from their parents, this was not the case for young men, who would prefer to consult teachers, health care providers or other knowledgeable persons, on one hand, and peers, on the other. As far as differences by marital status were concerned, larger proportions of unmarried than married youth considered teachers best equipped to provide family life or sex education (44–52% compared to 34–44%). Among young men, larger proportions of the married than the unmarried considered health care providers (39% versus 31%) best for providing family life or sex education. Among young women, larger proportions of the married than the unmarried cited parents as ideal for this role (34% versus 28%). Likewise, urban youth were more likely than rural youth to prefer teachers (61% and 41% of urban and rural young men; 46% and 34% of urban and rural young women, respectively), but less likely to prefer health care providers (27% and 36% among young men in urban and rural areas, respectively, and 20% and 25% among young women, respectively).

Few youth reported that they had received family life or sex education in school or through special programmes sponsored by the government or NGOs. As seen in Table 8.13, just 13% of young men and 26% of young women had received any formal family life or sex education. Differences varied widely by marital status and rural-urban residence as well (see also Figure 8.7). The unmarried were somewhat more likely than the married to have

Figure 8.7: Percentage of youth who received family life or sex education, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: FLE: Family life or sex education.

Table 8.12: Perceptions about family life or sex education

Percentage of youth by perceptions about family life or sex education, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Perceptions (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Perceived family life/sex education to be important	92.9	86.6	90.8	83.2	93.1	89.5
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Perceived that family life/sex education should be provided at age (years):						
Below 12	2.0	1.7	2.1	1.7	1.7	1.8
12-14	10.9	38.5	9.8	36.5	11.4	40.0
15-17	54.2	40.0	48.0	38.4	55.4	41.3
18 or above	31.7	18.1	37.9	21.0	30.6	15.8
Perceived that the best person to provide family life/sex education was:						
Parent	4.4	30.8	4.6	34.0	4.3	28.3
Sibling/sister-in-law	0.5	1.1	0.4	0.8	0.3	1.3
Spouse/partner	0.1	1.1	0.0	2.4	0.1	0.1
Teacher	49.8	39.3	43.5	34.0	51.7	43.5
Friend	10.8	3.2	10.2	3.0	10.6	3.3
Health care provider/expert	32.1	22.9	39.1	23.7	30.7	22.2
Youth club/ <i>mandal</i> /NGO worker	1.4	0.4	1.0	0.2	1.4	0.5
Number who perceived family life/sex education to be important	2,200	3,914	977	1,637	1,906	2,277
Urban						
Perceived family life/sex education to be important	96.7	91.4	95.4	88.7	96.9	93.1
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Perceived that family life/sex education should be provided at age (years):						
Below 12	1.1	0.8	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.9
12-14	10.0	41.4	10.6	42.3	10.1	40.9
15-17	56.3	41.7	47.7	39.2	57.7	43.1
18 or above	31.2	15.2	38.8	16.9	29.8	14.3
Perceived that the best person to provide family life/sex education was:						
Parent	3.4	30.6	4.5	34.4	3.1	28.3
Sibling/sister-in-law	0.0	1.1	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.2
Spouse/partner	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Teacher	60.5	45.5	54.4	40.2	61.8	48.7
Friend	8.0	1.9	6.0	2.1	8.3	1.9
Health care provider/expert	27.2	19.9	34.6	21.1	25.8	19.3
Youth club/ <i>mandal</i> /NGO worker	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.6
Number who perceived family life/sex education to be important	1,338	2,032	483	797	1,208	1,235

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Table 8.12: (Cont'd)

Perceptions (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Rural						
Perceived family life/sex education to be important	89.8	82.9	87.6	80.0	89.9	85.9
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Perceived that family life/sex education should be provided at age (years):						
Below 12	2.8	2.4	2.9	2.2	2.4	2.6
12-14	11.7	36.0	9.1	32.9	12.5	39.1
15-17	52.5	38.6	48.4	37.9	53.3	39.3
18 or above	32.1	20.5	37.2	23.6	31.3	17.5
Perceived that the best person to provide family life/sex education was:						
Parent	5.1	30.9	4.7	33.7	5.4	28.3
Sibling/sister-in-law	0.8	1.1	0.7	0.7	0.6	1.5
Spouse/partner	0.2	1.9	0.0	3.7	0.2	0.2
Teacher	40.7	34.1	35.0	30.0	42.5	37.8
Friend	13.2	4.2	13.5	3.6	12.5	4.7
Health care provider/expert	36.4	25.4	42.4	25.5	35.2	25.4
Youth club/mandal/NGO worker	2.2	0.2	1.8	0.1	2.3	0.5
Number who perceived family life/sex education to be important	862	1,882	494	840	698	1,042

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases and “don’t know” responses.

received such education (14% and 7% of unmarried and married young men; 35% and 15% of unmarried and married young women, respectively). While equal percentages of urban and rural young men had ever received family life or sex education (13%), young women in urban settings were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to have received this education (33% and 20%, respectively).

The large majority of youth who had received family life or sex education had done so in school or college (85% of young men and 93% of young women); married young men were the least likely (69%) and unmarried young women the most likely (94%) to have obtained such education in school/college. Rural youth were somewhat less likely than urban youth to have received this education in school or college (78% compared to 94% among young men in rural and urban settings; 89% compared to 96% among young women, respectively) and somewhat more likely to have received it in government programmes or camps (16% versus 2% among young men; 10% versus 7% among young women). Notable percentages of young men in rural settings, moreover, reported receiving family life or sex education through NGO programmes and camps (13%).

Of those who reported receiving formal family life or sex education, the large majority felt that it had answered many of their questions (83–88%) and that teachers or trainers had explained matters well (92%). Differences by sex, marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents were negligible. Despite the fact that youth gave a generally positive assessment of the education they had received, considerable proportions – 23% of young men and 41% of young women – reported feeling uncomfortable or embarrassed in the course of family life or sex education, raising questions about the extent to which they were indeed able to participate freely and clarify doubts. Rural respondents were more likely to report embarrassment than urban respondents (29% of young men and 44% of young women in rural areas compared to 16% and 39%, respectively, in urban areas). Differences by marital status were negligible.

Table 8.13: Experiences of family life or sex education

Percentage of youth by experiences of family life or sex education, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Experiences (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Received formal family life/sex education	13.2	25.8	7.2	15.4	14.2	34.5
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Source of family life/sex education						
NGO programme/camp	9.1	2.5	16.7	2.7	9.1	2.4
Government programme/camp	9.1	8.3	19.5	11.6	8.1	7.1
School/college	85.4	93.3	69.2	90.7	87.0	94.3
Opinion about family life/sex education received						
It answered many queries	82.5	88.1	87.2	90.4	82.2	87.2
Teacher/trainer explained well	91.6	92.1	85.9	92.7	91.6	91.9
Respondent felt embarrassed	22.7	40.9	18.2	40.3	23.2	41.1
Number who received family life/sex education	308	1,197	74	315	291	882
Urban						
Received formal family life/sex education	13.4	33.3	8.0	21.2	14.2	41.0
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Source of family life/sex education						
NGO programme/camp	5.0	1.4	(11.4)	1.3	3.8	1.4
Government programme/camp	2.1	6.7	(5.6)	8.7	1.5	6.0
School/college	93.6	96.3	(82.9)	96.0	95.4	96.3
Opinion about family life/sex education received						
It answered many queries	90.1	89.2	(86.1)	92.1	90.2	88.0
Teacher/Trainer explained well	94.3	92.1	(88.6)	93.4	94.7	91.5
Respondent felt embarrassed	15.7	38.6	(13.9)	39.3	16.8	38.4
Number who received family life/sex education	190	730	39	189	181	541
Rural						
Received formal family life/sex education	13.0	20.0	6.7	12.1	14.1	28.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Source of family life/sex education						
NGO programme/camp	12.6	4.0	(19.0)	4.0	13.6	3.9
Government programme/camp	15.5	10.4	(32.6)	14.6	13.7	8.7
School/college	78.4	89.4	(59.5)	85.3	79.2	91.3
Opinion about family life/sex education received						
It answered many queries	76.2	86.6	(88.1)	88.7	75.3	85.7
Teacher/Trainer explained well	88.7	92.0	(83.3)	92.0	88.9	92.4
Respondent felt embarrassed	28.7	44.0	(21.4)	41.3	28.6	45.1
Number who received family life/sex education	118	467	35	126	110	341

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. () Based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

Figure 8.8 compares the extent to which those who had received family life or sex education differed in terms of correct knowledge of selected sexual and reproductive health matters with those who had not. Findings suggest that youth who had received family life or sex education were more likely than those who had not to display correct knowledge of sex and pregnancy-related matters, in-depth awareness of contraception and comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS (see Sections 8.1.1, 8.1.3 and 8.1.8 for details of items considered in each summary measure). Differences were moderate among young men in two of the three matters; however, comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS was far more likely to be reported by those who had received family life or sex education

Figure 8.8: Percentage of youth reporting knowledge of selected sexual and reproductive health matters according to whether they had or had not received family life or sex education, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: FLE: Family life or sex education.

than those who had not (62% and 46%, respectively). Among young women, differences were wider. For example, in-depth awareness of contraception was reported by 69% of those who had received family life or sex education compared to 48% of those who had not, and comprehensive awareness of HIV/AIDS was reported by 59% of those who had received family life or sex education compared to 25% of those who had not. Differences were, by and large, evident among both rural and urban respondents (not shown in figure).

8.5 Summary

Findings presented in this chapter underscore young people's, and particularly young women's, limited awareness of most sexual and reproductive matters, ranging from how pregnancy occurs to contraception, HIV and safe sex practices. Indeed, fewer than half of youth were even aware that a woman can get pregnant at first sex. Moreover, even on topics about which young people were generally aware, findings show that in-depth understanding was limited. For example, in-depth awareness of condoms and oral contraceptives, the methods most familiar to youth, was reported by just 83% and 27% of young men and 30% and 45% of young women, respectively. Likewise, between just one-third and one-half of all respondents had comprehensive knowledge of HIV and its transmission routes. Findings suggest, moreover, that unmarried young women were the most poorly informed about sexual and reproductive matters, implying that many young women – and fewer young men – enter marriage uninformed.

Not surprisingly, youth reported few reliable sources of information about sexual matters or contraception. Friends and the media were leading sources of information on both issues for both young men and women. Neither of these is necessarily a reliable source of information. Other sources such as teachers, health care providers and family members, assumed to be a more reliable source of information, were less frequently and less consistently cited as leading sources of information. Teachers played an important role in apprising unmarried young women about sexual matters but were not an important source of information for other groups. Health care providers played an important role in addressing the information needs of the married but not the unmarried, reflecting the RCH Programme's thrust on the married. And family members were an important source of information only among married young women and only as far as contraception was concerned.

Few youth had attended family life or sex education programmes either in or outside the school setting – just one in eight young men and one in four young women. Despite this, youth were overwhelmingly in favour of the provision of family life or sex education to young people; typically, young people preferred to receive this education from a professional (health care provider, teacher and so on). Findings suggest, moreover, that youth who had received family life or sex education were indeed more knowledgeable about sexual and reproductive matters than those not exposed to this education.

Pre-marital romantic and sexual relationships

While evidence is sparse, several studies have noted that despite socio-cultural taboos, youth in India do find opportunities to mix and form romantic relationships, and to engage in pre-marital sex with a range of partners and in a variety of situations (Abraham, 2001; 2002; Abraham and Kumar, 1999; Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b; Awasthi, Nichter and Pande, 2000). This chapter begins by describing the development of questions intended to capture these youth relationships. The chapter then explores young people's attitudes toward pre-marital physical intimacy and sex, and the extent and nature of their pre-marital romantic experiences, followed by a description of their pre-marital sexual experiences, including those within romantic partnerships and other situations. Finally, the chapter compares reports of pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences derived using three different methodological approaches, that is, face-to-face interviews, anonymous reporting of respondents' own experiences using a sealed envelope and anonymous third-party reporting of the experiences of respondents' friends.

9.1 Development of the questionnaire module on pre-marital romantic and sexual relationships

In view of the fact that social norms prohibiting pre-marital opposite-sex mixing may result in serious under-reporting of romantic and sexual relationships by youth, the Youth Study initiated the development of this module with a series of focus group discussions among married and unmarried young men and women. In the course of these focus group discussions, youth confirmed that romantic relationships were indeed formed, and mapped a range of places in which youth met their romantic partners secretly. They also listed the vocabulary used by youth to describe their romantic relationships, including the commonly used term "to give a proposal" to describe the act of conveying romantic intentions to opposite-sex individuals.

Building on these insights, a romantic relationship was defined as one comprising a boyfriend-girlfriend relationship (worded culturally appropriately) in which an emotional, physical or sexual relationship was experienced; one in which a "proposal" was accepted, or one in which the couple spent time together alone and secretly. Correspondingly, all respondents were asked questions on whether or not they had ever had a boy- or girl-friend; whether they had "proposed" to anyone of the opposite sex or someone of the opposite sex had "proposed" to them and the "proposal" was accepted, and whether they had spent time alone and secretly with an opposite-sex person. Youth who reported any of the above experiences was considered to have experienced a romantic relationship. We note that our definition of romantic relationships precluded the possibility of reporting same-sex romantic relationships.

All respondents who had reported a romantic partner were then probed regarding the nature of the relationship and the extent of physical contact experienced in the relationship. Questions probing respondents' experience with physical intimacy were posed on a continuum, starting with hand-holding and extending to sexual relations. Thus, the instrument sought to ask potentially sensitive or embarrassing questions in a gradual way, thereby also enabling the interviewer to build rapport with the respondent. Detailed questions concerning the nature of the relationship were asked with reference to the first romantic partner as well as the most recent, if more than one was reported.

Pre-survey focus group discussions also probed the nature of situations in which sex was experienced. Participants discussed an array of partners with whom youth engaged in sexual relations, including romantic and casual, heterosexual and homosexual, sex workers and older married women. Situations of forced and exchange sex were also discussed. Our survey, correspondingly, inquired about each of these different types of relationships after we had obtained detailed information on the nature of relationships with romantic partners.

Additionally, recognising the reluctance of youth to disclose sexual experience in a survey situation, at the conclusion of the interview, all respondents were asked a single question (*“Have you ever had sex with anyone [for the unmarried]/Did you ever have sex with anyone before marriage [for the married]?”*) and asked to mark a blank card with a “✓” or a “X,” place the card in an envelope, seal it and return it to the interviewer. Respondents were informed that the envelope would not be opened in the field, and that only the principal investigators would be able to link the information provided in the envelope with what was provided in the main body of the questionnaire.

We also recognised that despite significant rapport building and a well-developed sequence of questions eliciting sexual behaviours, young people may not have wished to disclose sexual activity in either of the above formats. Other researchers have observed that respondents may be more forthcoming about reporting sensitive behaviours among their peer networks than about themselves and that responses relating to the peer network correspond closely to their own experiences (Rossier, 2003). Hence the Youth Study incorporated anonymous third-party reporting questions, in which respondents reported the romantic and sexual experiences of up to five same-sex peers.

In addition, efforts were made to ensure that youth were comfortable revealing sensitive behaviours. Interviewers were young and trained to build rapport, discuss sensitive experiences in empathetic and matter-of-fact ways and generally make respondents feel comfortable about the topics to be discussed during the interview. As far as possible, interviews were held at times and places that assured the respondent maximum confidentiality. In cases in which family members attempted to participate in or overhear the interview, another interviewer was called upon to conduct an informal discussion or interview with other family members so as to ensure privacy for the interview. Nevertheless, we acknowledge that ensuring privacy may have been a problem, especially in low-income urban settings characterised by cramped housing conditions or that some youth may not have felt entirely at ease despite the extensive efforts made to ensure confidentiality. While findings are indeed in line with those observed in other small-scale and less representative studies (see Jejeebhoy and Sebastian, 2004 for a review), we acknowledge that romantic and sexual experiences may have been under-reported in the survey, notably by young women, and suggest that percentages presented here may be interpreted as conservative estimates.

9.2 Attitudes toward pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual relations

The Youth Study included a number of questions to assess young people’s attitudes regarding the acceptability of pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual activity. Findings are presented in Table 9.1. They suggest that young people’s attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sex were generally negative. Even so, notable proportions of young men and women considered pre-marital kissing and sexual activity acceptable. Young men were more likely than young women to report accepting attitudes towards such behaviours. For example, 36% of young men compared to 10% of young women felt that it is all right for a boy and girl to kiss each other before marriage. Findings also indicate gendered attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sex. While approximately two-fifths of young men and women condoned pre-marital sexual activity among young men, far fewer – 15% of young men and 6% of young women – considered such behaviour acceptable among young women.

Table 9.1: Attitudes toward pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual relations

Percent distribution of youth by attitudes towards pre-marital physical intimacy and sexual relations, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Attitudes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Kissing before marriage is all right						
Agree	36.0	10.4	30.1	8.7	36.3	11.8
Disagree	63.3	88.8	69.4	90.6	62.9	87.2
A boy's future would be ruined if he has sex before marriage						
Agree	60.3	58.7	62.8	58.9	59.9	58.6
Disagree	38.6	39.8	36.8	40.1	39.1	39.5
A girl's future would be ruined if she has sex before marriage						
Agree	84.0	92.9	85.4	93.9	83.9	91.9
Disagree	15.1	6.3	14.3	5.5	15.1	6.9
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Kissing before marriage is all right						
Agree	44.0	14.6	39.7	12.7	44.8	15.7
Disagree	54.7	85.0	60.0	86.8	53.8	83.9
A boy's future would be ruined if he has sex before marriage						
Agree	56.6	58.1	58.2	57.1	55.9	58.8
Disagree	42.8	41.2	41.6	42.5	43.3	40.4
A girl's future would be ruined if she has sex before marriage						
Agree	81.5	94.2	84.0	95.8	81.4	93.3
Disagree	17.8	5.4	15.8	4.1	17.8	6.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Kissing before marriage is all right						
Agree	29.7	7.2	23.3	6.4	29.3	8.0
Disagree	70.1	91.7	76.1	92.7	70.5	90.6
A boy's future would be ruined if he has sex before marriage						
Agree	63.4	59.2	66.0	59.9	63.2	58.5
Disagree	35.4	38.7	33.5	38.7	35.6	38.7
A girl's future would be ruined if she has sex before marriage						
Agree	85.9	91.8	86.1	92.9	85.9	90.6
Disagree	12.9	7.0	13.4	6.4	12.8	7.6
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "can't say" responses.

Differences by marital status of the respondent were negligible, except that more unmarried young men than married young men considered pre-marital kissing acceptable (36% compared to 30%). Rural-urban differences were notable. Compared to rural youth, urban youth, irrespective of sex and marital status, reported more liberal attitudes to pre-marital physical intimacy. For example, 44% and 15% of urban young men and women, respectively, compared to 30% and 7% of rural young men and women, respectively, reported feeling that it is all right for a boy and girl to kiss each other before marriage. However, rural-urban differences were negligible with regard to the acceptability of pre-marital sexual activity among young men and women.

9.3. Pre-marital romantic relationships

In this section we present the prevalence of pre-marital opposite-sex romantic relationships among youth and a profile of those who engaged in such relationships. The section also describes parent and peer awareness of pre-marital romantic relationships, youth intentions regarding marriage with their romantic partners and the extent of physical contact experienced in these relationships.

9.3.1 Prevalence of pre-marital romantic relationships

Despite the fact that youth tended to report relatively traditional attitudes, opportunities to form romantic relationships did exist for them, irrespective of rural-urban residence or sex. As shown in Table 9.2, many youth had either made a romantic “proposal” to an opposite-sex individual or had received such a “proposal”. In total, 30% of young men, compared to 24% of young women, reported that they had ever made or received such a “proposal”. Very few young women reported “proposing” to a man (2% or fewer); among young men, however, almost as many reported making a “proposal” as receiving one (19%) (not shown in tabular form), perhaps revealing a tendency either on the part of young men to exaggerate the extent of their interaction with women or on the part of young women to conceal behaviour that may be considered socially unacceptable.

Patterns of experience in initiating pre-marital romantic relationships by marital status indicate that while differences were marginal among young men, many fewer married than unmarried young women reported making or receiving a “proposal” (19% versus 29%) (see also Figure 9.1), a difference attributable perhaps to the limited number of years they spent prior to marriage as an adolescent. Patterns by rural-urban residence also varied. While rural young men were more likely than urban young men to report having received or made a “proposal” (35% versus 23%), the reverse was true of young women (17% of rural young women and 34% of urban young women).

Figure 9.1: Percentage of youth who had made or received a “proposal” for romantic partnership formation and percentage who had an opposite-sex romantic partner, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Table 9.2: Pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by relationship characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
“Proposals” made/received and accepted						
Made or received a “proposal”	29.7	24.2	26.8	18.7	29.5	28.8
Made or received a “proposal” through a mediator	8.4	8.6	6.0	7.3	8.5	9.7
Accepted a “proposal”/“proposal” was accepted	21.7	6.5	20.8	6.5	21.1	6.5
Secret meetings with an opposite-sex individual						
Met secretly in any of five selected places ¹	22.5	6.1	21.4	6.0	21.8	6.1
Reported romantic relationships in one of the above or in direct question²						
Reported a romantic partner	22.8	7.0	21.9	6.7	22.1	7.1
Reported more than one romantic partner	5.3	0.2	4.3	0.2	5.2	0.2
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
“Proposals” made/received and accepted						
Made or received a “proposal”	22.8	34.2	21.2	28.8	23.5	37.7
Made or received a “proposal” through a mediator	4.8	10.3	2.5	10.6	5.3	10.2
Accepted a “proposal”/“proposal” was accepted	15.2	8.6	15.5	11.0	15.5	7.0
Secret meetings with an opposite-sex individual						
Met secretly in any of five selected places ¹	15.5	8.3	15.8	10.6	15.8	6.9
Reported romantic relationships in one of the above or in direct question²						
Reported a romantic partner	15.7	9.0	15.8	11.5	16.0	7.5
Reported more than one romantic partner	3.1	0.2	2.5	0.3	3.2	0.2
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
“Proposals” made/received and accepted						
Made or received a “proposal”	35.2	16.5	30.6	12.9	34.6	20.1
Made or received a “proposal” through a mediator	11.2	7.3	8.3	5.4	11.3	9.2
Accepted a “proposal”/“proposal” was accepted	26.8	4.9	24.4	3.8	25.8	6.0
Secret meetings with an opposite-sex individual						
Met secretly in any of five selected places ¹	28.1	4.4	25.5	3.5	26.7	5.2
Reported romantic relationships in one of the above or in direct question²						
Reported a romantic partner	28.5	5.4	26.3	4.0	27.1	6.7
Reported more than one romantic partner	7.0	0.2	5.6	0.1	6.8	0.3
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: ¹Behind or around a temple/mosque/church; around a school/college; at own or someone else's home in the absence of parents; in fields/grazing areas (rural) and restaurants (urban); or in a garden/park/maidan/market or haat. ²Respondents were asked a direct question on whether or not they had ever had a boyfriend/girlfriend.

“Proposals” were often conveyed through an intermediary – a friend, relative or sibling. Indeed, 8–9% of all youth reported that the “proposal” was conveyed through a intermediary. This corresponds to over one-quarter of young men and over one-third of young women who had ever made or received a “proposal”. Likewise, rural youth were more likely than urban youth to have conveyed “proposals” through an intermediary; for example, about one-third of rural young men who had ever made or received a “proposal,” compared to over one-fifth of urban young men, reported having used an intermediary.

Compared to those who had made or received “proposals,” fewer youth, particularly young women, reported the acceptance of such a “proposal”. About one in five young men and one in 15 young women reported that they had accepted a “proposal” or that their own “proposal” had been accepted. A roughly equal percentage reported that they had met an opposite-sex individual secretly. In total, in response to the direct or indirect questions, 23% of young men and 7% of young women acknowledged the experience of a romantic partnership. Few respondents reported more than a single partner – just 5% of young men and virtually no young women.

While differences by marital status were negligible, urban-rural differences were notable. More young women in urban areas (9%) than in rural areas (5%) reported that they had ever had a romantic partner, but more young men in rural areas (29%) than urban areas (16%) so reported.

Table 9.3 presents the percentage of youth reporting pre-marital romantic experience by background characteristics. By and large, findings suggest that differences were narrow. Among young women, however, a clear positive association was evident between schooling and reported romantic experience. The percentage of young women who reported a romantic partner increased from 3% among those without formal schooling to 12% among those who had completed 12 or more years of schooling. This association was stronger among rural than urban young women.

Among young men, age profiles indicate the positive association between age and the formation of romantic relationships. For example, 27% of young men aged 20–24 reported a romantic relationship, as opposed to just 18% of those aged 15–19. Although differentials by religion and caste were not wide, findings show that Muslim young men were less likely than young men of other religions to report a pre-marital romantic partnership; for example, 17% of Muslim young men, compared with 22% of Hindus and 37% of young men from other religions, reported a pre-marital romantic relationship. Caste-wise differences suggest that those from scheduled castes and tribes were somewhat more likely to report a pre-marital romantic experience than others (29–35% versus 17–21%). Findings also show that working young men were more likely than others to report the experience of a pre-marital romantic partnership, perhaps a result of greater mobility, opportunities for social mixing and access to financial resources among those engaged in wage earning activities. Likewise, the percentage of young men who reported a romantic partnership declined as the household economic status increased; for example, 29% of those belonging to the poorest wealth quintile compared to 18% of those belonging to top-most wealth quintile reported a romantic relationship. As seen in Table 9.3, these patterns of socio-demographic differentials were less consistently observed, among rural and urban respondents.

9.3.2 Characteristics of pre-marital romantic relationships

Selected characteristics of reported pre-marital romantic relationships are reported in Table 9.4; in cases in which more than one romantic partner was reported, only information relating to the respondent’s first romantic relationship was included. Age at initiation of pre-marital romantic relationships was measured by the age at which they first spent time alone with their partner.

Table 9.3: Prevalence of pre-marital romantic relationships by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Age (years)						
15-19	18.3	5.5	*	3.6	18.1	5.9
20-24	27.3	8.6	28.1	7.8	27.3	10.7
25-29	NA	NA	19.1	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	22.3	6.4	22.6	6.2	21.4	6.6
Muslim	16.5	4.6	12.0	4.5	16.9	4.7
Other ¹	36.6	13.2	29.2	14.2	35.4	12.2
Caste						
SC	34.6	8.2	30.5	8.1	33.8	8.3
ST/VJNT	29.3	7.9	24.5	7.1	28.8	8.7
OBC	21.4	5.5	21.2	5.6	20.5	5.5
General ²	16.8	7.2	16.6	7.3	16.3	7.2
Educational level (years)						
None ³	20.5	2.5	14.7	2.4	(21.4)	2.9
1-7	23.0	6.5	20.7	5.7	22.9	7.5
8-11	22.1	6.1	23.8	5.8	20.9	6.2
12 or more	24.9	11.5	23.3	16.1	24.6	9.3
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	26.8	8.6	22.3	6.4	26.5	10.8
No	14.5	6.2	4.5	6.9	14.5	5.6
Wealth quintile						
First	29.4	5.4	23.6	4.6	29.0	6.5
Second	28.1	5.6	19.9	3.8	28.7	7.6
Third	22.1	7.5	25.5	8.2	20.9	6.7
Fourth	17.9	7.4	23.7	7.7	16.6	7.0
Fifth	18.4	8.1	15.4	9.6	18.5	7.4
Total	22.8	7.0	21.9	6.7	22.1	7.1
Urban						
Age (years)						
15-19	12.3	6.9	*	11.3	12.5	6.2
20-24	18.7	11.0	13.3	11.7	20.0	10.0
25-29	NA	NA	16.5	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	14.2	8.5	16.0	10.6	14.6	7.1
Muslim	15.5	5.7	8.6	6.1	15.8	5.5
Other ¹	29.8	16.2	(30.0)	24.5	28.9	11.4
Caste						
SC	25.3	9.7	27.5	15.8	25.0	6.1
ST/VJNT	19.4	10.8	(18.2)	12.5	21.2	8.5
OBC	14.4	6.6	13.4	7.8	14.6	5.5
General ²	12.9	9.8	11.1	12.0	13.2	8.3

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Table 9.3: (Cont'd)

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Educational level (years)						
None ³	(0.0)	7.0	(3.8)	6.8	*	*
1-7	13.5	11.2	9.5	11.0	14.4	10.8
8-11	15.2	6.9	16.3	8.2	15.0	6.3
12 or more	18.8	11.8	22.7	19.6	19.1	8.4
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	18.4	19.4	15.9	27.2	19.8	15.6
No	11.8	7.0	*	9.1	11.8	5.6
Wealth quintile						
First	(22.2)	11.5	*	(13.0)	(25.0)	(10.7)
Second	17.4	12.1	9.4	11.6	20.9	13.8
Third	16.7	9.0	19.8	11.5	17.4	6.5
Fourth	13.3	8.0	19.9	11.5	12.7	5.8
Fifth	16.6	9.1	11.9	12.2	17.1	8.2
Total	15.7	9.0	15.8	11.5	16.0	7.5
Rural						
Age (years)						
15-19	22.5	4.4	*	0.6	22.3	5.7
20-24	35.0	6.5	37.3	5.3	34.1	11.6
25-29	NA	NA	20.9	NA	NA	NA
Religion						
Hindu	27.7	5.2	26.6	4.2	26.0	6.2
Muslim	20.0	2.1	(16.7)	1.5	(20.8)	2.6
Other ¹	42.6	9.1	28.6	3.3	41.6	14.3
Caste						
SC	42.6	6.5	32.7	1.7	41.3	11.5
ST/VJNT	31.9	7.1	25.3	5.5	30.9	8.7
OBC	26.2	4.9	26.4	4.6	24.9	5.2
General ²	21.7	4.8	23.4	4.1	20.4	5.5
Educational level (years)						
None ³	26.5	1.1	18.1	0.9	*	(2.1)
1-7	28.8	4.2	27.1	3.1	27.8	5.8
8-11	27.1	5.5	29.0	4.5	25.3	6.3
12 or more	33.5	11.1	23.3	10.5	32.8	10.9
Worked in last 12 months						
Yes	32.2	5.5	26.9	3.2	30.8	8.5
No	17.9	5.3	(5.3)	4.9	18.2	5.6
Wealth quintile						
First	29.9	4.8	24.9	3.9	29.3	6.1
Second	30.7	4.2	23.8	1.5	30.3	6.7
Third	25.8	6.5	30.3	6.0	23.3	6.6
Fourth	26.9	6.3	30.4	3.7	24.7	9.5
Fifth	24.4	5.5	(25.0)	6.2	23.8	4.3
Total	28.5	5.4	26.3	4.0	27.1	6.7

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

Table 9.4: Characteristics of pre-marital romantic relationships and partners

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by age at initiation of relationship, partner's socio-economic and demographic characteristics, and nature and duration of prior acquaintance, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Characteristics (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Age when respondent first spent time alone with partner (years)						
15 or below	18.8	26.8	17.9	25.2	17.8	28.5
Median age when respondent first spent time alone with partner	17.0	17.0	18.0	17.0	17.0	16.0
Age of partner						
Younger than respondent	69.4	2.0	78.7	2.4	68.5	2.4
Same age as respondent	24.7	6.4	17.0	4.8	26.0	7.6
Older than respondent	4.8	84.7	2.2	81.5	5.0	87.1
Don't remember	1.1	6.8	2.2	11.3	0.5	2.9
Partner's marital status						
Unmarried	99.6	97.8	98.7	97.7	99.8	97.8
Married	0.2	1.9	0.9	2.3	0.2	1.7
Nature of prior acquaintance with first partner						
Relative	3.5	18.6	5.1	20.5	3.1	17.2
Fellow student/colleague	35.4	26.6	25.2	25.8	37.8	27.2
Neighbour/friend	30.0	22.8	32.5	22.0	29.7	22.8
Family friend	3.9	7.4	5.6	7.6	2.9	7.2
Person from outside village/neighbourhood	26.3	21.2	31.2	18.9	25.6	23.3
Other ²	0.7	3.5	0.0	5.3	0.9	2.2
Duration of acquaintance						
Less than 1 month	2.3	6.2	0.9	6.3	2.5	6.7
1-11 months	7.7	11.8	8.2	11.0	6.6	12.4
12 months or more	66.7	52.8	59.7	53.5	69.3	52.2
Since childhood	23.3	29.2	31.3	29.1	21.6	28.7
Partner's religion						
Same as respondent	71.9	70.6	77.4	76.5	71.7	65.6
Different from respondent	27.6	29.4	22.2	23.5	27.9	34.4
Partner's caste						
Same as respondent	50.3	56.5	56.8	59.5	48.8	53.9
Different from respondent	49.5	43.1	42.7	40.5	51.2	45.6
Partner's socio-economic status						
Same as respondent	57.5	46.6	47.7	48.5	59.3	45.0
Better than respondent	31.3	39.0	38.7	34.8	29.9	42.8
Worse than respondent	10.6	13.1	13.2	15.9	10.3	10.6
Number reporting a romantic relationship	487	326	225	145	402	181

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Table 9.4: (Cont'd)

Characteristics (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Age when respondent first spent time alone with partner (years)						
15 or below	9.9	24.2	5.8	21.0	10.3	27.4
Median age when respondent first spent time alone with partner	18.0	17.0	19.0	17.0	18.0	17.0
Age of partner						
Younger than respondent	72.0	2.3	83.8	1.3	70.3	2.2
Same age as respondent	24.8	7.0	13.2	5.1	26.2	8.9
Older than respondent	3.1	83.7	2.9	82.1	3.4	86.7
Don't remember	0.0	7.0	0.0	11.5	0.0	2.2
Partner's marital status						
Unmarried	100.0	98.9	98.6	98.8	100.0	98.9
Married	0.0	1.1	1.4	1.2	0.0	1.1
Nature of prior acquaintance with first partner						
Relative	1.8	13.0	2.9	11.1	2.0	14.0
Fellow student/colleague	35.6	29.9	26.5	27.2	39.2	33.3
Neighbour/friend	26.4	25.4	25.0	29.6	25.7	21.5
Family friend	1.8	8.5	5.9	11.1	0.7	5.4
Person from outside village/neighbourhood	33.1	18.1	39.7	14.8	31.1	21.5
Other ²	1.2	5.1	0.0	6.2	1.4	4.3
Duration of acquaintance						
Less than 1 month	1.9	5.2	1.4	3.9	2.1	6.5
1-11 months	9.9	12.2	8.7	11.7	10.3	12.9
12 months or more	76.5	54.7	69.6	54.5	78.1	54.8
Since childhood	11.7	27.9	20.3	29.9	9.6	25.8
Partner's religion						
Same as respondent	72.4	66.9	79.7	70.7	72.8	62.8
Different from respondent	27.6	33.1	20.3	29.3	27.2	37.2
Partner's caste						
Same as respondent	43.6	51.1	53.6	56.1	42.9	45.7
Different from respondent	56.4	48.3	46.4	43.9	57.1	53.2
Partner's socio-economic status						
Same as respondent	65.6	56.4	56.5	61.0	66.2	51.6
Better than respondent	27.0	27.9	39.1	20.7	25.7	34.7
Worse than respondent	6.7	13.4	4.3	17.1	7.4	10.5
Number reporting a romantic relationship	217	201	81	103	198	98

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Table 9.4: (Cont'd)

Characteristics (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Rural						
Age when respondent first spent time alone with partner (years)						
15 or below	22.5	30.6	23.5	(30.6)	21.5	30.2
Median age when respondent first spent time alone with partner	17.0	16.0	17.0	(16.0)	17.0	16.0
Age of partner						
Younger than respondent	68.2	2.4	77.2	(2.2)	67.8	2.5
Same age as respondent	24.7	5.6	17.9	(4.4)	26.0	7.4
Older than respondent	5.5	85.5	1.9	(82.2)	5.5	86.4
Don't remember	1.6	6.5	3.1	(11.1)	0.7	3.7
Partner's marital status						
Unmarried	99.5	96.3	98.8	(96.0)	99.7	96.5
Married	0.3	3.0	0.6	(4.0)	0.3	2.3
Nature of prior acquaintance with first partner						
Relative	4.3	25.9	6.6	(34.0)	3.7	20.9
Fellow student/colleague	35.2	22.2	24.6	(24.0)	36.9	20.9
Neighbour/friend	31.5	19.3	35.3	(12.0)	31.9	24.4
Family friend	5.1	5.9	5.4	(2.0)	4.0	8.1
Person from outside village/neighbourhood	23.2	25.2	27.5	(24.0)	22.8	25.6
Other ²	0.5	1.5	0.0	(4.0)	0.7	0.0
Duration of acquaintance						
Less than 1 month	2.4	7.5	0.6	(8.3)	3.1	7.0
1-11 months	6.5	11.3	7.9	(8.3)	4.7	11.6
12 months or more	62.6	50.4	55.5	(54.2)	64.7	48.8
Since childhood	28.5	30.8	36.0	(29.2)	27.5	32.6
Partner's religion						
Same as respondent	71.7	75.6	76.5	(86.0)	71.5	68.6
Different from respondent	27.5	24.4	22.9	(14.0)	27.9	31.4
Partner's caste						
Same as respondent	53.2	63.7	58.2	(66.0)	51.7	62.8
Different from respondent	46.5	36.3	41.2	(34.0)	48.3	37.2
Partner's socio-economic status						
Same as respondent	53.7	34.3	44.2	(28.0)	55.7	37.6
Better than respondent	33.2	53.7	38.8	(58.0)	31.9	51.8
Worse than respondent	12.3	11.9	16.4	(14.0)	11.7	10.6
Number reporting a romantic relationship	270	125	144	42	204	83

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. () Based on 25-49 unweighted cases. ¹First romantic partner, if more than one romantic partner reported. ²Includes employee, employer, teacher, other acquaintance and stranger.

Findings indicate that relationships were initiated at a young age for sizeable proportions of those who had experienced pre-marital romantic relationships. About one-fifth of young men and over one-fourth of young women reported that they had spent time alone with their first romantic partner at age 15 or below. Youth in rural areas were more likely than those in urban areas to have initiated a pre-marital romantic relationship at age 15 or below (23% compared to 10% among young men and 31% versus 24% among young women). Median ages of respondents when they first spent time alone with their pre-marital romantic partner were identical among young men and young women (17 years), and approximately one year older among urban youth compared

to rural youth (17–18 years and 16–17 years, respectively). Information on the relative ages of reported partners suggests that male partners were, for the most part, older than female partners. For example, 94% of young men reported a female partner of equal or younger age, while 91% of young women reported a male partner of equal or older age. Overwhelmingly, the partner was unmarried.

The acquaintance between the first reported romantic partner and the respondent prior to the development of the romantic relationship varied somewhat by sex of the respondent. Among young men, the initial partner was typically a fellow student or colleague (35%), a neighbour or friend from the village or urban community (30%), or an acquaintance from outside the village/urban community (26%). Among young women, while over two-thirds of all those reporting a romantic relationship reported these three types of partners together, 19% of young women reported that their first pre-marital partner was a relative. This gender difference may be attributed to the more limited mobility and access to social mixing opportunities that young women experienced in relation to young men, described in Chapter 7.

This pattern was fairly consistent among both married and unmarried youth. Nonetheless, married young men were less likely to report a fellow student or colleague as the first romantic partner than unmarried young men. Rural-urban differences indicate that rural young men were less likely to report an acquaintance from outside of the home community than were urban young men (23% versus 33%). Rural young women, in contrast, were more likely than their urban counterparts to report, as the first romantic partner, a relative (26% versus 13%) or an acquaintance from outside the home community (25% versus 18%), and less likely to report a neighbour or friend from the same area (19% versus 25%).

Respondents had typically been acquainted with their first romantic partner for at least one year before becoming romantically linked; this was consistently observed in all groups, irrespective of sex, marital status and rural-urban residence. Many – 23% of young men and 29% of young women – reported that they had been acquainted with the partner since childhood, a finding not surprising given that a sizeable proportion of partners were either from the same neighbourhood or, among young women, relatives.

The majority of youth reported that their partners came from religious, caste and socio-economic backgrounds similar to their own. Nevertheless, it was notable that considerable proportions of young people did engage in a romantic relationship with someone of a different religious, caste or socio-economic background. For example, 28% of young men and 29% of young women reported that their first romantic partner was someone from a different religion. One half of young men and 43% of young women reported that their first romantic partner was someone from a different caste and 42% of young men and 52% of young women reported that the partner was from a family that was either socio-economically better or worse off than their own. Of note is that of these, the majority reported a romantic partner from a better-off family.

Disparities by marital status indicate that unmarried young women were more likely than the married to report a partner from a different religion (34% versus 24%) and unmarried young men were more likely than the married to report a partner from a different caste (51% versus 43%). Married young men, however, were somewhat more likely than their unmarried counterparts to report a partner from a different socio-economic background (52% versus 40%). More urban than rural young women reported that the partner was from a different religion (33% versus 24%); no such differences by residential status were observed among young men. For both young men and women, however, those residing in urban areas were more likely than those in rural areas to report a partner from a different caste (56% and 47%, respectively, of young men and 48% versus 36% of young women). Urban youth, however, were considerably less likely than rural youth to report partners from different socio-economic backgrounds than their own (34–41% among urban youth compared to 46–66% among rural youth).

Table 9.5 presents youth responses to questions regarding places in which youth met their first romantic partner secretly, without adults present. The vast majority of youth who reported romantic relationships met secretly in places that offered them privacy or anonymity, including parks and gardens (43–45%), restaurants (29–43%), movie theatres (26–29%), religious places (24–31%) and fields or grazing areas (36% of young men and 9% of young women). At the same time, a sizeable proportion of youth, particularly young men, reported that they met in each other's homes when other family members were absent (37% of young men and 29% of young women).

Table 9.5: Meeting places with pre-marital romantic partners

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by places where they met their partner secretly, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Meeting places (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Each other's home	36.8	29.1	39.5	27.5	36.6	30.0
Temple/mosque/church	24.3	30.7	28.3	38.6	24.5	24.4
Cinema/theatre	26.1	28.8	26.2	26.7	27.4	30.6
Park/garden	43.1	45.0	39.5	48.5	45.8	42.2
Restaurant/eating place	28.9	42.6	25.3	45.8	31.2	39.4
Jungle/riverside	13.1	5.8	12.9	6.1	13.0	5.6
Field/grazing area	35.8	8.7	37.8	11.4	33.3	7.2
Never met unaccompanied	6.9	14.1	8.2	12.2	6.7	15.6
Number reporting a romantic relationship	487	326	225	145	402	181
Urban						
Each other's home	36.8	33.1	39.7	33.3	36.1	33.0
Temple/mosque/church	33.7	41.3	46.4	44.4	33.3	38.3
Cinema/theatre	50.3	38.2	60.9	34.1	48.3	42.6
Park/garden	75.5	60.7	84.1	56.8	73.5	64.9
Restaurant/eating place	61.3	56.2	72.5	60.5	60.5	52.6
Jungle/riverside	8.6	5.1	11.8	6.1	8.8	4.3
Field/grazing area	8.0	2.2	5.9	4.9	8.2	0.0
Never met unaccompanied	1.8	7.3	1.4	7.4	2.0	7.0
Number reporting a romantic relationship	217	201	81	103	198	98
Rural						
Each other's home	36.7	23.1	39.4	(18.0)	36.9	26.7
Temple/mosque/church	20.1	16.4	20.7	(28.6)	20.1	9.3
Cinema/theatre	15.5	16.3	12.1	(14.0)	17.4	17.4
Park/garden	29.0	24.4	20.7	(34.0)	31.9	18.6
Restaurant/eating place	14.7	24.4	5.5	(22.4)	16.8	25.6
Jungle/riverside	15.1	6.7	13.3	(6.0)	15.1	7.0
Field/grazing area	47.8	17.2	50.6	(22.0)	46.0	15.1
Never met unaccompanied	9.4	23.0	11.0	(20.0)	9.1	24.4
Number reporting a romantic relationship	270	125	144	42	204	83

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. ¹First romantic partner, if more than one romantic partner reported.

A minority of youth reported not meeting their romantic partner anywhere in secret, with young women more likely than young men (14% versus 7%) and rural youth more likely than urban youth (9–23% versus 2–7%) to report so.

9.3.3 Parental and peer awareness of romantic partnerships

Table 9.6 reports findings on peer and parental awareness of young people's romantic partnerships. Youth overwhelmingly (over 80%) reported that their peers were aware of their romantic relationships. In contrast, relatively few youth reported that their parents were aware of these partnerships. Young women were more likely than young men to report that parents were aware of their relationship (44% and 18%, respectively), and the married were more likely to report parental awareness than the unmarried (32% and 16% of young men and 55% and 34% of young women, respectively) and urban respondents were more likely to report parental awareness than rural respondents (23% and 51% of urban young men and women, respectively, versus 16% and 33% of rural young men and women, respectively). Gender differences may be explained by the fact that young women, who tend to be more strictly supervised, would have had fewer opportunities to hide a relationship from their parents than young men. Differences by marital status may be attributed to the fact that revelation of the relationship could itself have triggered marriage, either to the same person or someone else, as seen in the panel on parental reaction. Rural-urban differences may be attributable to the fact that activities associated with rural life – fetching water and fuel, agricultural tasks and so on – required youth and their parents to be away from home for extended periods on a routine basis and may have provided rural youth more opportunities to pursue relationships without parental awareness.

The reported reactions of those parents who became aware of their children's pre-marital romantic relationships are presented in Table 9.6. Given the small numbers, we provide findings for the rural and urban populations together. Parents' reported reactions were largely negative for all youth, particularly for young women, even affecting their further education and mobility. Forty-eight percent of young men and 39% of young women reported that their parents had shouted at them and 12% and 14%, respectively, reported that their parents had beaten them; smaller percentages of young men and women reported that they were not permitted to go out (6% and 13%, respectively) or forbidden from meeting the partner (14% and 6%, respectively). Among young women, 5% were withdrawn from school as a result.

For considerable percentages of young women, parents reacted by arranging their marriages, more often to the romantic partner (35%) than to someone else (9%), perhaps in order to protect the family's reputation.

Notably, many parents of young men either accepted the situation or did not react at all to knowledge of their child's romantic relationship (45%), or reacted by advising their son, for example, not to let school performance suffer as a result of the relationship (30%). In contrast, relatively few young women reported these parental reactions (27% and 13%, respectively).

9.3.4 Marriage intentions and duration of pre-marital romantic relationships

The questionnaire probed all respondents who reported a relationship about their intentions to marry their romantic partner. Findings are reported in Table 9.7 and suggest that the majority of youth did intend to marry either the first or most recent partner. Far larger percentages of young women than young men reported an intention to marry their partner (94% versus 59%), a finding observed in other studies as well (Alexander et al., 2006a; 2006b). Differences by marital status suggest that married young men were more likely to have reported this intention than the unmarried (71% versus 57%); differences were negligible among young women. Urban youth were more likely to report marital intentions than rural youth; for example, 97% of urban young women,

Table 9.6: Peer and parental awareness of first pre-marital romantic relationship

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by peer and parental awareness of the first romantic relationship and parents' reaction, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Awareness and reactions (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Friends aware of relationship	80.6	83.4	81.2	80.3	81.1	86.1
Parents aware of relationship	17.9	43.5	32.1	55.3	15.5	33.9
Number reporting a romantic relationship	487	326	225	145	402	181
Urban						
Friends aware of relationship	88.4	84.3	92.8	82.7	87.8	86.2
Parents aware of relationship	23.3	51.1	50.7	60.5	19.7	42.6
Number reporting a romantic relationship	217	201	81	103	198	98
Rural						
Friends aware of relationship	77.2	82.2	76.5	(77.6)	77.9	86.0
Parents aware of relationship	15.5	33.3	24.2	(46.9)	13.5	24.4
Number reporting a romantic relationship	270	125	144	42	204	83
Combined						
Parents' reaction						
Shouted at respondent	47.9	38.5	46.7	37.0	44.9	41.0
Beat respondent	11.5	14.1	10.7	13.9	8.7	14.8
Did not allow respondent to go out	6.3	12.6	6.7	12.5	5.8	13.1
Stopped respondent from meeting partner	13.5	5.9	10.7	2.8	11.6	9.8
Forced respondent to discontinue education	0.0	5.2	0.0	5.5	0.0	6.6
Reported to/shouted at partner's family	4.2	2.2	3.9	1.4	4.3	4.9
Arranged marriage with partner	3.2	34.6	9.3	39.7	4.3	27.9
Arranged marriage with someone else	2.1	8.9	3.9	12.3	0.0	5.0
No reaction/accepted the situation	44.8	27.2	46.7	29.2	44.9	23.3
Advised respondent, including not to let school/college performance suffer	30.2	13.2	22.7	9.6	33.3	18.0
Other ²	0.0	3.7	0.0	4.2	0.0	1.6
Number whose parents were aware of relationship	95	144	75	83	69	61

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. Reporting of parents' reactions is presented for rural and urban combined due to small numbers. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. ¹First romantic partner, if more than one romantic partner reported. ²Includes, for example, taking the matter to the panchayat or the police.

compared with 90% of rural young women, reported intentions of marriage with their romantic partner; 64% of young men in urban areas compared to 57% of those in rural areas reported this intention. These differences may reflect recognition among rural youth of more traditional rural social norms and the fact that their families were unlikely to permit them to marry of their own will.

Reality, in terms of outcomes of romantic relationships, was far different from intention. For example, while almost all married young women had intended to marry their pre-marital partners, just 70% reported having done so; among married young men 71% reported an intention to marry their pre-marital partner, yet only 22% reported doing so. The rural-urban differences observed for intentions persisted in outcomes as well: 85% of married urban young women, compared to just 44% of married rural young women, had married their pre-marital romantic partner. Corresponding differences were observed for married young men (44% and 13%, respectively).

Table 9.7: Marriage intentions and duration of pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by intention to marry partner, current relationship status and duration of relationship, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Marriage intentions, relationship status and duration of relationship ¹ (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Marriage intentions and outcomes						
Intended to marry pre-marital partner	59.1	93.9	70.8	96.2	56.6	91.7
Married pre-marital partner	NA	NA	21.9	70.2	NA	NA
Relationship status						
Currently continuing relationship	52.6	40.9	5.6	3.0	61.3	71.7
Number reporting a romantic relationship	487	326	225	145	402	181
Duration of longest reported relationship (months)						
Less than 1	1.7	4.7	2.4	(5.6)	0.6	5.9
1-6	14.0	15.3	11.8	(16.7)	14.0	15.7
7-12	28.5	31.8	21.3	(30.6)	30.2	31.4
13-24	37.9	28.2	34.3	(38.9)	38.4	19.6
25 or more	17.9	20.0	30.2	(8.3)	16.9	27.5
Number who discontinued relationship	207	86	160	35	147	51
Urban						
Marriage intentions and outcomes						
Intended to marry pre-marital partner	63.8	97.2	79.7	97.5	61.2	96.8
Married pre-marital partner	NA	NA	44.1	85.4	NA	NA
Relationship status						
Currently continuing relationship	62.6	37.4	2.9	0.0	68.7	74.5
Number reporting a romantic relationship	217	201	81	103	198	98
Duration of longest reported relationship (months)						
Less than 1	2.0	(8.8)	(0.0)	*	2.2	(8.0)
1-6	7.8	(8.8)	(5.6)	*	8.9	(12.0)
7-12	37.3	(38.2)	(22.2)	*	37.8	(40.0)
13-24	43.1	(23.5)	(36.1)	*	40.0	(16.0)
25 or more	9.8	(20.6)	(36.1)	*	11.1	(24.0)
Number who discontinued relationship	70	40	44	15	62	25
Rural						
Marriage intentions and outcomes						
Intended to marry pre-marital partner	57.1	89.6	67.3	(95.9)	54.4	86.0
Married pre-marital partner	NA	NA	12.7	(44.0)	NA	NA
Relationship status						
Currently continuing relationship	48.4	45.2	6.7	(8.0)	57.7	68.9
Number reporting a romantic relationship	270	125	144	42	204	83
Duration of longest reported relationship (months)						
Less than 1	1.6	(1.9)	3.0	*	0.0	(3.7)
1-6	15.3	(21.2)	12.9	*	15.7	(18.5)
7-12	26.2	(26.9)	22.0	*	27.6	(25.9)
13-24	36.6	(30.8)	33.3	*	37.8	(22.2)
25 or more	20.2	(19.2)	28.8	*	18.9	(29.6)
Number who discontinued relationship	137	46	116	20	85	26

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. * Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. ¹Data on marriage intentions, relationship status and duration of relationship were collected only with regard to the first and/or most recent partner. These data were not available for 40 young men who reported more than two romantic partners.

The majority of unmarried youth were still in a relationship at the time of interview (61% of young men and 72% of young women); urban unmarried youth were more likely than rural unmarried youth to be in a relationship (69–75% versus 58–69%). Of note is that among the married, 6% of young men and 3% of young women reported continuing a relationship with their pre-marital partner even after marriage.

Among those who had discontinued their romantic relationship (the longest relationship, if more than one romantic partner was reported), relationships extended over fairly long time periods, but gender differences suggest that compared to young men, young women reported shorter relationships: for example, 20% of young women, compared to 16% of young men, reported relationships of six months or less. These results may reflect the finding observed earlier that parents of young women were more likely than those of young men to become aware of the relationship. Differences by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible.

9.3.5 Pre-marital physical intimacy and sex with a romantic partner

Respondents who reported a pre-marital romantic relationship were asked whether they had engaged in a number of intimate behaviours with their romantic partner. These behaviours ranged from those reflecting minimal physical intimacy (hand-holding, hugging) to those reflecting increased physical intimacy (kissing on the lips) and finally, engaging in sexual relations. Findings, presented in Table 9.8, refer to youth experiences of physical intimacy with their first and/or most recent romantic partner, if more than one.

Gender differences in reporting of such experiences widened considerably between reports of hand-holding and progressively more intimate forms of behaviour. For example, 92% of young men compared to 82% of young women reported holding hands with any romantic partner. In comparison, more than three-quarters of young men compared to about two-fifths of young women reported kissing their romantic partners. Differences were widest in relation to reports of sexual activity: while about half of young men reported sex with one or more romantic partners, 13% of young women so reported. Gender differences in reporting of sexual experience with a romantic partner are difficult to explain, although this pattern is observed in a large number of studies in India and elsewhere (see, for example, Alexander et al., 2006a; Mensch, Clark and Anh, 2003). The possibility, however, that young men over-reported and young women under-reported sexual experience with a romantic partner as a result of norms of masculinity and femininity cannot be ruled out.

Differences by marital status were relatively muted, except that married young women were more likely than unmarried young women to report more intimate behaviours (see also Figure 9.2). Finally, urban-rural differences suggest that hand-holding, hugging and kissing were more likely to be reported by urban than rural youth, but pre-marital sex was considerably more likely to be reported by rural youth. Specifically, 39% and 7% of urban young men and women, respectively, reported pre-marital sex with a romantic partner, compared with 54% and 22%, respectively, of rural youth, a finding we attribute to the greater opportunities for privacy in rural areas.

In short, findings confirm that pre-marital romantic relationships among youth almost always included some form of physical intimacy. Moreover, about half of young men and between one in eight young women who reported pre-marital romantic relationships had experienced sex with a romantic partner.

Table 9.8: Physical intimacy and sexual experiences in pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship by experiences of physical intimacy and sex with their partner, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Physical intimacy (%) ¹	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Ever held hands	92.0	82.4	91.8	82.6	91.7	81.7
Ever hugged	79.9	50.2	78.1	55.0	80.4	46.1
Ever kissed	77.0	40.6	75.5	42.7	77.0	38.9
Ever had sexual relations	49.6	13.4	48.5	15.3	48.1	12.2
Number reporting a romantic relationship	487	326	225	145	402	181
Urban						
Ever held hands	96.9	86.5	97.1	85.4	96.6	87.2
Ever hugged	91.4	51.1	88.4	53.7	91.8	48.9
Ever kissed	87.1	43.3	79.7	42.7	87.8	43.6
Ever had sexual relations	38.7	7.3	32.4	7.3	38.8	7.4
Number reporting a romantic relationship	217	201	81	103	198	98
Rural						
Ever held hands	89.8	76.9	89.1	(78.0)	89.3	75.6
Ever hugged	74.8	48.9	73.8	(58.0)	74.8	43.5
Ever kissed	72.7	37.0	73.8	(42.9)	71.8	33.7
Ever had sexual relations	54.4	22.2	55.2	(28.6)	52.7	17.4
Number reporting a romantic relationship	270	125	144	42	204	83

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. ¹Data on ever held hands, ever hugged and ever kissed pertain to the first or most recent partner, if more than one partner was reported. Data on pre-marital sexual relations pertain not only to the first or most recent partner, but also to other romantic partners, if more than two romantic partners were reported.

Figure 9.2: Percentage of youth reporting experiences of physical intimacy and sex with a pre-marital romantic partner, Maharashtra, 2006

9.3.6 Characteristics of sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic relationships

The Youth Study asked all respondents reporting pre-marital sex with a romantic partner about fears of pregnancy or infection at the time of first sex, condom and contraceptive decision-making and use at first and subsequent sexual encounters with a romantic sexual partner, and the consensual nature of first sex. Findings are presented in Table 9.9. Given the small numbers of respondents reporting this experience, particularly among young women, we provide combined rural-urban findings for married and unmarried young men, and for all young women, irrespective of marital status.

Among those who reported sexual experience within pre-marital romantic relationships, fear of pregnancy was reported by 31% of young men and 70% of young women. In contrast, fear of infection was reported by 8% of young men (16% of the married and 8% of the unmarried) and 52% of young women.

Table 9.9: Characteristics of sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic relationships

Percentage of youth reporting pre-marital sexual experiences with an opposite-sex romantic partner by selected characteristics of their first and subsequent sexual encounters with the partner, Maharashtra, 2006

Characteristics (%) ¹	M 15-24	MM 15-29	UM 15-24	W 15-24
Anxiety associated with first sex				
Afraid of getting pregnant at first sex	30.9	39.6	30.0	(69.8)
Afraid of getting infection at first sex	7.6	16.2	7.6	(52.4)
Contraceptive use				
Practised contraception at first sex	38.8	41.4	38.6	(32.6)
Practised contraception in all sexual encounters ²	27.9	29.5	26.7	(28.6)
Condom use				
Used condoms at first sex to:	34.0	34.2	34.8	(23.3)
Avoid pregnancy	33.6	34.2	34.1	(23.3)
Avoid infection	25.6	23.4	26.2	(23.3)
Used condoms in all sexual encounters ²	26.0	24.1	25.7	(23.3)
Decision to use contraception at first sex taken by				
Respondent	21.4	22.5	21.9	(0.0)
Partner	2.3	4.5	1.4	(16.3)
Jointly	14.9	14.4	15.2	(16.3)
Consensuality of first sex				
Mutual consent	75.1	80.2	73.3	(57.1)
Male partner forced	1.5	0.9	1.9	(11.9)
Female partner forced	1.5	0.0	1.9	(0.0)
Male partner persuaded	18.8	17.1	19.5	(26.2)
Female partner persuaded	3.1	1.8	3.3	(4.8)
Number reporting pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner	231	105	182	43

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses. () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. ¹In-depth probing of sexual experiences was restricted to respondents’ first or most recent romantic partner. Therefore, if a respondent reported his/her first sexual experience as occurring with a romantic partner other than the first or the most recent, then age, consensuality and other characteristics at first sex were unknown. Information was not available in 16 such cases. ²Data were missing for 30 young men who reported sexual experiences with a romantic partner other than the first or most recent partner.

Reported contraceptive use at first pre-marital sex with a romantic partner was far from universal. In total, 39% of young men and 33% of young women reported using contraception at first sex and 28% and 29%, respectively, reported that it was consistently practised in all sexual encounters with their opposite-sex romantic partner(s). Only one-third of young men and one-quarter of young women, however, had used a condom during their first sexual encounter with a romantic partner. In other words, the majority of those who practised contraception at first sex used a condom (86% of young men and 71% of young women). All young women compared to about three-quarters of the young men who used a condom at first pre-marital sex with a romantic partner continued to do so in subsequent sexual encounters with their romantic partner(s). In keeping with the finding that considerably more young men feared pregnancy than infection at the time of first pre-marital sex with a romantic partner, virtually all young men who used a condom at first sex reported doing so for pregnancy prevention; in comparison, three-quarters of those who used a condom at first sex reported doing so to prevent infection.

Youth reports of decision-making regarding contraceptive use at first pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner confirm that young women were relatively disadvantaged. For example, responses of both young men and young women suggest that the decision to practise contraception at first sex typically did not involve the female partner, either as the sole or joint decision-maker. While 39% of young men and 33% of young women had practised contraception at first sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner, just 17% and 16% of young men and women, respectively, reported that the female partner had participated in the decision.

While the majority of young men and women reported that their first experience of pre-marital sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner was consensual, several youth reported that it occurred without consent. Gender differences were wide in this respect. For example, 75% of young men reported that sex was consensual, compared to 57% of young women. A considerable minority of young women (12%) reported that their opposite-sex romantic partner had forced them to engage in sex the first time; in contrast, 2% of young men acknowledged that they had forced their partner to do so. Larger percentages of young men (19%) and women (26%) reported that the male partner had persuaded the female partner to engage in sexual relations. Very few youth reported that the female partner had persuaded (3% and 5%, respectively) or forced (2% and 0%, respectively) the male partner to engage in sex.

9.4 Pre-marital sexual experiences within romantic and other relationships

Aside from the heterosexual romantic partnerships discussed in previous sections, the Youth Study also probed youth experiences of pre-marital sex with other partners, including homosexual partners, sex workers, married women, casual partners and spouse before marriage, and in situations characterised by force and exchange of gifts or favours.

In this and subsequent sections of this chapter, we present findings on the prevalence of pre-marital sexual experiences (irrespective of whether such experiences took place within romantic or other partnerships) among all youth in the sample.

9.4.1 Extent of pre-marital sexual experiences

Table 9.10 reports percentages of respondents reporting pre-marital sex in any of the situations described above. Findings confirm that pre-marital sex profiles varied widely by sex. For 11% of young men and 1% of young women, pre-marital sex occurred in a romantic relationship with a person of the opposite sex. Just 0.3–0.4% of youth reported experiencing same-sex relations. Likewise, less than 0.5% of young men and young women reported that they were forced to engage in sex, and 0.5% of young men reported that they had forced sex on a female partner. Sex in exchange for money or favours was reported by 0.3% or fewer youth. Casual sex was reported by 2% of young men and 0.2% of young women.

Table 9.10: Overall pre-marital sexual experiences

Percentage of youth reporting pre-marital sexual experiences with any partner and via different reporting methods, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Pre-marital sexual experiences and reporting methods (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Reported pre-marital sex with:						
Opposite-sex romantic partner	11.3	0.9	10.6	1.0	10.6	0.9
Same-sex partner	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.5	0.4
Someone who forced respondent to have sex	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3
Girl whom respondent forced	0.5	NA	0.1	NA	0.5	NA
Someone in exchange for money/favour	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.3	0.2
Sex worker	1.7	NA	2.1	NA	1.6	NA
Married woman ¹	1.8	NA	2.5	NA	1.5	NA
Casual partner	1.7	0.2	0.6	0.2	1.9	0.3
Spouse before marriage	NA	NA	1.6	0.6	NA	NA
Reported any pre-marital sex via:						
Face-to-face interview	13.7	1.4	13.8	1.2	12.8	1.5
Anonymous format (sealed envelope)	14.8	2.3	16.0	2.5	13.9	2.2
Face-to-face interview or anonymous format (sealed envelope)	16.4	2.6	17.9	2.6	15.3	2.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Reported pre-marital sex with:						
Opposite-sex romantic partner	6.1	0.7	5.0	0.8	6.2	0.6
Same-sex partner	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1
Someone who forced respondent to have sex	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Girl whom respondent forced	0.1	NA	0.0	NA	0.1	NA
Someone in exchange for money/favour	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Sex worker	1.7	NA	1.8	NA	1.6	NA
Married woman ¹	1.3	NA	2.5	NA	0.8	NA
Casual partner	1.1	0.1	0.5	0.0	1.2	0.1
Spouse before marriage	NA	NA	1.6	0.6	NA	NA
Reported any pre-marital sex via:						
Face-to-face interview	8.1	0.9	8.7	1.0	8.0	0.8
Anonymous format (sealed envelope)	9.5	1.2	9.4	1.4	9.5	1.0
Face-to-face interview or anonymous format (sealed envelope)	10.7	1.5	11.6	1.7	10.3	1.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Reported pre-marital sex with:						
Opposite-sex romantic partner	15.5	1.2	14.5	1.1	14.3	1.2
Same-sex partner	0.6	0.5	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.8
Someone who forced respondent to have sex	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.4
Girl whom respondent forced	0.7	NA	0.2	NA	0.8	NA
Someone in exchange for money/favour	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.2	0.5	0.4
Sex worker	1.7	NA	2.2	NA	1.5	NA
Married woman ¹	2.2	NA	2.6	NA	2.2	NA
Casual partner	2.1	0.4	0.6	0.2	2.5	0.5
Spouse before marriage	NA	NA	1.6	0.6	NA	NA
Reported any pre-marital sex via:						
Face-to-face interview	18.0	1.8	17.4	1.3	16.9	2.3
Anonymous format (sealed envelope)	18.9	3.3	20.7	3.1	17.6	3.4
Face-to-face interview or anonymous format (sealed envelope)	20.9	3.5	22.3	3.1	19.5	4.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: NA: Not applicable. ¹Sex with a married woman excludes sex with wife before marriage.

Young men were asked, in addition, about relations with sex workers and married women (excluding their own wives, if married). Relations with sex workers and married women were reported by 2% of young men. Two percent of married young men and 1% of married young women reported sex with their spouse before marriage (some of these included those who had sex with a romantic partner whom they later married). In this way, a total of 14% of young men and 1% of young women reported pre-marital sexual relations in the course of face-to-face interviews.

Several youth who had not admitted sexual experience in the face-to-face interview did so in the anonymous sealed envelope. Including these, in total, 16% of young men and about 3% of young women had reported any pre-marital sexual experience. Although the Youth Study findings fall within ranges observed in a variety of small case studies (15–30% for males and fewer than 10% for females; Jejeebhoy and Sebastian, 2004), the possibility that youth opted not to disclose sexual experience in various situations cannot be discounted, particularly in the case of reporting by young women, and in the reporting of forced, same-sex or sex worker relations.

The percentages reporting pre-marital sexual experience were roughly similar among the married and unmarried (see also Figure 9.3). Rural-urban differences, however, were notable. Rural respondents were twice as likely as their urban counterparts to report having experienced pre-marital sex (21% of young men and 4% of young women in rural areas compared to 11% and 2%, respectively, in urban areas) and more likely to report sexual experience in almost every situation about which it was probed.

Table 9.11 presents percentages reporting pre-marital sexual experience by selected socio-demographic characteristics of youth. In view of the small numbers of respondents reporting such experience, findings are presented for married and unmarried young men and all young women combined.

Age profiles confirm the positive association between age and pre-marital sexual experience among young men, with those aged 20–24 more likely than younger respondents to report sexual experience. For example, 21% of 20–24 year-old men compared to 12% of 15–19 year-olds reported any pre-marital sexual experience. Of note, however, is that married young men aged 25–29 were considerably less likely than those aged 20–24 to report any pre-marital sexual experience (15% versus 24%). Differentials by religion and caste were also quite pronounced. Findings consistently show that Muslim youth were less likely than youth of other religions to report pre-marital sex. Specifically, 12% of Muslim young men and 1% of Muslim young women reported pre-marital sex, compared with 16–24% and 3–4%, respectively, of their counterparts from other religions. Caste-wise differences, by and large, suggest that those from scheduled castes and tribes were more likely to report sexual experience than others (21–22% versus 13–16% among young men and 3–5% versus 2% among young women, respectively).

Figure 9.3: Percentage of youth reporting any pre-marital sexual experiences (in face-to-face interview or sealed envelope), according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Table 9.11: Overall pre-marital sexual experiences by selected background characteristics

Percentage of youth reporting any pre-marital sexual experiences by selected background characteristics, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (%)	M 15-24	MM 15-29	UM 15-24	W 15-24
Age (years)				
15-19	12.3	*	12.0	2.8
20-24	20.5	23.6	19.7	2.5
25-29	NA	15.3	NA	NA
Religion				
Hindu	16.2	17.9	15.0	2.7
Muslim	11.8	15.4	11.9	0.6
Other ¹	24.3	22.2	23.2	4.1
Caste				
SC	22.2	19.3	21.3	3.1
ST/VJNT	20.7	23.6	19.1	5.0
OBC	16.4	17.7	15.1	2.3
General ²	12.5	14.3	11.6	2.2
Educational level (years)				
None ³	18.2	16.5	(21.4)	2.2
1-7	22.5	18.9	22.0	3.7
8-11	15.9	18.7	14.6	2.6
12 and above	12.6	15.5	12.4	1.7
Worked in last 12 months				
Yes	21.0	18.1	20.4	4.6
No	6.8	13.6	6.8	1.7
Wealth quintile				
First	25.7	24.0	23.8	5.4
Second	20.5	18.2	19.5	2.9
Third	15.8	17.4	15.3	2.8
Fourth	12.2	16.7	11.6	1.9
Fifth	9.9	11.2	9.8	1.4
Total	16.4	17.9	15.3	2.6

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. *Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable.

OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ²Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC.

³Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

Findings suggest an inverse relationship between educational attainment and reported pre-marital sexual experience, particularly among unmarried young men; for example, 22% of unmarried young men with 1–7 years of education reported experiencing pre-marital sex, compared with just 12% of those with 12 or more years of education. A much stronger positive relationship was observed with economic activity status. Youth who had worked in the last year were considerably more likely than non-working youth to have experienced pre-marital sex (for example, 20% versus 7% of unmarried young men, and 5% versus 2% of young women). These findings may be the result of the greater mobility and freedom from parental supervision implied by their work status. Findings also suggest a consistent inverse association between wealth status and pre-marital sexual experience, with youth in the uppermost (fifth) quintile more than half as likely to report pre-marital sex as those in the lowest (first) quintile.

9.4.2 Age at initiation of pre-marital sex

Table 9.12 presents cumulative percentages of youth who experienced first pre-marital sex at selected ages (among all youth in the sample) calculated using life table techniques, with censoring taking place at the time of marriage for married youth and at the time of the survey for unmarried youth. For youth who reported pre-marital sex only through the anonymous sealed envelope method, age at first premarital sex was imputed conservatively, using age at marriage (for the married) and current age (for the unmarried) as age at initiation of pre-marital sex. Several findings are notable. First, young men tended to initiate pre-marital sexual relations earlier than young women. Specifically, 5% of young men compared to 2% of young women had initiated first sex before age 18. Second, young men in rural areas were more likely to initiate pre-marital sexual relations earlier than their urban counterparts; for example, 8% of rural young men compared to 1% of urban young men had their sexual debut before age 18. Findings indicate notable increases in initiation of pre-marital sexual activity as young people transitioned from early adolescence (before age 15) to late adolescence (before ages 18 and 20) to young adulthood (before ages 21 and 25). While just 0.3% of young men and 0.2% of young women initiated pre-marital sexual relations in early adolescence (before age 15), 12% of young men and 3% of young women experienced first pre-marital sex before they transitioned out of adolescence (before age 20). Finally, 32% of young men and 7% of young women had initiated pre-marital sexual relations before they transitioned into adulthood (before age 25).

The age-specific increase in cumulative percentages of those who had initiated pre-marital sexual relations was steeper among rural than among urban youth. Among rural young men, for example, while just 0.4% had experienced first sex in early adolescence (before age 15), as many as 18% had experienced pre-marital sex before they transitioned out of adolescence (before age 20) and 39% by the time they transitioned out of the youth ages to adulthood (before age 25). The corresponding percentages among urban youth were 0.2%, 5% and 23%, respectively. Although levels of pre-marital sex were lower among young women, the same pattern held true. Among rural women, 0.2% had initiated sex before age 15 and this percentage increased to 4% and further to 15% before ages 20 and 25, respectively. Increases among young women in urban areas, in contrast, were relatively mild (from 0.1% before age 15 to 3% before age 25).

Table 9.12: Age at initiation of pre-marital sex

Cumulative percentage of youth by age at first pre-marital sexual experience, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Age at first pre-marital sex (%) ¹	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	M 15-24	W 15-24	M 15-24	W 15-24	M 15-24	W 15-24
First pre-marital sex occurred before age (years):						
15	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.4	0.2
18	5.2	1.5	1.4	0.8	8.4	2.2
20	12.4	3.0	5.3	1.6	18.3	4.4
21	15.9	3.7	7.7	1.8	22.7	5.8
25	31.6	6.8	23.3	2.5	38.7	15.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,382	2,229	954	2,259

Note: ¹Calculated using life table techniques. Age at first pre-marital sex among those who reported pre-marital sex only through the anonymous sealed envelope method was imputed conservatively, using age at marriage (for the married) and current age (for the unmarried).

9.4.3 Pre-marital sexual risk behaviours

Table 9.13 presents findings relating to sexual risk behaviours of those reporting pre-marital sexual experiences, including multiple partner relations and inconsistent condom use. Findings confirm that where youth engaged in pre-marital sex, it was generally under unsafe conditions.

Sizeable proportions of sexually experienced youth had indeed engaged in sex with multiple partners before marriage; for example, one-third of young men reported two or more partners. While few young women reported that they had engaged in pre-marital sex, a similar proportion (29%) reported multiple pre-marital partners. Unmarried youth were further probed about the number of partners with whom they had engaged in sex over the 12 months preceding the interview. Some 11% and 26% of sexually experienced young men and women, respectively, reported multiple sexual partners in the last year.

The Youth Study questionnaire probed consistent condom use only with regard to sex with the first and/or most recent romantic partner, in exchange sex encounters, with sex workers and with married women. Information on condom use was not obtained for pre-marital sexual experiences with romantic partners other than the first or most recent, same-sex romantic partners, casual sex partners, spouse before marriage or among those who reported the experience of forced sex. Although few youth reported these latter relationships, we acknowledge that our consistent condom use indicator may not be comprehensive. Findings suggest that among youth who reported pre-marital sex in the face-to-face interview, only 22% of young men and 7% of young women reported that they had always used a condom. Condom use during the last pre-marital sexual encounter, assessed for unmarried respondents, suggests that only 32% of unmarried young men and 18% of unmarried young women reported condom use at last sex.

Table 9.13: Pre-marital sexual risk behaviours

Percentage of sexually experienced youth who had pre-marital sex by number of partners and condom use, Maharashtra, 2006

Sexual behaviours (%)	M 15-24	MM 15-29	UM 15-24	W 15-24
Total number of pre-marital sexual partners				
1	67.9	69.4	66.4	71.0
2 or more	32.1	30.6	33.6	29.0
Consistent condom use with pre-marital sexual partners ¹	21.6	17.7	22.4	6.5
Number reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	285	142	226	62
Number of sexual partners in last 12 months				
None	NA	NA	45.9	(12.8)
1	NA	NA	43.2	(61.5)
2 or more	NA	NA	10.8	(25.6)
Condom used at last pre-marital sex	NA	NA	32.0	(17.9)
Number of unmarried respondents reporting pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview	NA	NA	226	38

Note: () Based on 25–49 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable. ¹Questions on consistent condom use were asked only with regard to sexual relationships with first and/or most recent romantic partner, exchange sex partner, sex worker or married woman and excluded experiences with romantic partners other than first or most recent romantic partner, same-sex romantic partner, casual partner, spouse before marriage and experiences of forced sex.

9.4.4 Non-consensual sexual experiences

The Youth Study questionnaire also probed the extent to which young people had experienced such non-consensual sexual experiences as verbal harassment, non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex. In addition, young men were asked if they had ever verbally harassed a girl or perpetrated non-consensual sexual touch or forced sex. Findings on non-consensual sexual experiences are presented in Table 9.14. For the married, these refer to the period before marriage. We acknowledge that forced sex is an extremely sensitive issue and hence, very likely to have been under-reported.

Table 9.14: Pre-marital non-consensual sexual experiences

Percentage of youth reporting various pre-marital non-consensual sexual experiences, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Non-consensual sexual experiences (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Ever experienced						
Verbal harassment	4.1	12.9	1.7	8.3	4.3	16.8
Any non-consensual sexual touch ¹	4.1	3.7	1.8	2.2	4.3	5.0
Any forced sex	0.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.3
Ever perpetrated the following:						
Verbally harassed anyone ²	32.9	NA	25.5	NA	34.3	NA
Touched or brushed past a girl ²	26.8	NA	22.3	NA	27.1	NA
Forced sex on a girl	0.5	NA	0.1	NA	0.5	NA
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Ever experienced						
Verbal harassment	0.5	21.2	0.0	15.3	0.5	25.0
Any non-consensual sexual touch ¹	1.6	5.7	0.2	2.8	1.9	7.5
Any forced sex	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2
Ever perpetrated the following:						
Verbally harassed anyone ²	41.3	NA	31.5	NA	43.4	NA
Touched or brushed past a girl ²	25.8	NA	22.1	NA	26.7	NA
Forced sex on a girl	0.1	NA	0.0	NA	0.1	NA
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Ever experienced						
Verbal harassment	6.9	6.5	2.9	4.4	7.4	8.7
Any non-consensual sexual touch ¹	6.1	2.1	2.7	1.9	6.4	2.5
Any forced sex	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.7	0.4
Ever perpetrated the following:						
Verbally harassed anyone ²	26.2	NA	21.4	NA	26.6	NA
Touched or brushed past a girl ²	27.6	NA	22.5	NA	27.3	NA
Forced sex on a girl	0.7	NA	0.2	NA	0.8	NA
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: NA: Not applicable. ¹Includes hugging in a sexual way, kissing in sexual way, touching of private parts and attempted forced sex. ²It is possible that married young men may have reported the occurrence of these events post-marriage since age at occurrence was not probed.

Verbal sexual harassment was experienced by substantial minorities of youth (4% of young men and 13% of young women). Marital status differences suggest that the unmarried, particularly young women, were up to twice as likely to have experienced verbal sexual harassment as the married (17% of unmarried young women versus 8% of married young women, for example). Rural-urban differences suggest, moreover, that young women in urban settings were considerably more likely than their rural counterparts to have reported the experience of verbal harassment (21% in urban areas compared with 7% in rural areas). Among young men, however, those in rural areas were somewhat more likely than those in urban areas to report the experience of verbal harassment (7% versus 1%).

Non-consensual sexual touch was measured by questions that probed whether the respondent had ever been the victim of unwanted hugging or kissing in a sexual way, whether someone had touched their private parts without consent or had forced them to touch the perpetrator's private parts, and finally, whether someone had attempted to have sex with the respondent against her/his will using physical force or threats. As shown in Table 9.14, few respondents – 4% – admitted the experience of unwanted touch measured in these ways. Surprisingly, gender differences were not observed. Unmarried youth, however, were more likely than the married to have experienced unwanted touch (4–5% versus 2%). Rural-urban differences were narrow.

Questions on forced sex were posed in two ways: with regard to the consensual nature of first sex with a romantic opposite- or same-sex partner, on one hand, and forced sex by any non-romantic partner, on the other. Measured in this way, forced sex was rarely reported, i.e., by less than 0.5% of respondents in any category.

Young men's reports of perpetration of these acts, presented in Table 9.14, suggest that non-consensual sexual experiences may well have been under-reported, especially by young women. Indeed, as many as one-third of young men admitted that they had ever harassed a girl verbally. Moreover, just above one-quarter of young men admitted touching or brushing past a girl without her consent. While perpetration of verbal harassment was more likely to be reported by unmarried young men than married young men (34% versus 26%), marital status differences in perpetration of unwanted touch were milder (27% and 22%). While perpetration of verbal harassment was more likely to be reported by urban than rural young men (41% versus 26%), perpetration of unwanted touch was about equally reported by both (26–28%). Finally, 0.5% of young men overall, and 0.8% of unmarried young men in rural settings, reported that they had forced sex on a girl.

9.5 Triangulation of data on pre-marital sexual experiences among young people

Acknowledging that young people may have been reluctant to disclose behaviours perceived as socially unacceptable such as pre-marital sex, the Youth Study included three approaches to elicit data on sexual behaviours. These were face-to-face interviews, anonymous reporting of respondents' own experiences via the sealed envelope and anonymous third-party reporting of peer experiences.

We note that in anonymous third-party reporting, respondents may have reported as peers individuals whose ages fell outside our sample ages (15–24 and, in the case of married males, 15–29); therefore, in estimating pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences of young people using this reporting method, these were excluded. In addition, we recognise that in anonymous third-party reporting, friends reported by one respondent may also be reported by others. In estimating pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences of young people using this reporting method, our analysis sought to minimise chances that the experience of an individual belonging to more than one peer network would be included multiple times. Specifically, we inversely weighted the total sample of friends by the number of friends reported by each respondent. As a result, each respondent's network was given equal weight irrespective of its size.

Findings presented in Table 9.15 compare the levels of pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences obtained through these different approaches. Specifically, three indicators are presented: (a) percent reporting a pre-marital romantic relationship, (b) percent reporting the experience of pre-marital sex with a romantic opposite-sex partner, and (c) percent reporting any pre-marital sexual experience. For indicators *a-b*, we compare two sets of estimates derived from the face-to-face interview: respondents' reports of their own experiences as well as third-party reporting of the experiences of their peers. For indicator *c*, we compare three sets of estimates: any pre-marital sex as reported in the face-to-face format; any pre-marital sex among peers as assessed through anonymous third-party reporting; and any pre-marital sex as reported in the face-to-face interview supplemented by reports of pre-marital sexual experience recorded in the anonymous format, using the sealed envelope.

Comparisons indicate differences in reporting level by sex of the respondent and type of behaviour under consideration. In terms of pre-marital romantic relationships, anonymous third-party reporting yielded higher rates than did face-to-face reporting for both young men and women. Differences were more apparent among young women than men. Among young men, anonymous third-party reporting yielded considerably higher levels of romantic partnership experience than did responses based on face-to-face questioning among those residing in urban areas; among those residing in rural areas, in contrast, face-to-face responses tended to yield higher rates, particularly among the married. Among young women, in contrast, experience of romantic relations as assessed through third-party reporting was consistently higher than reports of respondents' own experiences (15% and 7%, respectively); differences were generally wide, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence.

As far as reporting of experience of pre-marital sex with a romantic partner was concerned, differences were narrower. Young men, irrespective of marital status and rural-urban residence, were about as likely to report sexual relations with a girlfriend in the face-to-face interview as in the anonymous third-party reporting method; the only exception was married men in urban areas who were less likely to report such experiences in the face-to-face format than in the anonymous third-party reporting method. Among young women, while few reported sexual relations by either method, third-party reporting provided consistently higher estimates of sexual relations with a romantic partner than did self-reporting.

As far as reporting of any pre-marital sexual experience was concerned, anonymous third-party reporting of peer behaviours yielded rates that were higher than or, in some instances, equal to self-reports in response to questions posed face-to-face. This pattern was observed among both young men and young women. The exception was unmarried young men in rural areas, among whom slightly more reported sexual experience on face-to-face questioning than through anonymous third-party reporting (17% and 15%, respectively). At the same time, a comparison of any pre-marital sexual experience reported in face-to-face interviews and via the anonymous sealed envelope format suggests that several youth who had not admitted sexual experience in the face-to-face interview did so in the anonymous format: 3% of young men and 1% of young women. Indeed, one-sixth of young men and about one-half of young women who reported sexual experience did so only in this more anonymous format (not shown in tabular form). It would appear, therefore, that self-reports of sexual experience, supplemented by self-reported experience in an anonymous format, provide consistently higher estimates of pre-marital sex than does anonymous third-party reporting of pre-marital sexual experience among peers. Findings confirm, thus, that the anonymous sealed envelope technique enabled a considerable number of sexually active young women who opted not to disclose their sexual experiences in face-to-face questioning the opportunity to do so.

Table 9.15: Levels of pre-marital romantic and sexual experiences by different reporting methods

Percentage of youth reporting pre-marital romantic relationships and percentage reporting sexual experiences within pre-marital romantic and other relationships by reporting method, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Reported a pre-marital opposite-sex romantic partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	22.8	7.0	21.9	6.7	22.1	7.1
Anonymous third-party reporting	24.3	14.7	23.0	12.6	24.5	16.5
Reported pre-marital sex with a romantic opposite-sex partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	11.3	0.9	10.6	1.0	10.6	0.9
Anonymous third-party reporting	10.5	2.0	11.7	2.3	10.4	1.7
Reported any pre-marital sexual experience via:						
Face-to-face interview	13.7	1.4	13.8	1.2	12.8	1.5
Anonymous third-party reporting	12.5	2.4	16.6	2.6	12.1	2.3
Face-to-face interview or anonymous reporting through sealed envelope	16.4	2.6	17.9	2.6	15.3	2.7
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Reported a pre-marital opposite-sex romantic partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	15.7	9.0	15.8	11.5	16.0	7.5
Anonymous third-party reporting	22.8	16.9	23.1	15.0	22.8	18.1
Reported pre-marital sex with a romantic opposite-sex partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	6.1	0.7	5.0	0.8	6.2	0.6
Anonymous third-party reporting	7.0	1.5	10.0	1.5	6.9	1.4
Reported any pre-marital sexual experience via:						
Face-to-face interview	8.1	0.9	8.7	1.0	8.0	0.8
Anonymous third-party reporting	8.9	2.1	13.0	2.0	8.5	2.2
Face-to-face interview or anonymous reporting through sealed envelope	10.7	1.5	11.6	1.7	10.3	1.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Reported a pre-marital opposite-sex romantic partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	28.5	5.4	26.3	4.0	27.1	6.7
Anonymous third-party reporting	25.4	13.0	22.9	11.2	26.0	14.8
Reported pre-marital sex with a romantic opposite-sex partner via:						
Face-to-face interview	15.5	1.2	14.5	1.1	14.3	1.2
Anonymous third-party reporting	13.3	2.4	13.0	2.6	13.4	2.1
Reported any pre-marital sexual experience via:						
Face-to-face interview	18.0	1.8	17.4	1.3	16.9	2.3
Anonymous third-party reporting	15.4	2.6	19.2	3.0	15.2	2.3
Face-to-face interview or anonymous reporting through sealed envelope	20.9	3.5	22.3	3.1	19.5	4.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Detailed information on friends' romantic and sexual experiences was collected for up to five of the respondent's closest same-sex friends.

9.6 Summary

Findings confirm that despite strict norms prohibiting pre-marital opposite-sex mixing, opportunities do exist for the formation of pre-marital romantic relations. Indeed, significant minorities of young men and women had received or made a “proposal” for a romantic relationship (24–30%), and noteworthy, if smaller, percentages reported that they had been involved in a romantic partnership (23% and 7% of young men and women, respectively). Patterns of pre-marital romantic partnerships suggest that where partnerships occurred, they were initiated at an early age and were usually hidden from parents but not from peers. There was a clear progression in reported physical intimacy and sexual experience with romantic partners: while over 90% of young men had held hands with a romantic partner, about half had engaged in sexual relations; and among young women, while over four in five had held hands with a romantic partner, 13% had engaged in sexual relations with this partner. Notable disparities in expectations of a longer-term commitment emerged that show that young women were considerably more likely than young men to have expected a romantic relationship to lead to marriage. Partner communication and negotiation regarding safe sex were rare, and sex was unprotected for many. For a small minority of young women who had engaged in sexual relations with a romantic partner, sex was not consensual.

In total, 16% of young men and about 3% of young women reported the experience of pre-marital sex within romantic and/or other partnerships. In general, first pre-marital sex took place earlier among young men than young women, and among rural than urban youth. Moreover, initiation into pre-marital sexual activity increased as young people transitioned from early to late adolescence and further as they transitioned into young adulthood.

While sex with a romantic partner characterised pre-marital experiences for many of the sexually experienced, findings suggest that young men, but not young women, also engaged in sex in other contexts – mainly with sex workers, married women and casual partners. Many sexual experiences were risky, for example, roughly one-third of young men and young women reporting pre-marital sex had engaged in sex with more than one partner. Moreover, consistent condom use was limited – less than one in 10 sexually active young women and just over one-fifth of sexually active young men reported condom use in all pre-marital encounters.

While we acknowledge that youth, especially young women, may not report sexual experience in a survey situation, the Youth Study experience suggests that a series of direct questions supplemented by an opportunity to report sexual experience in an anonymous format provided higher estimates of sexual experience than did face-to-face questioning alone or anonymous third-party reporting of peer behaviours.

Transitions to marriage and early married life

As is well known, the transition to marriage occurs early in India, both for young men and young women. The recent NFHS (IIPS and Macro International, 2007a) shows, for example, that 47% of young women aged 20–24 had married before the age of 18, the minimum legal age at marriage for females; 32% of young men aged 25–29 had, likewise, married before they reached the age of 21, the legal minimum age at marriage for males. While marriage occurs early, marriage-related planning occurs even earlier, often as soon as a girl reaches menarche and, in many cases, even before she does so and without her participation. Moreover, while consummation of marriage generally occurs following menarche, early married life tends to be isolated and frightening for many adolescent girls and young women. This chapter captures some of these experiences, including young people's preferences about the timing and type of marriage, marriage preparation and planning, and young people's participation in these processes, as well as their experiences in early married life and the fertility and contraceptive behaviours of young couples.

10.1 Young people's preferences regarding timing and type of marriage

The Youth Study sought to assess young people's preferences about the age at which to marry and, among the unmarried, their preferences for love or arranged marriages. While it is possible that youth who were married in adolescence might have reported the age at which they married as the preferred age, findings, presented in Table 10.1, indicate that most youth preferred to marry after age 18. This preference was indicated by all youth, irrespective of sex, marital status or rural-urban residence. Just 4% of young women and hardly any young men preferred to marry before 18 years. Sizeable proportions of young women (39%) and just 1% of young men preferred to marry before age 20, that is, while still adolescent. Moreover, the majority of young men (55%) preferred to marry at age 25 or later, a preference articulated by just 2% of young women.

Disparities by marital status and rural-urban residence of respondents were notable. Married young women were more likely than the unmarried to report that they preferred to marry before age 20 (52% and 29% of married and unmarried young women, respectively); differences were negligible among young men (5% and 0.3%, respectively). Conversely, more unmarried than married youth preferred to marry at age 25 or later (13% of unmarried versus 2% of married among young women, and 59% versus 39% among young men, respectively). A larger proportion of rural than urban youth expressed a preference to marry before age 20; for example, 53% of women in rural areas compared to 23% in urban areas. Conversely, a smaller proportion of rural youth expressed a preference to marry late; for example, 45% of rural young men compared to 68% of urban young men preferred to marry at age 25 or later, as did 2% and 15%, respectively, of young women.

Findings also show that the vast majority of unmarried youth preferred to have an arranged rather than love marriage. For example, just 9% of both unmarried young men and women reported that they would prefer a love marriage.

Table 10.1: Preferences regarding timing and type of marriage

Percentage of youth reporting preferences regarding timing of marriage and percentage preferring a love marriage, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Preferred to marry at age:						
17 or below	0.1	3.5	1.4	6.2	0.0	1.4
18	0.8	28.9	2.3	39.1	0.2	20.4
19	0.4	7.0	1.1	6.9	0.1	7.0
20	3.6	20.1	7.9	21.8	2.9	18.5
21	8.6	9.5	14.8	7.2	6.9	11.4
22	10.7	9.1	15.0	6.0	9.5	11.6
23	7.7	3.9	6.9	1.7	7.7	5.7
24	12.5	4.1	10.5	1.2	12.7	6.5
25 or above	55.0	2.0	39.3	1.9	59.3	13.1
Preferred not to marry	0.6	6.0	0.8	7.9	0.6	4.4
Preferred a love marriage ¹	NA	NA	NA	NA	9.4	9.1
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Preferred to marry at age:						
17 or below	0.1	0.9	0.2	1.7	0.0	0.4
18	0.3	17.5	0.9	28.5	0.0	10.3
19	0.3	4.3	0.9	5.6	0.0	3.4
20	1.3	21.3	4.3	28.0	0.8	17.0
21	4.2	9.3	10.3	9.5	2.5	9.3
22	6.1	11.9	12.1	8.8	4.8	13.9
23	5.4	5.2	7.3	2.8	5.0	6.7
24	13.6	7.5	13.7	2.7	13.6	10.5
25 or above	67.8	15.3	49.2	3.8	72.2	22.7
Preferred not to marry	1.0	6.8	0.9	8.6	1.1	5.7
Preferred a love marriage ¹	NA	NA	NA	NA	7.3	11.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Preferred to marry at age:						
17 or below	0.2	5.6	2.2	8.7	0.0	2.5
18	1.1	37.8	3.0	45.2	0.5	30.3
19	0.5	9.1	1.4	7.6	0.3	10.5
20	5.4	19.1	10.4	18.3	4.6	19.9
21	12.2	9.7	18.0	6.0	10.5	13.5
22	14.3	6.8	17.1	4.4	13.4	9.4
23	9.5	2.9	6.5	1.1	9.9	4.6
24	11.6	1.4	8.3	0.4	12.0	2.5
25 or above	44.9	2.2	32.4	0.8	48.5	3.7
Preferred not to marry	0.3	5.3	0.6	7.5	0.3	3.0
Preferred a love marriage ¹	NA	NA	NA	NA	11.2	7.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: NA: Not applicable. ¹Excludes those who reported a preference not to marry.

10.2 Marriage planning and extent of youth involvement

Several questions were put to both married and unmarried youth to understand the process of marriage planning as well as their involvement in it. While questions on marriage planning were similar for the married and the unmarried, some questions were unique to one or the other group. For example, the Youth Study asked unmarried respondents whether their parents or family members had begun discussing plans for their marriage; and asked all married youth, and those unmarried youth for whom discussion had been initiated, about their age at that time and whether their parents sought their opinion about the age at which they wished to marry.

Findings presented in Table 10.2 reiterate vast gender differences in the age of young people when discussions were initiated regarding the planning of their marriages. Among those whose parents had already initiated marriage-related discussion (almost all married youth and 13% and 42% of unmarried young men and women, respectively), findings indicate that while almost three-fifths of all young women reported that marriage-related discussion was initiated before age 18, just 9% of young men reported so. Marital status differences were insignificant for young men, but discussion was initiated earlier for currently married young women compared to the unmarried. Indeed, for 28% of married young women, compared to 10% of the unmarried, discussions were initiated at age 15 or earlier. As expected, discussion on marriage was initiated earlier for rural respondents than urban; here too, wider differences were apparent between young men and young women.

Moreover, among those whose parents had already initiated marriage-related discussion, young men were more likely than young women to be consulted on the timing of marriage (65% versus 35%). Wide disparities by marital status and rural-urban residence were observed (see Figure 10.1). For example, irrespective of the sex of respondents, a much smaller proportion of married than unmarried youth were consulted about when they wished to marry (61% and 72%, respectively, of married and unmarried young men; and 28% and 49% of young women, respectively), a finding that may be attributable to the more traditional characteristics of families of young people who were married earlier. Rural-urban differences were narrow among young men, but among young women a larger proportion of urban than rural youth reported that their opinions were sought (42% versus 30%).

Figure 10.1: Percentage of youth reporting that their parents had ever sought their opinion on timing of marriage, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Note: Includes respondents whose parents had initiated marriage-related discussion.

Table 10.2: Initiation of discussion on marriage and extent of youth involvement

Percentage of youth by age at initiation of marriage-related discussion, percentage whose opinion had been sought on timing of marriage and percentage who would find it difficult to tell parents if they did not like the match chosen, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Marriage discussion (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Parents ever initiated discussion on marriage	24.3	68.1	96.8	99.1	13.2	42.1
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Discussion on marriage initiated at age (years)						
13 or below	0.5	5.2	0.3	7.8	0.0	0.2
14-15	2.1	16.7	0.8	20.1	3.4	10.2
16-17	6.3	34.7	4.5	35.3	4.5	33.4
18 or above	90.6	41.0	93.3	33.9	92.2	55.0
Parents ever sought respondent's opinion about when to get married	65.4	35.0	60.9	27.8	72.0	49.1
Number whose parents had initiated discussion on marriage	521	2,992	1,031	1,925	213	1,067
Would find/have found it difficult to tell parents if respondent did not like the match chosen	NA	49.9	NA	58.9	35.6	42.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Parents ever initiated discussion on marriage	15.9	61.5	95.9	97.7	4.9	38.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Discussion on marriage initiated at age (years)						
13 or below	0.6	2.5	0.2	3.9	0.0	0.2
14-15	0.6	9.9	0.5	12.6	0.0	5.4
16-17	4.8	31.8	2.1	36.4	4.4	24.2
18 or above	93.9	52.6	96.4	42.9	95.6	68.5
Parents ever sought respondent's opinion about when to get married	70.9	41.5	67.9	32.9	82.2	55.6
Number whose parents had initiated discussion on marriage	191	1,391	486	880	62	511
Would find/have found it difficult to tell parents if respondent did not like the match chosen	NA	41.1	NA	51.8	27.6	34.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Parents ever initiated discussion on marriage	31.0	73.3	97.4	99.9	20.2	45.9
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Discussion on marriage initiated at age (years)						
13 or below	0.5	7.0	0.3	10.0	0.0	0.2
14-15	2.7	21.1	1.0	24.2	4.1	14.1
16-17	6.9	36.6	6.1	34.7	4.1	40.9
18 or above	89.2	33.4	91.2	28.8	91.9	43.8
Parents ever sought respondent's opinion about when to get married	63.0	30.4	56.3	24.9	70.1	43.8
Number whose parents had initiated discussion on marriage	330	1,601	545	1,045	151	556
Would find/have found it difficult to tell parents if respondent did not like the match chosen	NA	56.7	NA	63.0	42.2	50.2
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know"/"don't remember" responses. NA: Not applicable.

The Youth Study also sought to assess the extent to which youth (excepting married young men) believed they could veto a family decision concerning their marriage. Large proportions of youth found it difficult to oppose their parents if they did not approve of the match chosen for them. Although young women were more likely than unmarried young men to report difficulty, considerable percentages of unmarried young men also reported so (50% of young women and 36% of unmarried young men). Marital status differences suggest that unmarried young women were less likely than the married to report difficulty in opposing their parents (42% and 59%, respectively). This difference may reflect the tendency for the married to report actual experiences and for many unmarried whose families had not yet initiated discussion to report perceptions. At the same time, it may reflect the fact that women who were married at younger ages may have come from more traditional backgrounds or, conversely, suggest a trend towards greater self-determination among the unmarried. Finally, and perhaps for reasons pertaining to the traditional nature of family life in rural areas, rural youth were somewhat more likely than their urban counterparts to report difficulty in confronting their parents on marriage-related issues (42% compared to 28% of unmarried young men; 57% compared to 41% of young women). In short, these findings confirm that large proportions of youth did not expect to play a role in decision-making with regard to their own marriages.

10.3 Age at marriage and cohabitation

Youth Study findings underscore the early age at marriage among young women in Maharashtra (Table 10.3). Of those aged 20–24, almost one in 10 young women was married before age 15, over one-third before age 18 and almost three in five (58%) before age 20. In rural areas, as many as 46% and 72% of women aged 20–24 years were married before age 18 and 20, respectively; the corresponding percentages in urban areas were 22% and 42%. Findings from the NFHS-3 also indicate that as many as 39% of 20–24 year-old women in Maharashtra were married before age 18 (IIPS and Macro International, 2007b). There is some indication, moreover, that very early marriage (before age 15) among young women had declined: while 8% of those aged 20–24 were married before age 15, just 4% of those aged 15–19 were married before age 15.

In contrast to early ages at marriage observed for young women, few men were married in adolescence: just 7% of those aged 20–24 were married before they reached age 20.

The overwhelming majority of youth (more than 99%) had been married just once (not shown in tabular form). The mean age at marriage among those who were married was 22.2 years among young men and 17.1 years among young women. As expected, rural youth married earlier than urban youth; the mean age at marriage among rural youth was almost one year earlier than that of urban youth (16.7 years versus 18.0 years, respectively, for females and 21.8 years versus 22.7 years for males). Mean age at cohabitation was almost the same as mean age at marriage.

10.4 Marriage preparedness

Several questions were put to both married and unmarried youth who were engaged to be married to understand their preparedness for marriage. Questions ranged from whether the proposed spouse was chosen by the young person or by his/her parents; whether the young person's approval of the prospective spouse was sought, if chosen by parents; and how much contact the young person and the prospective spouse had prior to marriage. As just 1% and 5% of unmarried young men and women reported that they were engaged to be married (not shown in tabular form), we restrict our discussion to the currently married.

Table 10.3: Age at marriage and cohabitation

Percentage of youth aged 15–24 who were married before selected ages, percentage never married and mean age at marriage and cohabitation among those married, according to current age and residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Current age (years) (%)	Percentage first married before age (years):			Percentage never married	Among those married:		Number of respondents
	15	18	20		Mean age at marriage (years)	Mean age at cohabitation (years)	
Combined							
Men							
15-19	0.0	NA	NA	98.6	*	*	1,136
20-24	0.0	2.4	6.6	75.1	20.5	21.0	1,200
15-24	0.0	NA	NA	86.8	22.2 ¹	22.7 ¹	2,336
Women							
15-19	3.7	NA	NA	79.1	16.0	16.5	2,349
20-24	8.3	34.9	57.7	27.9	17.5	18.0	2,139
15-24	6.0	NA	NA	54.4	17.1	17.6	4,488
Urban							
Men							
15-19	0.0	NA	NA	99.4	*	*	663
20-24	0.0	1.4	4.5	77.7	21.0	21.3	719
15-24	0.0	NA	NA	87.9	22.7 ¹	23.1 ¹	1,382
Women							
15-19	1.5	NA	NA	84.8	16.6	16.8	1,064
20-24	3.6	22.2	41.5	38.5	18.3	18.7	1,165
15-24	2.6	NA	NA	60.9	18.0	18.4	2,229
Rural							
Men							
15-19	0.0	NA	NA	98.0	*	*	473
20-24	0.0	3.4	8.3	72.8	20.2	20.9	481
15-24	0.0	NA	NA	86.0	21.8 ¹	22.4 ¹	954
Women							
15-19	5.3	NA	NA	75.1	15.8	16.3	1,285
20-24	12.5	46.3	72.2	18.4	17.0	17.5	974
15-24	8.6	NA	NA	49.4	16.7	17.2	2,259

Note: *Mean not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. NA: Not applicable due to censoring. ¹Includes married men aged 25–29 years.

Table 10.4 describes marriage-related preparedness among the married. An overwhelming proportion (95%) of respondents, whether male or female, married a partner chosen by their parents. While the young person's approval of the prospective spouse was sought in the majority of cases (85–88%), 7% of young men and 10% of young women reported that their parents did not seek their approval while determining their marriage partners. Just 5% of respondents reported having chosen their marriage partner on their own. While gender differences were negligible, urban youth were somewhat more likely than their rural counterparts to report so (7–10% versus 2–3%). Also indicative of lack of preparedness was the short gap between the point at which marriage arrangements were fixed and the date of the actual marriage: on average two months, with about three in four respondents reporting the occurrence of their marriage within three months of the completion of marriage negotiations, irrespective of sex of the respondent (not shown in tabular form).

Reported pre-marital acquaintance was extremely limited. Just one-fifth of all youth reported that they had ever had a chance to meet and interact with their spouse-to-be alone prior to marriage. Notably, the group most likely to report having met or talked with their fiancé/fiancée alone before marriage was urban young women (30%, compared with 14–22% among other groups). Moreover, 51% and 62% of all married young men and women,

Table 10.4: Marriage preparedness

Percent distribution of married youth by type of marriage and selected indicators of their preparedness for marriage, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Marriage indicators (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Type of marriage						
Marriage fixed by respondent himself/herself (love marriage)	5.0	4.9	7.3	10.2	3.3	1.9
Marriage arranged by parents, with respondent's approval of choice of spouse	88.0	85.0	87.6	82.6	88.2	86.4
Marriage fixed by parents without respondent's approval	7.0	10.1	5.0	7.2	8.5	11.8
Ever had a chance to meet/talk with fiancé/ fiancée alone	21.5	19.8	20.8	30.0	21.9	14.0
Acquaintance with spouse before marriage						
Met on wedding day	51.1	62.3	55.4	56.6	48.0	65.5
Knew somewhat before wedding day	35.2	23.8	33.0	25.9	36.8	22.6
Knew well before wedding day	13.1	13.7	10.7	17.1	14.7	11.8
Feelings about getting married						
Excited/looked forward to it	69.9	31.8	79.0	39.9	63.6	27.3
Nothing special	23.2	25.1	17.1	24.4	27.5	25.5
Very scared	3.2	28.4	1.8	25.7	4.0	29.9
Anxious	2.0	7.5	1.6	5.4	2.2	8.7
Unhappy	1.5	6.8	0.0	4.7	2.6	8.1
Number of respondents	1,065	1,947	506	901	559	1,046
Did not know what to expect of married life	74.6	78.5	75.0	80.4	74.3	77.6
Agree that youth do not get accurate information about married life before marriage	84.6	83.7	79.4	83.2	88.3	83.9
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Figure 10.2: Percent distribution of married youth by degree of acquaintance with future spouse before marriage, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

respectively, reported that they met their spouses for the first time on the wedding day, and between 35% and 24%, respectively, reported that they knew their spouses only somewhat (see Figure 10.2). Just 13–14% reported that they knew their spouses well prior to marriage. On the whole, young men were more likely to report some degree of pre-marital familiarity than young women (48% versus 38%). Rural-urban differences indicate that while rural men were more likely than their urban counterparts to report pre-marital acquaintance (52% versus 44%), the reverse was true of young women (34% versus 43%). In short, findings underscore the extent to which youth, and especially young women, were excluded from marriage-related decision-making and the extent to which youth were married to relative strangers.

To compound this lack of pre-marital acquaintance, large proportions of youth who had already cohabited (75–79%) reported they were unaware at the time of their marriage of what to expect of married life. Young men were almost as likely as young women, and urban youth about as likely as rural youth, to report they were poorly informed. Over four-fifths of youth reported that young people in general were poorly informed about married life prior to marriage, highlighting the need for family life or sex education and pre-marital counselling for young people.

Commensurate with low levels of marriage preparedness, not all youth reported that they had looked forward to or had been excited about their marriages. Gender differences were pronounced: while 70% of young men said that they had been excited about their marriages, only 32% of young women so reported. Urban youth were far more likely to report they had looked forward to their marriages than rural youth (79% versus 64% among urban and rural young men, and 40% versus 27% among young women, respectively). Large proportions of young women reported that they had been very scared about getting married, reported by 28% of young women compared to just 3% of young men, levels that were observed in both rural and urban areas.

10.5 Payment of dowry

Despite the existence of laws against dowry, Figure 10.3 shows that well over half of all respondents reported giving or taking dowry. As many as 58% of young men reported that they had received dowry at marriage; even more young women (70%) reported that their families had given dowry for their marriage. Rural-urban differences in dowry reporting were negligible. In short, families of urban youth appeared no less likely to conform to traditional practices, such as payment of dowry, than their rural counterparts.

Figure 10.3: Percentage of married youth who reported receiving or giving dowry, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

10.6 Early marital experiences: Spousal communication and interaction

Table 10.5 describes the extent of communication and interaction among young couples and confirms that communication even on everyday matters was far from universal (see also Figure 10.4). Between 68% and 87% of youth reported regularly discussing how to spend money and in-law issues. On both these matters, differences in reported communication by sex and residence of the respondent were negligible, except that young women were more likely than young men to report regularly discussing issues related to in-laws (78% versus 68%). Likewise, more than three-quarters reported that they had ever communicated with their spouse on when and/or whether to have children or how many children to have. In contrast, discussion was limited on the topic of contraception:

Table 10.5: Early marital experiences

Percentage of married youth by selected characteristics of the marital relationship, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Characteristics (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Usually communicates with spouse on:						
How to spend money	87.1	81.8	85.6	84.1	88.2	80.4
In-law issues	67.8	77.5	67.8	77.1	67.7	77.7
Ever communicated with spouse on:						
When/whether to have a baby	78.7	78.4	78.2	83.2	79.2	75.6
Number of children to have	78.4	82.1	75.2	83.8	80.8	81.1
Contraceptive use	44.6	50.9	45.7	56.8	43.8	47.5
Went with spouse to the following in last 6 months:						
Theatre/video parlour	24.1	18.2	39.4	30.5	13.6	11.2
Festival/yatra/tamasha/play/tour/picnic/restaurant	42.7	30.0	51.2	37.7	36.9	25.6
Woman's/wife's natal home	78.6	70.3	69.4	64.9	85.0	73.3
Assessment of married life						
Very happy	62.8	61.4	65.3	61.8	61.0	61.3
Reasonably happy	34.9	33.3	32.6	34.9	36.6	32.3
Unhappy	1.0	3.2	0.9	2.1	1.1	3.7
Very unhappy	1.0	1.9	0.7	1.1	1.3	2.3
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Figure 10.4: Percentage of married youth who reported spousal communication on selected topics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

only 45% of young men and 51% of young women reported that they had ever discussed contraception with their spouse. Here again, rural-urban differences were negligible among young men (44–46%) but among young women, more urban than rural young women reported such communication (57% and 48%, respectively).

Spousal interaction was also measured by questions regarding whether, in the six months preceding the interview, respondents had gone with their spouse to a movie, been on an outing or gone to their own (for young women) or wife's (for young men) natal home. Interaction of these types was clearly limited. Of the three places indicated, the majority had visited their own/wife's natal home together with the spouse, but even this was not universal, reported by just 79% of young men and 70% of young women. Gender differences were wider among rural residents than among urban residents (85% of rural young men versus 73% of rural young women, and 69% versus 65%, respectively, among urban residents) and urban youth were far less likely to report visiting their own/wife's natal home than rural youth (65–69% versus 73–85%, respectively). Visiting places of entertainment was reported by relatively few youth, particularly young women and rural youth. For example, while 43% of young men reported that they had been together with their wife on an outing (festival, picnic, etc.), only 30% of young women reported that they had done so with their husband; while 38–51% of urban youth reported that they had been on an outing with their spouse, only 26–37% of rural youth so reported.

Youth were also asked to assess their relative contentment with married life. Over 60% of youth reported that they were very happy and 33–35% reported they were reasonably happy.

10.7 Nature of marital sexual experiences

In several previous studies, significant minorities of young women reported the experience of forced sex within marriage, including at initiation (see for example, Santhya and Jejeebhoy, 2006; Santhya et al., 2007). The Youth Study explored the extent to which early marital sexual experiences were enjoyable or forced. Findings, presented in Table 10.6, suggest that while virtually all young men reported enjoying their first marital sexual experience, far fewer young women so reported: 99% compared to 56%, with little rural-urban variation. A comparison of responses to questions regarding whether the spouse enjoyed the first sexual experience suggests that young men may have been unaware of their wives' negative experience: while 91% of young women perceived that their husbands had enjoyed the experience (nearly equal to that self-reported by men), as many as 89% of young men

Table 10.6: Sexual experiences within marriage

Percentage of married youth by nature of first and lifetime sexual experiences with spouse, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Experiences (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Nature of first sexual experience with spouse						
Respondent enjoyed it	98.9	56.4	99.5	54.8	98.2	57.4
Spouse enjoyed it	89.3	90.6	94.7	91.3	85.5	90.3
Wife cried	28.2	44.6	23.8	43.4	31.2	45.2
Painful for wife	59.8	77.1	68.5	83.8	53.8	73.3
Wife unwilling and husband forced her	4.3	22.5	4.4	19.0	4.3	24.4
Husband ever forced wife to have sex	8.5	27.3	4.4	24.3	11.3	28.9
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
Husband forced wife to have sex in last 12 months	1.5	8.4	0.0	7.1	2.4	9.1
Number who had cohabited for at least 12 months	892	1,714	416	784	476	930

perceived that their wives had enjoyed the first sexual experience (far more than was reported by women themselves).

For many young women, the first marital sexual experience was painful or non-consensual; many fewer young men, however, perceived that the first experience was painful or non-consensual for their wives. For example, while more than three-quarters of young women reported that the experience was painful, just three-fifths of young men reported that the experience had been painful for their wives. Gender differences were wide in both rural and urban settings. For example, while 45% of young women in rural areas and 43% of those in urban areas reported that they had cried at first sex, only 31% of young men in rural areas and 24% of those in urban areas admitted that their wives had done so.

Forced sex at initiation was reported by almost one-quarter of young women (23%) with somewhat larger proportions of rural than urban women reporting so (24% and 19%, respectively). In contrast, only 4% of young men reported that they had forced their wives to engage in sex the first time. Over the course of their marital lives, somewhat more young people acknowledged the experience (young women) or perpetration (young men) of forced sex within marriage: 27% of young women reported that they had ever experienced forced sex within marriage and 9% of young men reported that they had ever perpetrated it. Rural young men were more likely than urban young men to report having perpetrated forced sex within marriage (11% versus 4%). Of those who had cohabited for at least one year, just 2% of young men and 8% of young women reported such an incident in the 12 months preceding the interview.

10.8 Experience of domestic violence within marriage

The Youth Study explored the extent of domestic violence or verbal abuse perpetrated by young men on their wives and in less detail, by women on their husbands. Table 10.7 shows that 1% or fewer young women had either verbally humiliated their husbands in the presence of others or perpetrated violence on them in any way. No differences were observed by respondents' sex or place of residence.

In contrast, considerably larger proportions of young men were reported to have humiliated their wives verbally in the presence of others or perpetrated physical violence in some form on their wives. Verbal humiliation was reported by a minority (2% and 6% of young men and women, respectively), yet this was considerably in excess of that reportedly perpetrated by wives on their husbands. About one-quarter of young men and women reported the experience (women) or perpetration (men) of some form of physical violence: in urban areas, almost twice as many women as men reported such an experience (25% and 13%, respectively). While differences were narrower in rural areas, physical violence perpetrated by a husband on his wife was more likely to be reported by young men (see also Figure 10.5), amongst whom one-third reported such an experience, compared with just over one-quarter of young women.

Of all forms of physical violence, slapping was most commonly reported (24–26%), followed by twisting of the wife's arm or pulling her hair (7–12%). Between 6% and 8% of young women also reported the experience of being pushed, shaken or having something thrown at them, punched, kicked, dragged or beaten; fewer young men, especially in urban areas, reported perpetrating these forms of violence on their wives (3–5%). Finally, it is notable that 1% of young women reported that they had been burnt or choked by their husbands.

Perpetration or experience of any form of physical violence within marriage in the 12 months preceding the interview was reported by 18% of young men and 23% of young women. As earlier, slapping was most commonly reported; 16% of young men reported slapping their wives in the last year, while about 20% of young women reported being slapped by their husbands in the 12 months preceding the interview.

Table 10.7: Domestic violence within marriage

Percentage of married youth reporting experience of verbal abuse or physical violence within marriage by type of violence, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Types of violence (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
A. Verbal abuse or physical violence perpetrated by wife						
Wife verbally abused husband in presence of others	0.8	1.1	0.7	1.0	0.8	1.1
Wife ever perpetrated any physical violence on husband	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.5	0.3
Wife perpetrated any physical violence on husband in last 12 months	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.1
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
B. Verbal abuse or physical violence perpetrated by husband						
Husband verbally abused wife in the presence of others	2.4	6.3	0.2	4.7	3.8	7.4
Physical violence ever perpetrated by husband						
Slapped wife	23.6	25.5	12.5	24.0	31.3	26.4
Twisted wife's arm or pulled her hair	7.4	12.0	2.1	12.1	11.0	12.0
Pushed/shook or threw something at wife	4.6	8.4	0.7	8.1	7.3	8.6
Punched wife	3.1	6.2	0.5	5.7	5.0	6.5
Kicked, dragged or beat wife	2.8	7.4	0.5	4.7	4.5	9.0
Choked or burnt wife on purpose	0.3	1.1	0.2	0.6	0.3	1.4
Threatened or attacked wife with knife/gun	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
Perpetrated/experienced at least one of the above forms of violence	24.8	26.9	12.5	25.2	33.2	27.8
Perpetrated/experienced more than one of the above forms of violence	9.4	14.2	2.8	13.4	13.9	14.8
Experience of violence perpetrated by husband in last 12 months						
Slapped wife						
Never	83.4	78.6	92.3	79.2	77.3	78.2
Sometimes	14.9	17.3	6.5	17.9	20.6	16.9
Often	0.6	2.8	0.0	1.8	1.0	3.4
Twisted wife's arm or pulled her hair						
Never	94.4	88.7	98.1	89.3	91.9	88.3
Sometimes	5.0	8.4	1.4	8.7	7.5	8.3
Often	0.2	1.9	0.0	1.4	0.3	2.1
Pushed/shook or threw something at wife						
Never	96.5	92.1	99.3	92.6	94.6	91.7
Sometimes	2.9	5.8	0.5	5.5	4.6	5.9
Often	0.3	1.5	0.0	1.6	0.5	1.5
Punched wife						
Never	97.7	94.3	99.5	94.7	96.5	94.1
Sometimes	1.9	4.2	0.2	4.1	3.0	4.2
Often	0.0	1.2	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.2

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Table 10.7: (Cont'd)

Types of violence (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
B. Verbal abuse or physical violence perpetrated by husband						
Kicked, dragged or beat wife						
Never	98.3	93.4	99.5	95.9	97.4	91.8
Sometimes	1.5	4.7	0.2	3.0	2.4	5.7
Often	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.8
Choked or burnt wife on purpose						
Never	99.7	99.1	99.8	99.9	99.7	98.7
Sometimes	0.1	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.6
Often	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2
Threatened or attacked wife with knife/gun						
Never	99.8	99.6	99.8	99.7	99.8	99.5
Sometimes	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.2	0.1
Often	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1
Perpetrated/experienced at least one of the above forms of violence in last 12 months	18.2	23.2	8.3	21.9	25.1	24.0
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
First experienced violence within 12 months of marriage	17.9	14.3	10.0	12.5	23.2	15.3
Number who had cohabited for at least 12 months	892	1,714	416	784	476	930

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Figure 10.5: Percentage of married young women reporting experience of physical violence perpetrated by their husband and percentage of married young men reporting perpetration of physical violence against their wife, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Findings on the duration between marriage and the first occurrence of physical violence among those who had cohabited for at least one year indicate that a sizeable proportion of young men (18%) had initiated perpetration of physical violence within a year of marriage. Rural young men were twice as likely as urban young men to have done so (23% versus 10%). Somewhat fewer young women reported that the first experience of physical violence occurred within a year of marriage (14%); rural-urban differences were negligible.

10.9 Extent of extra-marital sexual relations

The Youth Study did not probe as extensively about extra-marital sexual experiences as it did about pre-marital sex, discussed in Chapter 9. A single direct question was asked to all married youth about whether they had experienced sexual relations with someone other than their spouse following marriage. In addition, youth reporting same-sex, exchange, forced or sex worker sex were probed about the timing of the first such encounter; for very few, it occurred following marriage. Given the lack of extensive probing, we caution readers that percentages of youth reporting extra-marital sexual experience, indicated in Table 10.8, may be particularly under-reported.

Table 10.8: Extent of extra-marital sexual experiences

Percentage of married youth by extent of extra-marital sexual experiences, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Experiences (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Had sex with someone other than spouse after marriage	2.8	0.2	0.7	0.1	4.3	0.2
Reported at least one extra-marital sexual partner in last 12 months	1.3	0.3	0.7	0.4	1.6	0.2
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044

Hardly any (0.2%) young women reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. In contrast, 3% of young men – including less than 1% of urban residents and 4% of rural residents – reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. Among young men, about 1% reported extra-marital sex in the one year (or months since marriage for those married for less than one year) preceding the interview.

10.10 Contraceptive practice within marriage: Lifetime, current and prior to first pregnancy

The practise of contraception at any time during marital life was reported by 36% of young men and 30% of young women (see Table 10.9 and Figure 10.6). While gender differences were negligible in urban areas (35% of young men and 36% of young women), they were relatively wide among rural youth (37% and 27%, respectively). Reporting of modern contraceptive method use was, however, quite similar among young men and women: 31% and 30%, respectively, for the combined sample, and 36% and 30% and 31% and 26% among urban and rural youth, respectively. Methods most likely to have been reported by both men and women were condoms (reported by 24% of young men and 15% of young women) and oral pills (reported by 16% of young men and 9% of young women). Despite the young age of female respondents and wives of male respondents, some 7% of young women reported they had been sterilised and 3% of young men reported that their wives had been sterilised. Traditional contraceptive method use was more likely to be reported by young men than women (9% versus 1%), particularly in rural settings (13% versus 1%). The finding that young men were more likely to report use of contraceptive methods than young women may be partially attributed to the different age groups of married women and men. At the same time, the likelihood that women may have under-reported the use of male-controlled methods cannot be ruled out, as observed in studies elsewhere (Ezeh, 2000).

Table 10.9: Contraceptive use within marriage

Percentage of married youth by ever and current contraceptive use, percent distribution by duration between marriage and initiation of contraceptive use and percentage who used different contraceptive methods to delay first pregnancy, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Contraceptive use (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Ever use of contraception						
Any method	36.2	30.2	34.7	36.2	37.2	26.8
Any modern method	31.0	29.5	31.9	35.5	30.4	26.2
Female sterilisation	3.3	7.2	2.3	5.3	4.0	8.2
Male sterilisation	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Oral pills	16.0	9.2	18.1	10.5	14.4	8.4
IUD	1.6	3.7	1.4	6.3	1.6	2.3
Condom	24.0	15.2	25.0	18.9	23.3	13.1
Other ¹	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.2	0.2
Any traditional method ²	9.4	1.4	4.2	1.4	12.9	1.4
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
Current use of contraception						
Any method	23.6	21.3	24.3	26.8	23.2	18.2
Any modern method	20.4	20.8	22.7	25.7	18.8	17.9
Female sterilisation	3.3	7.2	2.3	5.3	4.0	8.2
Male sterilisation	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Oral pills	8.7	3.5	11.1	5.0	7.2	2.7
IUD	1.0	2.3	1.2	4.3	1.0	1.2
Condom	13.6	8.3	15.5	11.8	12.1	6.4
Other ¹	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.1
Any traditional method ²	4.5	0.7	2.3	1.3	6.1	0.4
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
Duration between marriage and first use of contraception						
Duration						
Less than 6 months	23.8	7.7	20.8	9.5	25.9	6.8
6-11 months	1.4	0.9	1.2	0.9	1.8	0.9
12 months to 3 years	6.1	11.6	7.2	16.2	5.3	9.0
More than 3 years	1.8	5.7	1.6	5.8	2.1	5.7
Don't know/don't remember	2.9	3.8	3.9	3.7	2.2	3.8
Never used contraception	63.8	69.8	65.1	63.8	62.6	73.1
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
Ever use of contraception to delay first pregnancy						
Any method	24.8	9.1	22.2	10.9	26.5	8.2
Any modern method	19.5	8.5	19.7	10.2	19.3	7.6
Oral pills	9.5	3.5	9.7	3.1	9.3	3.7
IUD	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.2
Condom	16.1	5.7	15.5	7.7	16.4	4.5
Other ¹	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1
Any traditional method ²	8.2	0.7	3.7	0.7	11.3	0.7
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases. ¹Includes female condoms, injectables, implants, diaphragm and foam/jelly.

²Includes periodic abstinence/rhythm and withdrawal.

Figure 10.6: Percentage of married youth reporting lifetime and current use of contraceptive methods within marriage, Maharashtra, 2006

Relatively fewer youth reported practising contraception at the time of interview: 21% of young women and 24% of young men. Rural-urban differences indicate that rural young women were less likely than their urban counterparts to report current contraceptive use (18% versus 27%). Reporting of methods currently used differed considerably between young women and men. Among young women, sterilisation and condoms were the leading methods reported (7–8% each); oral contraceptive use was reported by 4%. Young men, in contrast, were most likely to report condom use (14%), followed by use of oral contraceptives (9%), traditional methods (5%) and female sterilisation (3%). Differences by residence were narrow.

Duration between marriage and first use of contraception was also explored. Again, gender differences were wide. While almost one-quarter of young men reported that they had initiated contraceptive use in the first six months of marriage, only 8% of young women so reported.

About 8% of young men and 13% of young women reported initiation of contraceptive use between six months and three years following marriage. Rural-urban differences in initiation of contraception were negligible.

Consistent with this profile, about one-quarter of young men, compared to just one-tenth of young women, reported the practise of contraception to delay the first pregnancy. Again, methods most likely to have been used were condoms (6–16%) and oral contraceptives (4–10%), and, in the case of young men, traditional methods (8%). The wide gender differences in reported use of contraception to delay the first pregnancy may be explained by the considerably larger percentage of young men than women reporting condom use and traditional methods, that is, male-controlled methods about which young women may not have been as ready to report.

10.11 Reproductive history

This section addresses young people's reproductive histories, namely, the first pregnancy and its outcome, children ever born and surviving, experience of pregnancy loss and the wantedness of recent pregnancies. As reported in Table 10.10, 83% of young women and 78% of young men reported that they or their wives had experienced at least one pregnancy. Rural-urban differences indicate that more rural than urban young women had ever been pregnant (86% versus 79%) and more rural than urban young men reported that their wives had ever been pregnant (83% versus 72%).

10.11.1 First pregnancy experiences

Of those who reported that they or their wives had ever become pregnant, significant minorities reported current first pregnancy (10% of young women and 12% of young men, respectively). Among those who had experienced at least one pregnancy, the first pregnancy occurred within a year of marriage for the vast majority: about 70% of each respondent group, irrespective of sex or rural-urban residence. The median duration between marriage and first pregnancy was 8 months, with rural young women experiencing a somewhat longer median duration than their urban counterparts (9 and 6 months, respectively).

Table 10.10: First pregnancy experience

Percentage of married youth by duration from cohabitation to first pregnancy, outcome of first pregnancy, place of first delivery and type of attendance at first delivery, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

First pregnancy experience (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Ever been pregnant	78.1	83.0	71.5	78.6	82.7	85.6
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044
Currently pregnant for the first time	12.0	9.5	10.7	9.9	12.7	9.3
Duration from cohabitation to first pregnancy (months)						
Up to 3	11.7	12.6	15.3	16.1	9.7	10.8
3-6	31.2	30.7	31.8	34.1	31.1	29.0
7-12	27.6	28.6	22.1	25.7	30.7	30.1
13-24	17.1	15.3	17.2	13.9	17.0	16.1
More than 24	7.9	8.1	7.1	6.0	8.3	9.3
Do not know/can't remember	4.4	3.7	6.2	4.2	3.3	3.5
Median duration	8.0	8.0	7.0	6.0	8.0	9.0
Number who had ever been pregnant	822	1,593	361	706	461	887
Outcome of first pregnancy						
Live birth	94.0	88.9	94.9	88.8	93.6	89.0
Still birth	2.1	1.2	1.1	0.4	2.7	1.6
Induced abortion	0.8	1.0	0.4	1.0	0.9	0.9
Miscarriage	3.2	8.2	3.6	9.6	2.9	7.5
Number who completed first pregnancy	724	1,447	321	637	403	810
Place of first delivery						
Respondent's parental home	14.9	30.2	6.4	13.9	19.8	38.6
Spouse's parental home	35.0	7.1	18.6	5.2	44.9	8.1
Health institution	50.0	62.2	74.6	80.9	35.3	52.7
In transit	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3
Type of attendance at first delivery¹						
Doctor/ANM/nurse/LHV	64.5	73.7	83.3	86.8	53.0	66.8
Midwife (trained)	10.6	6.9	6.8	4.3	12.9	8.3
Other health personnel	3.3	1.9	1.9	2.2	4.1	1.7
Dai/traditional birth attendant	6.7	7.1	3.4	2.7	8.5	9.4
Friend/relative	14.3	9.4	3.8	3.4	21.0	12.6
Other person ²	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.8
None	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.2
Number whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth	694	1,303	308	569	386	734

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. ANM: Auxiliary nurse midwife; LHV: Lady health visitor. ¹If the respondent reported that the delivery had occurred in a health institution, then it was assumed that a doctor/ANM/nurse/LHV had attended the birth. ²If the delivery was reported in transit, attendance at delivery was categorised as "other person".

Pregnancy outcomes were reported by all respondents who had completed their first pregnancy. The vast majority had experienced a live birth in every group, irrespective of sex or rural-urban residence. However, about 1% had aborted their first pregnancy; for 1–2% the pregnancy ended in a stillbirth and for 3–8% in a miscarriage. Young women were somewhat less likely to report a live first birth than young men (89% and 94%, respectively) and more likely to report miscarriage (8% compared to 3%), suggesting perhaps that young men were not aware of or did not recall early pregnancy loss experienced by their wives. Rural-urban differences were negligible.

Institutional delivery was far from universal for the first – and most risky – delivery. Indeed, just half of young men and three-fifths of young women reported that the first delivery took place in a health institution. Rural-urban differences were pronounced: 75% of young men and 81% of young women in urban areas reported an institutional delivery, compared to 35% and 53%, respectively, in rural areas. The wide gender differences in reporting of institutional delivery among rural youth may be attributed to the fact that for many young women, the first delivery had taken place at the natal home and the husband may have been unaware of the exact location of the first delivery.

Although the majority of youth reported skilled attendance at first delivery, about one-fifth reported that the first delivery had been attended by an untrained individual (including a *dai* or traditional birth attendant). Rural-urban differences were pronounced. Well over 90% of urban youth reported skilled attendance at delivery, compared to 70–77% of rural youth.

10.11.2 Children ever born and surviving

Findings, revealed in Table 10.11, show that youth had experienced an average of about 1.5 pregnancies and just over one live birth. More young men than women (33% and 28%, respectively) reported that they had no live births. Moreover, more urban than rural respondents reported that they had not experienced a live birth (33–38% and 25–29%, respectively), reflecting the later marital age of urban youth.

Few youth reported an infant or child death. The distribution of respondents by number of surviving children is similar to that of children ever born, reported above. Youth typically reported about as many daughters as sons.

Somewhat more youth reported the experience of pregnancy loss. For example, stillbirths were reported by 1–2% of respondents, and disparities by respondents' sex and residence were negligible. The situation was different in the case of miscarriages and induced abortion. At least one miscarriage was reported by 4% of young men and 9% of young women; similar levels and gender disparities were observed among urban and rural respondents. Finally, induced abortion was reported by 1% of young men and 3% of young women, and rural-urban disparities were negligible. The gender disparities observed in the case of both miscarriages and induced abortion may reflect the relatively limited communication between spouses on reproductive health matters.

Table 10.12 reports mean numbers of children ever born and surviving by respondents' socio-demographic characteristics. As expected, age was positively associated with both fertility indicators and young people's educational attainment levels and household economic status were inversely associated with both. Religion-specific differences were relatively narrow. Caste-wise differences suggest that those from general and backward castes had fewer births and surviving children than those from scheduled castes or tribes. While levels in rural and urban areas differed, patterns remained relatively similar in both settings.

Table 10.11: Reproductive history

Mean number of pregnancies experienced, percent distribution by children ever born and children surviving, and mean number of child deaths, stillbirths, miscarriages and abortions among married youth, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Pregnancy outcomes (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Mean number of lifetime pregnancies	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.6
Number of children ever born						
0	32.5	27.6	37.5	32.5	29.0	24.8
1	35.3	37.1	37.0	40.8	34.0	35.0
2	23.7	25.5	19.0	19.7	26.9	28.7
3	6.8	8.7	5.1	6.1	8.0	10.2
4 or more	1.8	1.1	1.4	0.9	2.1	1.3
Mean number of children ever born	1.1	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.3
Number of children surviving						
0	33.9	28.1	38.7	33.3	30.5	25.2
1	35.8	37.8	37.7	40.8	34.7	35.9
2	22.8	25.1	17.8	19.6	26.2	28.2
3	6.1	8.1	4.6	5.5	7.2	9.5
4 or more	1.3	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.4	1.1
Mean number of children surviving	1.1	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.3
Mean number of sons surviving	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7
Mean number of daughters surviving	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6
Mean number of children dead	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Reported one or more still births	2.1	1.4	0.9	0.6	2.9	1.9
Reported one or more miscarriages	3.5	9.3	3.0	9.1	3.8	9.4
Reported one or more induced abortions	0.9	3.1	0.9	3.1	1.0	3.2
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

10.11.3 Wantedness of recent pregnancies

All youth who reported one or more pregnancies were asked about the wantedness of their current (for those currently pregnant) or last pregnancies. Findings, presented in Table 10.13, suggest high levels of unplanned pregnancy, especially reported by young women. For example, among young men whose wives were not pregnant and young women who were not pregnant at the time of interview, 11% of young men and as many as 25% of young women reported that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted. Rural-urban differences were narrow, but among young men, more rural than urban respondents reported that the pregnancy was mistimed (13% versus 6%). While percentages reporting unwanted pregnancy were lower, a similar pattern emerged with regard to the wantedness of the current pregnancy among those pregnant at the time of interview or whose wives were pregnant at the time of interview: of those young men who reported that their wives were pregnant at the time of the interview, 5% reported that the pregnancy was either unwanted or wanted at a later time. In contrast, 14% of young women pregnant at the time of interview reported that the pregnancy was unwanted or mistimed. These findings suggest that young men may tend to have higher family size preferences than young women.

Table 10.12: Children ever born and surviving by selected background characteristics

Mean number of children ever born and children surviving among married youth by selected background characteristics, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics (mean number)	Combined				Urban				Rural			
	MM 15-29		MW 15-24		MM 15-29		MW 15-24		MM 15-29		MW 15-24	
	CEB	CS	CEB	CS	CEB	CS	CEB	CS	CEB	CS	CEB	CS
Age (years)												
15-19	*	*	0.6	0.6	*	*	0.5	0.5	*	*	0.6	0.6
20-24	0.7	0.7	1.4	1.4	0.6	0.5	1.1	1.1	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.5
25-29	1.3	1.2	NA	NA	1.1	1.1	NA	NA	1.4	1.3	NA	NA
Religion												
Hindu	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.2
Muslim	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	(1.2)	(1.1)	1.5	1.5
Other ¹	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.2	(0.8)	(0.7)	1.0	1.0	(1.1)	(1.0)	1.5	1.4
Caste												
SC	1.2	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.6	1.5
ST/VJNT	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.2	(1.0)	(1.0)	(1.3)	(1.2)	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.2
OBC	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.2
General ²	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.2
Educational level (years)												
None ³	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.7	*	*	(1.5)	(1.4)	1.5	1.5	1.8	1.8
1-7	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.3
8-11	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.1	1.1
12 and above	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.9	0.9
Worked in last 12 months												
Yes	1.1	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4
No	*	*	1.1	1.1	*	*	1.0	1.0	*	*	1.2	1.2
Wealth quintile												
First	1.4	1.3	1.6	1.5	*	*	*	*	1.4	1.4	1.6	1.5
Second	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.3
Third	1.1	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1
Fourth	0.9	0.8	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.0	0.9	1.2	1.2
Fifth	0.8	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	(0.9)	(0.9)	1.0	1.0
Total	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.1	1.3	1.3

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

10.12 Ideal family size

All respondents were asked to report the number of children they considered ideal, and among these the number of sons and daughters considered ideal. As several respondents reported that they were unconcerned about the sex of children, a third response “children of either sex” was also recorded.

Table 10.13: Wantedness of most recent pregnancy

Percentage of married youth by wantedness of most recent pregnancy in the three years preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Status (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Wantedness status of last pregnancy¹						
Planned	88.2	73.5	92.4	73.1	85.6	73.8
Mistimed	10.2	21.9	5.8	22.7	12.8	21.5
Unwanted	1.1	3.2	1.1	2.6	1.1	3.5
Number who had experienced at least one pregnancy	724	1,445	321	636	403	809
Wantedness status of current pregnancy						
Planned	94.1	85.1	96.8	85.6	92.0	84.4
Mistimed	3.2	11.0	3.2	8.7	4.0	12.2
Unwanted	1.6	2.6	0.0	4.8	2.4	1.5
Number currently pregnant	185	300	73	133	112	167

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. ¹Excludes respondents/respondents' wives currently pregnant for the first time or never been pregnant.

Table 10.14: Ideal family size

Percentage of married youth by their reported ideal number of children, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Ideal family size (%)	Combined		Urban		Rural	
	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24
Ideal number of children:						
0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
1	6.0	7.8	7.7	11.4	4.8	5.7
2	70.1	78.2	67.3	74.1	72.3	80.6
3 or more	21.1	9.1	19.0	7.5	22.4	9.9
Other ¹	2.8	4.8	6.0	6.8	0.5	3.6
Mean ideal number of children ²	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.1
Number who had begun cohabiting	1,057	1,941	499	897	558	1,044

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. ¹Includes "it's up to God," "difficult to say," etc. ²Includes only respondents who gave numeric responses.

As seen in Table 10.14, young men typically considered 2.2 children ideal, compared to 2.0 children reported by young women. While about one in five young men reported three or more children as ideal, only one in 10 young women so reported. This pattern was consistent among youth in both rural and urban areas, indicating that young men tended to prefer somewhat larger families than did women.

Tables 10.15a and 10.15b present the ideal number of sons and daughters reported by young people by a number of socio-demographic characteristics. Son preference was evident among both young men and women and among those from both rural and urban areas. The majority of respondents reported a preference for an equal number of sons and daughters (usually one of each). However, son preference was evident: a considerable percentage of youth reported a preference for more sons than daughters (16% and 12% of young men and women in urban

Table 10.15a: Married young men's preferences for sons and daughters by selected background characteristics

Mean ideal number of sons, daughters and children of either sex and some indicators of sex preference by selected background characteristics of married young men, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics	Mean ideal number of:			Indicators of sex preference Percent who wanted:			
	Sons	Daughters	Children of either sex	More sons than daughters	More daughters than sons	At least one son	At least one daughter
Residence							
Urban	0.9	0.7	0.6	15.8	4.9	72.6	67.7
Rural	1.1	0.9	0.2	18.0	5.0	89.5	85.6
Age (years)							
15-19	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
20-24	1.0	0.8	0.4	15.4	2.0	83.6	78.9
25-29	1.0	0.9	0.4	17.2	6.3	82.4	78.0
Religion							
Hindu	1.0	0.8	0.4	17.4	4.8	83.1	78.3
Muslim	1.2	1.0	0.3	22.2	5.1	87.9	83.8
Other ¹	0.8	0.8	0.4	7.0	7.0	73.2	74.6
Caste							
SC	0.9	0.8	0.3	14.1	7.0	82.2	80.4
ST/VJNT	1.2	1.0	0.1	20.2	6.4	91.6	88.7
OBC	1.0	0.9	0.3	18.0	5.3	85.2	79.2
General ²	0.9	0.7	0.5	16.1	3.3	75.8	70.5
Educational level (years)							
None ³	1.4	1.0	0.3	37.1	2.8	91.5	85.8
1-7	1.1	0.9	0.3	20.4	5.9	89.0	83.6
8-11	0.9	0.8	0.3	13.2	3.6	82.7	78.3
12 and above	0.7	0.7	0.5	10.4	7.5	70.6	68.2
Worked in last 12 months							
Yes	1.0	0.9	0.4	17.4	5.0	82.8	78.4
No	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Wealth quintile							
First	1.2	1.0	0.2	22.3	5.2	93.5	89.1
Second	1.0	0.9	0.4	15.9	4.4	84.1	83.2
Third	1.0	0.8	0.3	20.8	7.5	83.5	77.0
Fourth	0.8	0.7	0.5	12.3	3.9	72.4	70.4
Fifth	0.8	0.7	0.4	12.2	2.6	78.2	69.2
Total	1.0	0.8	0.4	17.1	5.0	82.9	78.5

Note: * Percentage not shown, based on fewer than 25 unweighted cases. OBC: Other backward caste. SC: Scheduled caste. ST: Scheduled tribe. VJNT: Vimukta jati nomadic tribes. ¹Includes Christian, Buddhist, Neo-Buddhist, Sikh, Jain, Jewish, Parsi/Zoroastrian and no specified religion. ²Includes all those not belonging to SC, ST/VJNT or OBC. ³Includes non-literate and literate with no formal schooling.

settings; 18% among both young women and men in rural settings). In contrast, no more than a handful (4–6%) reported wanting more daughters than sons. This pattern persisted, irrespective of the socio-demographic characteristic – religion, caste, economic status or educational attainment – under consideration. However, son preference was somewhat more common among less educated youth, and among those from poorer families compared to other youth.

Table 10.15b: Married young women's preferences for sons and daughters by selected background characteristics

Mean ideal number of sons, daughters and children of either sex and some indicators of sex preference by selected background characteristics of married young women, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Background characteristics	Mean ideal number of:			Indicators of sex preference Percent who wanted:			
	Sons	Daughters	Children of either sex	More sons than daughters	More daughters than sons	At least one son	At least one daughter
Residence							
Urban	0.9	0.8	0.3	11.9	5.6	80.2	76.3
Rural	1.1	0.9	0.1	18.0	3.9	91.6	81.9
Age (years)							
15-19	1.0	0.8	0.2	13.6	2.3	86.8	80.9
20-24	1.0	0.8	0.2	16.5	5.3	87.7	79.7
Religion							
Hindu	1.0	0.8	0.2	15.5	4.1	87.9	79.9
Muslim	1.0	1.0	0.2	16.2	9.2	83.8	82.6
Other ¹	1.0	0.8	0.2	17.7	4.0	87.4	77.8
Caste							
SC	1.0	0.8	0.2	18.3	4.3	89.0	80.7
ST/VJNT	1.1	0.9	0.1	19.6	3.0	94.8	87.0
OBC	1.0	0.9	0.2	12.7	5.5	85.7	80.8
General ²	1.0	0.8	0.2	15.0	4.6	85.7	76.9
Educational level (years)							
None ³	1.3	0.8	0.1	33.5	3.3	95.9	78.8
1-7	1.0	0.9	0.2	16.8	4.4	88.6	81.6
8-11	1.0	0.9	0.2	11.2	4.5	88.0	82.2
12 and above	0.8	0.7	0.3	9.7	6.0	75.3	71.5
Worked in last 12 months							
Yes	1.1	0.8	0.2	18.9	5.0	88.7	79.9
No	1.0	0.8	0.2	14.1	4.3	86.7	79.9
Wealth quintile							
First	1.2	0.9	0.1	24.7	4.2	95.1	82.6
Second	1.1	0.9	0.1	18.3	5.3	91.0	82.0
Third	1.0	0.9	0.2	13.3	4.0	88.1	82.7
Fourth	0.9	0.8	0.2	12.1	4.6	84.5	79.2
Fifth	0.8	0.7	0.3	12.7	4.3	78.6	71.0
Total	1.0	0.8	0.2	15.8	4.6	87.5	80.0

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

10.13 Summary

Findings indicate that although most youth preferred to marry after age 18, as many as 35% of young women aged 20–24 were married before age 18. In contrast, just 2% of young men were married before age 18. Almost all youth reported arranged marriages. Dowry characterised the marriages of almost three in five young men and more young women (70%). Moreover, while the young person's approval of the prospective spouse was sought in

most instances, just one-fifth were permitted to meet and interact with their spouse-to-be alone prior to marriage, and between half and two-thirds had met their spouse for the first time on the wedding day. Compounding the lack of pre-marital acquaintance was the lack of awareness of what to expect of married life, reported by three-quarters or more young women and men. Limited couple communication on contraceptive use further undermined married young people's ability to adopt protective actions.

Physical violence and forced sex within marriage were reported by significant minorities of youth. For example, more than one-quarter of young women reported that they had ever faced violence perpetrated by the husband and a similar percentage of young men reported perpetrating violence on their wives. Recent violence was likewise reported by almost one-quarter of young women and one-fifth of young men. Sexual violence was also reported. Indeed, almost one-quarter of young women reported that the first sexual experience within marriage had been forced. Overall, 27% of young women reported ever being forced to engage in sex with their husbands; in comparison, just 9% of young men reported forcing their wives to engage in sex.

While the Youth Study did not explore extra-marital sexual experiences in detail, the available data indicate that 3% of young men reported an extra-marital sexual encounter. In contrast, hardly any young women reported an extra-marital sexual encounter.

Contraceptive use at any time within marriage was reported by 36% of young men and 30% of young women. However just one-quarter of all young men and one-fifth of all young women reported current use of contraception. Among contraceptive methods typically used, oral contraceptives and condoms were most likely to be reported; however, significant minorities of young women were already sterilised at the time of interview. Few young people practised contraception to delay the first birth – one-fourth of young men and one in 10 young women. Not surprisingly, pregnancy typically occurred some 8 months following marriage among those who reported that they or their wives had been pregnant at least once. Moreover, large proportions of respondents reported experiencing unintended pregnancy. For example, of those women who were not pregnant at the time of interview and those men whose wives were not pregnant at the time of interview, 11% of young men and 25% of young women reported that the last pregnancy was mistimed or unwanted.

Circumstances of the first birth suggest that neither institutional delivery nor skilled attendance at delivery were universal: only 50–62% of first births were delivered institutionally and 78–83% reported delivery by a skilled attendant.

Findings also show that although most respondents wanted one child of each sex, son preference was evident – of those who preferred more than two children, the majority preferred to have more sons than daughters.

Health and health seeking behaviour

This chapter focuses on young people's patterns of substance use, health status and treatment-seeking for health problems experienced. The Youth Study probed alcohol, drug and tobacco use as well as, among those who reported substance use, consumption characteristics, including recent use and extent of use. It also included several questions relating to the experience of a number of health problems in the areas of general, sexual and reproductive health and mental health. This chapter also describes young people's care seeking practices for general and sexual and reproductive health problems as well as young people's attitudes towards pre-marital HIV testing for boys and girls and the extent to which youth had undergone an HIV test. Where numbers are small, we present combined findings for rural and urban respondents.

11.1. Substance use

Research has shown that substance use can directly compromise young people's health. For example, evidence suggests that use of alcohol and drugs among youth is associated with physical fights, risky sexual activity, depression and suicide as well as irregular school or work attendance and other negative outcomes (DiClemente, 1992; Ellickson, Saner and McGuigan, 1997; Gruber et al., 1996; Lowry et al., 1994; Mohan, Sankara Sarma and Thankappan, 2005; Singh and Saini, 2007).

Youth survey findings on the extent of substance use among young people themselves suggest that while less than 1% of respondents reported drug use (including, for example, *ganja*, *charas*, brown sugar, cocaine and *bhang*), a substantial proportion of young men and a small minority of young women reported consumption of tobacco and alcohol (Table 11.1). Although few young women (2%) had ever consumed tobacco products, nearly all who did so reported that they had done so once a week or more frequently in the month prior to interview; disparities by marital status and rural-urban residence were negligible. Among young men, in contrast, far more reported ever (33%) and recent (30%) use of tobacco products. Married young men were more than twice as likely as the unmarried to report ever using tobacco products (62% and 28%, respectively) and recent tobacco use (60% and 25%, respectively), and rural young men were somewhat more likely than the urban to report ever use of tobacco products (38% and 27%, respectively) and recent tobacco use (34% and 24%, respectively).

Fewer youth reported alcohol consumption. In contrast to young women, among whom almost no one reported ever or current consumption of alcohol, larger percentages of young men reported ever consuming (11%) or recently consuming (3%) alcohol. As in the case of tobacco use, married young men were far more likely to have ever consumed alcohol than the unmarried (27% and 9%, respectively); many fewer reported alcohol use once a week or more frequently in the month prior to interview (12% and 2% among married and unmarried young men, respectively). Unlike in the case of tobacco consumption, however, urban young men were more likely than their rural counterparts to report having ever consumed alcohol (13% compared to 8%). The large majority of young men who reported having ever consumed alcohol reported that they usually consumed alcohol with peers (80% and 83% of the married and unmarried, respectively) and more than one-quarter (28%) reported that they sometimes or often became drunk (not shown in tabular form).

Table 11.1: Substance use

Percentage of youth reporting lifetime and recent substance use, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Substance use (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Ever consumed						
Tobacco and its products	32.6	2.1	62.0	3.0	28.1	1.3
Alcohol	10.6	0.1	27.2	0.1	8.7	0.2
Drugs ¹	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0
Consumed once a week or more frequently in last month						
Tobacco and its products	29.7	1.8	59.5	2.8	25.3	1.0
Alcohol	3.0	0.0	12.1	0.0	1.9	0.0
Drugs ¹	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Ever consumed						
Tobacco and its products	26.5	1.4	57.3	2.3	22.6	0.9
Alcohol	13.3	0.3	32.2	0.1	11.2	0.3
Drugs ¹	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
Consumed once a week or more frequently in last month						
Tobacco and its products	23.8	1.1	53.2	2.0	20.5	0.6
Alcohol	4.3	0.0	15.3	0.0	3.1	0.0
Drugs ¹	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Ever consumed						
Tobacco and its products	37.5	2.5	65.1	3.5	32.7	1.6
Alcohol	8.4	0.0	23.9	0.0	6.6	0.1
Drugs ¹	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.3	0.1
Consumed once a week or more frequently in last month						
Tobacco and its products	34.3	2.3	64.0	3.2	29.3	1.4
Alcohol	2.0	0.0	9.9	0.0	0.9	0.0
Drugs ¹	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: ¹Includes ganja, charas, brown sugar, cocaine, bhang, etc.

11.2 General and sexual and reproductive health problems

General health problems about which youth were questioned included high fever and injury. Sexual and reproductive health problems included symptoms of genital infection (burning during urination, genital ulcers, itching, and swelling in the groin, genital discharge, for example), anxiety about nocturnal emission or *swapnadosh* (for young men) and menstrual problems (for young women). Findings related to recent experiences of various general, and sexual and reproductive health problems are presented in Table 11.2.

11.2.1 General health problems

Findings show that a large minority of young people – 23% of young men and 36% of young women – had experienced high fever in the three months preceding the survey. We note the fact that the survey period covered the peak infection summer and monsoon months, which may partially explain the prevalence of high fever. While differences by marital status were negligible, rural-urban differences suggest that rural youth were considerably more likely than their urban counterparts to have experienced high fever (27% versus 18% and 33% versus 39%, respectively, among young men and women).

Injuries were experienced by a minority of respondents in the three months preceding the survey, specifically, 5% of young men and 2% of young women. Although other differences were narrow, it is notable that young men in rural areas were somewhat more likely to have experienced injuries than their peers in urban areas.

11.2.2 Sexual and reproductive health problems

Table 11.2 presents young people's reported experiences of symptoms of genital infection in the three months preceding the survey. We note that these findings are based on self-reports and not on clinical examination or

Table 11.2: Self-reported health problems

Percentage of youth reporting recent experiences of selected general and sexual and reproductive health problems, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

General/sexual and reproductive health problems experienced (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
High fever in last 3 months	23.3	35.5	21.4	35.0	23.5	35.9
Injury in last 3 months	5.4	2.3	4.3	1.6	5.4	2.9
Symptoms of genital infection in last 3 months ¹	4.7	15.6	4.2	19.2	4.7	12.6
Anxiety about <i>swapnadosh</i> /nocturnal emission in last 12 months	28.2	NA	6.0	NA	31.6	NA
Menstrual problems in last 3 months	NA	19.9	NA	16.9	NA	22.5
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
High fever in last 3 months	18.2	39.4	16.2	39.5	18.4	39.3
Injury in last 3 months	1.8	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.7
Symptoms of genital infection in last 3 months ¹	1.1	14.9	0.5	16.1	1.2	14.1
Anxiety about <i>swapnadosh</i> /nocturnal emission in last 12 months	30.5	NA	3.0	NA	34.2	NA
Menstrual problems in last 3 months	NA	17.7	NA	14.7	NA	19.7
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
High fever in last 3 months	27.4	32.5	24.9	32.5	27.6	32.6
Injury in last 3 months	8.2	2.8	6.1	1.5	8.5	4.1
Symptoms of genital infection in last 3 months ¹	7.6	16.1	6.7	21.0	7.5	11.2
Anxiety about <i>swapnadosh</i> /nocturnal emission in last 12 months	26.4	NA	8.1	NA	29.4	NA
Menstrual problems in last 3 months	NA	21.7	NA	18.1	NA	25.3
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: NA: Not applicable. ¹Includes genital ulcers, genital itching, swelling in the groin, discharge, burning during urination, etc.

laboratory testing and therefore must be interpreted cautiously. Young women were more likely than young men to report these symptoms (16% versus 5%). While married and unmarried young men appeared equally likely to have experienced symptoms of genital infection, married young women were more likely than the unmarried to report as such (19% versus 13%). Rural-urban differences indicate that rural young men were more likely than urban young men to experience symptoms of genital infection (8% versus 1%). Such differences were negligible among young women.

Previous research has documented the extent to which semen loss is associated with anxiety regarding masculine weakness and ill-health in South Asian cultures (Bhatia and Choudhary, 1998; Bhatia and Malik, 1991; Bhende, 1995; Collumbien et al., 2004; Khan et al., 2006; Peltó, 1999; Verma et al., 2003). Youth Study findings suggest that more than one-quarter of young men (28%) had indeed experienced anxiety about *swapnadosh*, or nocturnal emission, in the 12 months preceding the survey. Vast differences were, however, observed by marital status: 6% of married men reported anxiety about nocturnal emission compared to 32% of unmarried young men. Differences by rural-urban residence were narrow, but suggest that urban men were somewhat more likely to report anxiety than were rural men.

With regard to young women's experience of other reproductive health problems in the three months preceding the interview, findings suggest that one-fifth of young women experienced menstrual problems (20%). Unmarried young women were somewhat more likely than the married to report menstrual problems (23% and 17%, respectively). Similarly, rural respondents were more likely to report menstrual problems than those residing in urban areas (22% versus 18%), perhaps because menstrual hygiene was somewhat poorer in rural settings.

11.3 Mental health disorders

Mental health status of young people was assessed using their responses to the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ-12) (Goldberg, 1992; Patel and Andrew, 2001). This questionnaire, designed to detect possible mental disorders, is based on 12 questions that assess the respondent's general level of happiness, depression, anxiety and sleep disturbance in the one month preceding the interview. Threshold scores of 2, 3, 4 or more have been variously used to identify the possible presence of common mental disorders (Bashir et al., 1996; Donath, 2001; Jacob, Bhugra and Mann, 1997). Table 11.3 presents responses on each item of the GHQ-12, and a summary measure indicating the percentage who gave three or more responses suggestive of mental disorders.

Gender disparities in response patterns were evident. Among young men, questions on which responses were most likely to suggest mental disorders included feeling constantly under strain (11%), feeling incapable of making decisions (12%), feeling unhappy and depressed (11%) and losing sleep due to worry (10%). In contrast, among young women, considerable percentages reported responses suggestive of mental disorders on several more items. Leading among these were: feeling incapable of making decisions (20%), feeling unable to overcome difficulties (16%), feeling unable to face up to problems (15%), feeling unhappy and depressed (14%), feeling constantly under strain (13%) and losing sleep due to worry (12%).

Differences by marital status were narrow among young men, except that unmarried young men were more likely than married young men to report that they felt incapable of making decisions (13% versus 6%). Among young women, differences by marital status were more evident. Married young women were more likely than unmarried young women to report that they lost sleep over worry (15% versus 9%), felt constantly under strain (16% versus 10%) and felt unhappy and depressed (17% versus 11%). Rural youth, irrespective of sex and marital status of the respondent, were more likely than urban youth to provide responses suggestive of mental disorders on all items in the GHQ-12.

Table 11.3: Reported symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders

Percentage of youth reporting symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders experienced in the month preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Symptoms/behaviours (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Unable to concentrate on whatever he/she was doing	3.7	2.9	3.0	3.5	3.9	2.4
Lost much sleep over worry	10.6	12.0	11.8	15.0	10.4	9.4
Felt that he/she was not playing a useful role	6.4	7.9	4.3	6.6	6.8	8.9
Felt incapable of making decisions	12.3	20.0	6.3	20.4	13.0	19.6
Felt constantly under strain	13.8	13.0	15.7	16.3	13.6	10.2
Felt that he/she could not overcome his/her difficulties	6.6	15.5	5.7	17.1	6.7	14.2
Unable to enjoy normal day-to-day activities	4.6	4.5	3.7	6.1	4.9	3.1
Unable to face up to his/her problems	6.1	15.4	4.1	16.3	6.3	14.7
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	11.2	14.0	10.2	17.4	11.2	11.2
Been losing confidence in himself/herself	7.0	7.2	8.2	9.0	6.9	5.7
Been thinking of himself/herself as a worthless person	4.3	3.3	4.9	4.2	4.5	2.7
Not feeling reasonably happy, all things considered	2.4	5.6	2.3	6.9	2.4	4.5
Three or more symptoms/behaviours	12.6	17.0	12.2	20.3	12.6	14.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Unable to concentrate on whatever he/she was doing	1.5	1.6	0.7	1.7	1.6	1.5
Lost much sleep over worry	4.5	8.3	2.1	8.9	4.7	7.9
Felt that he/she was not playing a useful role	3.1	6.4	1.6	4.7	3.3	7.5
Felt incapable of making decisions	10.2	13.9	5.5	14.3	10.5	13.6
Felt constantly under strain	11.7	10.6	10.3	13.0	12.1	9.0
Felt that he/she could not overcome his/her difficulties	3.4	7.2	2.3	7.2	3.5	7.1
Unable to enjoy normal day-to-day activities	2.8	2.4	2.1	2.8	2.8	2.1
Unable to face up to his/her problems	3.8	10.6	2.7	10.9	3.8	10.3
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	5.3	11.2	3.4	13.0	5.5	10.1
Been losing confidence in himself/herself	3.8	3.7	3.4	3.7	3.8	3.7
Been thinking of himself/herself as a worthless person	2.0	1.4	1.4	1.6	2.2	1.3
Not feeling reasonably happy, all things considered	0.8	4.2	0.5	5.2	0.8	3.5
Three or more symptoms/behaviours	6.4	8.7	3.9	9.6	6.4	8.1
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Unable to concentrate on whatever he/she was doing	5.4	3.9	4.6	4.6	5.7	3.3
Lost much sleep over worry	15.5	14.8	18.7	18.5	15.1	10.9
Felt that he/she was not playing a useful role	9.1	9.0	6.2	7.8	9.8	10.3
Felt incapable of making decisions	13.9	24.7	7.0	24.0	15.2	25.5
Felt constantly under strain	15.5	14.8	19.5	18.2	14.9	11.4
Felt that he/she could not overcome his/her difficulties	9.2	22.0	8.1	22.7	9.4	21.3
Unable to enjoy normal day-to-day activities	6.1	6.1	4.8	8.0	6.6	4.1
Unable to face up to his/her problems	7.9	19.2	5.1	19.4	8.4	19.0
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	15.9	16.2	15.0	19.9	15.9	12.2
Been losing confidence in himself/herself	9.6	9.9	11.5	12.0	9.5	7.7
Been thinking of himself/herself as a worthless person	6.2	4.8	7.3	5.6	6.4	4.0
Not feeling reasonably happy, all things considered	3.7	6.7	3.5	7.9	3.8	5.5
Three or more symptoms/behaviours	17.7	23.5	18.0	26.4	17.7	20.4
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Overall, 13% of young men and 17% young women reported three or more of the 12 symptoms/behaviours probed in the GHQ-12, indicative of mental disorders. Marital status differences were negligible for young men (12% and 13% among the married and unmarried, respectively), but among young women, the married were considerably more likely to score 3 or more on the GHQ-12 than the unmarried (20% versus 14%). Wide differences were also apparent by rural-urban residence, with rural youth much more likely than their urban counterparts to display scores indicative of mental disorders (18% and 24% of rural young men and women, respectively, versus 6% and 9% in urban areas) (see Figure 11.1).

Figure 11.1: Percentage of youth reporting symptoms/behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

11.4 Care and advice seeking

Young people who reported physical or sexual and reproductive health problems were probed about whether they had sought care or advice for the problem and the source of this care or advice. Findings are presented in Table 11.4 and suggest that care and advice seeking differed by kind of problem experienced as well as, in several instances, sex and marital status of the respondent.

11.4.1 General health problems

According to findings presented in Table 11.4, over 90% of young people experiencing high fever had sought treatment, and differences by respondents' sex and marital status were marginal. Treatment was sought from a government health care facility or provider by a relatively small percentage of those who sought care: 28% of young men and 20% of young women. The majority of respondents reportedly sought care from private sector providers (71% of young men and 77% of young women), reflecting the pattern in health care seeking behaviour in India more generally. Fewer sought care for their reported injuries (84% of young men and 62% of young women), but again, those who did tended to prefer the private sector (48% of young men and 57% of young women). We note that respondents may not always have been able to discern the extent to which the private sector provider from whom they sought care was indeed trained and licensed to provide such care. Few respondents (less than 10%) reported seeking care from traditional health care providers or using home remedies.

11.4.2 Sexual and reproductive health problems

Responses regarding treatment seeking for sexual and reproductive health problems depict a somewhat different picture than that for general health ailments. In general, fewer young people had sought care for these problems than for general health problems. As in the case of general health problems, however, the majority who sought care did so from a private sector provider.

Table 11.4: Care and advice seeking for reported health problems

Percentage of youth who experienced selected health problems by reported care and advice seeking and place of treatment, Maharashtra, 2006

Care and advice seeking (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Sought treatment for high fever	95.4	92.4	94.8	90.8	95.8	93.7
Number reporting high fever	509	1,619	223	697	438	922
Place treatment sought for high fever¹						
Government facility/doctor	27.5	19.5	29.1	21.1	26.6	18.2
Private facility/doctor	71.2	77.2	68.6	75.2	72.3	78.6
Other ²	0.8	3.1	1.4	3.7	0.7	2.8
Number who sought treatment for high fever	490	1,506	214	639	423	867
Sought treatment for injury	83.8	62.2	(80.9)	(48.8)	82.9	70.5
Number reporting injury	102	111	44	39	85	72
Place treatment sought for injury¹						
Government facility/doctor	44.3	18.0	(43.6)	(12.9)	44.8	20.3
Private facility/doctor	47.8	57.3	(51.3)	(48.4)	47.9	61.0
Other ²	4.3	6.7	(2.6)	(0.0)	4.2	11.9
Number who sought treatment for injury	90	83	36	29	74	54
Sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection ³	64.2	44.2	(75.6)	50.4	63.8	36.1
Number reporting symptoms of genital infection	85	689	38	366	72	323
Place treatment sought for symptoms of genital infection^{1, 3, 4}						
Government facility/doctor	39.4	21.3	(35.3)	22.3	(41.0)	19.0
Private facility/doctor	57.1	77.2	(55.9)	77.4	(54.2)	76.7
Other ²	5.6	2.6	(8.8)	2.1	(5.1)	(3.4)
Number who sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection	56	305	28	186	48	119
Sought advice on <i>swapnadosh</i> /nocturnal emission	55.0	NA	44.6	NA	55.6	NA
Number reporting anxiety over <i>swapnadosh</i>/nocturnal emission	689	NA	60	NA	667	NA
Person from whom advice was sought on <i>swapnadosh</i>/nocturnal emission						
Friend	86.2	NA	(70.0)	NA	86.5	NA
Parent	2.4	NA	(0.0)	NA	2.5	NA
Relative	0.8	NA	(0.0)	NA	0.8	NA
Traditional healer	0.8	NA	(0.0)	NA	0.8	NA
Medical professional	9.2	NA	(26.7)	NA	9.0	NA
Number who sought advice for <i>swapnadosh</i>/nocturnal emission	375	NA	28	NA	366	NA
Sought treatment for menstrual problems	NA	56.7	NA	61.5	NA	53.7
Number reporting menstrual problems	NA	884	NA	320	NA	564
Place treatment sought for menstrual problems¹						
Government facility/doctor	NA	15.4	NA	16.6	NA	14.5
Private facility/doctor	NA	81.8	NA	80.5	NA	82.6
Other ²	NA	1.6	NA	1.5	NA	1.6
Number who sought treatment for menstrual problems	NA	525	NA	213	NA	312

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses. () Based on 25-49 unweighted cases.

NA: Not applicable. ¹Refers to the last time the respondent sought treatment. ²Includes registered medical practitioner, unregistered medical practitioner, vaid/traditional healer and home remedies. ³Includes genital ulcers, genital itching, swelling in the groin, genital discharge, burning during urination, etc. ⁴Multiple responses were given.

Of those young men who experienced symptoms of genital infection, 64% had sought care. Of those who sought care, almost three-fifths did so from a private sector provider. Young men who experienced anxiety about *swapnadosh* or nocturnal emission were asked if they had sought advice for this anxiety. About half of all young men (55%) had done so. The most common source was friends, from whom 86% of young men reported seeking advice. In contrast, a minority sought advice from a medical professional (9%); very few reported that they had sought advice from a traditional health care provider generally known to “treat” such symptoms (less than 1%).

Seeking treatment for sexual and reproductive health problems was even more limited among young women than young men. For example, 57% of women experiencing menstrual problems had sought care for this problem, as did 44% of those who had experienced symptoms of genital infection. That even fewer young women had sought care for symptoms of genital infection than menstrual problems clearly highlights the fact that problems perceived to be associated with sex or sexual health matters were likely to go untreated by many. The married were considerably more likely than the unmarried to have sought treatment for symptoms of genital infection, a finding attributable perhaps to the greater embarrassment that this condition may evoke among unmarried and their families than their married counterparts.

As in the case of general health problems, care was most likely to be sought from a private sector provider: 77% of those seeking care for symptoms of genital infection and 82% of those seeking care for menstrual problems.

11.5 Hesitation to access contraceptive supplies

In order to capture the extent to which young people perceived that they could approach health care professionals for sexual and reproductive health services, the Youth Study survey posed two questions relating to accessing contraceptives, namely, whether the respondent would feel shy to approach a health care provider and a pharmacist, respectively, for contraceptives. Findings are presented in Table 11.5 and confirm that large proportions of young people would indeed feel shy to approach a health care provider or pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptive supplies. Young men were consistently and considerably less likely than young women to report discomfort in approaching either a health care provider (41% versus 56%) or pharmacy/medical shop (34% versus 57%) for contraceptive supplies. The married, moreover, were less likely to report discomfort than the unmarried; for example, among young men, 20% of the married compared to 43% of the unmarried reported feeling shy to approach a health care provider for contraceptive supplies. Among young women, likewise, 52% of the married compared with 59% of the unmarried, reported shyness. Likewise, urban respondents were much less likely than rural respondents to feel hesitation in these circumstances, especially young men. Findings confirm that many youth – minorities in the case of married young men, but significantly larger proportions in the case of unmarried young men and all young women – would indeed find it difficult to seek appropriate care for sexual and reproductive matters.

11.6 Attitudes towards pre-marital HIV testing and extent of HIV testing

Youth who were aware of HIV/AIDS were asked whether they approved of pre-marital HIV testing for boys and girls, and whether they had ever undergone an HIV test. Findings, presented in Table 11.6, suggest that the vast majority of youth (over 90%) agreed that boys and girls should be tested for HIV before marriage. Despite favourable attitudes towards HIV testing, only a small minority of youth had ever undergone an HIV test: 6% of young men and 10% of young women. Married youth were more than twice as likely as unmarried youth to report having undergone an HIV test; indeed, of all the categories of youth, it was married young women who were most likely to have had an HIV test (18%), most likely as part of antenatal check-ups. Although rural-urban differences were less consistent, married young women in urban areas were twice as likely as their rural counterparts to report having undergone an HIV test (25% versus 13%).

Table 11.5: Hesitation to access contraceptive supplies

Percentage of youth reporting hesitation to access contraceptive supplies from a health care provider or medical shop, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Would feel shy to approach an HCP for contraceptives	40.6	55.9	19.6	52.2	42.6	59.1
Would feel shy to approach a pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptives	33.6	57.0	14.6	54.1	35.7	59.6
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Would feel shy to approach an HCP for contraceptives	28.1	50.3	6.2	44.4	30.8	54.0
Would feel shy to approach a pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptives	23.1	50.5	5.0	44.4	25.3	54.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Would feel shy to approach an HCP for contraceptives	50.5	60.3	29.0	56.7	52.4	64.0
Would feel shy to approach a pharmacy/medical shop for contraceptives	42.0	62.2	21.1	59.5	44.3	64.8
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: HCP: Health care provider.

Table 11.6: Attitudes towards pre-marital HIV testing and extent of HIV testing

Percentage of youth aware of HIV/AIDS who believe that boys/girls should be tested for HIV before marriage and percentage who have ever had an HIV test, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Attitudes/experiences (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Boys should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Yes	92.1	93.4	93.6	91.1	92.1	95.1
No	6.8	4.4	6.1	5.8	6.7	3.4
Girls should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Yes	91.2	92.9	91.5	90.2	91.5	94.8
No	8.1	5.0	8.2	6.7	7.8	3.7
Youth who underwent an HIV test	5.5	9.6	9.8	17.7	5.1	3.4
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	2,174	3,509	973	1,444	1,883	2,065

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Table 11.6: (Cont'd)

Attitudes/experiences (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Boys should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Yes	95.3	95.0	94.9	93.0	95.6	96.3
No	4.4	3.3	4.8	5.0	4.1	2.2
Girls should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Yes	94.8	94.7	93.5	92.6	95.1	95.9
No	4.9	3.7	6.0	5.3	4.5	2.7
Youth who underwent an HIV test	3.9	11.5	9.4	24.9	3.2	3.4
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	1,327	1,909	481	742	1,199	1,167
Rural						
Boys should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Yes	89.3	91.9	92.5	89.8	88.9	93.8
No	8.9	5.5	7.1	6.4	9.1	4.8
Girls should be tested for HIV before marriage						
Yes	88.2	91.1	90.0	88.5	88.2	93.7
No	10.8	6.3	9.9	7.7	10.7	5.0
Youth who underwent an HIV test	6.9	7.8	10.2	12.6	6.9	3.4
Number aware of HIV/AIDS	847	1,600	492	702	684	898

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or “don’t know” responses.

11.7 Summary

Findings show that substantial proportions of young men reported the consumption of tobacco and alcohol; about one-third of young men reported tobacco consumption and one-tenth reported alcohol consumption. Drug use was reported by less than 1%. As expected, few young women reported that they consumed any of these substances.

Although youth is a generally healthy period of life, significant minorities reported experiencing general, mental, and sexual and reproductive health problems in the period preceding the interview. For example, 23% and 36% of young men and women had experienced high fever, and 5% of young men and 16% of young women reported the experience of symptoms of genital infection. Moreover, about one in five young women reported menstrual problems; at the same time, over one-quarter of young men reported anxiety about nocturnal emission. Finally, responses indicative of mental disorders were reported by some 13% of young men and 17% of young women.

As far as care seeking for general and sexual and reproductive health problems was concerned, patterns varied by type of problem. While the large majority of those experiencing high fever, for example, sought care, many fewer sought care for sexual and reproductive health problems. Of those who sought treatment, the majority sought advice or treatment from a private facility or provider, irrespective of the type of problem. However, it is notable that in the case of anxiety about nocturnal emission, youth rarely sought advice from a health care provider, preferring to do so from peers.

Findings suggest that youth were uncomfortable about seeking sexual and reproductive health services. Many youth – minorities in the case of married young men, but larger proportions in the case of unmarried young men and all young women – would indeed find it difficult to seek appropriate care for sexual and reproductive matters.

Finally, small minorities reported that they had undergone HIV testing – 10–18% of the married and 3–5% of the unmarried. Married women were more likely than youth in any other group to have undergone testing, likely associated with antenatal services. Youth were, however, overwhelmingly in favour of pre-marital HIV testing.

Participation in civil society and political life

The National Youth Policy 2003 has underscored the role of India's youth in political decision-making and argued for greater representation of youth in appropriate bodies and more extensive youth participation in the design and implementation of programmes (Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, 2003). Indeed, there is a recognition that today's youth, who have better access to skills and information than those of earlier generations, can play an important role in influencing political processes and the socio-economic development of the country.

This chapter presents a profile of youth involvement in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes, community activities and political processes. It also explores young people's behaviours and attitudes towards individuals of different religions and caste groups, violence within their community and their own participation in such violence, and their perceptions about the most important problem facing youth in India.

12.1 Awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes

Youth were asked whether they were aware of programmes that took place in their village or urban neighbourhood in the three years preceding the interview, whether they had participated in these programmes and whether these programmes had been organised by government agencies or NGOs. Findings are presented in Table 12.1.

In total, one-quarter of young men and almost one-third of young women reported awareness of one or more programmes that addressed youth needs organised in the three years prior to interview (see also Figure 12.1). While unmarried young women were most likely to be aware of one or more programmes (36%), about one-quarter of other subgroups reported awareness of any programmes. Rural youth were far more likely to be aware of such programmes than urban youth (36–37% versus 12–24%). It appears, therefore, that community-level programmes are more likely to be directed toward unmarried young women than young men or the married and more likely to be conducted in rural than urban settings.

The leading type of programme about which youth were aware related to health promotion, and was indicated by the largest proportion of youth, irrespective of sex, marital status and residence. Other types of programmes, cited by smaller percentages, related to literacy, leadership and livelihood skills, employment and sports.

Over three-fifths of programmes with which youth were familiar were organised by government agencies. Nevertheless, a large percentage of youth (42% of young men and 25% of young women) also reported awareness of programmes organised by the NGO sector. Unmarried youth were more likely than the married (28% versus 20% among young women and 44% versus 39% among young men, respectively) to report awareness of NGO-sponsored programmes. Urban youth were far more likely than rural youth to report awareness of NGO-sponsored programmes (67% and 36% of young men in urban and rural areas, respectively; 35% and 20% of young women, respectively) and rural youth, conversely, more likely to be aware of government-sponsored programmes, reflecting the fact that many government-sponsored programmes tend to be implemented in rural areas.

Table 12.1: Awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes

Percentage of youth reporting awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes conducted in the village/neighbourhood in the three years preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Awareness of and participation in programmes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Aware of programme(s) held	25.4	31.1	23.3	25.1	25.4	36.3
Focus of programmes held						
Health promotion	18.3	24.9	15.8	20.9	18.4	28.3
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	8.9	4.3	8.5	2.7	9.2	5.6
Employment ¹	3.0	3.2	2.5	2.8	3.0	3.5
Self-help group	1.2	2.0	1.5	1.8	1.3	2.2
Literacy	6.3	9.4	6.0	7.5	6.4	11.1
Sports and recreation	5.1	5.0	4.3	2.3	5.4	7.2
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Organising agency						
Government	63.7	67.3	67.7	70.6	62.6	65.4
NGO	41.7	25.0	38.9	20.0	44.2	27.8
Don't know	3.7	10.5	4.4	11.0	2.7	10.3
Number aware of any programme(s)	515	1,362	239	451	437	911
Participated in programme(s) held	14.5	8.3	13.1	4.8	14.8	11.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Participation in specific programmes						
Health promotion	54.7	56.3	50.4	68.8	54.7	51.9
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	28.5	12.1	32.4	8.6	28.5	13.2
Employment ¹	7.1	5.6	7.9	6.5	6.7	5.2
Self-help group	1.5	1.9	2.9	5.4	1.7	0.7
Literacy	18.8	24.4	17.3	23.7	19.8	24.4
Sports and recreation	24.7	20.9	19.4	8.6	25.8	25.1
Number who participated in any programme(s)	287	363	134	83	249	280
Urban						
Aware of programme(s) held	11.5	24.4	10.0	15.8	12.1	29.9
Focus of programmes held						
Health promotion	8.3	18.3	8.0	12.6	8.8	22.0
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	6.6	3.9	6.8	2.5	7.0	4.8
Employment ¹	1.0	1.0	0.5	0.4	1.1	1.3
Self-help group	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.6
Literacy	0.8	5.2	0.2	3.0	0.9	6.7
Sports and recreation	4.7	4.6	3.2	1.8	5.2	6.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Organising agency						
Government	57.6	60.0	48.8	62.5	56.8	59.2
NGO	66.9	34.6	79.5	29.7	67.9	36.3
Don't know	0.8	9.0	2.3	8.1	0.9	9.0
Number aware of any programme(s)	161	538	51	142	153	396

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Table 12.1: (Cont'd)

Awareness of and participation in programmes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Participated in programme(s) held	5.7	5.3	5.7	1.8	6.1	7.5
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Participation in specific programmes						
Health promotion	43.3	61.2	(44.0)	*	42.9	57.9
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	41.7	12.6	(41.7)	*	41.1	11.7
Employment ¹	5.0	1.0	(0.0)	*	5.4	0.0
Self-help group	0.0	1.0	(0.0)	*	0.0	1.1
Literacy	1.7	12.6	(0.0)	*	1.8	12.8
Sports and recreation	45.8	22.1	(33.3)	*	46.4	25.3
Number who participated in any programme(s)	80	116	29	16	76	100
Rural						
Aware of programme(s) held	36.5	36.4	32.5	30.4	36.5	42.5
Focus of programmes held						
Health promotion	26.2	30.0	21.2	25.5	26.4	34.5
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	10.7	4.6	9.7	2.8	10.9	6.4
Employment ¹	4.6	4.9	4.0	4.1	4.6	5.7
Self-help group	2.0	3.4	2.6	2.9	2.2	3.8
Literacy	10.8	12.7	10.0	10.1	11.1	15.4
Sports and recreation	5.4	5.3	5.1	2.6	5.6	8.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Organising agency						
Government	65.3	71.2	72.1	73.2	64.2	69.7
NGO	35.6	19.9	30.0	17.2	37.6	21.9
Don't know	4.2	11.3	4.9	11.7	3.2	11.0
Number aware of any programme(s)	354	824	188	309	284	515
Participated in programme(s) held	21.4	10.7	18.3	6.5	22.0	15.0
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Participation in specific programmes						
Health promotion	57.1	54.4	52.2	66.7	57.4	49.0
Awareness/leadership/vocational/life skills	25.6	11.9	29.8	7.5	25.6	14.1
Employment ¹	7.5	7.4	9.6	6.3	7.0	7.8
Self-help group	1.8	2.2	3.5	6.2	2.1	0.5
Literacy	22.1	28.6	21.1	25.0	23.6	30.2
Sports and recreation	20.3	20.4	16.5	10.0	20.7	25.0
Number who participated in any programme(s)	207	247	105	67	173	180

Note: Column total may exceed 100% due to multiple responses. ¹Includes Employment Guarantee Scheme (EGS), Jawahar Rozgar Yojana (JRY), National Rural Employment Programme (NREP), Pradhan Mantri Rozgar Yojana (PMRY), Training for Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM), etc.

Figure 12.1: Percentage of youth reporting awareness of and participation in government- and NGO-sponsored programmes in the three years preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Fewer youth reported participation in a programme in the preceding three years. Young men were somewhat more likely to report participation than young women (15% versus 8%), a difference that was particularly evident among the married. Likewise, rural youth were considerably more likely than urban youth to have participated in one or more programmes (11–21% versus 5–6%), perhaps, as indicated above, because these programmes were more likely to have been organised in rural than urban areas. Of those who reported participation in any programme, the largest percentage, irrespective of sex, marital status or residence, participated in health promotion activities (55% of young men and 56% of young women). Other activities reported included participation in programmes focused on literacy (19% and 24%, respectively), sports and recreation (25% and 21%, respectively) and leadership and life skills (29% and 12%, respectively). Patterns were similar for both the married and the unmarried. Rural-urban differences varied by type of programme and sex of the respondent. Larger percentages of rural than urban young women participated in literacy programmes, for example (29% and 13% respectively), but distributions were largely similar for other programmes. Among young men, in contrast, urban young men were far more likely than their rural counterparts to have participated in sports and recreational programmes (46% versus 20%) and leadership and life skills programmes (42% versus 26%), and conversely, considerably less likely to have participated in programmes related to health promotion (43% versus 57%) or literacy (2% versus 22%).

12.2 Participation in community- or *panchayat*-sponsored programmes

In many villages and urban neighbourhoods, community-led activities include, for example, cleanliness drives, health promotion activities, celebration of festivals and national days, and so on. As part of the Youth Study, youth were asked whether they had participated in any community-led activities organised by the *panchayat*/community leaders in the 12 months prior to interview. Findings, reported in Table 12.2, suggest that young women were far less likely than young men to have participated in these activities. More than three-fifths of young men, compared to 27% of young women, reported having participated in a community-led programme in the last year. Participation was, moreover, far more likely to be reported by rural than urban residents (77% and 32% of rural young men and women, respectively, compared to 45% and 21% of urban young men and women).

Findings suggest that the activity in which the largest percentage of youth participated was celebration of national days (90% of young men and 75% of young women), followed by celebration of festivals (45% and 29%, respectively) and cleanliness drives (25% and 26%, respectively). It is noteworthy that while one-third or more rural youth who reported attending a community-sponsored programme had participated in a cleanliness drive, fewer than 10% of urban youth so reported.

Table 12.2: Participation in community-led programmes

Percentage of youth who attended community-led programmes in the village/urban neighbourhood and types of programmes attended in the 12 months preceding the survey, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Participation in community-led programmes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Attended any programme(s) organised	62.6	27.0	57.5	12.5	63.5	39.2
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Specific programmes attended						
Cleanliness/sanitation	24.5	26.2	28.1	27.9	23.9	25.7
Health promotion	8.8	9.2	5.7	11.5	9.4	8.6
Festival celebration	45.4	29.1	43.2	35.8	46.5	27.3
National day celebration	89.9	75.0	89.1	63.8	89.8	77.9
Number who attended above programmes	1,362	1,200	599	223	1,181	977
Urban						
Attended any programme(s) organised	44.8	21.0	38.6	6.9	45.9	30.0
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Specific programmes attended						
Cleanliness/sanitation	8.0	7.3	7.7	4.0	7.4	7.9
Health promotion	8.4	4.8	5.3	2.0	8.8	5.3
Festival celebration	68.1	37.4	73.4	55.1	68.1	34.7
National day celebration	81.7	67.9	82.1	42.9	81.2	71.7
Number who attended above programmes	619	457	194	62	569	395
Rural						
Attended any programme(s) organised	76.8	31.8	70.8	15.6	78.1	48.4
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Specific programmes attended						
Cleanliness/sanitation	32.1	35.8	35.9	34.0	32.0	36.5
Health promotion	9.0	11.5	5.9	13.9	9.7	10.7
Festival celebration	35.0	24.7	31.8	30.9	35.9	22.7
National day celebration	93.7	78.6	91.9	69.1	94.0	81.7
Number who attended above programmes	743	743	405	161	612	582

Note: Column totals may exceed 100% due to multiple responses.

12.3 Membership in organised groups

Youth were asked whether they belonged to any organised group, ranging from self-help groups to youth groups to sports and social clubs. Findings, reported in Table 12.3, suggest that relatively small proportions of youth were members of any group. Young men were considerably more likely than young women to report such membership (21% compared to 8%). Marital status differences were narrow. Rural youth were more likely to report group membership than urban youth; for example, 26% of rural young men belonged to such a group, compared with 15% of urban young men and 9% and 5% rural and urban young women, respectively.

The types of groups in which youth reported membership varied widely by sex of the respondent. Young men typically reported membership in youth groups or *yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandals* (14%), and rural young men were considerably more likely than their urban counterparts to report youth group membership (18% compared to 9%). Seven percent of young men reported membership in social or sports clubs. Young women, in contrast, were most

Table 12.3: Membership in organised groups

Percentage of youth reporting membership in organised groups, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Membership in organised groups (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Member of an organised group	20.9	7.6	18.7	9.2	21.5	6.3
Self-help group	1.2	4.9	3.1	7.6	1.1	2.6
<i>Mahila mandal</i>	NA	1.2	NA	1.9	NA	0.7
Social or sports club	7.3	0.8	5.3	0.4	7.4	1.2
Youth group/ <i>yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandal</i>	14.3	0.6	11.8	0.2	14.9	1.0
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Became member of an organised group¹						
Before marriage	NA	NA	81.6	9.7	NA	NA
After marriage	NA	NA	17.4	84.3	NA	NA
Number reporting membership in an organised group	NA	NA	195	175	NA	NA
Urban						
Member of an organised group	15.0	5.3	11.9	5.7	15.5	5.1
Self-help group	0.1	2.4	0.5	4.2	0.1	1.3
<i>Mahila mandal</i>	NA	0.6	NA	0.8	NA	0.4
Social or sports club	5.4	1.3	4.6	0.4	5.5	2.0
Youth group/ <i>yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandal</i>	9.1	1.0	7.3	0.4	9.6	1.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Became member of an organised group¹						
Before marriage	NA	NA	90.4	14.6	NA	NA
After marriage	NA	NA	9.6	78.0	NA	NA
Number reporting membership in an organised group	NA	NA	62	53	NA	NA
Rural						
Member of an organised group	25.6	9.4	23.3	11.2	26.4	7.4
Self-help group	2.1	6.8	4.9	9.5	1.9	4.0
<i>Mahila mandal</i>	NA	1.8	NA	2.5	NA	1.0
Social or sports club	8.8	0.4	5.9	0.4	9.0	0.5
Youth group/ <i>yuva/tarun/kishor/kishori mandal</i>	18.3	0.4	15.0	0.0	19.3	0.7
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213
Became member of an organised group¹						
Before marriage	NA	NA	78.5	7.7	NA	NA
After marriage	NA	NA	20.1	86.7	NA	NA
Number reporting membership in an organised group	NA	NA	133	122	NA	NA

Note: NA: Not applicable. ¹Column total may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

likely to report membership in self-help groups (5%). Except for 1% of young women reporting membership in *mahila mandals*, membership in other groups was rarely reported. It is notable that larger proportions of young women than young men reported membership in self-help groups (5% versus 1%), and larger proportions of married than unmarried young women reported self-help group membership (8% compared to 3%).

Among married young men who reported group membership, the majority had become members prior to marriage (82%), a pattern that was observed among both rural (79%) and urban (90%) residents. The opposite was true among married young women, of whom 84% had joined an organised group after marriage, confirming the limited duration of exposure prior to marriage of young women to organised groups.

12.4 Perceptions about action taken by *panchayats* in addressing defiance of social norms

In the course of pre-survey qualitative investigations, researchers noted that in several rural areas, village *panchayats* took action in various situations in which youth did not adhere to social norms. Hence, youth in the rural areas were asked whether they believed that *panchayats* in their villages had ever taken action if someone was reported to have teased a girl or woman, if parents refused to permit their sons or daughters to marry someone of their choice, if youth were found to have engaged in pre-marital sex or if an unmarried girl became pregnant. Responses are reported in Table 12.4. Considerable proportions of youth perceived that their village *panchayats* would punish those accused of teasing a girl or woman (42% and 64% of young men and women, respectively) and fine unmarried youth who had engaged in pre-marital sex (32% and 38% of young men and women, respectively). They were far less likely to report that the local *panchayat* would arrange the marriage of youth whose parents had refused to permit them to marry someone of their choice (13% and 16%, respectively). However, only 3% and 5% of young men and women, respectively, reported that the *panchayat* had ever forced a boy to marry a girl whom he made pregnant. In all cases, young women were more likely to report *panchayat* involvement than young men. Differences by marital status were negligible.

Table 12.4: Perceptions about actions taken by the *panchayat* in case of defiance of social norms

Percent distribution of youth by perceptions about actions taken by the *panchayat* in case of defiance of social norms in selected situations, Maharashtra (rural), 2006

Perceptions (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
<i>Panchayat</i> would punish anyone who teases a girl/woman						
Yes	41.8	64.0	40.0	63.3	41.5	64.7
No	55.6	32.1	57.4	32.3	55.9	32.0
Can't say	2.5	3.9	2.6	4.4	2.6	3.4
<i>Panchayat</i> would fine a boy/girl who had engaged in pre-/extra-marital relations						
Yes	32.0	37.6	31.4	39.4	31.5	35.7
No	64.4	50.1	66.2	48.3	64.5	52.0
Can't say	3.6	12.3	2.4	12.3	3.9	12.3
<i>Panchayat</i> would arrange the marriages of youth if parents refused to let them marry						
Yes	12.9	16.2	11.8	16.7	12.6	15.7
No	84.7	77.2	86.0	76.7	84.7	77.8
Can't say	2.4	6.6	2.2	6.6	2.6	6.5
<i>Panchayat</i> had ever forced a boy to marry a girl who he had made pregnant						
Yes	3.0	4.7	3.8	4.8	2.9	4.6
No	92.1	85.3	91.1	84.3	92.4	86.3
Can't say	5.0	10.0	5.1	11.0	4.7	9.1
Number of respondents	953	2,259	559	1,046	770	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases. Questions were asked only of respondents in rural areas.

12.5 Voting behaviour and perceptions of political matters

Table 12.5 presents the percentage of eligible youth – that is, those at least 20 years of age at the time of interview who would have been eligible to vote prior to interview – who voted in the last election. Findings suggest that voting behaviour was far from universal and varied considerably by sex, marital status and urban-rural residence (see also Figure 12.2). Larger proportions of eligible young men (68%) than women (57%), and larger proportions of married than unmarried youth, reported that they had voted in the last election held. Specifically, 87% of eligible married young men reported that they had voted in the last election, compared with 62% of married young women, 64% of unmarried young men and 44% of eligible unmarried young women. As shown in Figure 12.2, although the same pattern held true in both rural and urban settings, overall more rural than urban respondents reported voting in the last election.

Table 12.5 also reports youth perceptions about political processes, notably the extent of disillusionment with the ability of any political party to achieve change at the community level and the extent to which respondents believed that people could vote freely and without fear, pressure or influence. A large majority of respondents – 80% of young men and 75% of young women – agreed that there would be no improvement in their village/area no matter which political party was in control at the state level. At the same time, most young people – 88% and 80% of young men and women, respectively – felt that one could vote freely and without fear or pressure. Among young men, rural youth were somewhat less likely than their urban counterparts to report the latter (84% versus 93%).

Figure 12.2: Percentage of youth aged 20 or above who voted in the last election, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

12.6 Expression of secular attitudes

In order to gauge attitudes regarding social interaction with individuals of different castes and religions, the Youth Study questionnaire inquired whether youth mixed freely with those of other castes and religions, whether they would eat together with a person from a different caste or religion, whether they would talk to someone who had an inter-caste marriage and whether they considered it acceptable to punish someone who insulted their religion. Findings, presented in Table 12.6, suggest that expressions of secular attitudes varied considerably by issue, sex of the respondent and rural-urban residence.

In response to specific issues, both young men and young women were most likely to report that they mixed freely with individuals of different castes (97% and 91%, respectively) and religions (96% and 91%, respectively). Somewhat fewer reported that they would eat together with a person from a different caste or religion (92% of young men and 75% of young women) or talk to someone who had an inter-caste marriage (92% and 77%, respectively). Despite this relatively secular profile, 81% of young men and 77% of young women felt that it was acceptable to punish someone who insulted their religion.

Table 12.5: Voting behaviour of eligible youth and perceptions about political matters

Percentage of youth aged 20 or above who voted in the last election and percent distribution of all youth by their perceptions about political matters, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Indicators (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Voted in last election	67.9	56.8	86.5	62.0	64.0	43.9
Number aged 20 or above	1,200	2,139	1,048	1,502	898	637
Perceptions about political matters						
Irrespective of the political party governing the state, there would be no improvement in the village/neighbourhood						
Agree	80.4	74.6	82.2	76.7	79.8	72.8
Disagree	18.6	22.7	17.1	19.9	19.3	25.0
Can't say	0.9	2.7	0.8	3.3	0.9	2.2
One can vote freely, without fear, pressure or influence						
Agree	87.6	80.3	87.5	79.3	87.7	81.2
Disagree	11.5	16.5	11.6	16.5	11.6	16.5
Can't say	0.9	3.1	0.8	4.1	0.8	2.3
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Voted in last election	56.8	46.6	79.4	50.0	52.4	41.2
Number aged 20 or above	719	1,165	503	733	586	432
Perceptions about political matters						
Irrespective of the political party governing the state, there would be no improvement in the village/neighbourhood						
Agree	83.4	74.0	83.5	74.8	83.1	73.5
Disagree	15.5	23.0	15.1	19.8	16.0	25.0
Can't say	1.1	3.0	1.4	5.4	0.9	1.6
One can vote freely, without fear, pressure or influence						
Agree	92.8	80.0	94.7	77.9	92.6	81.4
Disagree	6.5	15.7	4.3	15.1	6.9	16.2
Can't say	0.7	4.2	0.9	6.9	0.5	2.5
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Voted in last election	77.8	65.8	91.5	69.7	75.2	48.6
Number aged 20 or above	481	974	545	769	312	205
Perceptions about political matters						
Irrespective of the political party governing the state, there would be no improvement in the village/neighbourhood						
Agree	78.0	75.0	81.3	77.8	77.0	72.2
Disagree	21.1	22.5	18.5	20.0	22.1	25.1
Can't say	0.9	2.5	0.2	2.2	0.9	2.7
One can vote freely, without fear, pressure or influence						
Agree	83.5	80.5	82.5	80.1	83.5	81.0
Disagree	15.5	17.1	16.7	17.4	15.5	16.9
Can't say	1.1	2.3	0.8	2.5	1.0	2.1
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases.

Table 12.6: Expression of secular attitudes

Percent distribution of youth by reported behaviours and attitudes towards interaction with people of different castes and religions, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Behaviours/attitudes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Mixes freely with people of other castes						
Yes	96.8	90.8	97.3	90.3	96.8	91.1
No	3.2	9.1	2.7	9.5	3.2	8.8
Mixes freely with people of other religions						
Yes	96.3	90.6	97.1	89.7	96.3	91.4
No	3.7	9.2	2.9	10.1	3.7	8.6
Would eat together with a person of another caste/religion						
Yes	92.3	74.6	93.1	71.6	92.2	77.1
No	7.7	25.2	6.9	28.2	7.7	22.8
Would talk to a person who has had an inter-caste marriage						
Yes	91.7	77.3	90.9	75.1	92.0	79.0
No	7.7	21.4	8.9	23.5	7.4	19.8
Believes it is acceptable to punish someone who insults respondent's religion						
Yes	80.7	76.7	81.7	78.9	80.0	74.9
No	18.6	21.9	17.9	19.5	19.3	23.8
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Mixes freely with people of other castes						
Yes	99.3	95.7	99.8	95.8	99.2	95.7
No	0.7	4.2	0.2	4.0	0.8	4.2
Mixes freely with people of other religions						
Yes	99.0	95.7	99.8	95.8	98.9	95.7
No	1.0	4.2	0.2	4.1	1.1	4.3
Would eat together with a person of another caste/religion						
Yes	97.3	83.3	98.9	81.2	96.9	84.6
No	2.6	16.6	0.9	18.5	2.9	15.4
Would talk to a person who had an inter-caste marriage						
Yes	96.2	87.8	94.7	87.7	96.3	87.9
No	3.7	11.3	5.3	11.3	3.5	11.3
Believes it is acceptable to punish someone who insults respondent's religion						
Yes	73.7	69.8	73.7	70.3	73.6	69.5
No	26.0	28.7	25.8	27.9	26.1	29.3
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328

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Table 12.6: (Cont'd)

Behaviours/attitudes (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Rural						
Mixes freely with people of other castes						
Yes	94.7	86.9	95.5	87.2	94.7	86.6
No	5.3	12.9	4.5	12.5	5.3	13.4
Mixes freely with people of other religions						
Yes	94.2	86.6	95.4	86.2	94.2	87.0
No	5.8	13.2	4.6	13.5	5.8	12.9
Would eat together with a person of another caste/religion						
Yes	88.3	67.8	89.0	66.0	88.3	69.7
No	11.7	31.9	11.0	33.7	11.7	30.7
Would talk to a person who had an inter-caste marriage						
Yes	88.2	69.1	88.4	68.0	88.5	70.2
No	11.0	29.3	11.3	30.5	10.5	28.1
Believes it is acceptable to punish someone who insults respondent's religion						
Yes	86.3	82.0	87.4	83.9	85.4	80.2
No	12.7	16.5	12.4	14.7	13.6	18.4
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Differences in the nature of behaviours and attitudes towards individuals of different castes and religions were negligible by marital status, in contrast to differences by rural-urban residence, which were marked. Rural residents, particularly young women, expressed considerably more conservative attitudes than urban residents. Rural-urban differences were widest with regard to eating with those of other castes and religions and talking to those in inter-caste marriages, behaviours which 83–97% of urban residents agreed, compared with 68–88% of rural residents. Finally, rural residents were considerably less likely than their urban counterparts to tolerate without punishment someone who insulted their religion (13–17% versus 26–29%).

12.7 Physical fights in the village or urban neighbourhood

All respondents were asked whether physical fights – more specifically, youth beating, slapping or pulling the hair of others – was common among young men and women, respectively, in their villages or neighbourhoods. Findings, presented in Table 12.7, suggest that physical fights were reported to be more common among young men than women. About two in three respondents reported that young men engaged in physical fights sometimes or often and one-third of young men and almost one half of young women reported the same for young women. Occasional or frequent physical fighting among young men was more likely to be reported by young men in rural than urban areas (72% and 56%, respectively), and about as many rural as urban young women (65% and 69%, respectively). As far as reported physical fighting between young women was concerned, a similar pattern was evident: rural young men were more likely than their urban counterparts to believe that physical fights occurred sometimes or often (41% versus 22%); rural young women were about as likely as urban young women to so perceive (44% and 49%, respectively).

Table 12.7: Physical fights in village/neighbourhood

Percentage of youth reporting perceptions of youth involvement in physical fights in their village/neighbourhood and percentage of youth themselves involved in physical fights in the last 12 months, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Perceptions/experiences of physical fights (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Respondents' perceptions of the extent to which: Young men in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	35.1	33.5	35.2	34.1	34.9	33.1
Sometimes	56.2	58.0	58.3	58.3	56.1	57.6
Often	8.6	8.5	6.4	7.6	8.9	9.2
Young women in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	67.1	53.4	65.4	53.7	67.4	53.2
Sometimes	31.1	43.2	32.6	43.3	30.7	43.0
Often	1.7	3.2	1.8	2.7	1.8	3.7
Respondents themselves involved in physical fights in last 12 months	10.4	1.7	4.5	1.5	11.0	1.8
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541
Urban						
Respondents' perception of the extent to which: Young men in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	44.4	31.4	41.3	28.0	44.9	33.5
Sometimes	48.0	59.6	54.3	63.5	47.4	57.2
Often	7.5	8.9	4.1	8.3	7.8	9.2
Young women in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	78.1	50.9	74.4	48.7	78.7	52.3
Sometimes	21.4	45.9	25.1	48.9	20.8	44.0
Often	0.5	3.1	0.2	2.3	0.5	3.6
Respondents themselves involved in physical fights in last 12 months	7.0	1.2	4.1	2.0	7.3	0.8
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Respondents' perception of the extent to which: Young men in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	27.7	35.1	30.9	37.5	26.6	32.6
Sometimes	62.6	56.7	60.9	55.3	63.3	58.0
Often	9.6	8.1	8.0	7.1	9.9	9.2
Young women in the area engaged in physical fights						
Never	58.4	55.3	59.2	56.4	58.0	54.1
Sometimes	38.7	41.1	37.8	40.2	39.0	42.0
Often	2.7	3.3	2.9	2.9	2.8	3.7
Respondents themselves involved in physical fights in last 12 months	13.1	2.0	4.8	1.3	14.0	2.8
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases or "don't know" responses.

Youth were also asked a direct question about their own involvement in physical fights with anyone within the village or urban neighbourhood in the 12 months preceding the interview. The question did not elaborate further and hence we acknowledge that responses may include fights with both family members and others. Ten percent of young men and 2% of young women reported that they had been involved in physical fights. Among young men, the unmarried were somewhat more likely than their married counterparts to have engaged in physical fights (11% and 5%, respectively). By and large, young men from rural areas were more likely than young men from urban areas to report recent involvement in physical fights (13% versus 7%); no such differences were observed among young women.

12.8 Perceptions of the leading problems facing youth

Finally, youth were asked to give their opinion on the most important problem facing youth in their villages or urban areas. Table 12.8 clearly shows that young people's perceptions of leading problems varied enormously by sex. The majority of young men, irrespective of marital status or rural-urban residence, reported difficulty in finding employment as the single most pressing problem (60%), followed by concerns about lack of amenities or infrastructure – i.e., water and sanitation, roads and electricity – (12%) and poverty more generally (11%). Together, these three issues were expressed by over four-fifths of young men. Young women, in contrast to young men, focused largely on lack of amenities and infrastructure (33%) and, to a lesser extent, difficulties in finding employment (18%), poverty more generally (12%) and lack of opportunities for education (9%). These four issues were together reported by almost three-quarters of young women.

Rural youth were more likely than urban youth to feel that lack of amenities/infrastructure was a leading problem facing youth: 17% and 45% of men and women in rural areas, compared to 5% and 18%, respectively, in urban areas reported so. Young women in rural areas were more likely than those in urban areas to cite lack of educational opportunities (13% versus 4%) as the leading problem they faced. Conversely, both urban young men and women were more likely than their rural counterparts to report unemployment or finding a job as a leading problem (27% versus 10% among young women and 67% versus 55% among young men, respectively).

Table 12.8: Perceptions about the leading problem facing youth

Percent distribution of youth by their perceptions of the leading problem facing youth, according to residence, Maharashtra, 2006

Leading problem (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Combined						
Finding a job/unemployment	60.4	17.6	62.4	14.0	60.7	20.6
Poverty	10.9	12.0	13.2	13.2	10.1	10.9
Lack of amenities/infrastructure (water/toilets/ roads/electricity)	11.6	33.2	15.2	39.0	10.8	28.6
Health-/health service-related concerns	0.8	1.2	0.4	1.2	0.8	1.2
Security of girls/law and order	0.6	3.4	0.3	2.1	0.7	4.6
Finding a good spouse/dowry	0.3	4.5	0.0	4.2	0.3	4.8
Lack of educational opportunities	4.5	8.6	1.8	8.7	4.7	8.7
Lack of career counselling/vocational training	3.8	3.6	1.6	2.3	4.4	4.7
Alcohol/drug abuse	1.7	1.9	1.6	1.6	1.7	2.2
Lack of sex education	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.4	1.6
Other ¹	2.9	1.9	1.4	1.2	3.3	2.5
Don't know/can't say	1.1	10.5	0.8	11.6	1.2	9.6
Number of respondents	2,336	4,488	1,065	1,947	2,017	2,541

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Table 12.8: (Cont'd)

Leading problem (%)	M 15-24	W 15-24	MM 15-29	MW 15-24	UM 15-24	UW 15-24
Urban						
Finding a job/unemployment	67.2	26.8	69.9	24.6	67.0	28.2
Poverty	7.9	14.3	10.5	18.4	7.5	11.7
Lack of amenities/infrastructure (water/toilets/ roads/electricity)	5.4	18.3	7.3	22.9	4.7	15.3
Health-/health service-related concerns	0.8	1.1	0.2	0.7	0.9	1.3
Security of girls/law and order	1.4	6.2	0.7	3.8	1.5	7.7
Finding a good spouse/dowry	0.4	5.6	0.0	4.1	0.4	6.6
Lack of educational opportunities	4.3	3.5	1.6	3.3	4.6	3.6
Lack of career counselling/vocational training	4.0	3.7	2.5	1.7	4.5	4.9
Alcohol/drug abuse	1.9	1.9	3.0	1.4	2.0	2.2
Lack of sex education	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.3	2.1	2.2
Other ¹	3.5	3.0	2.1	2.3	3.7	3.6
Don't know/can't say	1.2	13.8	0.7	15.4	1.2	12.8
Number of respondents	1,382	2,229	506	901	1,246	1,328
Rural						
Finding a job/unemployment	54.9	10.4	56.8	7.9	55.3	13.0
Poverty	13.3	10.2	15.0	10.2	12.3	10.2
Lack of amenities/infrastructure (water/toilets/ roads/electricity)	16.6	44.9	20.7	48.0	15.8	41.7
Health-/health service-related concerns	0.8	1.3	0.6	1.5	0.8	1.1
Security of girls/law and order	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.5
Finding a good spouse/dowry	0.2	3.6	0.0	4.2	0.3	3.0
Lack of educational opportunities	4.6	12.7	1.9	11.8	4.8	13.7
Lack of career counselling/vocational training	3.7	3.6	1.0	2.7	4.3	4.5
Alcohol/drug abuse	1.5	1.9	0.6	1.7	1.5	2.3
Lack of sex education	0.8	1.0	1.3	1.0	0.9	0.9
Other ¹	2.5	1.0	1.0	0.6	2.9	1.5
Don't know/can't say	1.1	8.0	1.1	9.4	1.2	6.6
Number of respondents	954	2,259	559	1,046	771	1,213

Note: Column totals may not equal 100% due to missing cases. ¹Includes lack of recreational/sports facilities, lack of political participation, gambling, corruption, child marriage, lack of loan services, limited freedom for girls, social conflicts, generation gap, parents not allowing love marriage, caste differences, etc.

12.9 Summary

Although a number of programmes are held to build youth skills, relatively few youth (one-quarter of young men and almost one-third of young women) reported familiarity with either government- or NGO-sponsored programmes organised at the community level in which youth could participate. Far fewer youth — 15% of young men and 8% of young women — reported participating in any such programme. Many more — 63% and 27% of young men and women, respectively — reported that they had participated in community-sponsored programmes such as cleanliness drives, celebration of festivals and national days, and so on. Finally, about one-fifth of young men, compared to 8% of young women, reported membership in organised groups.

Among those eligible, few had cast their votes in the most recent election for which they were eligible to vote. While 87% of married young men had cast their votes, just under two-thirds of unmarried young men and married young women and fewer than half of unmarried young women had done so. Also of note is that while most youth perceived that elections were fair and permitted one to vote without fear, the large majority (75–80%) reported disillusionment with the commitment of political parties to work for change at the community level.

By and large, youth reported secular attitudes; 90% or more reported that they mixed freely with individuals of different religions and castes. However, just about one in five agreed that it was best to tolerate rather than punish someone who insulted their religion. Findings typically suggest that young women and rural youth were more likely than others to report conservative views.

Considerable proportions of young men and women acknowledged that physical fights among young men and also among young women did occur in their villages or urban neighbourhoods; just 10% of young men and 2% of young women reported that they had been involved in a physical fight in the year preceding the interview.

Young people's perceptions of the leading problems facing youth varied enormously by sex. Among young men, the majority reported difficulty in finding employment as the leading problem, followed by concerns about poverty more generally and lack of amenities or infrastructure. In contrast, the leading problems expressed by young women were lack of amenities and infrastructure, and to a lesser extent, difficulty in finding employment, poverty more generally and lack of opportunities for education.

Findings of the Youth Study presented in earlier chapters highlight the situation of young men and women in Maharashtra. They underscore the fact that youth are a heterogeneous group with correspondingly diverse needs, and identify numerous challenges youth face in making the transition to adulthood. Findings suggest several priority programmatic areas for action as well as several themes requiring research attention, which are highlighted in this chapter.

13.1 Recommendations for programmes

Findings suggest a number of key programme areas for intervention at the youth, family and service delivery levels.

Address obstacles to school completion

Although young people in Maharashtra are spending much of their adolescence pursuing their education, concerted efforts are needed if the state is to meet the Millennium Development Goal of ensuring universal primary school completion. Youth Study findings suggesting somewhat steep declines in school attendance following Class 5, and further declines at the high school level, call for efforts to ensure primary school completion, on one hand, and to address barriers to high school completion, on the other.

A number of factors have been identified in the Youth Study that inhibit school completion; leading among these are economic reasons, attitudes and perceptions of youth and their parents, and school-related reasons. Multiple activities are needed to address these barriers. Efforts must be made, for example, to address the economic pressures that may lead parents to withdraw their children from school in favour of work. Conditional grants and targeted subsidies that encourage school completion among disadvantaged groups also need to be considered. At the same time, activities are needed that are directed at parents that promote positive attitudes towards education and school completion, raise parents' aspirations for the education of their children and encourage greater parental involvement in their children's education.

Activities must also address school-level barriers, notably, poor infrastructure, quality of education and academic failure. There is a need to incorporate livelihoods skills building models within the school setting and provide opportunities for those in school to gain market-driven job skills that will expand young people's aspirations regarding their education and careers. Moreover, investments in improving the quality of the schooling experience are needed that focus on providing better training and ensuring accountability for teachers.

While gender differences in school attendance have declined impressively, findings suggest that married young women remain considerably disadvantaged. Interventions are needed that give married young women a second chance to continue their education.

Enable opportunities for employment

Findings of the Youth Study that considerable proportions of youth had initiated work in childhood reiterate the recommendation highlighted above regarding the need to provide conditional grants and targeted subsidies to disadvantaged groups, which would encourage parents to opt for schooling over work for their children.

At the same time, findings show that considerable proportions of youth were unemployed at the time of interview. Unemployment rates were particularly high among the educated, possibly because of the disconnect between youth skills and market needs. Indeed, few youth were aware of employment generation programmes and even fewer had availed of these or vocational skills training. Moreover, youth tended to opt for relatively traditional vocational skills and may not have had the opportunity to learn about market needs or develop appropriate skills for which a demand exists. As mentioned earlier, formal mechanisms need to be developed that enable youth to acquire skills for which there is an established market demand, and that link eligible youth to market opportunities.

Provide opportunities for formal saving, especially for young women

Findings suggest that while young women were more likely than young men to report savings, they were about as likely to own a savings account and far less likely to operate the account independently. Programmes are needed that inculcate a savings orientation among young people, that offer savings products that are attractive and appropriate to the small and erratic savings patterns of young people and that enable young women in particular to overcome obstacles related to owning and controlling savings products.

Build agency

Findings highlight the limited agency of young women and even some young men. They lack decision-making authority especially in matters relating to their own marriages, lack confidence in expressing their opinions publicly and have limited negotiation skills. Young women, in addition, are socially isolated and lack freedom of movement and opportunities to build peer networks. These findings call for attention to promote life skills education programmes for youth, especially young women, both unmarried and married, that will enable them to have an informed say in their own lives. Safe spaces should be identified in which young women can build social networks and find social support among peers.

Inegalitarian gender role attitudes were expressed by many, notably young men. Egalitarian attitudes must be promoted among young women and men, and programmes need to be tailored to meet each group's situation. These programmes should promote new concepts of masculinity and femininity among youth and at the same time, promote messages that build egalitarian relations between women and men.

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

Reinforce secular attitudes

Findings suggest that for many youth, opportunities to engage in civic and political life are limited and secular attitudes are not uniformly observed. Programmes are needed – at the school, college and community levels, through national service programmes, sports and other non-formal mechanisms—that encourage civic participation, incorporate value building components and reinforce secular attitudes and values that espouse responsible citizenship.

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

The provision of family life or sex education to young people has been a controversial issue in Maharashtra. Youth Study findings provide considerable evidence suggesting that family life or sex education is urgently needed among youth, both those in school and those who have discontinued their education.

Findings demonstrate limited understanding of sexual and reproductive matters among young people, including the married. Misconceptions abound on most topics: sex and pregnancy, contraceptive methods including condoms, STIs and HIV/AIDS and the conditions under which abortion is legally available or restricted. Where awareness exists, it is typically superficial.

Youth themselves have called for family life or sex education. Findings highlight that large proportions recognised the need for information and education on these issues, and indicated a preference for receiving this education from teachers, health care providers or other experts, and parents. However, few young people had been exposed to family life or sex education. Substantial proportions of married young women (and some young men) reported entering marriage completely unaware of what it entailed. At the same time, substantial minorities of young people had engaged in sexual risk taking.

There is clearly a pressing rationale for school-based family life or sex education for those in school and community-based expert-led education for those out of school. These programmes should be age-appropriate and provide information on sexual and reproductive matters and sexual and reproductive rights; however, they should be designed not only to raise awareness among youth but also to enable young people to correctly understand and assess the risks they face and to adopt appropriate protective actions.

In addition, special attention needs to be paid to the training of trainers. It is important that teachers, health care providers and other experts undergo training that enables them to overcome their reluctance about communicating with youth on sensitive sexual and reproductive matters, that dispels their misconceptions on these matters, and that enhances their technical knowledge on sexual and reproductive issues.

Ensure that the transition to sexual life is safe and wanted

While for the vast majority of young women sexual activity is initiated within the context of marriage, findings show that a sizeable proportion of young men and some young women had engaged in sex before marriage. As documented in this report, many youth had initiated sexual activities uninformed, which reiterates the need for providing family life or sex education to young people. Moreover, for many, pre-marital sexual experiences were

unsafe or unwanted. These findings underscore the need for programmes to focus on building sexual and reproductive health awareness among young people and developing their skills in negotiating safe sex and communicating with their partners. At the same time, programmes must make available appropriate family planning and infection prevention services for both married and unmarried young men and women in a manner acceptable to them.

Delay marriage and encourage parents to involve youth in marriage-related decisions

Findings show that even though the vast majority of young women wished to delay marriage beyond age 18, substantial proportions were married before this age. Few young people had an opportunity to meet their spouse-to-be prior to the wedding day.

There is clearly a need for action to delay marriages of young women. These efforts need to be multi-pronged: for example, building community support for delayed marriage by involving youth themselves as well as their families; ensuring a greater commitment on the part of law enforcement agencies to enforce existing laws on the minimum age at marriage and the registration of marriages; and at the individual level, ensuring the greater involvement of school, health and other authorities to support young women in negotiating with their parents to delay marriage.

Parents must be apprised of the need to involve children in marriage-related decisions and enable them to interact with their prospective spouses prior to the wedding day. Parents must also be made aware of the physical and mental health dangers of early marriage and the adverse experiences of many young women (and some young men) who were married early or who were unprepared for marriage.

Enable married young women to exercise greater control over their lives

Findings on the multiple vulnerabilities faced by married young women underscore the need for programmes that support newly-wed young women, acknowledging that their situation and needs may differ from those of married adults. Married young women are notably isolated, have little decision-making authority and have few sources of support. They have limited communication with their husbands, and notable proportions have suffered physical and sexual violence perpetrated by their husbands. Efforts are needed that address the health and empowerment needs of married young women, enable young women to have greater control over resources, break down their social isolation and encourage couple communication, negotiation and conflict management skills early in marriage. There exist intervention models in India that have attempted to address these needs; these should be reviewed and up-scaled as appropriate so that married young women have the opportunity to exercise control over their lives.

We have also seen that many young women experienced their first pregnancy soon after marriage. It would appear that numerous forces work against delaying the first pregnancy – young people's lack of awareness of appropriate methods of contraception and access to supplies, their limited skills in countering social expectations and negotiating pregnancy postponement, overwhelming pressure from the family and community to bear children as soon as possible after marriage, and lack of attention from health care providers. Programmes are needed that inform youth about their pregnancy postponement options and enable them to access appropriate contraception. At the same time, providers must be trained and charged with the responsibility of reaching married young

women and men – including those who have not yet experienced pregnancy —with information regarding contraception and other reproductive health matters as well as contraceptive supplies and pregnancy-related care.

Sensitise youth about the adverse child sex ratio

The adverse sex ratio of the child population observed in Maharashtra is clearly a function of continued preference for sons and the persisting practice of sex-selective abortion. Findings of the Youth Study confirm that the preference for sons over daughters persists even among youth. While the adverse child sex ratio cannot be attributed to young people alone, it is likely, given low fertility rates and early marriage, that family formation will be concentrated at young ages and the preferences and behaviours of youth will shape the extent to which sex ratios remain adverse to females or become more balanced. Programmes are needed, therefore, that sensitise youth – and particularly the about-to-be-married and the newly-married – about the value of daughters and the long-term consequences of an unbalanced sex ratio at birth, on one hand, and about the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques (PNDT) Act and the fact that sex selective abortion is illegal, on the other.

Create a supportive family environment

Findings highlight several critical manifestations of the limited interaction and social distance between parents and young people while growing up and the gendered nature of socialisation experiences. Efforts must be made to create a supportive environment for young people. While evidence on models that are effective in bridging the distance between parents and children or enabling parents to adopt gender-egalitarian socialisation practices is not currently available, findings presented in this report call for programmes that address parental inhibitions about discussing sexual matters with their children, encourage greater openness and interaction between parents and children, and enable the adoption of gender-egalitarian child-rearing practices.

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

Although the RCH Programme has advocated special services for youth, including the unmarried, these services had not reached youth in our survey. Few youth were aware of sources of sexual and reproductive health information or contraceptive supplies, few had sought care for symptoms of STI or gynaecological problems, and most of those who had sought care for the latter preferred private to public sector facilities. Such a disconnect between the public health sector and youth underscores the need to sensitise health care providers about the special needs, heterogeneity and vulnerability of unmarried and married young women and men, and to orient them to the need for developing appropriate strategies to reach these diverse groups, including young newly-weds. Programmes must be inclusive of unmarried young people and recognise their need and right to sexual and reproductive health and related information and services. Counselling and contraceptive services must be made available to unmarried young people in a non-threatening, non-judgmental and confidential environment. Indeed, these findings call for the implementation of strategies outlined under the National Rural Health Mission's RCH Programme.

At the same time, mental health issues need to be addressed. While symptoms suggestive of mental health disorders were evident among youth generally, they were particularly apparent among married young women. Efforts are needed to screen young people for mental health disorders when they avail of other primary health services, including, for example, sexual and reproductive health services, and to refer youth with such symptoms to appropriate health facilities and providers.

13.2 Directions for future research

Findings presented in this report provide a broad picture of youth in Maharashtra. At the same time, however, they have raised a number of issues that require further investigation, particularly with regard to the determinants and consequences of youth behaviours and practices during their transition to adulthood. While the Youth Study is indeed a rich source of data that will enable investigators to fill many of the information gaps identified, there are several gaps in knowledge that will require additional research efforts.

A general research recommendation is the urgent need for prospective or panel study designs that follow a cohort of adolescents at regular intervals up to age 24. Thus far, research has relied on cross-sectional data. While these data are valuable in describing the levels and trends in key markers of transitions to adulthood, they rarely capture the ways in which the situation and experiences of youth in adolescence influence their life courses at later ages. Moreover, drawing causal inferences from cross-sectional surveys has several limitations.

School discontinuation

While evidence presented in this report sheds some light on the reasons for school discontinuation, further research is needed that profiles youth most at risk of discontinuation, particularly before completing secondary education, that defines the obstacles underlying the steep declines in schooling before primary and secondary education is completed, and that identifies approaches to mitigate these barriers. As suggested in the section on recommendations for programmes, a variety of interventions need to be implemented that address school quality issues, that enhance parental involvement in children's education, provide the out-of-school, and especially married young women, a second chance to continue their education, provide conditional grants and targeted subsidies for disadvantaged groups or impart livelihoods skills to in-school young people. In addition, operations research is required that evaluates the effectiveness and feasibility of these programmes.

Transition to work

Several questions related to young people's transition to work remain unanswered. Further research is needed that explores the links between education attained or vocational training acquired and work patterns, assesses the extent to which early transitions to work affect young people's educational attainment or marriage, and examines the reasons for high levels of unemployment observed among unmarried and educated youth. As far as vocational skills building is concerned, research is needed that explores the factors underlying the findings that few young people received vocational skills training even though large proportions were in favour of receiving such training, and that despite the availability of a range of vocational skills training opportunities, many young women continued to opt for training in traditional vocational skills. Equally important is the need for operations research that will test models intended to enable youth to acquire skills for which there is an established market demand and link eligible youth to market opportunities.

Socialisation experiences, interaction with parents

Youth Study findings show that socialisation continues to be gendered and parent-child interaction limited, particularly on more sensitive sexual and reproductive matters. Despite this, little is known about the ways in which limited interaction and hierarchical socialisation patterns may influence young people's lives, for example, their sexual behaviours, their aspirations for the future or their ability to exercise informed choices in their lives. Similarly, there is a dearth of research on parents' perspectives on the socialisation of sons and daughters, the extent to which socialisation practices differ for sons and daughters and the extent to which and the ways in which parents communicate sensitive matters to their adolescent children, and the factors inhibiting parents from adopting gender-egalitarian socialisation practices and communicating with their adolescent children on sexual and reproductive matters. As mentioned earlier, there is a need to design and test interventions intended to involve parents more meaningfully in young people's transitions to adulthood in terms of educational attainment, work, marriage and entry into sexual relations.

Sexual risk behaviours

Research is needed that explores the correlates of behaviours that undermine healthy development among young people, for example, sexual risk behaviours, substance use and the linkages between them. At the same time, it would be useful to identify the characteristics of youth who make the transition in a healthy way, for example, practise consistent condom use, seek appropriate care and so on.

The Youth Study has raised serious methodological concerns that need to be addressed. For example, despite the fact that the Youth Study did employ such methods as gradual sequencing of questions to include progressively more sensitive questions (with regard to romantic and sexual relationships), anonymous third-party reporting and anonymous sealed envelope reporting, as in many studies, pre-marital sexual experience was far less likely to be reported among young women than young men. Moreover, sex worker, exchange, forced and same-sex relationships were rarely reported. Such findings emphasise the need to continue the search for appropriate methodologies to measure sensitive behaviours among youth; computer-assisted survey interviews are one such option. Indeed, methodological studies that compare estimates derived using different approaches could provide an insight into efforts to refine measures of reporting of sensitive behaviours among youth.

Transitions to marriage

Research is needed that explores the extent to which early marriage compromises young people's – and particularly young women's – lives. For example, does early marriage impede young women's ability to exercise agency in the marital home? How prepared for marriage are those who marry early and how does preparedness or lack thereof influence married life? Many youth reported that they had not used any contraceptives to delay the first pregnancy and consequently experienced pregnancy soon after marriage. Further research is needed that sheds light on the factors that undermine young people's ability to delay the first pregnancy.

As mentioned earlier, several promising interventions have been implemented that are intended to address the social isolation experienced by married young women and/or their reproductive health needs, including delaying pregnancy or making pregnancy safe. Few of these interventions have been rigorously evaluated and there is a need for research that assesses the feasibility and possibility of scaling up various such interventions.

Partner violence

Youth Study findings have documented domestic and sexual violence perpetrated by young men on their wives, as well as forced sex experienced in romantic and non-romantic situations by a small number of young women prior to marriage. Findings call for research that explores the factors underlying these experiences of violence, documents their consequences for young women and men, and tests interventions that enable youth to prevent such violence, on one hand, and to overcome obstacles to seeking prompt and appropriate care, on the other.

Influence of family life or sex education on sexual relations

Findings suggest that few youth are aware in-depth about sexual and reproductive matters, clearly posing an obstacle to their ability to make informed choices. Research is needed that explores the extent to which young people's awareness of sexual and reproductive matters and of sexual and reproductive rights varies according to the sources from which they derive their knowledge. Equally important are studies that examine the sexual and reproductive awareness and technical competence to communicate sensitive sexual matters to young people of those from whom information is sought – including, for example, teachers, health care providers and parents.

Despite young people's limited awareness of sexual and reproductive matters, there has been a reticence within the state to impart school-based family life or sex education to youth on the assumption – disproved in some settings – that such education will encourage youth to engage in risky sexual behaviours. Research is needed that explores the extent to which exposure to school-based family life or sex education does indeed enable youth to make informed decisions and adopt safe behaviours in the area of sexual and reproductive health. Research is also needed that explores whether the transition into married life is safer and healthier among those – particularly young women — who were exposed to such education.

Agency and gender role attitudes

While findings confirm young women's limited agency and gender inequalitarian attitudes held by youth, particularly young men, several gaps remain in our understanding of the ways in which these affect young people's transitions to adulthood. Further research is needed, for example, that identifies the factors underlying the espousal of unequal and equal gender role attitudes by young men, and that explores the ways in which inequalitarian gender role attitudes and limited agency compromise sexual and reproductive health among young men and women.

Methodological issues also arise. There is a need to refine measures of agency as applicable to young men and women. The Youth Study has obtained data on multiple dimensions of agency among young men and women, the married and the unmarried and those from rural and urban areas. These data lend themselves to methodological exercises that measure agency among youth, that assess the extent to which key components of agency may differ across different categories of youth and that explore whether a single summary measure of agency can be developed among youth.

Mental health disorders

Findings suggest that many young people, particularly married young women, experience symptoms suggestive of mental disorders. Research is needed that explores young people's mental health profiles in greater depth and that assesses the linkages between sexual and reproductive health on one hand, and mental health on the other.

Health seeking for sexual and reproductive health symptoms

Findings suggesting that health care seeking, particularly for sexual and reproductive matters, is limited, highlight the need for research that explores the factors inhibiting youth from seeking care. Youth Study data will enable, as a start, exploration of the factors distinguishing those who sought care from those who did not, in terms of both socio-economic factors as well as parental and peer interaction levels and youth inhibitions about seeking services relating to sexual matters. At the same time, more research is needed that explores barriers to care seeking from the perspective of providers.

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

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Estimates of sampling errors

As in the case of any sample survey, estimates from the Youth Study in Maharashtra, as presented in Chapters 1–12, are affected by two major sources of errors: non-sampling and sampling errors. Non-sampling errors are generally the result of procedural mistakes made during data collection and data processing, such as, for example, inability to locate and interview the correct household or individual, failure to conform to standard survey procedures laid out by the central office, misunderstanding of questions on the part of either the interviewer or the respondent, and data entry errors. At the same time, because of the inclusion of numerous sensitive issues, the Youth Study faced the risk of other non-sampling errors as well, such as, for example, deliberate skipping of sensitive questions by the interviewer or refusal to answer sensitive questions by the respondent. In order to minimise non-sampling errors, a number of precautions were taken during the implementation of the study, which are described in detail in Chapter 1. However, we acknowledge that even so, non-sampling errors are impossible to avoid; they are, moreover, extremely difficult to evaluate statistically.

Sampling errors, on the other hand, can be evaluated statistically. These errors, as the name suggests, result from the choice of the particular sample selected. The sample of respondents selected in the Youth Study is only one of many possible samples that could have been selected from the population of Maharashtra, using the same design and expected sample size. Each of these samples would have yielded results that differed somewhat from the results of the sample selected. The sampling error is a measure of variability among all possible samples. Although the degree of variability may not be known exactly, it can be estimated from the survey results using standard statistical procedures.

A sampling error, usually measured in terms of the *standard error* for a particular statistic (mean, percentage, ratio, etc.), is the square root of the variance of that statistic. The standard error can be used to calculate confidence intervals within which the true value for the population can reasonably be assumed to fall. For example, for any given statistic calculated from the survey, the value of that statistic will fall within a range of plus or minus two times the standard error of that statistic in 95 percent of all possible samples of identical size and design.

If the sample of respondents had been selected as a simple random sample, it would have been possible to use straightforward formulae for calculating the variance of the statistic and consequently, sampling errors. However, the Youth Study sample is the result of a multi-stage stratified design, and consequently, it was necessary to use more complex formulae. The variance estimators that were used can be found in Cochran (1977) and Wolter (1985). The computer software used to calculate sampling errors for the Youth Study was programmed in STATA SE 8.2. This procedure uses the Taylor linearisation method for variance estimation for survey estimates that are means, proportions or ratios.

The Taylor linearisation method treats any percentage or average as a ratio estimate. Let $r = y/x$ be our sample estimate of the population ratio (mean or percentage) denoted by $R = Y/X$, where y represents the total sample value for variable Y , and x represents the total number of sample cases in the group or sub-group under consideration. Using first order Taylor expansion, it can be shown that the approximate variance of distribution of r (square root of which is the standard error) is as below:

$$Var(r) = \frac{1-f}{x^2} \sum_{h=1}^L \left[\frac{n_h}{n_h-1} \left(\sum_{i=1}^{n_h} z_{hi}^2 - \frac{z_h^2}{n_h} \right) \right]$$

in which $z_{hi} = y_{hi} - rx_{hi}$, and $z_h = y_h - rx_h$

where h represents the sampling stratum which varies from 1 to L ,
 n_h is the number of PSUs selected in the h^{th} stratum,
 y_{hi} is the sum of the weighted values of variable Y in the i^{th} PSU in the h^{th} stratum,
 x_{hi} is the sum of the weighted number of cases in the i^{th} PSU in the h^{th} stratum,
 f is the overall sampling fraction, which is so small that it is ignored.

In addition to the standard error, the design effect (DEFT) for each estimate was also computed, which is defined as the ratio between the standard error using the given sample design and the standard error that would result if a simple random sample had been used (Kish, 1995) represented by the following simple formula:

$$DEFT = \sqrt{\frac{Var(r)}{Var_{srswr}(r_{srs})}}$$

where $Var(r)$ is a design-based estimate of variance for the parameter r ,
 $Var_{srswr}(r_{srs})$ is an estimate of the variance for an estimator r_{srs} that would be obtained from a similar hypothetical survey conducted using simple random sampling (srs) with replacement (wr).

A DEFT value of 1.0 indicates that the sample design is as efficient as a simple random sample, while a value greater than 1.0 indicates the increase in the sampling error due to the use of a more complex and less statistically efficient design. Relative standard error (SE/R) and 95% confidence limits for each estimate were also computed.

Sampling errors for the Youth Study were calculated for selected variables and results are presented in this appendix for each sex and marital status sub-group of respondents for the state as a whole, and for those in urban and rural areas, respectively. For each variable, the type of statistic (mean, proportion, or rate) and the base population are given in Table B.1. Table B.2 presents the value of the statistic (R), its standard error (SE), the number of unweighted (N) and weighted (WN) cases, the design effect (DEFT), the relative standard error (SE/R), and the 95% confidence limits, for each variable.

Table B.1: List of selected variables for sampling errors, Maharashtra, 2006

Variables	Estimates	Base Population
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males)	Ratio	<i>De jure</i> household population, all ages
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males)	Ratio	<i>De jure</i> household population, ages 0-6
Currently married, including married but not yet cohabiting	Proportion	<i>De jure</i> household population, ages 20-24
No education	Proportion	<i>De jure</i> household population, ages 6 or above
No education	Proportion	Young men and women
Completed 12 or more years of education	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever worked in last 12 months	Proportion	Young men and women
Unemployed	Proportion	Young men and women in labour force
Discussed friendship with father	Proportion	Young men and women whose fathers were alive at the time of interview
Discussed friendship with mother	Proportion	Young men and women whose mothers were alive at the time of interview
Independently makes decisions on choice of friends, spending money and buying clothes for oneself	Proportion	Young men and women
Can visit places outside village or neighbourhood unescorted	Proportion	Young men and women
Has savings of any amount	Proportion	Young men and women
Justified wife beating in at least one situation	Proportion	Young men and women
Awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters	Proportion	Young men and women
Correct specific knowledge of at least one contraceptive method	Proportion	Young men and women
Correct specific knowledge of condoms	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever heard of HIV/AIDS	Proportion	Young men and women
Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever heard of STIs other than HIV	Proportion	Young men and women
Correct knowledge of conditions under which abortion is legal	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever received family life or sex education	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever had an opposite-sex romantic partner	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever had sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever had pre-marital sex	Proportion	Young men and women
Used condom consistently in pre-marital relations	Proportion	Young men and women who reported having pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview
Ever communicated with spouse on	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting

Cont'd on next page...

Table B.1: (Cont'd)

Variables	Estimates	Base Population
Husband ever forced wife to have sex	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Husband ever perpetrated violence on wife	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Husband ever perpetrated violence on wife in last 12 months	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Currently using any modern contraceptive method	Proportion	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Delivered first birth in a health institution	Proportion	Married young men and women whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth
Mean number of children ever born	Mean	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Mean number of children surviving	Mean	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting
Mean ideal number of children	Mean	Married young men and women who had begun cohabiting and gave a numeric response
Experienced 3 or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the survey	Proportion	Young men and women
Ever consumed alcohol	Proportion	Young men and women
Participated in a programme held in the 3 years preceding the survey	Proportion	Young men and women
Voted in last election	Proportion	Young men and women, ages 20 or above

Table B.2: Sampling errors, Maharashtra, 2006

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males, <i>de jure</i> household population, all ages)								
Combined	947	5.8300	57,324	57,157	1.4196	0.0062	935	958
Urban	926	9.1976	27,686	24,693	1.5040	0.0099	908	944
Rural	962	7.5049	29,638	32,465	1.3532	0.0078	948	977
Sex ratio (females per 1,000 males, <i>de jure</i> household population, ages 0–6)								
Combined	862	17.0064	7,206	7,285	1.1599	0.0197	828	895
Urban	878	25.4939	3,185	2,848	1.1259	0.0290	828	928
Rural	852	22.6267	4,021	4,437	1.1640	0.0266	807	896
Currently married, including married but not yet cohabiting (<i>de jure</i> household population, ages 20–24)								
Combined								
Male	0.1996	0.0090	5,575	5,433	1.6902	0.0453	0.1818	0.2174
Female	0.6877	0.0110	4,953	4,844	1.6741	0.0160	0.6660	0.7094
Urban								
Male	0.1606	0.0114	2,920	2,586	1.6724	0.0708	0.1382	0.1830
Female	0.5600	0.0173	2,568	2,286	1.7684	0.0309	0.5259	0.5941
Rural								
Male	0.2350	0.0139	2,655	2,847	1.6845	0.0590	0.2077	0.2623
Female	0.8019	0.0127	2,385	2,558	1.5531	0.0158	0.7770	0.8269
No education (<i>de jure</i> household population, ages 6 or above)								
Combined								
Male	0.1551	0.0066	51,194	50,973	4.1169	0.0425	0.1421	0.1680
Female	0.3367	0.0082	48,798	48,848	3.8264	0.0243	0.3206	0.3528
Urban								
Male	0.0844	0.0070	24,966	22,261	3.9565	0.0825	0.0707	0.0981
Female	0.2016	0.0112	23,207	20,739	4.2665	0.0557	0.1795	0.2237
Rural								
Male	0.2098	0.0102	26,228	28,712	4.0624	0.0487	0.1897	0.2300
Female	0.4364	0.0114	25,591	28,108	3.6752	0.0261	0.4140	0.4588

Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
No education (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.0372	0.0082	2,336	2,350	2.1055	0.2216	0.0210	0.0535
W (15-24)	0.0817	0.0079	4,488	4,488	1.9375	0.0969	0.0661	0.0973
MM (15-29)	0.1019	0.0197	1,065	1,065	2.1287	0.1937	0.0631	0.1408
MW (15-24)	0.1483	0.0120	1,947	1,947	1.4948	0.0812	0.1246	0.1720
UM (15-24)	0.0204	0.0055	2,017	2,017	1.7408	0.2679	0.0097	0.0313
UW (15-24)	0.0266	0.0058	2,541	2,541	1.8153	0.2178	0.0152	0.0380
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.0184	0.0055	1,382	1,039	1.5226	0.2970	0.0078	0.0296
W (15-24)	0.0504	0.0076	2,229	1,968	1.6390	0.1507	0.0354	0.0654
MM (15-29)	0.0574	0.0133	506	438	1.2803	0.2293	0.0319	0.0844
MW (15-24)	0.1046	0.0148	901	707	1.4479	0.1412	0.0755	0.1337
UM (15-24)	0.0095	0.0036	1,246	916	1.3211	0.3863	0.0022	0.0164
UW (15-24)	0.0156	0.0043	1,328	1,261	1.2694	0.2771	0.0071	0.0241
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.0519	0.0139	954	1,311	1.9410	0.2687	0.0245	0.0794
W (15-24)	0.1062	0.0122	2,259	2,520	1.8862	0.1151	0.0822	0.1303
MM (15-29)	0.1324	0.0314	559	627	2.1891	0.2371	0.0707	0.1943
MW (15-24)	0.1732	0.0166	1,046	1,240	1.4176	0.0958	0.1405	0.2059
UM (15-24)	0.0298	0.0095	771	1,101	1.5559	0.3198	0.0111	0.0486
UW (15-24)	0.0375	0.0105	1,213	1,280	1.9290	0.2806	0.0168	0.0583
Completed 12 or more years of education (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.2189	0.0129	2,336	2,350	1.5030	0.0587	0.1936	0.2443
W (15-24)	0.2000	0.0132	4,488	4,488	2.2043	0.0658	0.1741	0.2259
MM (15-29)	0.1932	0.0172	1,065	1,065	1.4204	0.0890	0.1594	0.2271
MW (15-24)	0.1402	0.0115	1,947	1,947	1.4576	0.0818	0.1176	0.1628
UM (15-24)	0.2353	0.0135	2,017	2,017	1.4331	0.0575	0.2086	0.2619
UW (15-24)	0.2498	0.0155	2,541	2,541	1.8069	0.0621	0.2192	0.2803
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.2915	0.0214	1,382	1,039	1.7531	0.0736	0.2492	0.3336
W (15-24)	0.3014	0.0211	2,229	1,968	2.1745	0.0701	0.2598	0.3430
MM (15-29)	0.2715	0.0302	506	438	1.5274	0.1114	0.2120	0.3309
MW (15-24)	0.2243	0.0229	901	707	1.6488	0.1022	0.1792	0.2694
UM (15-24)	0.3079	0.0213	1,246	916	1.6284	0.0692	0.2659	0.3498
UW (15-24)	0.3510	0.0210	1,328	1,261	1.6049	0.0599	0.3096	0.3924
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.1615	0.0146	954	1,311	1.2285	0.0907	0.1327	0.1904
W (15-24)	0.1208	0.0138	2,259	2,520	2.0073	0.1140	0.0937	0.1479
MM (15-29)	0.1386	0.0200	559	627	1.3650	0.1440	0.0993	0.1779
MW (15-24)	0.0923	0.0117	1,046	1,240	1.3054	0.1266	0.0693	0.1153
UM (15-24)	0.1744	0.0162	771	1,101	1.1860	0.0929	0.1429	0.2068
UW (15-24)	0.1500	0.0183	1,213	1,280	1.7797	0.1217	0.1141	0.1860

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever worked in last 12 months (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.6661	0.0151	2,336	2,350	1.5452	0.0226	0.6365	0.6958
W (15-24)	0.3151	0.0161	4,488	4,488	2.3155	0.0510	0.2835	0.3467
MM (15-29)	0.9755	0.0056	1,065	1,065	1.1721	0.0057	0.9641	0.9862
MW (15-24)	0.3545	0.0215	1,947	1,947	1.9827	0.0607	0.3121	0.3968
UM (15-24)	0.6181	0.0156	2,017	2,017	1.4414	0.0252	0.5874	0.6488
UW (15-24)	0.2848	0.0157	2,541	2,541	1.7491	0.0550	0.2540	0.3157
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.5896	0.0198	1,382	1,039	1.4992	0.0337	0.5506	0.6287
W (15-24)	0.1627	0.0142	2,229	1,968	1.8196	0.0874	0.1347	0.1907
MM (15-29)	0.9894	0.0044	506	438	0.9688	0.0044	0.9810	0.9982
MW (15-24)	0.1315	0.0173	901	707	1.5365	0.1319	0.0970	0.1651
UM (15-24)	0.5350	0.0189	1,246	916	1.3344	0.0353	0.4978	0.5721
UW (15-24)	0.1831	0.0163	1,328	1,261	1.5316	0.0888	0.1511	0.2151
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.7268	0.0204	954	1,311	1.4141	0.0281	0.6866	0.7670
W (15-24)	0.4340	0.0218	2,259	2,520	2.0927	0.0503	0.3910	0.4770
MM (15-29)	0.9685	0.0088	559	627	1.1262	0.0091	0.9478	0.9823
MW (15-24)	0.4817	0.0278	1,046	1,240	1.7956	0.0576	0.4271	0.5363
UM (15-24)	0.6872	0.0220	771	1,101	1.3158	0.0320	0.6440	0.7305
UW (15-24)	0.3851	0.0231	1,213	1,280	1.6539	0.0600	0.3396	0.4306
Unemployed (young men and women in labour force)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1952	0.0152	1,501	1,525	1.4835	0.0778	0.1653	0.2251
W (15-24)	0.1674	0.0147	1,151	1,227	1.3334	0.0877	0.1385	0.1962
MM (15-29)	0.0464	0.0105	1,015	1,011	1.5872	0.2250	0.0261	0.0675
MW (15-24)	0.1206	0.0171	529	588	1.2035	0.1414	0.0870	0.1542
UM (15-24)	0.2322	0.0175	1,195	1,213	1.4300	0.0753	0.1978	0.2666
UW (15-24)	0.2131	0.0202	622	639	1.2312	0.0950	0.1732	0.2529
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1782	0.0179	847	647	1.3629	0.1006	0.1429	0.2135
W (15-24)	0.2555	0.0311	395	356	1.4180	0.1222	0.1936	0.3161
MM (15-29)	0.0144	0.0063	498	431	1.1627	0.4234	0.0025	0.0274
MW (15-24)	0.2410	0.0470	137	108	1.2872	0.1979	0.1448	0.3297
UM (15-24)	0.2113	0.0204	714	526	1.3323	0.0964	0.1712	0.2514
UW (15-24)	0.2634	0.0337	258	252	1.2275	0.1280	0.1971	0.3298
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.2074	0.0227	654	878	1.4301	0.1093	0.1630	0.2524
W (15-24)	0.1316	0.0153	756	870	1.2464	0.1165	0.1014	0.1617
MM (15-29)	0.0705	0.0173	517	580	1.5341	0.2454	0.0364	0.1044
MW (15-24)	0.0944	0.0174	392	480	1.1771	0.1843	0.0602	0.1287
UM (15-24)	0.2482	0.0264	481	688	1.3379	0.1063	0.1963	0.3001
UW (15-24)	0.1805	0.0249	364	387	1.2318	0.1379	0.1314	0.2292

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Discussed friendship with father (young men and women whose fathers were alive at the time of interview)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.3788	0.0166	2,059	2,076	1.5561	0.0439	0.3461	0.4116
W (15-24)	0.3740	0.0133	3,978	3,986	1.7302	0.0355	0.3479	0.4002
MM (15-29)	0.2364	0.0180	827	835	1.2143	0.0759	0.2011	0.2717
MW (15-24)	0.2996	0.0150	1,658	1,671	1.3358	0.0502	0.2700	0.3292
UM (15-24)	0.3973	0.0174	1,801	1,804	1.5117	0.0439	0.3630	0.4317
UW (15-24)	0.4327	0.0155	2,320	2,321	1.5051	0.0358	0.4022	0.4632
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.3904	0.0260	1,213	910	1.8552	0.0666	0.3392	0.4416
W (15-24)	0.4426	0.0177	1,949	1,723	1.5715	0.0400	0.4078	0.4775
MM (15-29)	0.2679	0.0291	375	325	1.2710	0.1086	0.2106	0.3252
MW (15-24)	0.3415	0.0195	748	588	1.1254	0.0572	0.3030	0.3799
UM (15-24)	0.4045	0.0271	1,106	813	1.8375	0.0671	0.3509	0.4577
UW (15-24)	0.5025	0.0200	1,201	1,140	1.3852	0.0398	0.4631	0.5418
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.3697	0.0216	846	1,166	1.2997	0.0584	0.3273	0.4122
W (15-24)	0.3218	0.0172	2,029	2,263	1.6599	0.0535	0.2879	0.3557
MM (15-29)	0.2163	0.0227	452	511	1.1693	0.1048	0.1717	0.2610
MW (15-24)	0.2769	0.0202	910	1,084	1.3627	0.0730	0.2371	0.3167
UM (15-24)	0.3917	0.0227	695	991	1.2224	0.0578	0.3471	0.4363
UW (15-24)	0.3655	0.0208	1,119	1,181	1.4473	0.0570	0.3243	0.4064
Discussed friendship with mother (young men and women whose mothers were alive at the time of interview)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.3787	0.0167	2,270	2,288	1.6446	0.0442	0.3457	0.4117
W (15-24)	0.6566	0.0159	4,365	4,368	2.2095	0.0242	0.6253	0.6878
MM (15-29)	0.2167	0.0154	987	986	1.1704	0.0709	0.1865	0.2469
MW (15-24)	0.5841	0.0172	1,870	1,877	1.5092	0.0295	0.5503	0.6180
UM (15-24)	0.4028	0.0175	1,973	1,977	1.5802	0.0433	0.3685	0.4372
UW (15-24)	0.7151	0.0169	2,495	2,494	1.8731	0.0237	0.6818	0.7484
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.3799	0.0279	1,341	1,007	2.1035	0.0734	0.3250	0.4348
W (15-24)	0.7744	0.0155	2,154	1,903	1.7230	0.0200	0.7439	0.8050
MM (15-29)	0.2075	0.0242	463	400	1.2829	0.1171	0.1588	0.2539
MW (15-24)	0.7134	0.0197	849	666	1.2672	0.0276	0.6748	0.7523
UM (15-24)	0.4062	0.0291	1,212	890	2.0651	0.0717	0.3488	0.4636
UW (15-24)	0.8119	0.0159	1,305	1,240	1.4693	0.0196	0.7807	0.8432
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.3778	0.0204	929	1,281	1.2790	0.0539	0.3377	0.4179
W (15-24)	0.5656	0.0216	2,211	2,464	2.0452	0.0381	0.5231	0.6080
MM (15-29)	0.2238	0.0199	524	586	1.0900	0.0888	0.1847	0.2629
MW (15-24)	0.5129	0.0216	1,021	1,211	1.3782	0.0421	0.4704	0.5553
UM (15-24)	0.4000	0.0209	761	1,087	1.1784	0.0523	0.3588	0.4413
UW (15-24)	0.6195	0.0260	1,190	1,254	1.8468	0.0420	0.5682	0.6705

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Independently make decisions about choice of friends, spending money and buying clothes for oneself (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.6296	0.0132	2,336	2,350	1.3199	0.0210	0.6037	0.6556
W (15-24)	0.3490	0.0132	4,488	4,488	1.8560	0.0378	0.3230	0.3750
MM (15-29)	0.8302	0.0153	1,065	1,065	1.3329	0.0185	0.8000	0.8604
MW (15-24)	0.3047	0.0142	1,947	1,947	1.3580	0.0465	0.2768	0.3326
UM (15-24)	0.6083	0.0144	2,017	2,017	1.3259	0.0237	0.5800	0.6367
UW (15-24)	0.3862	0.0155	2,541	2,541	1.6047	0.0401	0.3557	0.4167
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.6956	0.0149	1,382	1,039	1.2064	0.0215	0.6662	0.7250
W (15-24)	0.3871	0.0201	2,229	1,968	1.9519	0.0520	0.3474	0.4267
MM (15-29)	0.9085	0.0166	506	438	1.2923	0.0183	0.8750	0.9405
MW (15-24)	0.3287	0.0248	901	707	1.5867	0.0756	0.2798	0.3776
UM (15-24)	0.6714	0.0160	1,246	916	1.2031	0.0239	0.6399	0.7029
UW (15-24)	0.4246	0.0215	1,328	1,261	1.5810	0.0505	0.3823	0.4668
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.5774	0.0194	954	1,311	1.2115	0.0336	0.5392	0.6156
W (15-24)	0.3194	0.0170	2,259	2,520	1.7306	0.0532	0.2859	0.3528
MM (15-29)	0.7765	0.0205	559	627	1.1621	0.0264	0.7356	0.8164
MW (15-24)	0.2911	0.0171	1,046	1,240	1.2148	0.0586	0.2575	0.3247
UM (15-24)	0.5559	0.0219	771	1,101	1.2224	0.0394	0.5128	0.5990
UW (15-24)	0.3484	0.0215	1,213	1,280	1.5704	0.0617	0.3061	0.3907
Can visit any place outside village or neighbourhood unescorted (young men and women)								
Combined								
W (15-24)	0.3537	0.0139	4,488	4,488	1.9464	0.0393	0.3263	0.3810
MW (15-24)	0.3049	0.0154	1,947	1,947	1.4715	0.0504	0.2747	0.3351
UM (15-24)	0.8657	0.0102	2,017	2,017	1.3376	0.0117	0.8457	0.8857
UW (15-24)	0.3940	0.0165	2,541	2,541	1.7039	0.0419	0.3615	0.4265
Urban								
W (15-24)	0.4678	0.0221	2,229	1,968	2.0907	0.0472	0.4243	0.5113
MW (15-24)	0.4085	0.0246	901	707	1.4997	0.0602	0.3600	0.4567
UM (15-24)	0.9150	0.0084	1,246	916	1.0682	0.0092	0.8984	0.9316
UW (15-24)	0.5060	0.0236	1,328	1,261	1.7189	0.0466	0.4596	0.5524
Rural								
W (15-24)	0.2645	0.0142	2,259	2,520	1.5346	0.0539	0.2365	0.2926
MW (15-24)	0.2459	0.0178	1,046	1,240	1.3397	0.0726	0.2108	0.2811
UM (15-24)	0.8247	0.0164	771	1,101	1.1980	0.0199	0.7924	0.8570
UW (15-24)	0.2836	0.0176	1,213	1,280	1.3575	0.0620	0.2490	0.3182

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Has savings of any amount (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.2698	0.0122	2,336	2,350	1.3285	0.0452	0.2458	0.2938
W (15-24)	0.4082	0.0143	4,488	4,488	1.9552	0.0351	0.3799	0.4364
MM (15-29)	0.3908	0.0196	1,065	1,065	1.3134	0.0503	0.3522	0.4295
MW (15-24)	0.3382	0.0156	1,947	1,947	1.4593	0.0463	0.3074	0.3690
UM (15-24)	0.2561	0.0128	2,017	2,017	1.3178	0.0500	0.2308	0.2813
UW (15-24)	0.4660	0.0165	2,541	2,541	1.6636	0.0353	0.4336	0.4984
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.2782	0.0197	1,382	1,039	1.6326	0.0708	0.2395	0.3170
W (15-24)	0.5278	0.0207	2,229	1,968	1.9617	0.0393	0.4870	0.5687
MM (15-29)	0.5094	0.0348	506	438	1.5632	0.0682	0.4414	0.5783
MW (15-24)	0.4544	0.0270	901	707	1.6286	0.0595	0.4012	0.5076
UM (15-24)	0.2543	0.0196	1,246	916	1.5851	0.0769	0.2158	0.2928
UW (15-24)	0.5750	0.0210	1,328	1,261	1.5448	0.0365	0.5338	0.6163
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.2631	0.0154	954	1,311	1.0811	0.0586	0.2328	0.2935
W (15-24)	0.3147	0.0164	2,259	2,520	1.6824	0.0522	0.2824	0.3471
MM (15-29)	0.3077	0.0215	559	627	1.1015	0.0699	0.2653	0.3500
MW (15-24)	0.2720	0.0182	1,046	1,240	1.3191	0.0668	0.2362	0.3077
UM (15-24)	0.2575	0.0169	771	1,101	1.0718	0.0656	0.2243	0.2908
UW (15-24)	0.3586	0.0211	1,213	1,280	1.5283	0.0587	0.3171	0.4000
Justified wife beating in at least one situation (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.6423	0.0182	2,336	2,350	1.8354	0.0283	0.6064	0.6781
W (15-24)	0.4979	0.0172	4,488	4,488	2.3070	0.0346	0.4640	0.5317
MM (15-29)	0.6457	0.0219	1,065	1,065	1.4956	0.0340	0.6026	0.6889
MW (15-24)	0.5654	0.0195	1,947	1,947	1.7390	0.0346	0.5271	0.6040
UM (15-24)	0.6299	0.0187	2,017	2,017	1.7429	0.0298	0.5930	0.6667
UW (15-24)	0.4421	0.0178	2,541	2,541	1.8085	0.0403	0.4070	0.4771
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.4517	0.0250	1,382	1,039	1.8672	0.0554	0.4025	0.5010
W (15-24)	0.3412	0.0173	2,229	1,968	1.7228	0.0507	0.3072	0.3753
MM (15-29)	0.4105	0.0245	506	438	1.1184	0.0597	0.3617	0.4580
MW (15-24)	0.4169	0.0212	901	707	1.2920	0.0509	0.3751	0.4587
UM (15-24)	0.4460	0.0264	1,246	916	1.8753	0.0592	0.3940	0.4980
UW (15-24)	0.2926	0.0179	1,328	1,261	1.4306	0.0611	0.2574	0.3277
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.7932	0.0162	954	1,311	1.2325	0.0204	0.7614	0.8251
W (15-24)	0.6202	0.0216	2,259	2,520	2.1161	0.0349	0.5776	0.6627
MM (15-29)	0.8104	0.0186	559	627	1.1231	0.0230	0.7738	0.8472
MW (15-24)	0.6502	0.0246	1,046	1,240	1.6646	0.0378	0.6019	0.6985
UM (15-24)	0.7829	0.0169	771	1,101	1.1379	0.0216	0.7496	0.8161
UW (15-24)	0.5895	0.0235	1,213	1,280	1.6624	0.0399	0.5431	0.6356

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Awareness of sex- and pregnancy-related matters (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1189	0.0098	2,336	2,350	1.4659	0.0826	0.0996	0.1382
W (15-24)	0.0876	0.0060	4,488	4,488	1.4293	0.0689	0.0757	0.0994
MM (15-29)	0.1774	0.0173	1,065	1,065	1.4753	0.0973	0.1437	0.2118
MW (15-24)	0.1112	0.0089	1,947	1,947	1.2465	0.0799	0.0937	0.1287
UM (15-24)	0.1169	0.0098	2,017	2,017	1.3725	0.0840	0.0976	0.1363
UW (15-24)	0.0671	0.0066	2,541	2,541	1.3288	0.0983	0.0541	0.0801
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1981	0.0158	1,382	1,039	1.4695	0.0796	0.1671	0.2291
W (15-24)	0.1060	0.0088	2,229	1,968	1.3447	0.0827	0.0887	0.1232
MM (15-29)	0.3285	0.0311	506	438	1.4904	0.0948	0.2671	0.3897
MW (15-24)	0.1534	0.0145	901	707	1.2034	0.0942	0.1250	0.1820
UM (15-24)	0.1875	0.0156	1,246	916	1.4127	0.0834	0.1566	0.2181
UW (15-24)	0.0754	0.0093	1,328	1,261	1.2895	0.1239	0.0570	0.0938
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.0561	0.0098	954	1,311	1.3082	0.1738	0.0369	0.0753
W (15-24)	0.0732	0.0080	2,259	2,520	1.4659	0.1098	0.0574	0.0890
MM (15-29)	0.0724	0.0137	559	627	1.2461	0.1886	0.0456	0.0995
MW (15-24)	0.0872	0.0106	1,046	1,240	1.2139	0.1215	0.0663	0.1080
UM (15-24)	0.0583	0.0102	771	1,101	1.2071	0.1748	0.0383	0.0784
UW (15-24)	0.0589	0.0093	1,213	1,280	1.3763	0.1580	0.0406	0.0772
Correct specific knowledge of at least one contraceptive method (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.8423	0.0116	2,336	2,350	1.5372	0.0138	0.8195	0.8651
W (15-24)	0.5362	0.0128	4,488	4,488	1.7249	0.0239	0.5109	0.5615
MM (15-29)	0.9145	0.0128	1,065	1,065	1.4951	0.0140	0.8892	0.9397
MW (15-24)	0.6909	0.0159	1,947	1,947	1.5209	0.0231	0.6596	0.7223
UM (15-24)	0.8319	0.0128	2,017	2,017	1.5392	0.0154	0.8067	0.8572
UW (15-24)	0.4068	0.0167	2,541	2,541	1.7146	0.0411	0.3739	0.4397
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.8874	0.0131	1,382	1,039	1.5457	0.0148	0.8619	0.9136
W (15-24)	0.6141	0.0188	2,229	1,968	1.8223	0.0306	0.5771	0.6511
MM (15-29)	0.9535	0.0146	506	438	1.5525	0.0153	0.9245	0.9819
MW (15-24)	0.7589	0.0243	901	707	1.7038	0.0320	0.7111	0.8067
UM (15-24)	0.8812	0.0134	1,246	916	1.4611	0.0152	0.8549	0.9076
UW (15-24)	0.5211	0.0235	1,328	1,261	1.7123	0.0451	0.4748	0.5673
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.8063	0.0172	954	1,311	1.3447	0.0214	0.7724	0.8402
W (15-24)	0.4754	0.0157	2,259	2,520	1.4895	0.0329	0.4446	0.5062
MM (15-29)	0.8874	0.0184	559	627	1.3783	0.0208	0.8511	0.9237
MW (15-24)	0.6522	0.0201	1,046	1,240	1.3614	0.0308	0.6127	0.6917
UM (15-24)	0.7909	0.0198	771	1,101	1.3508	0.0250	0.7519	0.8299
UW (15-24)	0.2941	0.0174	1,213	1,280	1.3277	0.0591	0.2599	0.3283

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Correct specific knowledge of condoms (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.8332	0.0121	2,336	2,350	1.5740	0.0146	0.8093	0.8571
W (15-24)	0.2946	0.0116	4,488	4,488	1.6984	0.0392	0.2719	0.3174
MM (15-29)	0.9043	0.0134	1,065	1,065	1.4885	0.0148	0.8779	0.9308
MW (15-24)	0.4069	0.0162	1,947	1,947	1.4514	0.0397	0.3750	0.4387
UM (15-24)	0.8235	0.0131	2,017	2,017	1.5481	0.0160	0.7975	0.8492
UW (15-24)	0.2002	0.0133	2,541	2,541	1.6721	0.0663	0.1740	0.2263
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.8864	0.0130	1,382	1,039	1.5231	0.0147	0.8608	0.9120
W (15-24)	0.3581	0.0194	2,229	1,968	1.9054	0.0540	0.3200	0.3962
MM (15-29)	0.9535	0.0146	506	438	1.5525	0.0153	0.9245	0.9819
MW (15-24)	0.4828	0.0265	901	707	1.5928	0.0550	0.4306	0.5350
UM (15-24)	0.8797	0.0132	1,246	916	1.4355	0.0150	0.8536	0.9057
UW (15-24)	0.2780	0.0219	1,328	1,261	1.7811	0.0788	0.2349	0.3212
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.7911	0.0181	954	1,311	1.3779	0.0229	0.7553	0.8268
W (15-24)	0.2450	0.0131	2,259	2,520	1.4426	0.0533	0.2193	0.2707
MM (15-29)	0.8705	0.0192	559	627	1.3509	0.0221	0.8323	0.9080
MW (15-24)	0.3636	0.0201	1,046	1,240	1.3489	0.0552	0.3241	0.4031
UM (15-24)	0.7765	0.0203	771	1,101	1.3536	0.0262	0.7365	0.8165
UW (15-24)	0.1234	0.0117	1,213	1,280	1.2416	0.0951	0.1003	0.1465
Ever heard of HIV/AIDS (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.9139	0.0119	2,336	2,350	2.0414	0.0130	0.8905	0.9372
W (15-24)	0.7678	0.0154	4,488	4,488	2.4498	0.0201	0.7374	0.7982
MM (15-29)	0.9032	0.0181	1,065	1,065	1.9953	0.0200	0.8676	0.9388
MW (15-24)	0.7180	0.0163	1,947	1,947	1.5982	0.0227	0.6859	0.7501
UM (15-24)	0.9159	0.0120	2,017	2,017	1.9455	0.0131	0.8923	0.9396
UW (15-24)	0.8084	0.0167	2,541	2,541	2.1439	0.0207	0.7755	0.8414
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.9585	0.0072	1,382	1,039	1.3338	0.0075	0.9442	0.9724
W (15-24)	0.8584	0.0178	2,229	1,968	2.4037	0.0207	0.8235	0.8934
MM (15-29)	0.9454	0.0126	506	438	1.2490	0.0133	0.9214	0.9708
MW (15-24)	0.8249	0.0177	901	707	1.3976	0.0215	0.7901	0.8598
UM (15-24)	0.9615	0.0067	1,246	916	1.2349	0.0070	0.9481	0.9747
UW (15-24)	0.8800	0.0192	1,328	1,261	2.1558	0.0219	0.8421	0.9178
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.8787	0.0198	954	1,311	1.8687	0.0225	0.8398	0.9176
W (15-24)	0.6970	0.0217	2,259	2,520	2.2473	0.0312	0.6542	0.7398
MM (15-29)	0.8732	0.0287	559	627	2.0399	0.0329	0.8166	0.9298
MW (15-24)	0.6571	0.0217	1,046	1,240	1.4766	0.0330	0.6144	0.6998
UM (15-24)	0.8781	0.0205	771	1,101	1.7377	0.0233	0.8378	0.9184
UW (15-24)	0.7380	0.0258	1,213	1,280	2.0463	0.0350	0.6871	0.7888

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Comprehensive knowledge of HIV/AIDS (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.4814	0.0202	2,336	2,350	1.9566	0.0420	0.4417	0.5213
W (15-24)	0.3335	0.0132	4,488	4,488	1.8769	0.0396	0.3075	0.3595
MM (15-29)	0.4367	0.0208	1,065	1,065	1.3657	0.0475	0.3959	0.4776
MW (15-24)	0.3294	0.0150	1,947	1,947	1.4118	0.0457	0.2998	0.3591
UM (15-24)	0.4954	0.0204	2,017	2,017	1.8350	0.0412	0.4552	0.5356
UW (15-24)	0.3362	0.0151	2,541	2,541	1.6116	0.0449	0.3064	0.3659
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.6284	0.0253	1,382	1,039	1.9447	0.0402	0.5788	0.6784
W (15-24)	0.4066	0.0194	2,229	1,968	1.8642	0.0477	0.3684	0.4448
MM (15-29)	0.5865	0.0313	506	438	1.4300	0.0535	0.5244	0.6478
MW (15-24)	0.4120	0.0251	901	707	1.5295	0.0609	0.3626	0.4614
UM (15-24)	0.6399	0.0250	1,246	916	1.8370	0.0391	0.5907	0.6890
UW (15-24)	0.4032	0.0209	1,328	1,261	1.5511	0.0518	0.3621	0.4443
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.3649	0.0259	954	1,311	1.6606	0.0710	0.3140	0.4159
W (15-24)	0.2763	0.0165	2,259	2,520	1.7489	0.0596	0.2440	0.3087
MM (15-29)	0.3324	0.0245	559	627	1.2284	0.0737	0.2842	0.3807
MW (15-24)	0.2824	0.0176	1,046	1,240	1.2662	0.0624	0.2477	0.3171
UM (15-24)	0.3752	0.0266	771	1,101	1.5223	0.0708	0.3229	0.4275
UW (15-24)	0.2701	0.0196	1,213	1,280	1.5358	0.0725	0.2315	0.3087
Ever heard of STIs other than HIV (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1498	0.0094	2,336	2,350	1.2781	0.0630	0.1312	0.1683
W (15-24)	0.1406	0.0089	4,488	4,488	1.7062	0.0630	0.1232	0.1581
MM (15-29)	0.2146	0.0143	1,065	1,065	1.1343	0.0665	0.1865	0.2427
MW (15-24)	0.1459	0.0109	1,947	1,947	1.3582	0.0745	0.1245	0.1673
UM (15-24)	0.1489	0.0097	2,017	2,017	1.2291	0.0654	0.1297	0.1681
UW (15-24)	0.1359	0.0099	2,541	2,541	1.4583	0.0730	0.1164	0.1554
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1421	0.0140	1,382	1,039	1.4864	0.0983	0.1146	0.1696
W (15-24)	0.1701	0.0146	2,229	1,968	1.8383	0.0860	0.1413	0.1989
MM (15-29)	0.2334	0.0244	506	438	1.2977	0.1046	0.1854	0.2816
MW (15-24)	0.1818	0.0188	901	707	1.4585	0.1031	0.1449	0.2188
UM (15-24)	0.1395	0.0147	1,246	916	1.4958	0.1054	0.1104	0.1682
UW (15-24)	0.1624	0.0156	1,328	1,261	1.5449	0.0963	0.1317	0.1933
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.1558	0.0127	954	1,311	1.0812	0.0815	0.1308	0.1808
W (15-24)	0.1174	0.0105	2,259	2,520	1.5542	0.0896	0.0969	0.1384
MM (15-29)	0.2013	0.0173	559	627	1.0197	0.0860	0.1673	0.2354
MW (15-24)	0.1255	0.0130	1,046	1,240	1.2647	0.1033	0.0999	0.1509
UM (15-24)	0.1569	0.0129	771	1,101	0.9866	0.0824	0.1315	0.1824
UW (15-24)	0.1094	0.0120	1,213	1,280	1.3344	0.1092	0.0861	0.1333

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Correct knowledge of the conditions under which abortion is legal (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1053	0.0089	2,336	2,350	1.3954	0.0842	0.0878	0.1227
W (15-24)	0.1198	0.0079	4,488	4,488	1.6208	0.0656	0.1043	0.1353
MM (15-29)	0.1154	0.0118	1,065	1,065	1.2091	0.1026	0.0922	0.1389
MW (15-24)	0.1304	0.0101	1,947	1,947	1.3178	0.0770	0.1109	0.1505
UM (15-24)	0.1046	0.0094	2,017	2,017	1.3756	0.0896	0.0862	0.1231
UW (15-24)	0.1103	0.0088	2,541	2,541	1.4182	0.0799	0.0930	0.1277
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1428	0.0144	1,382	1,039	1.5273	0.1007	0.1145	0.1711
W (15-24)	0.1533	0.0121	2,229	1,968	1.5793	0.0786	0.1295	0.1770
MM (15-29)	0.1692	0.0210	506	438	1.2610	0.1243	0.1278	0.2106
MW (15-24)	0.1707	0.0153	901	707	1.2213	0.0897	0.1406	0.2009
UM (15-24)	0.1405	0.0151	1,246	916	1.5294	0.1072	0.1108	0.1701
UW (15-24)	0.1421	0.0137	1,328	1,261	1.4275	0.0963	0.1151	0.1690
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.0756	0.0108	954	1,311	1.2651	0.1433	0.0543	0.0969
W (15-24)	0.0936	0.0097	2,259	2,520	1.5757	0.1032	0.0746	0.1127
MM (15-29)	0.0781	0.0127	559	627	1.1179	0.1627	0.0531	0.1030
MW (15-24)	0.1079	0.0127	1,046	1,240	1.3237	0.1177	0.0829	0.1329
UM (15-24)	0.0744	0.0113	771	1,101	1.1970	0.1517	0.0524	0.0971
UW (15-24)	0.0791	0.0101	1,213	1,280	1.2971	0.1272	0.0593	0.0988
Ever received family life or sex education (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1316	0.0093	2,336	2,350	1.3274	0.0706	0.1133	0.1499
W (15-24)	0.2580	0.0134	4,488	4,488	2.0479	0.0518	0.2317	0.2844
MM (15-29)	0.0721	0.0092	1,065	1,065	1.1545	0.1270	0.0541	0.0901
MW (15-24)	0.1540	0.0109	1,947	1,947	1.3328	0.0708	0.1325	0.1755
UM (15-24)	0.1416	0.0100	2,017	2,017	1.2930	0.0709	0.1218	0.1613
UW (15-24)	0.3449	0.0168	2,541	2,541	1.7799	0.0487	0.3118	0.3779
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1339	0.0140	1,382	1,039	1.5292	0.1046	0.1063	0.1615
W (15-24)	0.3326	0.0223	2,229	1,968	2.2294	0.0669	0.2888	0.3764
MM (15-29)	0.0795	0.0138	506	438	1.1521	0.1750	0.0518	0.1062
MW (15-24)	0.2124	0.0201	901	707	1.4745	0.0946	0.1729	0.2520
UM (15-24)	0.1420	0.0148	1,246	916	1.4996	0.1045	0.1128	0.1712
UW (15-24)	0.4097	0.0245	1,328	1,261	1.8184	0.0599	0.3614	0.4581
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.1298	0.0124	954	1,311	1.1410	0.0957	0.1053	0.1542
W (15-24)	0.1998	0.0149	2,259	2,520	1.7676	0.0744	0.1705	0.2291
MM (15-29)	0.0672	0.0123	559	627	1.1602	0.1829	0.0430	0.0914
MW (15-24)	0.1207	0.0122	1,046	1,240	1.2071	0.1008	0.0967	0.1446
UM (15-24)	0.1412	0.0136	771	1,101	1.0867	0.0966	0.1143	0.1680
UW (15-24)	0.2809	0.0214	1,213	1,280	1.6588	0.0762	0.2388	0.3231

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever had an opposite-sex romantic partner (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.2280	0.0122	2,336	2,350	1.4066	0.0536	0.2040	0.2520
W (15-24)	0.0697	0.0049	4,488	4,488	1.2954	0.0707	0.0600	0.0794
MM (15-29)	0.2188	0.0157	1,065	1,065	1.2362	0.0716	0.1880	0.2497
MW (15-24)	0.0674	0.0068	1,947	1,947	1.2047	0.1016	0.0539	0.0809
UM (15-24)	0.2206	0.0131	2,017	2,017	1.4149	0.0592	0.1948	0.2463
UW (15-24)	0.0708	0.0060	2,541	2,541	1.1848	0.0851	0.0590	0.0827
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1569	0.0133	1,382	1,039	1.3623	0.0850	0.1307	0.1832
W (15-24)	0.0904	0.0072	2,229	1,968	1.1906	0.0800	0.0763	0.1047
MM (15-29)	0.1575	0.0207	506	438	1.2796	0.1322	0.1157	0.1972
MW (15-24)	0.1153	0.0113	901	707	1.0581	0.0977	0.0931	0.1375
UM (15-24)	0.1604	0.0138	1,246	916	1.3257	0.0859	0.1334	0.1877
UW (15-24)	0.0746	0.0086	1,328	1,261	1.1857	0.1147	0.0577	0.0914
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.2845	0.0174	954	1,311	1.1917	0.0613	0.2500	0.3186
W (15-24)	0.0535	0.0063	2,259	2,520	1.3271	0.1175	0.0411	0.0658
MM (15-29)	0.2625	0.0204	559	627	1.0951	0.0777	0.2223	0.3026
MW (15-24)	0.0401	0.0074	1,046	1,240	1.2136	0.1836	0.0256	0.0546
UM (15-24)	0.2705	0.0198	771	1,101	1.2337	0.0730	0.2316	0.3094
UW (15-24)	0.0671	0.0085	1,213	1,280	1.1791	0.1262	0.0505	0.0838
Ever had sex with an opposite-sex romantic partner (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1132	0.0099	2,336	2,350	1.5046	0.0871	0.0938	0.1327
W (15-24)	0.0094	0.0017	4,488	4,488	1.1740	0.1796	0.0061	0.0128
MM (15-29)	0.1064	0.0118	1,065	1,065	1.2495	0.1110	0.0831	0.1296
MW (15-24)	0.0104	0.0023	1,947	1,947	1.0155	0.2250	0.0058	0.0150
UM (15-24)	0.1061	0.0102	2,017	2,017	1.4935	0.0966	0.0859	0.1262
UW (15-24)	0.0086	0.0021	2,541	2,541	1.1353	0.2412	0.0045	0.0128
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.0608	0.0074	1,382	1,039	1.1541	0.1221	0.0462	0.0754
W (15-24)	0.0065	0.0016	2,229	1,968	0.9332	0.2452	0.0033	0.0096
MM (15-29)	0.0513	0.0101	506	438	1.0288	0.1968	0.0314	0.0712
MW (15-24)	0.0083	0.0027	901	707	0.9043	0.3292	0.0029	0.0137
UM (15-24)	0.0624	0.0078	1,246	916	1.1364	0.1246	0.0473	0.0780
UW (15-24)	0.0060	0.0019	1,328	1,261	0.9655	0.3642	0.0015	0.0090
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.1548	0.0156	954	1,311	1.3342	0.1010	0.1240	0.1856
W (15-24)	0.0118	0.0028	2,259	2,520	1.2142	0.2343	0.0063	0.0172
MM (15-29)	0.1448	0.0172	559	627	1.1538	0.1187	0.1110	0.1786
MW (15-24)	0.0114	0.0033	1,046	1,240	1.0047	0.2877	0.0050	0.0181
UM (15-24)	0.1425	0.0169	771	1,101	1.3461	0.1192	0.1088	0.1755
UW (15-24)	0.0120	0.0037	1,213	1,280	1.1739	0.3062	0.0048	0.0192

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Ever had pre-marital sex (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1639	0.0112	2,336	2,350	1.4647	0.0685	0.1418	0.1860
W (15-24)	0.0264	0.0033	4,488	4,488	1.3742	0.1247	0.0199	0.0328
MM (15-29)	0.1792	0.0134	1,065	1,065	1.1400	0.0748	0.1528	0.2056
MW (15-24)	0.0260	0.0042	1,947	1,947	1.1751	0.1630	0.0177	0.0344
UM (15-24)	0.1531	0.0117	2,017	2,017	1.4647	0.0767	0.1300	0.1762
UW (15-24)	0.0266	0.0039	2,541	2,541	1.2282	0.1474	0.0189	0.0343
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1072	0.0114	1,382	1,039	1.3652	0.1060	0.0849	0.1296
W (15-24)	0.0146	0.0024	2,229	1,968	0.9501	0.1653	0.0099	0.0194
MM (15-29)	0.1164	0.0145	506	438	1.0116	0.1238	0.0884	0.1453
MW (15-24)	0.0174	0.0045	901	707	1.0281	0.2570	0.0086	0.0263
UM (15-24)	0.1025	0.0112	1,246	916	1.3011	0.1091	0.0804	0.1245
UW (15-24)	0.0128	0.0030	1,328	1,261	0.9690	0.2337	0.0069	0.0187
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.2088	0.0167	954	1,311	1.2685	0.0800	0.1759	0.2416
W (15-24)	0.0354	0.0055	2,259	2,520	1.4032	0.1539	0.0248	0.0463
MM (15-29)	0.2227	0.0183	559	627	1.0390	0.0822	0.1867	0.2587
MW (15-24)	0.0309	0.0062	1,046	1,240	1.1533	0.1998	0.0187	0.0431
UM (15-24)	0.1953	0.0185	771	1,101	1.2923	0.0945	0.1589	0.2316
UW (15-24)	0.0402	0.0070	1,213	1,280	1.2344	0.1732	0.0265	0.0540
Used condoms consistently in pre-marital relations (young men and women who reported having pre-marital sex in face-to-face interview)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.2164	0.0248	285	321	1.0130	0.1143	0.1677	0.2656
W (15-24)	0.0654	0.0319	62	62	1.0079	0.4873	0.0024	0.1286
MM (15-29)	0.1774	0.0386	142	147	1.2002	0.2176	0.1012	0.2538
UM (15-24)	0.2242	0.0295	226	259	1.0618	0.1317	0.1659	0.2826
Ever communicated with spouse on contraception (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	0.4461	0.0214	1,056	1,057	1.4008	0.0481	0.4039	0.4883
MW (15-24)	0.5094	0.0166	1,939	1,938	1.4655	0.0326	0.4776	0.5431
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.4574	0.0326	498	431	1.4598	0.0712	0.3943	0.5228
MW (15-24)	0.5681	0.0271	897	703	1.6366	0.0477	0.5148	0.6214
Rural								
MM (15-29)	0.4376	0.0284	558	626	1.3525	0.0650	0.3817	0.4936
MW (15-24)	0.4754	0.0209	1,042	1,235	1.3519	0.0438	0.4363	0.5187

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Husband ever forced wife to have sex (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	0.0850	0.0100	1,057	1,058	1.1679	0.1179	0.0652	0.1047
MW (15-24)	0.2730	0.0147	1,942	1,943	1.4500	0.0537	0.2441	0.3018
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.0444	0.0126	499	432	1.3602	0.2823	0.0198	0.0693
MW (15-24)	0.2425	0.0171	897	703	1.1959	0.0706	0.2087	0.2761
Rural								
MM (15-29)	0.1128	0.0143	558	626	1.0685	0.1269	0.0847	0.1410
MW (15-24)	0.2894	0.0205	1,045	1,239	1.4626	0.0708	0.2499	0.3308
Husband ever perpetrated violence on wife (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	0.2478	0.0172	1,057	1,058	1.2967	0.0695	0.2139	0.2817
MW (15-24)	0.2687	0.0156	1,941	1,941	1.5480	0.0580	0.2380	0.2994
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.1253	0.0154	499	432	1.0358	0.1227	0.0950	0.1555
MW (15-24)	0.2523	0.0168	897	703	1.1574	0.0666	0.2192	0.2853
Rural								
MM (15-29)	0.3323	0.0236	558	626	1.1842	0.0711	0.2858	0.3788
MW (15-24)	0.2780	0.0224	1,044	1,238	1.6168	0.0807	0.2339	0.3222
Husband ever perpetrated violence on wife in last 12 months (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	0.1819	0.0157	1,057	1,058	1.3266	0.0866	0.1509	0.2129
MW (15-24)	0.2324	0.0141	1,941	1,941	1.4741	0.0608	0.2047	0.2603
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.0825	0.0129	499	432	1.0455	0.1563	0.0571	0.1078
MW (15-24)	0.2193	0.0156	897	703	1.1254	0.0709	0.1887	0.2499
Rural								
MM (15-29)	0.2505	0.0224	558	626	1.2189	0.0894	0.2064	0.2945
MW (15-24)	0.2400	0.0203	1,044	1,238	1.5369	0.0847	0.2000	0.2800

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Currently using any modern contraceptive method (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	0.2044	0.0168	1,057	1,058	1.3562	0.0823	0.1715	0.2378
MW (15-24)	0.2078	0.0115	1,941	1,941	1.2482	0.0553	0.1851	0.2304
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.2274	0.0239	499	432	1.2710	0.1049	0.1805	0.2745
MW (15-24)	0.2574	0.0190	897	703	1.2976	0.0736	0.2203	0.2950
Rural								
MM (15-29)	0.1884	0.0229	558	626	1.3824	0.1214	0.1437	0.2340
MW (15-24)	0.1794	0.0140	1,044	1,238	1.1826	0.0783	0.1517	0.2070
Delivered first birth in a health institution (married young men and women whose first pregnancy outcome was a live or still birth)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	0.5004	0.0267	694	698	1.4077	0.0534	0.4478	0.5530
MW (15-24)	0.6204	0.0211	1,311	1,327	1.5733	0.0343	0.5752	0.6584
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.7460	0.0300	308	264	1.2031	0.0402	0.6855	0.8034
MW (15-24)	0.8090	0.0241	570	446	1.4538	0.0298	0.7593	0.8541
Rural								
MM (15-29)	0.3525	0.0285	386	434	1.1710	0.0810	0.2958	0.4080
MW (15-24)	0.5265	0.0246	741	881	1.3382	0.0472	0.4722	0.5689
Mean number of children ever born (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	1.0993	0.0379	1,065	1,065	1.2293	0.0345	1.0246	1.1739
MW (15-24)	1.1867	0.0301	1,947	1,947	1.3477	0.0254	1.1274	1.2459
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.9574	0.0579	506	438	1.3526	0.0611	0.8335	1.0613
MW (15-24)	1.0168	0.0414	901	707	1.3386	0.0407	0.9353	1.0982
Rural								
MM (15-29)	1.2053	0.0469	559	627	1.0809	0.0389	1.1131	1.2976
MW (15-24)	1.2835	0.0386	1,046	1,240	1.2446	0.0301	1.2074	1.3595

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Mean number of children surviving (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	1.0531	0.0335	1,065	1,065	1.1328	0.0321	0.9773	1.1090
MW (15-24)	1.1589	0.0299	1,947	1,947	1.3651	0.0258	1.1001	1.2177
Urban								
MM (15-29)	0.9014	0.0527	506	438	1.2922	0.0584	0.7978	1.0051
MW (15-24)	0.9906	0.0397	901	707	1.3199	0.0400	0.9125	1.0687
Rural								
MM (15-29)	1.1421	0.0404	559	627	0.9714	0.0354	1.0625	1.2217
MW (15-24)	1.2548	0.0386	1,046	1,240	1.2633	0.0308	1.1788	1.3307
Mean ideal number of children (married young men and women who had begun cohabiting and gave a numeric response)								
Combined								
MM (15-29)	2.2027	0.0377	1,024	1,028	1.9118	0.0171	2.1286	2.2768
MW (15-24)	2.0266	0.0134	1,838	1,848	1.2270	0.0066	2.0002	2.0531
Urban								
MM (15-29)	2.1723	0.0491	469	405	1.6281	0.0226	2.0755	2.2690
MW (15-24)	1.9736	0.0228	834	655	1.2900	0.0116	1.9286	2.0185
Rural								
MM (15-29)	2.2225	0.0529	555	623	2.0288	0.0238	2.1184	2.3267
MW (15-24)	2.0557	0.0159	1,004	1,193	1.1387	0.0077	2.0245	2.0870

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Experienced 3 or more symptoms or behaviours suggestive of mental health disorders in the month preceding the survey (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1264	0.0104	2,336	2,350	1.5108	0.0821	0.1061	0.1470
W (15-24)	0.1699	0.0105	4,488	4,488	1.8732	0.0618	0.1492	0.1906
MM (15-29)	0.1221	0.0163	1,065	1,065	1.6254	0.1336	0.0900	0.1542
MW (15-24)	0.2032	0.0128	1,947	1,947	1.3992	0.0628	0.1781	0.2283
UM (15-24)	0.1258	0.0103	2,017	2,017	1.3906	0.0816	0.1056	0.1460
UW (15-24)	0.1432	0.0115	2,541	2,541	1.6533	0.0802	0.1206	0.1658
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.0635	0.0063	1,382	1,039	0.9616	0.0997	0.0507	0.0755
W (15-24)	0.0871	0.0082	2,229	1,968	1.3655	0.0937	0.0710	0.1031
MM (15-29)	0.0385	0.0083	506	438	0.9710	0.2161	0.0221	0.0548
MW (15-24)	0.0963	0.0097	901	707	0.9875	0.1008	0.0772	0.1154
UM (15-24)	0.0644	0.0070	1,246	916	1.0031	0.1083	0.0507	0.0782
UW (15-24)	0.0811	0.0092	1,328	1,261	1.2287	0.1135	0.0630	0.0993
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.1769	0.0163	954	1,311	1.3154	0.0919	0.1449	0.2089
W (15-24)	0.2346	0.0158	2,259	2,520	1.7754	0.0675	0.2034	0.2657
MM (15-29)	0.1804	0.0242	559	627	1.4857	0.1340	0.1329	0.2281
MW (15-24)	0.2641	0.0176	1,046	1,240	1.2921	0.0667	0.2294	0.2987
UM (15-24)	0.1768	0.0163	771	1,101	1.1848	0.0921	0.1447	0.2089
UW (15-24)	0.2043	0.0196	1,213	1,280	1.6943	0.0960	0.1657	0.2430
Ever consumed alcohol (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1055	0.0081	2,336	2,350	1.2780	0.0771	0.0894	0.1213
W (15-24)	0.0013	0.0005	4,488	4,488	0.9777	0.4052	0.0003	0.0023
MM (15-29)	0.2725	0.0185	1,065	1,065	1.3588	0.0681	0.2360	0.3090
MW (15-24)	0.0005	0.0005	1,947	1,947	0.9460	0.9983	0.0000	0.0014
UM (15-24)	0.0873	0.0073	2,017	2,017	1.1613	0.0836	0.0729	0.1017
UW (15-24)	0.0020	0.0009	2,541	2,541	0.9991	0.4435	0.0003	0.0037
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.1326	0.0127	1,382	1,039	1.3933	0.0959	0.1076	0.1577
W (15-24)	0.0025	0.0011	2,229	1,968	1.0280	0.4431	0.0003	0.0045
MM (15-29)	0.3221	0.0284	506	438	1.3680	0.0885	0.2652	0.3770
MW (15-24)	0.0013	0.0013	901	707	1.0624	0.9928	0.0000	0.0038
UM (15-24)	0.1120	0.0112	1,246	916	1.2506	0.0993	0.0909	0.1351
UW (15-24)	0.0031	0.0016	1,328	1,261	1.0133	0.4955	0.0001	0.0062
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.0837	0.0101	954	1,311	1.1293	0.1210	0.0638	0.1037
W (15-24)	0.0004	0.0004	2,259	2,520	0.9730	0.9918	0.0000	0.0013
MM (15-29)	0.2385	0.0238	559	627	1.3180	0.0997	0.1917	0.2853
MW (15-24)	0.0000	0.0000	1,046	1,240	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0000
UM (15-24)	0.0659	0.0093	771	1,101	1.0405	0.1412	0.0476	0.0842
UW (15-24)	0.0009	0.0009	1,213	1,280	1.0121	0.9891	0.0000	0.0025

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Table B.2: (Cont'd)

Variable/ respondent category	Value (R)	Standard error (SE)	Number of cases		Design effect (DEFT)	Relative standard error (SE/R)	95% Confidence limits	
			Unweighted (N)	Weighted (WN)			Lower	Upper
Participated in a programme held in the 3 years preceding the survey (young men and women)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.1447	0.0128	2,336	2,350	1.7579	0.0885	0.1195	0.1699
W (15-24)	0.0831	0.0069	4,488	4,488	1.6682	0.0827	0.0696	0.0966
MM (15-29)	0.1306	0.0146	1,065	1,065	1.4168	0.1121	0.1018	0.1594
MW (15-24)	0.0477	0.0057	1,947	1,947	1.1735	0.1189	0.0365	0.0588
UM (15-24)	0.1477	0.0138	2,017	2,017	1.7441	0.0933	0.1206	0.1748
UW (15-24)	0.1129	0.0098	2,541	2,541	1.5669	0.0872	0.0935	0.1322
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.0573	0.0085	1,382	1,039	1.3571	0.1482	0.0406	0.0740
W (15-24)	0.0526	0.0076	2,229	1,968	1.6031	0.1441	0.0377	0.0675
MM (15-29)	0.0565	0.0113	506	438	1.1021	0.2012	0.0339	0.0783
MW (15-24)	0.0178	0.0047	901	707	1.0672	0.2643	0.0085	0.0270
UM (15-24)	0.0608	0.0093	1,246	916	1.3794	0.1536	0.0424	0.0792
UW (15-24)	0.0750	0.0116	1,328	1,261	1.6059	0.1549	0.0521	0.0978
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.2139	0.0203	954	1,311	1.5312	0.0951	0.1739	0.2540
W (15-24)	0.1069	0.0103	2,259	2,520	1.5869	0.0965	0.0866	0.1273
MM (15-29)	0.1826	0.0226	559	627	1.3809	0.1237	0.1382	0.2271
MW (15-24)	0.0647	0.0082	1,046	1,240	1.0754	0.1265	0.0486	0.0808
UM (15-24)	0.2200	0.0222	771	1,101	1.4880	0.1010	0.1762	0.2637
UW (15-24)	0.1502	0.0151	1,213	1,280	1.4724	0.1006	0.1205	0.1800
Voted in last election (young men and women, ages 20 and above)								
Combined								
M (15-24)	0.6789	0.0180	1,200	1,175	1.3371	0.0266	0.6434	0.7144
W (15-24)	0.5676	0.0144	2,139	2,161	1.3432	0.0254	0.5392	0.5959
MM (15-29)	0.8645	0.0147	1,048	1,046	1.3897	0.0170	0.8356	0.8935
MW (15-24)	0.6202	0.0159	1,502	1,481	1.2658	0.0256	0.5889	0.6514
UM (15-24)	0.6398	0.0199	898	873	1.2423	0.0311	0.6006	0.6790
UW (15-24)	0.4385	0.0220	637	629	1.1180	0.0502	0.3948	0.4814
Urban								
M (15-24)	0.5676	0.0252	719	552	1.3618	0.0444	0.5180	0.6172
W (15-24)	0.4658	0.0150	1,165	1,017	1.0276	0.0323	0.4362	0.4954
MM (15-29)	0.7942	0.0253	503	435	1.4046	0.0319	0.7443	0.8441
MW (15-24)	0.4997	0.0191	733	574	1.0355	0.0383	0.4620	0.5374
UM (15-24)	0.5243	0.0260	586	430	1.2591	0.0496	0.4732	0.5755
UW (15-24)	0.4117	0.0241	432	413	1.0160	0.0585	0.3643	0.4591
Rural								
M (15-24)	0.7775	0.0209	481	623	1.0989	0.0268	0.7364	0.8185
W (15-24)	0.6581	0.0195	974	1,144	1.2834	0.0297	0.6197	0.6965
MM (15-29)	0.9147	0.0146	545	611	1.2201	0.0160	0.8859	0.9435
MW (15-24)	0.6965	0.0187	769	907	1.1283	0.0269	0.6596	0.7333
UM (15-24)	0.7517	0.0248	312	443	1.0141	0.0330	0.7028	0.8006
UW (15-24)	0.4863	0.0436	205	217	1.2460	0.0893	0.4025	0.5741

Note: M: Men, W: Women, MM: Married men, MW: Married women, UM: Unmarried men, UW: Unmarried women.

Appendix C

Data quality tables

Table C.1: Household age distribution

Single-year age distribution of the *de jure* household population by sex (weighted), Maharashtra, 2006

Age (year)	Women		Men		Age (year)	Women		Men	
	Unweighted number	Percent	Unweighted number	Percent		Unweighted number	Percent	Unweighted number	Percent
0	795	1.5	938	1.6	36	564	1.0	651	1.2
1	701	1.3	869	1.5	37	405	0.8	380	0.7
2	877	1.6	995	1.8	38	857	1.6	736	1.3
3	915	1.7	1,009	1.8	39	294	0.5	303	0.5
4	916	1.7	1,037	1.8	40	2,002	3.7	2,050	3.5
5	1,057	2.0	1,282	2.3	41	170	0.3	237	0.4
6	993	1.9	1,076	1.9	42	613	1.1	744	1.3
7	967	1.8	1,018	1.8	43	254	0.5	310	0.5
8	1,043	1.9	1,202	2.1	44	200	0.4	190	0.3
9	999	1.8	1,049	1.9	45	1,815	3.3	1,842	3.2
10	1,249	2.3	1,441	2.5	46	243	0.4	316	0.6
11	970	1.8	1,037	1.9	47	260	0.5	285	0.5
12	1,310	2.4	1,484	2.7	48	502	0.9	519	0.9
13	1,205	2.2	1,305	2.4	49	184	0.3	207	0.4
14	929	1.8	1,095	1.9	50	1,336	2.4	1,405	2.4
15	1,150	2.1	1,122	1.9	51	124	0.2	169	0.3
16	1,118	2.1	1,169	2.0	52	358	0.7	469	0.8
17	961	1.8	1,056	1.8	53	141	0.3	203	0.3
18	1,340	2.5	1,519	2.5	54	141	0.3	214	0.4
19	905	1.6	976	1.7	55	1,267	2.4	1,129	2.0
20	1,296	2.4	1,469	2.4	56	176	0.3	217	0.4
21	815	1.5	951	1.7	57	119	0.2	150	0.3
22	1,184	2.1	1,355	2.3	58	259	0.5	309	0.5
23	854	1.5	925	1.6	59	98	0.2	133	0.2
24	804	1.4	875	1.5	60	1,536	2.9	1,148	2.0
25	923	1.8	1,247	2.1	61	109	0.2	104	0.2
26	938	1.7	942	1.6	62	258	0.5	252	0.5
27	842	1.5	805	1.4	63	91	0.2	104	0.2
28	1,268	2.3	971	1.6	64	89	0.2	91	0.2
29	518	0.9	464	0.8	65	1,249	2.4	1,011	1.8
30	2,158	4.0	1,442	2.3	66	78	0.1	124	0.2
31	291	0.5	478	0.9	67	91	0.2	121	0.2
32	1,006	1.9	1296	2.3	68	152	0.3	175	0.3
33	339	0.6	547	1.0	69	63	0.1	69	0.1
34	345	0.6	516	0.9	70+	1,860	3.5	1,899	3.4
35	2,120	3.9	2,096	3.7	Total	54,059	100.0	57,324	100.0

Note: The *de jure* population includes usual residents of the household.

Table C.2: Single-year age distribution of eligible, selected and interviewed young men

Number and percentage of eligible, selected and interviewed young men and percentage of selected young men who were interviewed by single-year age (unweighted), Maharashtra, 2006

Age (years)	Eligible		Selected for interview		Interviewed		% selected respondents interviewed
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
MM (15-29)							
15	2	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	NC
16	1	0.1	0	0.0	0	0.0	NC
17	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	NC
18	9	0.7	4	0.3	3	0.3	75.0
19	17	1.2	16	1.3	14	1.3	87.5
20	33	2.4	24	1.9	21	2.0	87.5
21	38	2.8	35	2.8	28	2.6	80.0
22	69	5.0	64	5.1	55	5.2	85.9
23	115	8.3	100	8.0	82	7.7	82.0
24	156	11.3	131	10.5	116	10.9	88.5
25	180	13.0	168	13.5	134	12.6	79.8
26	193	14.0	177	14.2	147	13.8	83.1
27	186	13.5	174	14.0	153	14.4	87.9
28	215	15.6	190	15.3	165	15.5	86.8
29	167	12.1	160	12.9	147	13.8	91.8
Total	1,381	100.0	1,243	100.0	1,065	100.0	85.7
UM (15-24)							
15	349	9.7	220	9.8	202	10.0	91.8
16	393	11.0	243	10.8	217	10.8	89.3
17	408	11.4	274	12.2	253	12.5	92.3
18	452	12.6	267	11.9	228	11.3	85.4
19	388	10.8	235	10.4	219	10.9	93.2
20	406	11.3	241	10.7	218	10.8	90.5
21	354	9.9	233	10.3	211	10.5	90.6
22	363	10.1	200	8.9	175	8.7	87.5
23	281	7.8	197	8.7	174	8.6	88.3
24	195	5.4	142	6.3	120	5.9	84.5
Total	3,589	100.0	2,252	100.0	2,017	100.0	89.6

Note: NC: Not calculated, as there is no case in the denominator.

The difference between the number of respondents eligible for interview and the number who were selected for interview is due to sampling design adopted in the Youth Study. Please refer to Chapter 1 for details.

Table C.3: Single-year age distribution of eligible, selected and interviewed young women

Number and percentages of eligible, selected and interviewed female respondents and percentage of selected respondents who were interviewed by single-year age (unweighted), Maharashtra, 2006

Age (years)	Eligible		Selected for interview		Interviewed		% selected respondents interviewed
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
MW (15-24)							
15	22	0.8	17	0.7	15	0.8	88.2
16	41	1.4	33	1.4	30	1.5	90.9
17	80	2.8	67	2.9	56	2.9	83.6
18	253	8.9	183	8.0	155	8.0	84.7
19	297	10.4	232	10.2	189	9.7	81.5
20	462	16.2	345	15.1	289	14.8	83.8
21	324	11.4	275	12.0	243	12.5	88.4
22	503	17.7	406	17.8	340	17.5	83.7
23	452	15.9	377	16.5	330	16.9	87.5
24	412	14.5	349	15.3	300	15.4	86.0
Total	2,846	100.0	2,284	100.0	1,947	100.0	85.2
UW (15-24)							
15	669	19.0	566	19.7	518	20.4	91.5
16	624	17.7	525	18.3	456	17.9	86.9
17	510	14.5	406	14.1	348	13.7	85.7
18	526	15.0	421	14.7	376	14.8	89.3
19	282	8.0	222	7.7	206	8.1	92.8
20	312	8.9	249	8.7	219	8.6	88.0
21	192	5.5	157	5.5	137	5.4	87.3
22	180	5.1	140	4.9	125	4.9	89.3
23	124	3.5	104	3.6	88	3.5	84.6
24	99	2.8	80	2.8	68	2.7	85.0
Total	3,518	100.0	2,870	100.0	2,541	100.0	88.5

Note: The difference between the number of respondents eligible for interview and the number who were selected for interview is due to sampling design adopted in the Youth Study. Please refer to Chapter 1 for details.

Table C.4: Completeness of reporting
Percentage of observations with missing information or reported to be unknown to the respondent for selected date measures (weighted), Maharashtra, 2006

Measures	MM (15-29)		MW (15-24)		UM (15-24)		UW (15-24)	
	% with don't know/missing information	Unweighted number	% with don't know/missing information	Unweighted number	% with don't know/missing information	Unweighted number	% with don't know/missing information	Unweighted number
Birth date of the respondent								
Month only	11.2	1,065	4.1	1,947	5.7	2,017	1.4	2,541
Year only	0.1	1,065	0.8	1,947	0.0	2,017	0.4	2,541
Both month and year	4.7	1,065	33.1	1,947	1.8	2,017	10.7	2,541
Age when first started any unpaid work (years)	4.1	190	3.1	133	5.2	219	3.2	112
Age when first started any paid work (years)	0.9	1,042	0.7	752	0.4	1,174	0.8	731
Age when first noticed voice change (years)	17.1	1,065	NA	NA	12.8	2,017	NA	NA
Age when first noticed appearance of pubic hair (years)	0.0	1,065	NA	NA	0.0	2,017	NA	NA
Age at menarche (years)	NA	NA	0.1	1,947	NA	NA	0.1	2,541
Age when respondent first spent time alone with romantic partner (years)	1.7	225	3.8	145	0.0	402	1.1	181
Age when first had sex with pre-marital romantic partner (years)	1.8	98	5.3	20	0.0	171	0.0	20
Date of marriage of married respondent								
Month only	4.9	1,065	2.4	1,947	NA	NA	NA	NA
Year only	0.8	1,065	2.4	1,947	NA	NA	NA	NA
Both month and year	1.0	1,065	6.9	1,947	NA	NA	NA	NA
Age when first started cohabiting with wife/husband (years)	0.0	1,065	0.0	1,947	NA	NA	NA	NA

Note: NA: Not applicable.

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