

**"LINKS TO VULNERABILITY AND RISK
BEHAVIOUR: A SOCIO- PSYCHOLOGICAL
STUDY OF LIFE OPTIONS AND CHOICES OF
MIDDLE CLASS YOUTH OF FAIZABAD TOWN"**

**Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
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CERTIFICATE

This dissertation entitled “LINKS TO VULNERABILITY AND RISK BEHAVIOUR: A SOCIO- PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF LIFE OPTIONS AND CHOICES OF MIDDLE CLASS YOUTH OF FAIZABAD TOWN” is submitted in partial fulfillment of six credits for the award of the Degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (M. Phil.)** of this University. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree of this university or any other university and is my original work.


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To
my mamma & papa

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Contextualizing the Debate

The present study is initiated with an interest in understanding issues of human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (hereafter, HIV/AIDS) among the youth. HIV/AIDS is a pandemic, which denotes diseases that simultaneously attack many members of a community at a rate greater than the normal. HIV/AIDS is as much about social and political phenomenon as it is about biological and medical concerns.¹ HIV/AIDS is hitting the world's young people the hardest. More than half of the 14,000 people newly infected each day are under 25 years old². According to another estimate, each day 6,000 young people aged 15-24 years old are infected with HIV. Of the 1.2 billion young people in the world today, 10 million are already living with HIV/AIDS.³ HIV prevalence in population aged 15-24 years ranges 0.1 percent to 8 percent.⁴

An estimation that 38.6 million (33.4 million–46.0 million) people worldwide were living with HIV at the end of 2005. Another estimation that 4.1 million (3.4 million–6.2 million) became newly infected with HIV and an estimated 2.8 million (2.4 million–3.3 million) lost their lives to AIDS. Overall, the HIV incidence rate (the proportion of people who have become infected with HIV) is believed to have peaked in the late 1990s and to have stabilized subsequently, notwithstanding increasing incidence in several countries.⁵ According to a rough estimate although the share of Africa's population in World is just over 10%, yet, it has more than 60% of the AIDS-infected population. Table 1 reflects the comparative situation of Africa and developed world.⁶

¹ *AIDS: From Know More to No More* [Online]

Available: <http://www.unaids.org.in/new/displaymorePub.asp?itemid=300&chname=Publications>

² Available: <http://www.youthandhiv.org/>

³ Available: <http://www.youthaidscoalition.org/>

⁴ Acharya, S.S. and R. Dasgupta. 2005. 'HIV/AIDS and Adolescents: Some Issues and Concerns from India,' *Indian Anthropologist*, March and September 35(1 & 2):124.

⁵ 2006 *Report On The Global Aids Epidemic: Overview Of The Global A I D S Epidemic* [Online]

Available: http://data.unaids.org/pub/GlobalReport/2006/2006_GR-ExecutiveSummary_en.pdf

⁶ 'The least developed countries (LDCs) represent the poorest and weakest segment of the international community. The economic and social development of these countries represents a major challenge for LDCs themselves, as well as for their development partners. Extreme poverty, the structural weakness of their economies and the lack of capacities related to growth and development, often compounded by

Table 1: Regional Comparisons of HIV

World region	Adult HIV prevalence (ages 15–49)	Total HIV cases	AIDS deaths in 2005
Sub-Saharan Africa	6.1%	24.5m	2.0m
Worldwide	1.0%	38.6m	2.8m
North America	0.8%	1.3m	27,000
Western Europe	0.3%	720,000	12,000

Source: UNAIDS, 2006 Report on the Global AIDS Epidemic.

South Africa is considered to be ravaged by a devastating HIV/AIDS pandemic. The peak incidence of HIV/AIDS occurs in young people aged 15-24 years. Regarding HIV prevalence, a survey found that overall HIV prevalence among 15-24 year olds was 10.2%. Prevalence among 15-19 year olds was 4.8% and among 20-24 years olds, it was 16.5%. Prevalence was higher among females (15.5%) than males (4.8%) ages 15-24. This was true for each age group: prevalence among 15-19 year olds was 7.3% for females and 2.5% for males; among 20-24 year olds, prevalence was 24.5% for females and 7.6% for males. Most young South Africans living with HIV/AIDS are female (77%), but HIV prevalence among males and females is roughly equal by age 30.⁷ In the East-Central Africa; the adult prevalence of AIDS is: Uganda 4.1%, Kenya 6.7%, Tanzania 8.8%, Congo 4.9%, Congo DR 4.2%, Ethiopia 4.4%, and Eritrea 2.7%.

The Asia and Pacific region has more than 6.5 million people living with HIV/AIDS, some 5 million in China and India alone. At the same time, the region has more than

geographical handicaps, hamper efforts by these countries to improve effectively the quality of life of their peoples. These countries are characterized by their exposure to a series of vulnerabilities and constraints such as limited human, institutional and productive capacity; acute susceptibility to external economic shocks, natural and man-made disasters and communicable diseases; limited access to education, health and other social services and to natural resources; poor infrastructure; and lack of access to information and communication technologies.' *Programme of Action for the Least Developed Countries* (Adopted by the Third United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries in Brussels on 20 May 2001) [Online] Available: <http://www.unesco.org/ldc/ldcunpoaeng.pdf>

⁷*HIV and Sexual Behavior among Young South Africans: A National Survey of 15-24 Year Olds*. Reproductive Health Research Unit. South Africa. [Online] Available: <http://www.kff.org/southafrica/upload/Fact-Sheet-on-Survey-of-Young-South-Africans-About-HIV.pdf>

half of the world's young people - some 850 million between the ages of 10 and 24⁸. According to another estimate, about 85 per cent of the world's youth live in developing countries. Asia alone is home to 70 per cent of the developing world's young people⁹. It has been argued that 'risks behaviour often more than one form— continues to sustain serious AIDS epidemics in Asia. At the heart of many of Asia's epidemics lies the interplay between injecting drug use and unprotected sex, much of it commercial'.¹⁰

Table 1.2: HIV and AIDS statistics and features in 2003 and 2005 in Asia

	Adults and children living with HIV	Number of women living with HIV	Adults and children newly infected with HIV	Adult prevalence (%)	Adult and child deaths due to AIDS
2005	8.3 million (5.4–12.0 million)	2.0 million (1.3–3.0 million)	1.1 million (600 000–2.5 million)	0.4 (0.3–0.6)	520 000 (330 000–780 000)
2003	7.1 million (4.6–10.4 million)	1.7 million (1.1–2.5 million)	940 000 (510 000–2.1 million)	0.4 (0.2–0.5)	420 000 (270 000–620 000)

Available: http://www.unaids.org/epi/2005/doc/EPIupdate2005_html_en/epi05_06_en.htm

India 'remains in the bracket of a low prevalence country with overall HIV prevalence of 0.91% (less than 1%), however, this masks various sub-epidemics in various areas in the country, based on high prevalence observed in a number of sentinel location sites'.¹¹ Another study points out that 'India seems to be in the stage of the pandemic's evolution in which eastern and southern Africa found themselves a decade ago, whereby HIV prevalence rates in many areas are already high and rapidly rising, but impacts have not yet begun to fully emerge'.¹² The major causes of

⁸ Available: http://www.unfpa.org/profile/asia_overview.htm

⁹ Available: http://www.unfpa.org/swp/2005/presskit/factsheets/facts_adolescents.htm

¹⁰ Available: http://www.unaids.org/epi/2005/doc/EPIupdate2005_html_en/epi05_06_en.htm

¹¹ HIV Epidemic in India [Online]

Available:

<http://www.unaids.org.in/new/displaymore.asp?itemid=322&chkey=109&subchkey=0&chname=HIV%20Epidemic%20in%20India>

¹² Drynan, A. 2001. *Youth and HIV/AIDS in India*. October. [Online]

HIV/AIDS have been pointed out as 'poverty, gender inequality and violence against women, lack of education, war and conflict, unemployment, homophobia, and stigma and discrimination, work together to increase young people's vulnerability to infection. Without addressing the root causes and inequalities that put young people at risk, HIV/AIDS will continue to spread'.¹³

Youth have always been identified as the asset of community in particular and society in general. At the larger level, it includes nation as a whole. Studies on youth date back long. The dawn of the second phase of globalization, which has brought them in focus as an important component of study. Moreover, accompanied features of 'risk society' and 'future shock' have influenced all but youth in particular. A large number of studies have been conducted across the world on youth's risk behaviour in relation to HIV/AIDS. Studies from Western and African countries have been reviewed here for the purpose of contextualizing this study. The studies have wide area of inquiry dealing with HIV associated risk behaviour and socio-economic contexts.

Some of the studies dealing with the behaviour of the youth in the western context have been reviewed in the following paragraphs. A study pointed out various reasons of adolescent's drug use like belonging, coping, pleasure, creativity and aggression. There is also an age difference in the reasons of drug use as 'high schoolers use drugs more for coping and pleasure, where as middle schoolers use drugs more for belonging and creativity' (Hogan et al 1991: 488)¹⁴. Further this, study also presents the gender dimension of drug use as 'males tend to use drugs for pleasure, and females tend to use drugs to help them cope' (Ibid.: 488).

Schafer et al (1999)¹⁵ did an important study focusing on the gender aspect of the risk taking behaviour. The broad objectives of the study were to a) 'determine the average effect size for gender differences in risk taking and b) to reveal the extent to which gender differences vary according to context and age level' (Ibid.: 377). Regarding risk behavior, the study looked it as 'the act of implementing a goal-directed option

Available: <http://www.csih.org/what/Internships/AllisonCIDA%20Report.pdf>

¹³ Available: <http://www.youthaidscoalition.org/>

¹⁴ Novacek, J., J. R. Raskin and R. Hogan, 1991. 'Why do Adolescents Use Drugs?: Age, Sex and User Differences,' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 20(5):475-491.

¹⁵ Bymes, J.P., D.C. Miller and W.D. Schafer. 1999. 'Gender Differences in Risk Taking: A Meta-Analysis,' *Psychological Bulletin*, 125(3):367-383.

qualifies as an instance of risk taking whenever two things are true: a) the behavior in question could lead to more than outcome and b) some of these outcomes are undesirable or even dangerous' (Ibid.: 367).

Study conducted by Garnier and Stein (2002) focused on peer group, family and delinquent behavior among the adolescents.¹⁶ The broad objective of the study was 'to explore relationships among variables in the family environment and peer behaviors on adolescent drug use and delinquent behaviors' (Ibid.: 48). In the context of adolescent problem behavior, the study argued, 'peer behaviors were by far the strongest predictors of adolescent problem behaviors' (Ibid.:53). The study found a strong link between maternal values and those adopted by the adolescents. It was commented, '...early maternal drug use was another risk factor indirectly linked with adolescent drug use through peer drug use. Early maternal drug use most likely indicates chronic, heavier drug use signaling a more deviant lifestyle to which children were exposed and which could increase their exposure and attraction to deviant peers' (Ibid.: 54)

Engels and Bogt's study aimed to 'examine whether substance use and delinquency are associated with the quality of peer relations' (Engels and Bogt, 2001:679).¹⁷ It was found that 'higher levels of substance use and transgressive behaviors were related to higher levels of attachment, social support, competence in friendship, and romantic competence' (Ibid.:684). It was also reported that risk behaviors were more or less product of quality of family relations as 'higher engagement in risk behaviors was associated with less trust in parents, less communication, stronger feelings of alienation and a less cohesive and adaptable nuclear family' (Ibid.: 685).

Another interesting study found that 'males took more risks even it was clear that it was a bad idea to take a risk...the opposite was true for women and girls; that is, they seemed to be disinclined to take risks even in fairly innocuous situations or when it was good idea to take a risk' (Schafer et al 1999:378). Regarding age and context difference, the study argued that 'certain topics were associated with nontrivial gender

¹⁶ Garnier, H.E. and J.A. Stein, 2002. 'An 18-year Model of Family and Peer Effects on Adolescent Drug Use and Delinquency,' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 31(1):45-56.

¹⁷ Engels, R.C.M.E. and T. Bogt. 2001. 'Influences of Risk Behaviors on the Quality of Peer Relations in Adolescence,' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30(6):675-695.

differences that seemed to increase with age (e.g., driving), whereas others were associated with considerably smaller gender differences at most ages (e.g., smoking), or associated with shifts from positive to negative effects as children grow older (e.g., sexual activities) (Ibid.:377).

In the African context, the causes of HIV/AIDS and risk behavior are understood as 'deeply rooted in historical antecedents, geopolitical relations, global financial configurations, government policies, local institutions, and cultural politics. From our own and others' collective research, it is clear that AIDS has been exacerbated by deepening poverty experienced by the majority of African countries over the past 20 years; that it has spread in the aftermath of war, civil unrest, and refugee movements; that migration patterns necessitated by underemployment in chronically under-financed economies ensure both an increase in rates of transmission and a spread from urban to rural areas; and that governments shackled by poor terms of trade and crippling debts have neither the finances nor the personnel to address the problem adequately'.¹⁸

Another study found out that 'the protracted and deep rooted economic crisis has affected nearly every country in Sub-Saharan Africa has had a profoundly negative impact on the well-being of entire population and particularly, the youth growing up in the midst of the crisis' (Chigunta, 2002:1). There has been increased vulnerability of children and youth due to the breakdown in the family and collapse of value systems, wide spread and deepening poverty which includes feminization of poverty, poor socialization of children combined with domestic violence, abuse, broken marriages and lack of food, leading to look for an alternative surrogate family relationship. In such constantly changing socio-economic and political environment which is also uncontrollable and unpredictable, youth are seeking new ways of dealing with it. Young generation in contemporary Africa have a much less successful future than previous generations and are likely to be poorer. This shows that the contemporary African context provides very few life options and choices to the young.

¹⁸ Ghosh, J., E. Kalipeni, S. Craddock, J.R. Oppong. 2004. (eds.) *HIV and AIDS in Africa: Beyond epidemiology*. UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Pp. 5.

The recent changes accompanied by globalization have significantly influenced the understanding of youth and youth studies. Social institutions like family, marriage, kinship and economy are experiencing rapid changes in developed countries as well as developing countries. These changes have led to demographic change as the age at marriage is increasing resulting in expansion of the adolescent age in youth. Although these changes are society specific, yet, few generalizations can be made. With the globalization, new occupational opportunities have emerged and the adolescents employed are having economic freedom from the immediate collectivity i.e. family and kin group.

At the same time, this increased self-dependency results in acquiring new set of identities as 'economic development makes possible a period of the independent role exploration that is at the heart of emerging adulthood' (Arnett, 2000: 478).¹⁹ Further, he argued that '.... risk behaviours can be understood as part of their identity explorations, that is as one reflection of the desire to obtain a wide range of experiences before settling down into the roles and responsibilities of adult life' (Ibid.:475). According to another argument:

Elements of risk taking include both bio-psychosocial factors and environmental factors such as high attention seeking tendency, developmental propensity toward risk taking, spontaneity/impulsivity, egocentrism, aggressiveness, cognitive factors, i.e., cognitive biases, lack of knowledge of consequences, gender (males are more likely to engage in risky behavior), age, hormonal effects, biological maturation, self-esteem, social transitions, i.e., school transitions, race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status; poverty, family factors, i.e., parenting behavior and style, peer behaviors/influences, community/neighborhood variables, etc.²⁰

Closely interlinked with the notion of risk behaviour is the issue of vulnerability. Broadly understood, the vulnerability is the state of existence of individual or collectivity more prone to negative incidents or influences. One thing to be noted here is that individual or collectivity are not vulnerable in themselves, rather various limitations in terms access to financial security, lack of education, exposure to unstable family, etc. make them vulnerable.

¹⁹ Arnett, J.J. 2000. 'Emerging Adulthood: A Theory of Development From the Late Teens Through the Twenties,' *American Psychologist*, May, 55(5):469-480.

²⁰ Scott, D. *Risk Taking*. [Online] Available: <http://ag.arizona.edu/fcs/cyfernet/nowg/ythrisktake.html>
8/12/2006 1:49:03 PM

Accordingly, World Health Organization's Programme on substance abuse designed modified social stress model to understand vulnerability²¹. In this model, vulnerability is contextualized in the broader framework of risk factors. The model includes the following six components that influence vulnerability:

- 1) Stress: major life events, enduring life strains, everyday problems, life transitions, and adolescent developmental changes.
- 2) Normalization of substance use: legality and law enforcement, availability, price, advertising, sponsorship and promotion, media presentation, and cultural role.
- 3) Experience of substance use: depends on the user, the substance, and the setting.
- 4) Attachments: positive attachments are personal connections to people, animals, objects and institutions; negative attachments are connections to people or institutions that are associated with substance use.
- 5) Skills: physical and performance capabilities that help people succeed in life, and coping strategies, including internal, behavioural, and social abilities, which help a person, manage stress.
- 6) Resources: internal resources such as willingness to work hard and environmental resources such as schools, money, and people who care.

Few observations can be made from the above brief discussions. It comes out significantly that the prevalence of HIV/AIDS across world has become a major concern. This concern is both shared by the national and international agencies working in this area. It is also clear that there is a clear demarcation of its prevalence based on the development parameter. Developed countries in US and Europe are better equipped to handle this situation in comparison to developing countries in general and African countries in particular.

Another aspect is that of the profile of the population living with HIV/AIDS. Although it is beyond any doubt that the disease is prevalent among both the age

²¹ Analysis of Risk and Protective Factors [Online]
Available: <http://ag.arizona.edu/fcs/cyfemet/nowg/ythrisktake.html>
8/12/2006 1:56:34 PM

categories i.e. young and adult and both the sexes i.e. male and female. Moreover, children are also increasingly becoming its victims. Moreover, an important concern here is its high prevalence among the young population of female world over. As it has been argued elsewhere also, the forces of globalization are weakening the social institutions like family, marriage along with the norms and values prevalent in any collectivity. It has led to dual implications for the influenced populations.

On one hand, it has resulted in increased economic prosperity of few and emergence of various occupations, thus, part time employment for considerable section of young population. On the other hand, this new economic independence has made them less dependent on the immediate collectivity like family and kin group. Along with, it is the loosening of values and norms and thus uprooting. Given the fact that adolescent is a period often marked by inconsistency in personality, such conditions often lead to behaviour patterns termed as risk behaviours on the part of adolescents. Risk behaviours have multiple dimensions primarily based on pleasure seeking and carving a new identity within the collectivity. Activities like substance use like alcohol, cigarettes, illegal drugs; risky sexual behaviors, risky driving, crime etc. come under broad rubric of this category of behaviour.

And thus, the notion of socialized delinquent emerges. Broadly understood, it reflects the influence of immediate collectivity on the individual. Such collectivities can be unstable family, effects of school, peer group, effects of neighbourhood, etc. Subsequently, the analysis of such 'means of deviant/risky socialization' becomes crucial. A picture emerges where the causes of risky behaviour can be traced back to the socio-economic conditions of living of the individual. In the process, the foci of enquiry shift from HIV/AIDS as a problem in itself to addressing the socio-economic factors responsible for it. Moreover, the individual or collectivity placed at vulnerable situation is more prone to such risky behaviours in comparison to those who have enough physical, financial and socio-cultural assets to rely upon.

Herein lies the justification and need of the present study. It has been argued that female face of the epidemic, vulnerability of the youth (15-24 years) and the socio-economic factors (class, migration, social stigma, discrimination, poverty) are some of the challenges among the various challenges of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Socio-

economic factors are of specifically importance in the Indian context. These sensitive issues require imaginative and sensitive designs (UNAIDS Global Report, 2004).

Furthermore, Jeejebhoy (1999) points out to the lack of data especially for the adolescents and youth. Additively, Ritu Priya (2004) points out that little comparative data across socio-economic categories or between migrant and non-migrant group is available in India. The various links to vulnerability and risk behaviour have to be located in the socio-economic milieu of the individual as reflected in the above-discussed studies. The present study furthers that endeavour.

Overview of the Chapters

Chapter 1 begins with discussion on HIV/AIDS at global level and various studies from Western and African countries have been reviewed for the purpose of contextualizing the study. In due process, the chapter shifts its focus to Asia in general and India in particular. The issues of devastating changes brought by the process of globalization in relation to risk behaviour are discussed. Subsequently, this chapter also discusses the socio-economic conditions leading to risk behaviour of youth.

Chapter 2 briefly discusses the various perspectives on youth and adolescence in the social sciences. It begins with the brief description of policies and initiatives taken at the international and national level with respect to youth. Various disciplines such as sociology, cultural anthropology and psychology are taken into consideration. Along with these, themes like delinquency studies, youth culture, issues of youth in time of social change (particularly globalization) have also been discussed. Various studies on risk behaviours in the Indian context have been also discussed.

Chapter 3 is the discussion on main research questions that the study has tried to address. It has explored the life choices of the youth in contemporary urban India, their perception of life choices and the socio-economic and cultural factors that influence the life choices and their perceptions about the process. The conceptualization of the variables like life chances, choices and options, aspiration, risk and vulnerability, etc. used in this study are discussed. Thereafter, it focuses on the macro, meso and micro level factors influencing life options, choices and

aspirations. Macro level factors include social structure as manifested in caste, class and gender, value frameworks, media; méso level enquiry is related to family and parent-child relationship, péer; and micro deals with individual.

Chapter 4 presents the data on youth from a middle class residential area in Faizabad town of eastern Uttar Pradesh. The study was done through house-to-house survey. The analysis of the data showed three broad economic categories in the sample as lower middle class, middle-middle class and upper middle class. Educational and occupational profile of the youth is discussed. The focus then shifts on congruence between life options, choices and aspirations. In-depth interviews are discussed along with the responses of youth. Gender relationships with opposite sex and marriage are briefly touched upon. These are further analyzed for possible determinants of vulnerability.

Chapter 5 is discussions and conclusions focusing on issues of vulnerability and risk behaviour and also tried to correlate with the Weberian notion of life chances, Sen's capability approach and Bourdieu's, social capital. The vulnerability in the present study was observed in certain categories of congruence between options, choices and aspirations. From the discussion, class position of family emerged as the major factor for influencing the available life options, choices and aspirations. Strong and sharp influences of gender were observed in the process of deciding choices. Moreover, family, building a support system by invoking the supports of its kin group members; a network sometimes called social capital/social cohesion is also significant in this context.

CHAPTER I

CHAPTER-1

Youth Studies: Continuity and Change

This chapter briefly discusses the various perspectives on youth and adolescence. It begins with a brief description of policies and initiatives taken at international and national level regarding youth and then goes on to review the perspectives on youth in the social sciences. At the international level, the policies and initiatives taken by United Nations (hereafter UN) are discussed. Moreover, policies at the national level and emphasis on youth in various Five Year Plans are also discussed. Later on, the chapter builds on the interdisciplinary theoretical contributions on youth and adolescence. Various disciplines as sociology, cultural anthropology and psychology are taken into consideration. Along with these, themes like delinquency studies, youth culture, issues of youth in time of social change (particularly globalization) have also been discussed. Along with these, various proclamations and policies at the national, regional and international level are also briefly discussed. Such efforts not only take in to consideration the bio-medical aspect of youth as reflected in policies on HIV/AIDS but the inter-related issue of 'risk behaviour' is also given due importance.

UN has emerged as a key player in this field. In International Youth Year, held around the world in 1985, the UN General Assembly defined 'youth', as those persons falling between the ages of 15 and 24 years inclusive. Earlier, Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples (1965) argued that youth plays an important role 'in every field of human endeavour' and 'they are destined to guide the fortunes of mankind'¹.

Major declarations, conventions and covenants concerning youth by UN are United Nations Guidelines for Further Planning and Follow-Up in the Field of Youth (1985), United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty (1990), United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (The Riyadh

¹ Declaration on the Promotion among Youth of the Ideals of Peace, Mutual Respect and Understanding between Peoples. (Proclaimed by General Assembly resolution 2037 (XX) of 7 December 1965) [Online] Available: <http://www.unhchr.ch/html/menü3/b/65.htm>

Guidelines) (1990), World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond (1995), Braga Youth Action Plan (1998), Lisbon Declaration on Youth Policies and Programmes (1998) and Dakar Youth Empowerment Strategy (2001)².

The important issues discussed by the UN in the context of youth are delineated in 'World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond'. Ten issues identified requiring attention are education, employment, hunger and poverty, health, environment, drug abuse, juvenile delinquency, leisure-time activities, girls and young women, and full and effective participation of youth in the life of society and in decision-making.

About 85 percent of the young people live in the developing countries and approximately 60 percent live in the Asian region alone³. Among them, over 200 million are estimated to live in the urban areas. There are also variations in the demographics in the region. The youth population constitutes a higher proportion of the total population i.e. over 19 percent in the Southeast; South and Southwest Asia. Youth comprise a smaller percent of the total population in the North and Central Asia (16.7 percent), the Pacific (13.5 percent), and East and North East Asia. And the most populated countries in the region- the People's Republic of China and India- have nearly 20 percent of their populations aged 15-24 years⁴. Table 2.1 reflects the regional distribution of youth in the year 2000.

² For a detail description on youth policies, visit web page: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/nyin/qanda.htm>

³ It has been recognized thirty years ago by the Member states of the United Nations thirty years ago. Web Source: <http://www.un.org/events/youth98/backinfo/ywpa2000.htm>. In the same context see, Nugent, R. 2005. *Youth in a Global World*. Population Reference Bureau. BRIDGE.

⁴ *Youth Employment in the Asia-Pacific Region: Prospects and Challenges*. [Online]

Available: www.un.org/esa/socdev/poverty/papers/youth_unescap.pdf

Also see, *Socio-economic Policy Brief: United Nations: ESCAP. Issue No. 5, June (2006)*. [Online] (ESCAP region was obtained by adding the number of people living with HIV and AIDS in East Asia, South-East Asia, South Asia, Oceania, Central Asia and the Russian Federation).

Available: http://www.unescap.org/pdd/publications/pb/pb_5.pdf

Table 2.1: Regional Distribution of Youth, 2000 (in millions)

	Total population	Youth as % of total	Youth (15-24)	% of world youth total
Asia	3,672	17.8%	654	61.5%
Africa	793	20.3%	161	15.1%
Europe	727	13.8%	100	9.4%
Latin America & the Caribbean	519	19.5%	101	9.5%
Northern America	314	13.5%	42	4.0%
Oceania	31	15.6%	5	0.5%
Total	6,056	17.6%	1,063	100.0%

Youth at the United Nations. [Online]

Available: <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/qanda.htm>

From the above table, it is evident that the 61.5% of world's youth total lives in Asia i.e. in 37 countries. It makes this region a foci point of youth discussion. The rapid social and economic transformations along with globalization of the Asian region have profoundly shaped the size of the youth population termed as 'youth bulge'. It represents 'a boom generation' that produces a 'demographic dividend'⁵. It can be also seen in the context of 'youth transition' characterized by problems such as unemployment, sexual promiscuity, and delinquent behavior. There has been increased level of risk-behaviours of many kinds which ranges from substance abuse to premarital and generally unprotected sexual activity. In the area of reproductive health and sexuality the evidence of risky sexual behaviour is combined with significant prevalence of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases⁶.

In India, the percentage of youth in the total population according to the 1996 Census projections is estimated to be about 37% in 1997. It is also likely to increase to about

⁵ Hugo, G. 2006. *Globalisation and Asian Youth: A Demographic Perspective*. [Paper presented at United Nations Regional Expert Group Meeting On Development For Young People in Asia, UNCC, Bangkok]. 28-30 March.

⁶ Xenos, P. and M. Kabamalan. 2002. *A Comparative History of Age-Structure and Social Transitions Among Asian Youth*. Population Series. East-West Center Working Papers. No. 110.

40% by the year 2016. There are not less than two official policies on youth formulated by Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (earlier known as Ministry of Human Resource Development). The first is National Youth Policy (1988). It aimed to 'create increasing opportunities for them (*youth*) to develop their personality and their functional capability and thus make them economically productive and socially useful'.⁷

With the gradual changes in the socio-cultural milieu and the onset of globalization, the government of India formulated another youth policy in 2003. The policy defined youth as all those who are in the age group of 13 to 35 years. The policy paper further stated that:

It is acknowledged that since all the persons within this age group are unlikely to be one homogenous group, but rather a conglomeration of sub-groups with differing social roles and requirements, the age group may, therefore, be divided into two broad sub-groups viz. 13-19 years and 20-35 years. The youth belonging to the age group 13-19, which is a major part of the adolescent age group, will be regarded as a separate constituency.⁸

The key areas of focus were youth empowerment, gender justice, inter-sectoral approach towards youth-related issues, and establishment of Information & Research Network among others. The various sectors of youth concern as pointed out by the national policy paper are education; training and employment; health and family welfare; preservation of environment, ecology and wild life; recreation and sports; arts and culture; science and technology; and civics and good citizenship.⁹

Apart from the national youth policy, it will be helpful to locate the youth and issues related to youth in various five-year plans. The Second Five Year Plan (1956-61) saw the introduction of National Discipline Scheme. This continued in the Third Five Year Plan (1961-66). The Fourth Five Year Plan (1969-74) focused on youth and leadership training. Government accepted the importance of voluntary organizations in this context. Community service as a distinct thrust in the educational front was evolved. The Fifth Five Year Plan (1974-79) saw the optimum development and

⁷ National Youth Policy 1988 [Online]

Available: http://yas.nic.in/yasroot/policies/youth_policy.htm

⁸ National Youth Policy 2003[Online]

Available: http://yas.nic.in/yasroot/policies/youth_policy_03.htm

⁹ Annual Report 2003 - 2004. Ministry of Youth Affairs & Sports, Government of India. [Online]

Available: http://yas.nic.in/yasroot/annual_reports/ar_03/y1.pdf

manifestations of growing needs of Indian youth. It focused on expansion and strengthening of the National Service Scheme (NSS) and the Nehru Yuva Kendras (NYKs). At the same time, National Service Volunteer Scheme (NSVS) was launched.

The Sixth Five Year Plan (1980-85) emphasized effective coordination among different youth policies and programmes. A National Youth Policy was framed and Plan of Action was formulated in the Seventh Five Year Plan (1985-90). National and cultural integration through youth was the agenda of the Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-97) through the National Youth Policy. The thrust in the Ninth Five Year Plan (1997-2002) was on harnessing *Yuva Shakti* (youth power)¹⁰. In the context of career, the Report of the Working Group on Adolescents for the Tenth Five Year Plan states 'it is paradoxical that on the one hand there is growing unemployment and lack of awareness about career options and on the other hand there are many new avenues and areas for employment. Adolescents are often led or driven into vocations and careers unrelated to their aptitude and suitability often under parental and societal pressure especially with regard to traditional careers like engineering, medicine, teaching, etc. There is almost a complete lack of career guidance to adolescents and their parents.'

However, before going into the studies, primarily of the late 1980s or 1990s, it was thought important to place them in the context of academic approaches from various disciplines to study youth behaviour.

Most of the studies on youth and adolescence¹¹ involve an interdisciplinary approach towards these two social categories. This becomes all the more clear when we see that mostly considered as founding figure of adolescent research, G.S. Hall work titled as *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (1904). He analysed the period of adolescent as a distinct period in life and as a period of '*Sturm und Drang*' (Storm and Stress) in the

¹⁰ For details see, *Nehru Yuva Kendra Sangathan (NYKS)* (Youth And Sports : Youth Affairs) [Online] Available: <http://www.nyks.org/tenthplan.htm>

¹¹ Broadly understood, 'youth' is primarily seen as a cultural category whereas 'adolescence' is seen as a biological and psychological stage of human development.

then contemporary American social structure¹². Sexual frustrations arising out of physical maturation and social restrictions, problems of occupational choice, difficulties in emancipation from small family groups, inconsistencies in authority relationships, conflicts between generations in a changing society, and discontinuities in socialization patterns – all are said to contribute to the general conflicts, insecurities and uncertainties of the adolescent¹³.

Broadly speaking, the various changes experienced by an adolescent can be categorized into five overlapping major categories. These are physical, cognitive, emotional, social and behavioral. The visible physical changes are high intensity of growth. The cognitive development is characterized by comparatively high level of thinking involving evaluating the future alternatives and setting personal goals. Emotional development deals with the complex issue of emergence and further maturation of distinct identity. Social development brings in an intense importance of their peers. However, this shift in from family to peers does not necessarily marginalize the importance of the family in the adolescent's life. The adolescents reflect behavioral changes in risk-taking behaviors.

The social categories of youth and adolescence are most of the times taken together and are treated as synonymous, though it might not be definitional correct. The major disciplines, which undertake such studies, are sociology, anthropology, psychology, demography among others. The situation becomes more fluid if we take into account the biological and physiological changes being experienced by the individual in adolescent age. It requires further understanding of such processes in bio medical sense. To further make the topic at hand more multi-dimensional, there are legal (constitutional) definitions so as to who can be seen as an adolescent or youth.

The sub disciplines under sociology such as developmental sociology, culture and personality approach, sociology of education among others focus on the youth as their major starting point. At the same time, cultural anthropology as a sub discipline of

¹² For details see Hall, G.S. 1904. *Adolescence: Its Psychology and its relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education*. New York: D. Appleton.

¹³ Elkin, F. and W.A. Westley. 1995. 'The Myth of Adolescent Culture,' *American Sociological Review*, December. 20(6):680.

anthropology studies the adolescent as a stage in the life cycle process. This stage is characterized by unstable attitudes and shifting social roles of an individual. Developmental psychology, clinical psychology, adolescent psychology comes under psychology and they focus on adolescent behavior of individuals. Many a time studies in demography take in to account the youth population as such for the population projection of the community and society. Similarly, youth are also studied as a measure for social policy makers.

Given such a vast interdisciplinary approach towards the study, any kind of universal or satisfactory definition of the youth and adolescent is far from possible. Thus, to arrive at the various interpretations we can move forth to the various possible interpretations of the terms youth and adolescent used in various disciplines. Such an attempt is towards addressing the following issues of discussion:

- The universal notion of adolescent and adolescence as a life-stage;
- how do individuals in particular and community in general cope up with adolescence stage i.e. new form of socialization, rituals, etc.;
- cultural factor in adolescence stage;
- issues related to cognitive development;
- interactions between family and peers in the context of adolescence age and
- effects of social change/modernization and globalization on adolescents and adolescent studies.

Sociology focuses on the youth as a social category. The basic areas of discussion are culture and personality school, youth culture, delinquency studies¹⁴ among others. The 'culture and personality' school studies the intricate relationship between the individual and the collectivity (society) in which she lives. The issue at hand is the development of self and personality of any individual through the process of socialization. Socialization broadly understood is the process through which an

¹⁴ The paper accepts that the studies on delinquent behavior fall primarily in the discipline of criminology. Yet, these studies overlap with sociology of youth as such and most importantly deal with "risk taking" behaviors of youth.

individual learns the roles and obligations of the community.¹⁵ The development of self and personality is the result of two-way interaction between the individual and the collectivity (society)¹⁶ Major figure in this approach are George H. Mead's notions of 'significant others' and 'generalized other'¹⁷ and Charles H. Cooley's concept of 'looking-glass self'¹⁸ among others.¹⁹

For Mead, 'the individual experiences himself as such, not directly, but only indirectly, from the particular standpoints of other individual members of the same social group, or from the generalized standpoint of the social group as a whole to which he belongs. For he enters his own experience as a self or individual, not directly or immediately, not by becoming a subject to himself, but only in so far as he first becomes an object to himself just as other individuals are objects to him or in his experience; and he becomes an object to himself only by taking the attitudes of other

¹⁵ 'When an individual has incorporated within himself knowledge and appropriate skills necessary to the fulfillment of a role, and when he accepts the value or appropriateness of the action, sociologists speak of him as having 'internalized' the role and its psychological underpinnings. The term socialization is used to describe the process whereby individuals learn their culture, both in its most general form and as it applies to particular roles. Although it usually refers to the learning of children, the term socialization may be used in exactly the same sense to describe adults learning what is required of them in a new job or some other status-position which they are entering.' Pp. 79. *What is Sociology?: An Introduction to the Discipline and Profession*. Alex Inkeles. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited (2003).

¹⁶ This can be further situated in the twin perspectives of ecological perspective and life course perspective. Whereas the former focuses on the immediate social collectivity like family, peer group, neighborhood in adolescent development, the latter focuses on the societal values and norms which shape the adolescent development. For details see 'Adolescents in Changing Social Structures: Bounded Agency in Life Course Perspective,' by Michael J. Shanahan and Kathryn E. Hood In Lisa A. Crockett (ed.) *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2000). Pp. 123-134.

¹⁷ Mead insists that 'self' is neither a psychological organism nor a biological entity but essentially a social process which arises in social experience and activity. Social interaction, communication and group processes introduce the self into which the individual organizes all his experiences. Thus an individual forms the concept of self in the process of meaningful interaction with 'significant others' (people in his immediate social environments) and 'generalized others' (social group / community of which individual is member). Pp. 226. *Modern Sociological Theory*. M. F. Abraham. Oxford University Press (1999).

¹⁸ 'As we see our face, figures and dress in the glass, and are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be, so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it.' Pp. 184. *Human Nature and Social Order*. C.H. Cooley. New York: Schocken Press (1968).

¹⁹ For other studies see Ralph Linton in *The Study of Man*. New York, (1936) and *The Cultural Background of Personality*. New York, (1945). In the anthropological literature the important landmark studies are by Ruth Benedict *Patterns of Culture*. Boston, (1934) and *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays* by B. Malinowski. Chapel Hill, (1944).

individuals toward himself within a social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved'.²⁰

Table 2.2: Theories of Adolescence

Developmental Area	Primary Theorist/s	Main Focus
<i>Biological</i>	G. Stanley Hall, Arnold Gesell, James Tanner	Focus of the period is physical and sexual development determined by genes and biology.
<i>Psychological</i>	Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud	Focus on adolescence as a period of sexual excitement and anxiety.
<i>Psychosocial</i>	Erik Erikson	Focus is on identity formation; adolescents struggle between achieving identity and identity diffusion.
<i>Cognitive</i>	Jean Piaget	Focus is on formal operational thought; moving beyond concrete, actual experiences and beginning to think in logical and abstract terms.
<i>Ecological (interaction between individual and environment)</i>	Urie Bronfenbrenner	Focus is on the context in which adolescents develop; adolescents are influenced by family, peers, religion, schools, the media, community, and world events.
<i>Social Cognitive Learning</i>	Albert Bandura	Focus is on the relationship between social and environmental factors and their influence on behavior. Children learn through modeling.
<i>Cultural</i>	Margaret Mead, Carol Gilligan	Focus is on the culture in which the child grows up.

Source: (Muuss, R., et al, 1996; Rice and Dolgin, 2002)²¹

For Cooley, 'self and society are twin-born' i.e. one's sense of self develops from interaction with others. His 'looking-glass self' is composed of three principal dimensions; first, how we imagine our appearance to others, second, how we imagine other's judgment of that appearance and third is our personal feeling about that judgment²². He postulated three stages of process through which the self of an individual develops. Through the interactions with parents, child develops its self. Gradually the socialization process with the peer group and media influence develops

²⁰ Mead, G.H. 1934. *Mind, Self and Society*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. Pp. 138.

²¹ Rice, P. and K. Dolgin, 2002. Adolescents in Theoretical Context. *The Adolescent: Development, Relationships and Culture* (10th edition). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

²² Pp. 214-15. *Modern Sociological Theory*. M.F. Abraham. Oxford University Press (1999).

further modifications on that self. Thus, the personality or the self of an individual is the result of social interactions.

As stated earlier, cultural anthropology²³ as a sub discipline of anthropology studies the adolescent as a stage in life cycle process. Broadly understood, life cycle reflects 'the life of an individual seen in terms of a series of stages such as infancy, childhood, adolescence, active adulthood, old age, death (Scott: 1999:231)²⁴. Here adolescence is seen as a biological and psychological stage of human development²⁵. Broadly defined life cycle process is the whole life of individual characterized by the changing physiological nature accompanied by the complementing social and ritual ceremonies.

Here the period of adolescence is seen as a stage of transition from one stage to another. This transition is marked by the shifting roles and obligations of the individual in the society. In cultural anthropology, such transition includes liminal stage or stage of liminality (from the Latin word *līen*, meaning 'a threshold') more associated with adolescence.

Arnold Van Gennep introduced the concept of 'liminal' to the field of anthropology in 1909 in his seminal work, *Les rites de passage* (translated into English in 1960)²⁶. He classified the rites performed in the specific community/ society. He further analysed relationship between individual and the collectivity. The major life cycle events he discussed are pregnancy and childbirth, birth and childhood, initiation rites, betrothal and marriage and funerals.

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²³ 'Anthropology, at least in the United states, is as diversified a subject as sociology, incorporating archeology, physical anthropology, cultural history, many branches of linguistics, and the study of all aspects of the life of primitive man everywhere. Like psychology, it has strong ties with the natural sciences, and in the case of physical anthropology, a close link with biology. In British universities, anthropology was well-established as the academic study of society long before sociology was accepted, and in many American universities the two departments are combined.' Pp. 23. *What is Sociology?: An Introduction to the Discipline and Profession*. Alex Inkeles. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited (2003).

²⁴ *Dictionary of Sociology*. W.P. Scott. New Delhi: GOYLSaaB Publishers (1999). Also see, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. N. Abercrombie, S. Hill and B. S. Turner. England: Penguin Books (1994) pp. 237-238. *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. G. Marshall. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1998) pp. 368-369.

²⁵ Here one can see the similarity with the life course perspective of adolescent development. This approach also sees adolescence as the stage prior to adulthood.

²⁶ *Rites of Passage*. Arnold Van Gennep. Translated by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1960).

Rites of passage are seen as coming-of-age and marriage rituals. These rituals ease out stress and insecurity during the status transition of individual. In this process, the individual who is undergoing the ritual is termed as initiate. He/she is seen as someone who is in transition mode of social roles. This process has three periods. These are separation (preliminal), transition (liminal), and reintegration or re-assimilation (postliminal). The first stage involves the leaving behind the social status possessed by the initiate prior to the ritual ceremony. The second stage includes him/her in the liminal period of transition. Subsequently, the initiate is given his or her new status. It leads to his/her reinduction into society. Broadly speaking, these transitions reflect physical changes as well as new sets of responsibilities being given to the individual.

The twin terms of 'liminal' and 'liminality' gained wide spread currency through the writings of Victor Turner. He first introduced his interpretation of liminality in 1967. Although he borrowed heavily and expanded upon Van Gennep's concept of liminality, yet the former made these concepts more acceptable not only in anthropology but in other fields as well. Unlike Gennep, he focused more on the second stage of the rites of passage i.e. the liminal period which he defined as '...liminality represents the midpoint of transition in a status-sequence between two positions'.²⁷

In 'Liminality and Communitas', Turner begins by defining liminal individuals or entities as 'neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremony'.²⁸ Thus, liminality is a condition of not having full membership in a status. In this stage the initiate finds him/herself separated from his/her previous status but not fully part of his/her next status.

For Turner, the ideal form of culture is *communitas*. For him *communitas* is 'unstructured or rudimentarily structured [with] a relatively undifferentiated comitatus, community, or even communion of equal individuals who submit together

²⁷ Pp. 237. *The Forest of Symbols: Ritual Aspects of Ndembu*. Victor Turner. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.

²⁸ Pp. 95. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Victor Turner. Chicago: Aldine (1969). Republished, 1976.



to the general authority of the ritual elders'²⁹. The rituals marking the period of liminality makes the individual understand his/her role in *communitas* i.e. these prepares the individual for *communitas*. In due process of undergoing the rituals, the individual learns the various aspects of society as well as his/her new role in the *communitas*. After the liminal period, he/she can fully interact with the other members of the *communitas*. Thus, although the period of liminality is marked by un-experienced anxiety and loss of meanings, yet in this stage itself, the individual becomes the 'full' member of the *communitas* and later on of the society.

The analysis of adolescent took the academia unaware and soon there were many studies that either had something in common with his 'the period of adolescent as a distinct period in life i.e. as a period of 'Sturm und Drang' (Storm and Stress) or to negate it. Margaret Mead belonged to the latter viewpoint and argued that the cultural background or the context of the society where the individual is undergoing adolescent makes this process troublesome or not. This position was much in the line of her approach of culture and personality approach. The focus is on childrearing customs and transition towards adolescent. Her most important and influential work is *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928)³⁰.

For any discussion on youth culture, culture can be taken as the reference point. Culture can be broadly understood as 'that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law. Morals, customs, and all other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society'³¹. Culture includes both the material i.e. concrete aspects of culture like infrastructure and non-material aspects like values, norms, and customs, moral among others. Recent studies on culture focus on various sub stratum of the culture like sub-culture, contra-culture, material and non-material culture, culture area among others.

Broadly understood, sub-culture is the sub-set of the mainstream culture. It is like communities and groups having a sizeable population have their own distinct pattern

²⁹ Pp. 96. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Victor Turner. Chicago: Aldine (1969). Republished, 1976.

³⁰ Mead, M. 1928. *Coming of age in Samoa: A Study of Adolescence and Sex in Primitive Societies*. New York: Morrow. Republished in (1973). She did her fieldwork in three villages in the western part of Ta'u Island. She collected data in form of interview from 68 girls between the ages of 9 and 20.

³¹ E.B. Tylor in *Primitive Culture* (1871).

of life based on norms and values which might not be in contradiction to the mainstream culture. It is found both at the micro level like family and macro level like groups and communities having specific guidelines of behavior. At the same time, when the attributes of sub-culture directly or indirectly challenges or undermines the mainstream culture, the former takes on the term contra culture. At the extreme sense it is complete rejection of the mainstream culture and disowning related norms and values.

The notion of youth culture has been seen in both perspectives. On one hand, it is seen as cultural values and norms shared by youths across communities. On the other hand, the same 'peaceful' and 'normal' culture becomes contra culture when the effects of generation gap becomes very much sharp leading to hippie culture, marijuana culture, street gangs, fast and furious gangs, etc. The following comment on American scene with some exception can be the face of entire world, 'during the 1950s, especially, fears of youthful rebellion took on added dimensions, in the midst of general internal security and prosperity, whipped up by a combination of anticommunist hysteria and racial unrest. Villains and disrupters seemed to lurk everywhere, certainly in the proliferating artifacts of youth culture – music, comic books, movies, and much more'.³²

Major events shaping the emergence of youth culture were the student revolt in France in 1967-68 due to employment issues, the protest of American war on Vietnam in late 1960s, emergence of radical form of Left movement and attraction towards socialist egalitarian society, universities increasingly becoming the focal point of academic discussion which argued students participation in day-to-day events than the studies, etc. This youth culture is distinguished in both the sociological literature and the mass media by its affirmation of independence, its rejection of adult standards of judgment, its compulsive conformity to peer group patterns, its romanticism, and a participation in 'irresponsible' pleasure activities.³³

³² Cohen, R.D. 1997. 'The Delinquents: Censorship and Youth Culture in recent U.S. History,' *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall, 37:254.

³³ Elkin F. and W.A. Westley. 1995. 'The Myth of Adolescent Culture,' *American Sociological Review*, December, 20(6):680.

Youth culture has been theorized in many ways. One line of thought argues for the class character of the sub-culture.³⁴ Stuart Hall states that taking into the Marxian notion of class; youth culture is a class of culture. The latter is then in the hierarchical relation with the former. Since the former is more dominant and morally, culturally, legally 'correct', the latter has to submit to it. Another perspective analyses the youth culture in terms of loose institutional arrangements youth have like clique, gang and crowd. Such an analysis is associated with E. A. Smith. It is further argued that in times of rapid social change, these groups provide much emotional support to each other and thus gradually there is a gap between the 'adult' and youth culture.

The most significant analysis of youth culture has been done in the broad framework of crime and delinquency studies. This approach sees the youth culture primarily as contra-culture. The resulting incidents/behaviours of delinquency due to structural constraints are generalized as elements of youth culture. The spread of youth culture across border can be explained as 'adolescent culture has two features that contribute to its transportability. First, it is often banal; that is, it makes few demands on the listener, viewer, wearer, or participant. It can be intellectual and emotional 'fast-food'. Second, it is usually grounded in universal issues rather than local ones. These are love, sex, power and achievement issues that concern adolescents everywhere because they are just moving into the realm where these are played out, the adult world'.³⁵

The studies on deviance and/or delinquency can be seen as the convergence point of the three disciplines i.e. sociology, psychology and biology. Broadly understood, 'deviance,... is not necessarily inherent in every departure from a commonly accepted standard, nor in holding any minority view. This would be statistical deviance, but not social deviance. Social deviance arises when the departure from accepted norms involves action about which the community feels strongly, so strongly so as to adopt sanctions to prevent or otherwise control the deviant behavior. In other words, deviant behavior is not merely oblique to dominant or 'core' values, but is antithetical to

³⁴ For an effective discussion on this see, Chacko, E. 2005. 'Exploring Youth Cultures Geographically Through Active Learning,' *Journal of Geography*, 104:9-16.

³⁵ Pp. 86. 'The Global Spread of Adolescent Culture,' by A. Schlegel In Lisa A. Crockett (ed.) *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2000). Also see, Chacko, E. 2005. 'Exploring Youth Cultures Geographically Through Active Learning,' *Journal of Geography*, 104:9-16.

them'.³⁶ In the studies on social deviance, the Chicago School of sociology played an important role.³⁷

Theoretical development in the studies of delinquent behaviour is most of the time associated with Albert K. Cohen. His seminal study in 1955 suggested that the working class gang delinquency is mostly due to adjustment problems of lower-class youth³⁸. He further elaborated on the sociological and the psychological aspects of the delinquent behaviour. The 'sociological' addresses the issue of how does the structure of any society leads to the delinquent behaviour. The 'psychological' aspect deals with the processes leading to the delinquent attitudes of the individual.³⁹ Figure 2.1 at next page situates the various theories and studies concerned in crime and deviance.

³⁶ Pp. 80. *What is Sociology?: An Introduction to the Discipline and Profession*. Alex Inkeles. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited (2003).

³⁷ According to wikipedia, in sociology and, later, criminology, the Chicago School (sometimes described as the Ecological School) refers to the first major body of works emerging during the 1920s and 1930s specialising in urban sociology, and the research into the urban environment by combining theory and ethnographic fieldwork in Chicago, now applied elsewhere. Tracing the genealogy of Chicago School, web site on pragmatism states that John Dewey founded the Chicago School of Pragmatism during his ten years at the University of Chicago, from 1894-1904. The original group included his philosophy colleagues: George H. Mead, James H. Tufts, James R. Angell, Edward Scribner Ames (Ph.D. Chicago 1895), and Addison W. Moore (Ph.D. Chicago 1898). Mead exerted considerable influence in sociology. Two of his students, Ellsworth Faris and Herbert Blumer, continued his work. Other sociologists at Chicago, especially W. I. Thomas and Robert Park, who with Mead, Faris, and Blumer could be loosely identified as the 'Chicago School of Sociology,' shared some common outlooks on the nature and purpose of sociology. Another prominent pragmatist sociologist who shared many of the Chicago School's principles was Charles Horton Cooley at the University of Michigan.

For details see

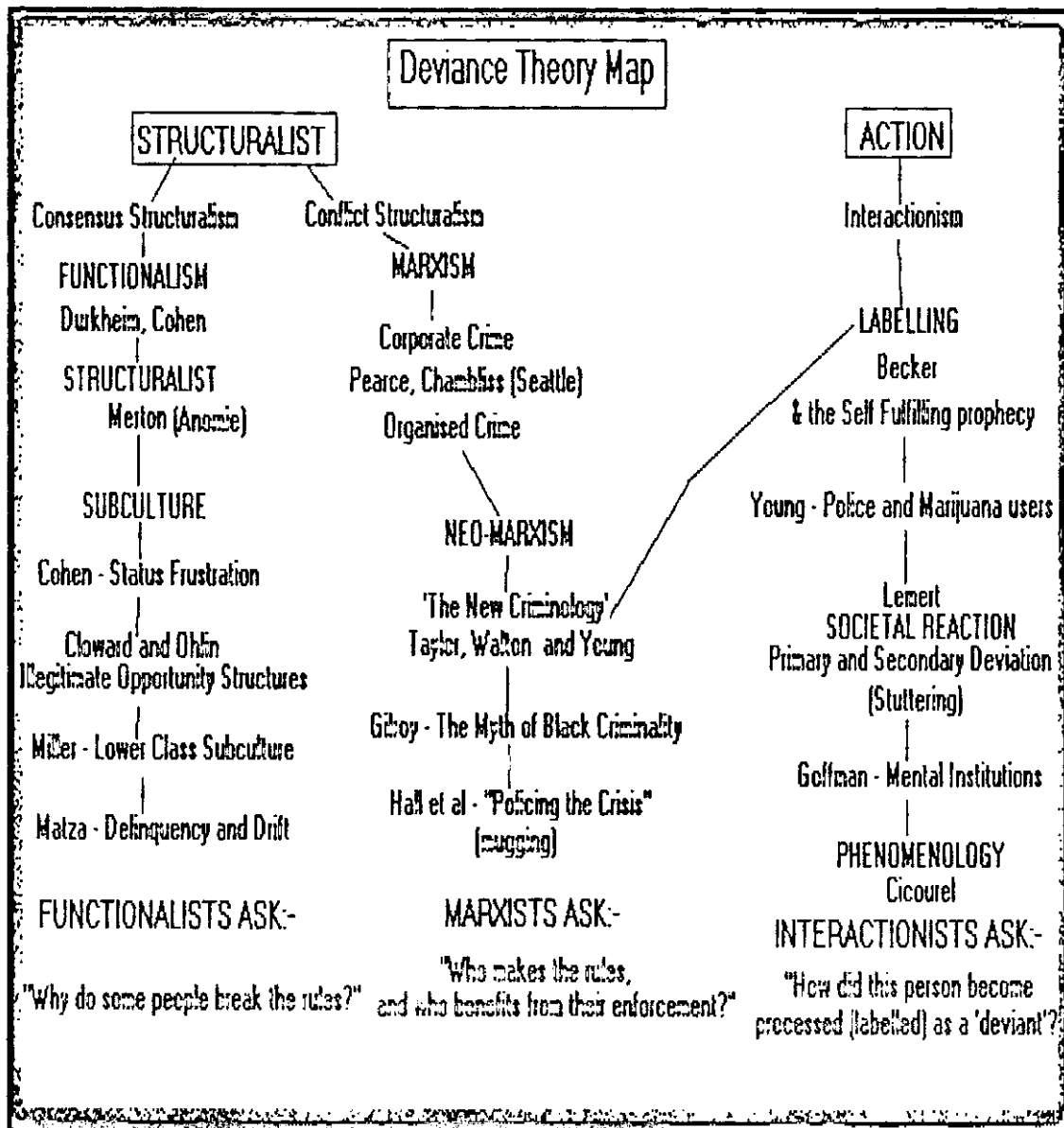
[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_school_\(sociology\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicago_school_(sociology))

<http://www.pragmatism.org/genealogy/chicago.htm>

³⁸ Albert K. Cohen. (1955). *Delinquent Boys*, New York: The Free Press.

³⁹ Albert K. Cohen has done such categorization of the causal analysis of the delinquency. His further discussion on the same can be found in Albert K. Cohen, *Deviance and Control* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966, pp. 41-47; Cohen, 'The Study of Social Disorganisation and Deviant Behavior,' In Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., (eds.), *Sociology Today* New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1959, p. 462; Cohen and James F. Short, Jr., 'Juvenile Delinquency,' In R.K. Merton and R. Nisbet *Contemporary Social Problems*, pp. 84-135.

Figure 2.1: Crime and Deviance Theory Map



Sociology at Hewett: Crime and Deviance Theory Map [Online]

Available: file:///C:/Documents%20and%20Settings/Administrator/Desktop/devmap_files/devmap1.gif

Albert K. Cohn's study on the delinquent behaviour started a chain of further studies. These studies were most of the time, modified versions of the earlier studies resulting into the theorization of delinquent behaviour. The successors to the Cohn's study were R. Cloward and L. Ohlin. Focusing more on the structural aspect of the

delinquent behaviour they gave the theory of sub cultural delinquency⁴⁰. This aspect deals with the 'culture' of the delinquent behaviour. How and why there are more cases of delinquency in one cultural construct compared to the others was the focus of sub cultural delinquency. Various attributes of culture specific were taken into consideration as values and norms, traditions, socialization process, relation of the individual with the greater collectivity like family, peer group, kin group among others. On the basis of their study, they argued that both the lower class and middle class boys share the same values. It is only that the former does not get the socially accepted and legitimate ways to achieve these values. Thus, they become delinquent.

Moving further in the direction of theorizing delinquent behaviour was the attempt of differential-association perspective by Edwin Sutherland⁴¹. In this perspective, the collectivity was seen as the main source of delinquent behaviour of any individual. Those who are the perceived carriers of the delinquent norms lead to the delinquency of the individual.

Another major figure in the delinquency discourse is David Matza. His approach towards delinquency was a 'soft' approach. In the process of theorizing delinquency, he critiqued the biogenic theories arguing that these do not take into consideration the dialectical relationships between individual and collectivity. In doing so, he gave more prominence to the social aspect of personality. Again, he pointed out the situational circumstances due to^{er} which individual goes or delinquent behaviour. Subsequently, he saw delinquency as a form of 'drift' where individual does not goes for delinquent behaviour just because he/she is driven into it, but rather due to the disjunction between the social norms and the individual's choices⁴². As soon as this relationship is connected, the erstwhile delinquent returns back to the fold of normalcy.

⁴⁰ Cloward, R.A. and L.E. Ohlin, 1960. *Delinquency and Opportunity*. New York: The Free Press,

⁴¹ Sutherland, E.H. and D.R. Cressey, 1966. *Principles of Criminology* Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Co.

⁴² Matza, D.1964. *Delinquency and Drift*. New York: John Willy & Sons, Inc.

Edwin M. Lemert theorized another form of 'soft' perception towards the delinquent and delinquency behaviour⁴³. In doing so, he critiqued the earlier form of explanations of delinquent behaviour, which argued that delinquents purposely go in for delinquent behaviour. On the contrary he argued that the major source of delinquent behaviour is the value pluralism in the modern complex societies. Individuals opt for conflicting values in the process of risk taking. Such a move cannot be straight away termed as delinquent behaviour.

Another level of enquiry into the studies on delinquency and delinquent behaviour is to take into consideration the three major perspectives on these studies i.e. biogenic, psychogenic and sociogenic. Among these the biogenic studies focuses more on the hereditary defects, bodily structure, among other characteristics of the delinquent individual. Psychogenic studies are based on the personality problem of the individual. Such kind of behaviour often stems out as the individual is 'sick', 'maladjusted', 'pathological' etc. This perspective gave the individual more importance than the surrounding environment in analyzing the nature and cause of delinquent behaviour. This perspective later on takes the form of psychoanalytic theory more associated with Freud.

Among these three major perspectives on delinquency and delinquent behaviour, the sociogenic perspective is more accepted in the delinquency discourse. The most important aspect of this perspective is that it does not see the delinquent as a 'pathological' or 'born criminal' as such; rather it treats him/her as 'normal' member of the collectivity. The driving force of such a deviant act is no other than the deficiencies in the existing system itself. It was more visible in the R. K. Merton's theorization of delinquency or deviance who argued that "... contemporary American culture continues to be characterized by a heavy emphasis on wealth as a basic symbol of success, without a corresponding emphasis upon the legitimate avenues on which to march toward this goal" (Merton, 1957:139).⁴⁴ His theory has the reputation of being the pre-eminently *sociological* theory of deviant behavior. The emphasis, in

⁴³ Lemert, E.M. 1967. *Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

⁴⁴ Merton, R.K. 1957. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.

short, is on certain aspects of the culture goals and norms) and of the social structure (opportunities, or access to means)⁴⁵.

For him, the delinquent act is the reflection of the fact that there exists a mismatch between the goals setup by the society and the available means to achieve such goals. He examined "...types of adaptation of individuals within the culture-bearing society...and consider five types of adaption..." (ibid.,:140). He described them as conformity, innovation (lower strata population specific), ritualism (more characteristic of lower middle class), retreatism (common among psychotics and vagabonds) and rebellion (mark of rising class). Thus, due to such mismatch between the goal and means available leads to deviant behaviour of the individual. Table 2.3 summarizes Merton's argument.

Table 2.3: Typology of Deviance by Merton

A Typology of Modes of Individual Adaptation		
<i>Modes of adaptation</i>	<i>Cultural Goals</i>	<i>Institutionalised means</i>
Conformity	accepted	accepted
Innovation	accepted	rejected
Ritualism	rejected	accepted
Retreatism	rejected	rejected
Rebellion	rejected and replaced	rejected and replaced

Source: Merton, R.K. 1957. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press. Pp. 141.

For the purpose of our study, the categorization of delinquent behaviour in to primary and secondary deviations by Lemert holds much importance⁴⁶. The former is more like a tendency towards 'risk taking'. In this stage, the individual does not see him/herself as the genuine 'delinquent' individual rather an instance of 'risk taking' behaviour. In the latter stage of secondary deviance, the individual is more prepared and organized in his/her acts of deviance.

⁴⁵ Cohn, A.K. 1965. "The Sociology of the Deviant Act: Anomie Theory and Beyond," *American Sociological Review*, February. 30(1):5.

⁴⁶ Lemert, E.M. 1967. *Human Deviance, Social Problems, and Social Control*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. Also see his *Social Pathology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1951.

The recent literature on adolescents and youth in social sciences across the world are now more in tune with analyzing the effects of social change, modernization and globalization on adolescents. Broadly understood, social change is the pattern of change in the material aspects i.e. technology, dress, lifestyle, etc. and non-material aspects of society i.e. values, norms, customs, etc. Many times due to similarity in meaning, social change, evolution, development, progress, etc. are used interchangeably yet there are marked differences among these.⁴⁷

In the recent discussion on social change, modernization and globalization have become imperative. There are multiple interpretations of these concepts yet a minimum understanding can be developed for the present study. Historically speaking, the process of modernization began with the enlightenment and renaissance events which gave increased importance to the reasoning capability of the individual thus freeing her from the traditional values and norms. It became more materialized with industrial revolution in at the close of 1600 and later on with the mass production of goods in the capitalist market economy beginning from early 20th century.

A significant figure in modernization process is Daniel Lerner. He in *The Passing of Traditional Society* (1958) analysed modernization as scientific and rational in nature. His thesis in brief is that modernization leads to urbanization. The latter then fuels spread of literacy. The increased literacy rate enhances 'media exposure'. The twin effects of enhanced media exposure are wider economic participation and political participation (voting). Modernization in general also leads to social mobility.

Another force of change interrelated to modernization is globalization. Broadly understood, it is the free movement of man (individual), money and material across borders. The beginning of this process is debatable yet end of World War II can be seen as the beginning point. Subsequent events like nuclear age at global level, emerging new nations which were earlier colonies of either Britain or America, and rise of north-east Asian economic power further fuelled the process of globalization.⁴⁸

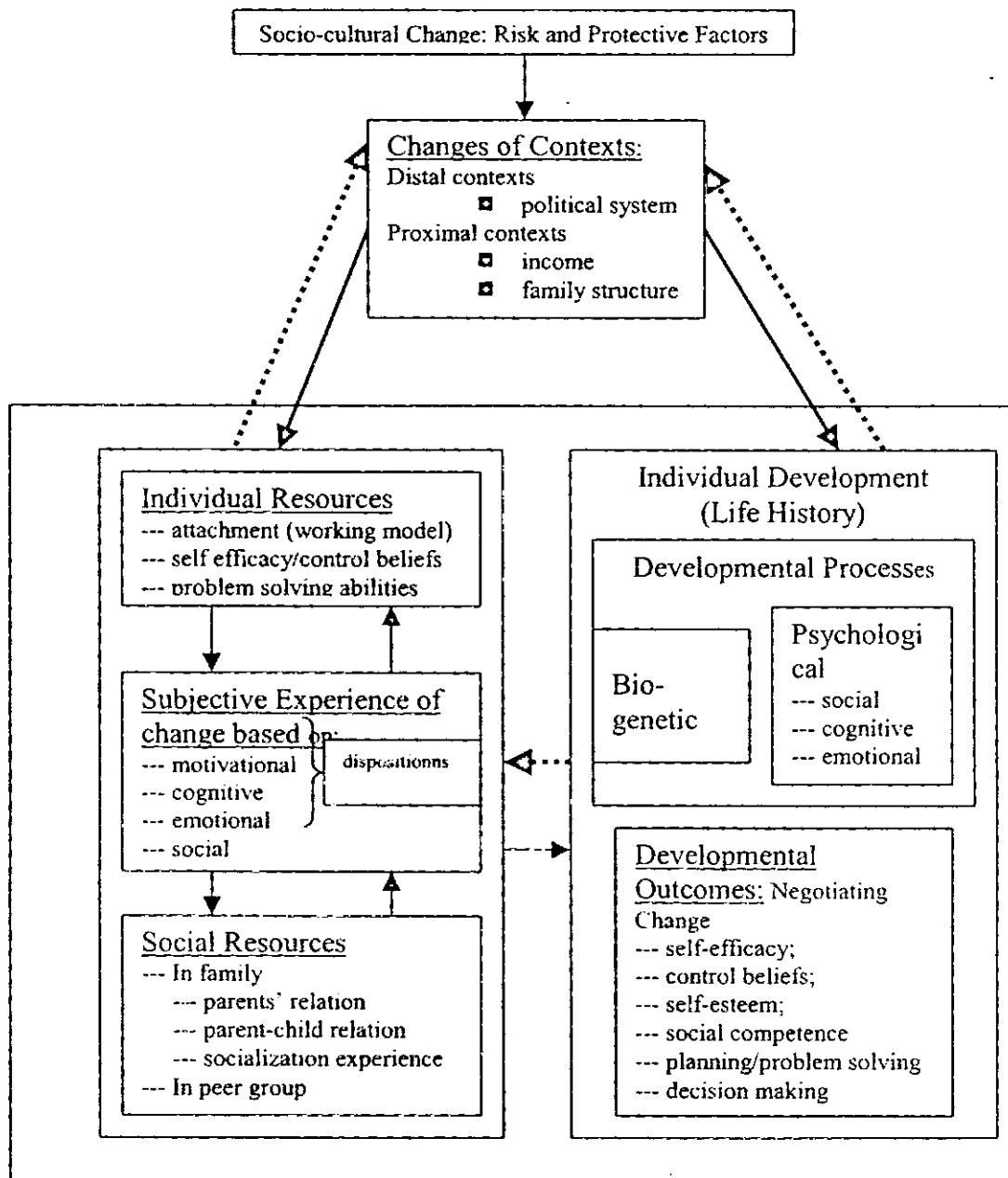
⁴⁷ For a detail comparative analysis of these concepts, see Bottomore, T.B. 1986. *Sociology*. Bombay: Blackie and Son (India) Ltd. Pp. 283-296.

⁴⁸ For an effective review of literature on globalization see, Guillen, M.F. 2001. 'Is Globalization Civilizing, Destructive or Feeble? A Critique of Five key Debates in the Social Science Literature,' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 27:235-60.

According to G. Trommsdorff, 'while dealing with the possible effects of social change on individual development, theoretical perspective's questions are, can the view of development as an active, life-long process-in-context further our understanding of individual development in periods of social change, and, can this approach bridge two very different phenomena: social change and individual development?'⁴⁹ Figure 2.2 at next page illustrates the interrelation between and social change.

⁴⁹ Trommsdorff, G. 2000. 'Effects of Social Change on Individual Development: The Role of Social and Personal Factors and the Timing of Future,' In Lisa A. Crockett (ed.) *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 58-59.

Figure 2.2: Effects of Social Change on Individual Development as Mediated by Individual and Social Resources



Source: pp. 64. Effects of Social Change on Individual Development: The Role of Social and Personal Factors and the Timing of Future. Gisela Trommsdorff in Lisa A. Crockett (ed.) *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2000).

The seminal work done on the theme of social change and adolescent is by Elder in 1974.⁵⁰ This study analysed the changes in the adolescent's life and their available life

⁵⁰ Elder, G.H., Jr. 1974. *Children of the Great Depression: Social Change in Life Experience*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (25th anniversary edition, enlarged, West View Press).

choices in the context of Great Depression of the 1930s with two groups of California cohort children totaling 378 as sample size. In this event, all over the world the economic system was in shambles and the people had to struggle very hard to eke out their living. This influenced the social institutions and their functioning in a very significant way. The research questions were 'what is the impact of economic downturn, for example, on family and child? How are nationwide changes in educational requirements expressed in the lives of the new generation? The study also explored sources of self-esteem' (Elder 2000:19-20). Three areas to study the changes were the household economy, family relationships, and social and emotional strains.

The findings of the study suggested strong influence of the changes in the social order. Beginning with the household economy; the decline of the income of parental forced the youngsters to go for occupation of any kind. This was marked by the gender difference. This accommodation practice had two results, on one hand it added to the income of the household helping it to survive better and on the other hand the tight control of the parental on the working adolescents declined to a significant level. Thus, work and money were very important for the adolescents at that time compared to free time.

Secondly, the family relations shifted characterized by the gender dimension. As the mother also had to work and the income strength of father declined; the family saw two centers of power and influence i.e. father and mother. This was later on being passed to the daughters who were now seen as an important tool of family binding and consolidation. Subsequently there was a drastic increase in the family strains. The reasons are of two kinds; due to the increased economic autonomy of the adolescents, they tended to live life according to their wishes and the career options were reconfigured; on the other hand it led to increased incidents of family disorganization thereby affecting both the quality and quantity of family life.⁵¹

Elder concluding pointed out that the eminent World War II acted as an outlet for such prevailing social conditions. According to him, 'military services established

⁵¹ For a comprehensive description of family strains, see 'The Role of Economic Pressure in the Lives of Parents and their Adolescents: The Family Stress Model,' by Katherine J. Conger, Martha A. Rueter, and Rand D. Conger In Lisa A. Crockett (ed.) *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2000). Pp. 201-222.

greater opportunity for survivors by 1) severing men from backgrounds of disadvantage and failure, 2) establishing a time-out or moratorium in which to mature and think about the future, and 3) providing an expanded range of experiences and knowledge' (Elder and Russell, 2000:25). The aggressive war recruitment provided the families along with the adolescents much relief through wages. Here again the gender dimension was important as the focus on daughter's education was sidelined and the stable marriage was of more concern. These changes both at the micro and macro level had immense impacts on the life and life choices of the adolescents.

An important work done by John R. Gillis is worth mentioning as the author has traced the 200 years of history of adolescents and youth.⁵² This chronological analysis begins from discussion on youth in pre-industrial Europe. In this period, the notion of adolescence or for that matter, young adulthood did not exist as it exists in post-industrial period (Gillis 1974:7). The youth had a very long transition period beginning from as young as age of seven or eight as they had to participate in the household chores and late-twenties when they married.

Another significant characteristic of this period was the absence of any kind of stress and confusion among the growing adolescent which again is an important feature of growing up in post-industrial society. It was so because 'children were accustomed to assuming adult sex roles very early and the attainment of puberty was not signified by change in dress or by other external manifestations of maturity' (Gillis 1974:6). The socio-psychological category of youth and adolescence was very much determined by the biological category of life expectancy. Given the very high morbidity rate and low life expectancy, the most efficient way of keeping the family survive was to have more children. Again, for this the females get married at a very early age so as to have lengthy fertility period. This was also necessary for the future investment in terms of more children ensuring the survival of family.

In contrast to the family strain theory which itself is the product of generation gaps and emerging youth culture in the fast hanging world; such situations did not exist in the pre-industrial stage. The author has analyzed this situation in two different

⁵² Gillis, J.R. 1974. *Youth and History*. New York: Academic Press.

contexts. These are somewhat opposite to each other. The first one was like since the resources at hand were meager in the place of living, many youngsters were sent out of villages or towns for gainful employment or services; due to this the usual friction in between generations was absent. On the other hand, family codes were strictly observed. Again, till the time youngsters do not get some economic freedom, they had to be in the family and 'they were constantly reminded of their semi-dependence by their inferior economic, social and legal status in a society in which full rights were reserved mainly to the heads of families and other 'masters' of the craft and corporate hierarchies' (Gillis 1974:9, 21-22).

Moving towards modernization period of 1770-1870, author sees this period as marked by troubled youth. The events which shaped the youth to come were industrialization and urbanization coupled with capitalist form of production. These two not only altered the labour force but also the migrant population became much more youthful (Gillis, 1974:55). Corresponding changes led to the breakdown of marriage and inheritance nexus. Again, with the increasing factory labour participation and migration of the youths, the advantageous position of the family heads was reduced (Gillis, 1974:47). Thus, a new set of relationships emerged at the familial level where youths had more voice.

The age-old debate on the 'hostile' relation between family and peer group became less 'hostile' due to increased autonomy of the youths. Yet, at the same time, its nature also underwent transformation as an associative framework gave way to more aggressive form of gang and clique culture. These were mostly at the lower rung of the society and in semi-urban areas. Along emerged a different style of life coupled with new sets of value and norms. It later came to be known as youth culture as at that time 'we find among the bohemian youth of the 1830s the same fascination with bizarre styles, outlandish behaviour, and strange language that characterizes their counterparts today. Contempt for work, preoccupation with the present to the exclusion of all thought of past and future, resistance to order and discipline – all the signs of prolonged social moratorium – were common then as now' (Gillis 1974:90).

The period between 1870-1900 characterized by the 'discovery' of adolescence by theorists and social scientists are worth mentioning. Elaborating on 'discovery',

author states that 'what were historically-evolved social norms of a particular class became enshrined in medical and psychological literature as the 'natural' attributes of adolescence' (Gillis, 1974:114). With the coming of capitalism which required highly skilled labour force and at the same time the decline of traditional occupations led to more emphasis on education of the young. This new interest had gender dimension. This influenced the understanding and further categorization of adolescence as 'at its lower limit, adolescence was divided from childhood by the lines newly-drawn between primary and secondary education' (Gillis 1974:102).

This period is all the more important as sexuality emerged as an issue to be discussed unlike of the earlier periods. This was more on the moral grounds rather than in the psychological sense. The family along with peers was seen as the prime cause of such a 'bane'. The former had to be more vigilant regarding the behaviours of the youths who were now entering in the wedlock late compared to their predecessors. Peer group became a suspicious 'thing' which 'spoils' the kid. The moral education made its entry and the issues regarding sexuality became a moral concern for the policy planners and educational policies rather than 'open' discussion. This led to the 'problematization' of sexuality where 'sexual learning remained in a kind of no-man's land attended to by neither parents nor schoolmasters, despite the growing anxiety about the onset of puberty' (Gillis, 1974:117). This later got theorized in terms of 'problem child', 'problematic adolescence' and adolescence as 'problem behavior' among others.

The 'problem child' became a grown youth and thus deviance and crime & delinquency became a debatable issue in various disciplines like criminology, sociology among others in between 1900-1950. The reasons were primarily economic in nature i.e. low income, low wages and high rate of unemployment. This was the period was characterized by the world wide Great Depression of 1930s. At the same time migration to towns induced by increasing urbanization and industrialization gave birth to many sub-urban areas which later came to be known as slums. These played important role in the delinquency studies as the Chicago School of sociology focused on them and came with ecological perspective and neighbourhood studies. The adolescents, unemployed and having very little support from the family turned towards unlawful and unaccepted means to achieve their goals and aims. This had the

class profile as the upper strata of the society which was able to afford education and employment were not in such studies.

The end of worldwide Great Depression of 1930s provided a new lease of life to the masses but it was not so in the case of adolescents. The increased autonomy stemming from the late marriage and economic independence coupled with earlier discourse on sexuality redefined the adolescent stage. The values and norms were being sidelined more so in the case of sexuality. The declining importance of social institutions like family and marriage further fueled the sexuality debate. Along came the technological revolution and 'the spread of efficient means of contraception among all social groups has meant that sex-intercourse, either inside or outside of marriage, no longer necessarily means children' (Gillis 1974:196).

Another form of redefining the adolescent stage was the emergence of multiple models of adolescence and equal legitimacy to each of them. Thus, the universal stage of 'storm and stress' was on decline. Then the age categories and the related powers and jobs to these become slowly redundant in the meritocratic capitalist society. The fall of gerontocracy i.e. hierarchy based on age was very much evident. The increased occupational autonomy and rise of technical occupations demanded new form of socialization focusing more on competitiveness rather than conserving the fraternity attitude.

The rise of 'meritocratic society' i.e. society based on meritocracy made adolescent life more stressful and the differences from the early generation (which was based on age-stratification) became more visible in form of 'generation gap' in 1950s and 1960s directed 'not at family but outward, at social, political, and academic institutions that are only indirectly identified with the older generation' (Gillis 1974:205). At the same time, the student movement in late 1960s (1967-68) in France and in America (opposing the Vietnam war), rise of Hippie culture, radical national movement (often militant in nature as in Ireland, Middle east countries) were some of the events which significantly altered the way adolescents were seen in academia as well as in every-day life. Further impetus is given in the present age of globalization with rapid erosion of identities and consequent rise of identity politics both at micro and macro level.

The above brief chronological discussion of adolescent and youth chalked out the different stages of adolescent in academia. These were the product of socio-cultural changes. We come to see that the earlier understanding about the adolescent primarily based on biological stages are very much influenced by the context of living and the values and norms of society. The age-marker of adolescent also is a debatable theme and rests on specific contexts⁵³. The gradual 'erosion' of 'innocence' was much more a product of fast changing society coupled with absence of any guidance from close groups rather due to the inbuilt notion of 'problem child'. Thus, to understand the adolescent as an age-set or/and a physiological stage of life requires deeper understanding of the inter-disciplinary groundings/explanations rather than monolithic understanding.

Another worth mentioning attempt in the said context is by Nanette J. Davis⁵⁴. The author has presented threefold analysis of youth; the first one deals with seeing youth as high-risk population, secondly critiquing the socio-political sources of youth's structural disadvantages and thirdly, to see these as a global phenomenon (Davis, 1999:11-12). The author has theorized risk analysis as social justice model which argues to 'introduce principles and policies of social justice into troubled arena or those areas where youth are locked into structured jeopardy' (Davis 1999:16) and at the same time to 'critically assess the entire array of social practices that contributes to a risk society, as this affects youth' (Davis 1999:17).

Following the theoretical model of ecological perspective and the Elder's argument of social change and its impact on adolescence, the author argues that the end of World War II and coming of globalization has resulted in multiple occupational choices, which opted by youths increased their autonomy from the collectivity. The coupled forces of modernization and postmodernism/post modernity also have disrupted the

⁵³ 'Historians have made a distinction, in the twentieth century, between adolescents (individuals who are at a time of awkward searching for maturity between childhood and adulthood, roughly ages 13-20), teenagers (a term used more after World War II to signify the emergence of a separate teen culture, somewhat carefree and semi-independent, between 13- and 18-years-old), and youth (an older group, 18 to 21 or so, college age, with more independence but not yet possessing full autonomy)'. Cohen, R.D. 1997. 'The Delinquents: Censorship and Youth Culture in Recent U.S. History,' *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall, 37:251.

⁵⁴ Davis, N.J. 1999. *Youth Crisis: Growing Up in the High-Risk Society*. Praeger: Westport, Connecticut London.

natural flow of identity formation of youths. Analytically, then youth crisis has three components: 1) the high crisis condition of contemporary life both at the level of individual societies, as well as the global situation; 2) the high-risk society that often verges on the catastrophic event; and 3) the limited and arbitrary justice experienced by many young people (Davis 1991:41).

The basic argument in the context of identity formation in modern and postmodern times requires further elaboration. The process of identity formation in the traditional societies is more or less stable as the individual is deeply engulfed in collective life. The social norms and values provide clear-cut guidelines to be followed by the individual. So, the storm and stress model does not apply here to that extent. The condition in modern times includes some flux in this process. The traditional strongholds over individual become weak and the increased individualism provides its own set of rules to be followed. This gives multiple choices to be followed leading to confusion and uncertainty (risk?).

Here the writings of Beck's risk society become very much relevant. For him, the present modern day society has provided too much alternatives without respective guidelines. This has led to the process of identity formation very unstable and risky. Another figure that we can briefly mention here is Giddens writings on identity and modern society⁵⁵. For him the identity is the result of 'reflexive project of the self'. In the modern society, it is up to the individual to shape up her/his identity. It is difficult in the absence of guidelines. The modern times are very much characterized by risk and doubt. There is uncertainty about everything.

Then there is 'ontological insecurity' in the risky times of modernity and post modernity (Giddens 1991:183). Ontology, broadly defined is the understanding of being. Then ontological insecurity means that the maintenance of identity and self becomes very difficult. This often results in risky behaviour by the individuals. Along with this notion of reflexive project of the self, Giddens critiqued globalization as it is incomprehensible by the individuals. The latter's life is influenced by the crises brought due to this process (Giddens 1991:154).

⁵⁵ Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Davis (1999) then critiques the rational choice theory which states that individual will rationally calculate everything and then on the basis of cost and benefit, opt for certain actions. Contrary to this approach, we come across another theoretical explanation of 'cognitive dissonance' by Festinger. The latter states that many a times an individual knows the act is harmful yet he/she goes for it. In here comes the complex relation between individual and collectivity in the modern times. As the author has argued that 'for example, joining a gang is very risky. As a subculture, it exposes the youth to variety of unknown dangers, drug use and street violence among them. But not to join gang in certain inner-city neighborhoods is even riskier. Joining means *protection*, the safety of numbers' (Davis 1999:15).

From here onwards is the theoretical review of various issues in the context of youth and adolescence in ever-changing world. The issue of education involves educational process and its ramifications in the present day society. The multiple sources of conflicts like social reproduction of inequality (following Bourdieu's notion of social and cultural capital), dropping out incidents, incidents of violence (bullying) and sexual harassment are elaborated with empirical evidences (Davis, 1999:65-92).⁵⁶

Thus, the changing times apart from providing initiating various option and choices in terms of lifestyle, occupations, educational activities, multiple understanding of adolescents in the academia has also given rise to the troublesome periods of youth transition like unstable family resulting in disordered socialization, emergence of youth culture more as a form of contra-culture than sub-culture, the alarming rate of substance use among the youths, lack of any constructive form of norms and values, among others.

An important consequence of the social change in general and modernization in particular was the 'unstable youth identities'. It was due to the fact that the established roles and obligations were getting shifted to a new terrain, which was still to be chartered. It gave rise to the studies that saw adolescence as the 'problem behaviour'.

⁵⁶ In this context the writings of Ivan Illich in *Deschooling Society* (1971) are very important. He argues that the contemporary system of education and schooling is exploitative in nature. Instead of emancipation task of the students, it is reinforcing the various forms of inequality. The need of the hour is to de-school the society.

Gradually the studies shifted to multiple contexts of parents/family, peers and neighborhood. The study of the influence of the peer groups on the adolescent's overall personality became important foci of Chicago school of sociology. Such studies involved parameters like friendship networks, informal social group, cliques and gangs. At the same time, peer influences were most often compared and contrasted with that of family and family relations. The 1990s also saw the rise of neighbourhood studies dealing with the wider impact of such groupings on the adolescent.

Most importantly, the gradual erosion of the idea of fixed entity called adolescent stage gave way to it being a more fluid and ever-changing entity. There are strong indications of interdisciplinary perspective to understand these categories. The erstwhile notions of 'problem child' and adolescent as 'problem behaviour' are now under minute scrutiny giving rise to study structural elements involved in such behaviors instead of focusing on the individual him/her self. We have come to an understanding that the changes at micro and macro level influence not only the social institutions but also the youths. Thus, any kind of analysis has to take into account the 'specific historical situation' or context of the happenings.

The recent studies on risk behaviours in the Indian context tracing the significant works in the field of youth and adolescent studies are now discussed. Awasthi and Pande (1998) reported that adolescents are at maximum risk of HIV infection.⁵⁷ The study assessed the sexual behaviour patterns and knowledge of STD among underprivileged 15-21 year old boys. In the sample, one third of the boys were smokers and 13 percent were used to take alcohol. Among the unmarried boys, 7.9 percent of under 18 years and 7.6 percent of above 18 years were sexually active and engaged in high-risk sexual behaviour. It was further argued that those adolescents who smoke and consumed alcohol were more likely to engage in the sexual activity before marriage.

⁵⁷ Awasthi, S., and V.K. Pande, 1998. 'Sexual Behaviour Patterns and Knowledge of Sexually Transmitted Disease in Adolescent Boys in Urban Slums of Lucknow, North India,' *Indian Pediatrics*, 35(11):1105-1109.

Sanghmitra and R. Dasgupta (2005) reported that adolescent is a time when sexuality is discovered.⁵⁸ Adolescents are likely to engage in high-risk behavior due to lack of information about sexuality, risk of infections and means to protect themselves from such infections. It was also pointed out that the adolescents are particularly vulnerable to a wide range of positive and negative determinants of health. These determinants define their level of health and its impact on later life. The key determinants include social status, income, employment, environment at work, education, social setup, natural and built up environment, personal health practices, individual capacity and coping skills, biology and genetic endowments.

The study done by Leena Abraham (2000) argued that multiple relationships are insufficient to understand youth sexuality in India.⁵⁹ For her, the typologies of heterosexual friendships among peers consisted of typologies of partnership called *bhai-behen*, time-pass and true love. It was found that youth sexuality is controlled to maintain the caste and class boundaries. The gender dimension is brought out stating that there is a double standard in sexual norms which promotes male sexuality and at the same time controls and suppresses female sexuality. The author located the vulnerability of youth in the patriarchal and social structures as these promote and discriminate constructions of masculine and feminine sexuality.

Moni Nag (1996) reviewed studies documenting various practices and contexts that increase different group's vulnerability to HIV/AIDS. The author points out that although traditionally Indian men and women are not expected to have pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationships yet several surveys of attitudes and reported behaviours demonstrate the presence of these relationships in most socio-economic groups. However, income and gender variations existed. Nag also argued that pre-marital sex among the urban middle class in India is also rare but provides little supporting evidence for this assertion.

⁵⁸ Acharya, S.S., and R. Dasgupta, 2005. 'HIV/AIDS and Adolescents: Some Issues and Concerns From India,' *Indian Anthropologist*, March & September, 35(1&2):123-138.

⁵⁹ Abraham, L. 2000. '*True-love, Time-Pass, Bhai-Behen: Heterosexual Relationships Among the Youth in a Metropolis*,' Paper Presented at the Workshop on Reproductive Health in India: New Evidence and Issues, Pune.

The studies in Indian context on the sexual behaviour are to some extent influenced by the Western countries. They emphasize only the 'high risk behavior' of 20 percent youth leaving the remaining 80 percent youth in non-risk behavior. The recommendations through these studies are sex education, promoting of condoms, etc. It has been already pointed out that HIV infection cannot be tackled through medical interventions and information dissemination alone. (Leena Abraham, 2001; Ritu Priya, 2001).

In an era of rapid change, modernization and globalization, the complexities of sexuality depend largely on the culture, social development, impact of mass media and level of modernization in a given society. The attempt to study 'risk behavior' must engage with the changing constructions of sexuality in general and specifically with the asymmetrical power relations of gender, caste, class and community. What is being missed here is the 'cultural resources' available for AIDS control. Most of the studies on sexual behavior are restricted to metropolitan cities, urban area and slums. The studies have focused mainly on the lower and upper class (Jeejebhoy, 1996) and fewer studies on the middle-class. The need of interdisciplinary and holistic approach to study these socio-economic and cultural factors playing behind the behaviour of the people has been realized. Moreover, it has been argued that poverty *per se* is associated with the vulnerability not because of making bad life choices rather due to 'lack of options' in the struggle with the survival needs (Ritu Priya, 2001).

It has become important to know the vulnerability factors on the other side of the 'disparity equation' vis a vis for the middle class which is also high (Ritu Priya, 2001). If we could understand the perception of this larger section which is being shaped by their social, cultural, economic and psychological factors, we can come to know the protective/negative factors involved directly or indirectly in the risky behaviours.

Thus, it can be argued that behavioral patterns are the result of complex interactions of 'internal' and 'external' conditions; of cognitive and emotional factors; perceptions; evaluations; social pressures; cultural images; physical environments and economic conditions. People's choices are based on needs of immediate survival as well as inspired by the need for social acceptance and images of desired identities.

The access to resources and opportunities enable them to make choices among the options. Individual perceptions of opportunities and capacities to pursue them broadly relates to socio-economic background. Therefore, starting with an exploration of the links between youth and HIV, we came to study their vulnerabilities by exploring the life options and choices of middle class youth in the sphere of education, career, gender relationships and marriage.

CHAPTER II

CHAPTER 2:

Conceptualization and Methodology:

The Study Among Middle Class Youth in Faizabad

The broad aim was to explore the available life options and life choices made by Indian youth. This is expected to contribute to the understanding of vulnerability of the youth to risk behaviours. The main research questions that the study has addressed are:

- What are the life choices of the youth in contemporary urban India?
- How do they perceive their life choices?
- What are the socio-economic and cultural factors that influence the life choices of the youth and their perceptions about them?

Conceptualization and Underlying Assumptions

The major hypothesis that this study follows is that the social, economic and cultural factors determine the life options available. These also influence to a great extent the life choices being made by the youth. This is based on following assumptions:

- The class position of the family in general and youth in particular is an important determinant of aspirations and options available to the youth.
- The norms and values of society, family and peer group also shape the life options and life choices of the youth.
- Gender has an important role in defining the life options available and life choices opted by the youth.
- The nature of family and the level of interaction (mutual bonding) between the members of the family influence this process of opting the life choices by youth of either sex.
- The intensity of the peer group relationship shared by the individual also influences the process of opting the life choices and the peer group values reflect the macro level societal change.

- The congruence or discordance between aspirations, options and achievements leads to the levels of behaviour that protect from or create vulnerability to HIV.

Conceptualizing the Variables

This section deals with the conceptualisation of the variables used in this study. The first most important variable in this study is 'life choices'. A person's position in a stratification system may have important effects on many areas of life. It may enhance or reduce her 'life chances' i.e. her chances of obtaining those things defined as desirable and avoiding those things as undesirable in his society. Referring to western society, Gerth and Mills state that life chances include 'everything from the chance to stay alive during the first year after birth to the chance to view fine arts, the chance to remain healthy and grow tall, and if sick to get well again quickly, the chance to avoid becoming a juvenile delinquent and very crucially, the chance to complete an intermediary higher educational grade.'¹ Thus we come across three terms viz. life chances, life options, life choices which are interrelated but carry different meaning in wider perspective.

Max Weber used the term 'life chances' in his analysis of class and status in particular with reference to the concept of class situation. Broadly understood, the chances that an individual has in sharing the economic and cultural goods of a society are referred to in Weberian sociology as life chances. The distribution of such goods is usually asymmetrical. Material rewards are clearly distributed unequally in most societies, but so are the cultural goods. The ownership of the property and disposal over goods and the services in the market place that are outcomes of the distribution of power relations in society determine the chance to realize an individual's goals in social action. It includes differential access of chances for educational attainment, health, and material reward and status mobility. Various understandings on life-chances taken in to consideration for the research aims are:

The chances an individual has of sharing in the economic and cultural goods of a society are referred to in Weberian sociology as 'life-chances'. The

¹ For details see Gerth H. Hans and C. W. Mills (eds.) 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford.

distribution of such goods is usually asymmetrical. Asymmetrical distribution may reflect different class access to goods' (Turner et al 1994:237).²

'The ownership of property and the disposal of goods and services in market place, which are the outcomes of the distribution of power in society, determine the 'chance' to realize an individual's goals in social action. It includes chances for educational attainment, health, material reward, and status mobility' (Marshall, 1998:368).³

The probability that an individual in a given status (social class, race, etc.) will attain or fail to attain certain goals or experiences, such as happy marriage, a certain income, or a certain amount of education' (Scott, 1999:231).⁴

Life options can be broadly understood as what one thinks one can do things as a matter of her preference. If one thinks nothing is up to her means she doesn't have an option. Choices presuppose options to choose. In the process of choosing, thinking her free and things are up to her does not suffice.

There are certain limitations in the process of choosing. Two sorts of constraints exist in such situation. The first situational constraint is only *one* constraint. An individual may have many options, but she thinks that she can opt for only that option which is imposed by mere logic. Sometimes the constraints one is under are social; for example most of us don't have to choose between a career and a marriage. Second situational constraint is *one-of-these*, i.e. the constraint one imposes on oneself. An individual wants to make up her mind in some set of ways. For shaping that set she must lay out the lines of action. Then, from two options, only one will be the choice. Thus, choice of options is a decision-making process.

Thus, life chances which are determined by the social, economic and cultural status influences the life options available directly and has an indirect influence on the life choices made i.e. through the decision making at the psychological level. Aspirations will also have a role to play in decision-making. The study aims to explore the life options and choices in terms of education, career; and relationships with the opposite sex, family and marriage.

² Abercrombie, N., S. Hill and B. S. Turner. 1994. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. England: Penguin Books.

³ Marshall, G. 1998. *Oxford Dictionary of Sociology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁴ Scott, W.P. 1999. *Dictionary of Sociology*. New Delhi: GOYLSaaB Publishers.

Broadly speaking, the term aspiration can mean many things as wants, desires, needs, dreams, expectations, etc. At the analytical level, however, 'it can be broken down into three analytical elements (1) a person or persons, (2) wanting (having an orientation towards or about), (3) a social object (i.e.) a goal'⁵. Moreover, it has been argued that

Expectations should not be equated with aspirations, for the object involved with an expectation need not be desired and, therefore, need not be a goal. The object involved with an expectation is an anticipated occurrence, and the individual's orientation toward this expected state may be favorable and unfavorable.⁶

In the day-to-day life, the adolescents come across aspirations in the academic realm and more precisely, the realm of career. Thus, one can say that career aspiration is the sub-set of aspirations⁷. An interlinked aspect of the academic realm is the occupational aspirations of the individuals. In here, they aspire to be employed in such fields which have not only higher economic remunerative but also are attached with high social prestige. It leads to the occupational choice, which can be broadly understood as 'the psychological preferences or desires that the individual has regarding work statuses. It is thus generally equitable to the term 'aspiration' and it should be clear that this phenomenon is but a part of the total process of occupational attainment'⁸.

Apart from the analytical level, the process of career choices and options have theoretical base also. Significant among these are social cognitive career theory and Circumscription and Compromise theory of Gottfredson's. Social cognitive career theory is based on three premises i.e. a) self-efficacy beliefs, b) outcome expectations,

⁵ W.P. Kuvlesky and R.C. Bealer. 1972. 'A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice', In R.M. Pavalko (ed.), *Sociological Perspectives on Occupations*. Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc. Pp. 109.

⁶ W.P. Kuvlesky and R.C. Bealer. 1972. 'A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice', In R.M. Pavalko (ed.), *Sociological Perspectives on Occupations*. Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc. Pp. 113.

⁷ 'While career aspirations focus on the occupations that an individual desires, life aspirations encompass more than just a career. Life aspirations pertain to a desired end state. It is essentially an image of what for one's life. A component of this desired end state is career aspirations.' *Career choice and life aspirations: An exploratory study at a South African university*. [Online] Mariam Jassat & Martin Liebenberg.

Available: www.naspa.org/communities/kc/uploads/Jassat-Liebenberg.pdf -

Also see, *Overview of Career Development Theory* [Online]

Available: [http://www.extension.psu.edu/workforce/Briefs/OverviewCareerDev\(Insert\).pdf](http://www.extension.psu.edu/workforce/Briefs/OverviewCareerDev(Insert).pdf)

⁸ W.P. Kuvlesky and R.C. Bealer. 1972. 'A Clarification of the Concept 'Occupational Choice,' In R.M. Pavalko (ed.), *Sociological Perspectives on Occupations*. Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, Inc. Pp. 106.

and c) personal goals. Self-efficacy beliefs locates locus-of-control within the individual performing the task. The success and failures of the task depends on the individual. The desired results of the actions form the base of outcome expectations. Goals are the aspirations of individual.

However, Circumscription and Compromise theory of Gottfredson's⁹ is more in tune with the present study. It takes into account the day-to-day life circumstances into account. This is based on the compromises made by the individuals while defining and choosing respective occupational aspirations. In this theorization the sociological categories of gender and social class are important. The process of circumscription is determined by the categories of gender and social class. Those occupations, which do not fit into these categories, are left out of choice set. For example, female not choosing the male occupations and lower class opting out of occupations which is very expensive to pursue. Compromise on the other hand, involves the process of modifying career choices due to limiting factors.

Marjoribanks (1992) examined relationships between family capital, children's individual attributes, immediate family settings, and adolescents' aspiration.¹⁰ The results suggest that a) family environmental contexts are moderately to largely associated with children's academic performances and adolescents' aspirations; b) relationships between family contexts, children's individual attributes, and adolescents' aspirations are mediated fully or in part by adolescents' perceptions of their parents' support for learning; and c) there are gender-related differences in the nature of the associations among family capital, individual attributes, immediate family settings, and adolescents' aspirations.

Another study by Julie, et al (1999) examined relations among social support, perception of future opportunity, and education and career aspirations and

⁹ Gottfredson, L. S. 1981. 'Circumscription and Compromise: A Developmental Theory of Occupational Aspirations,' *Journal of Counseling Psychology Monograph*, 28:545-579. Also see, Gottfredson, L. S. 1996. 'Gottfredson's Theory of Circumscription And Compromise', In D. Brown, L. Brooks, & Assoc. (eds.), *Career choice and development* (3rd ed.), San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. Pp. 179-232.

¹⁰ 'Family Capital, Children's Individual Attributes, and Adolescents' Aspirations: A Follow-Up Analysis' [Online] Marjoribanks, K. *Journal of Psychology*. May, 132(3):328-36. (1998)

Available: http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/entrez/query.fcgi?cmd=Retrieve&db=PubMed&list_uids=9540228&dopt=Abstract

expectations in adolescents¹¹. The result showed that for both males and females, perception of opportunity predicts educational expectations, which, in turn, predict educational aspirations and career expectations. For females, perception of opportunity is influenced by peer, family and teacher supports whereas for males only family support is important. It was further argued that the former perceive more teacher and peer support than do males, and that compared to their male peers. They also have greater perceived future opportunity, educational aspirations and expectations, and career expectations. Both males and females indicate a greater gap between career aspirations and expectations than between education aspirations and expectations.

Another significant study examined the structural, socialization, and attitudinal/behavioral attributes associated with occupational and educational aspirations of adolescents.¹² Several structural and attitudinal factors were found to be associated with higher educational or occupational aspirations. For educational aspirations, the determining factors included mother's education, orientations toward hard work, and amount of T.V. viewing on school nights. For occupational aspirations, the significant paths included mother's occupation; intrinsic and extrinsic work motivations, perceived occupational ability, and educational aspirations. Additionally, when using a sub-sample of youths and parents, it was found that parental expectations of youths has a strong, positive influence on educational and occupational aspirations of the students.

Discord between the aspirations, life choices-options and current status involves socio-psychological dimensions. This is the result of mismatch between the aspirations and available socio-economic resources at the disposal of the individuals. Thus, individuals settle for the less than what they had earlier aspired for. It might be reflected in the areas of employment and occupations. The multiple socio-

¹¹ 'Implications of Social Supports for Adolescents' Education and Career Aspirations'. [Online] Covell, Katherine, MacIntyre, Peter D, Wall, Julie. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, April (1999).

Available: http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3717/is_199904/ai_n8844207

Also see, 'Adolescents' Perceptions of Career Concern' [Online]

Michael Code and Kerry Bernes

Available: http://www.natcon.org/natcon/papers/natcon_papers_2006_e9.pdf

¹² 'Structural and Socialization Attributes of Adolescent Educational and Career Aspirations'. [Online]. Fedirko, Tracy Lee. Available: <http://www.ohiolink.edu/etd/send-pdf.cgi?case1061577209>

psychological dimensions are stress while performing the job, job pressure, job dissatisfaction, mental health, self-perception in occupational circumstances, etc. Other areas include education, marriage, relationships, etc.

The concept of risk is multidimensional. It has been discussed across disciplines involving different contexts. Primarily, it has been seen in the economic sense where individuals enter into cost benefit analysis for financial gain. Gradually, it has been also studied in psychological, behavioral and sociological aspects as risk behaviour. Broadly understood, it is seen as the probability of an unwanted event occurring and is more related to negative connotations.

There have been various theorizations of/on risk primarily related to concepts of risk society, modernization and globalization. It has been argued that the continuous process of change has resulted into various interpretations of risk as can be seen from the following observation:

One of the most important contributions to social theories of risk came from the European sociologists, Ulrich Beck and Anthony Giddens. In the globalized modern world, which Beck characterized as a 'risk society', the future has become uncertain. Possible events which technology unintentionally generates cannot be insured against because they have unimaginable implications. Giddens makes a similar point by distinguishing between external risks emanating from bad harvests, floods, plagues or famines and manufactured risks which include most of the environmental risks. Not only has external risks been supplanted by manufactured risks, but we know very little on how to handle the latter. As manufactured risk expands, there is a new riskiness to risk'.¹³

Earlier times were characterized by risk of physical survival. With the coming of industrialization and subsequent urbanization, the risk shifted to nature of employment and occupation as the traditional occupations were on decline. The more significant changes were brought by modernization and consequent globalization. The traditional anchorages of social behaviour were effectively challenged by emergent values and norms. With the rise of multiple options and choices, individuals were now freer. It also led to the feelings of anxiety and norm less social order.¹⁴ The recent studies focus on the risk behaviour mostly associated with health.

¹³ Vatsa, K.S. 2004. pp. 6. 'Risk, Vulnerability and Asset-based Approach to Disaster Risk Management,' *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 24(10/11):6.

¹⁴ 'Recent Developments in Sociology of Risk and Uncertainty' [Online] Jens O. Zinn *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*. Volume 7, No. 1, Art. 30 – January (2006)
Available: <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/1-06/06-1-30-e.pdf>
[Wednesday, August 02, 2006]

Related with the notion of risk is the notion of vulnerability which is defined 'in terms of exposure to welfare losses, rather than in terms of exposure of poverty. An individual, a household, or a community can be considered vulnerable when there is a probability that they will experience a level of well being that is below a socially accepted threshold' (Vatsa, 2004:9-10). At the same time, it is also argued that '....specific categories of population by themselves do not mark vulnerability. It is their level of participation in social and economic processes that impinges on vulnerability. Lack of education and skill, weak social support and protection, low income, poor health care, and single parenthood are the attributes *responsible for it*' (*emphasis added*; Vatsa, 2004:15).

The vulnerable situation thus is more prone to risk. There are various ways in which vulnerability to risk has been conceptualized. One of the ways is through the assets owned. Here in, 'assets may be defined as the stock of wealth in a household, representing its gross wealth. Assets can be tangible, such as land, house, jewelry, savings, and education and skills, or intangible assets such as household relations, social capital, proximity to markets and health and education facilities, and empowerment' (Vatsa, 2004:22-23). Table 3.1 presents the inter-linkages between vulnerability and assets in this conceptualization.

Table 3.1: Asset Vulnerability Matrix

Type of Assets	Indicator of Increasing Vulnerability	Indicator of Decreasing Vulnerability
Financial Assets	Withdrawal of savings	Sustained level of savings
	Rise in indebtedness	Diversified financial investments
	Loans for consumption	Credit for productive assets
	Default or postponement of loan repayment	Loan repayment on schedule
	Dependence on remittances	Availability of insurance
	Lack of insurance	Availability of a wide array of financial instruments
Physical Assets	Crop failure	Diversified cropping
	Soil erosion and degradation of land	Soil and water conservation
	Damaged and destroyed houses	Structural reinforcement of houses
	Disruption or closure of businesses	Business continuity plans
	Distress sale of household consumer durables	Increased level of security for house, crops, business and household goods
Human Assets	Illness and loss of health	Good health
	Deaths and disability	Physical capacity to work
	Poor nutrition	Availability of nutrition
	Withdrawal from schools	Educational opportunities for children
	Primary concern with coping strategy	Opportunities for learning skills
	Bonded and child labour	Independence and self-esteem
Social Assets	Discrimination based on race, sex, caste or ethnicity	Relief and assistance based on equity and special needs of different social groups
	Social disintegration and lack of trust	Community solidarity, cohesion, reciprocity, and presence of social networks
	Lack of participation in community organizations	Participation in community initiatives and volunteerism
	Dependence on charity	Self-help and mobilization of community resources
	Looting and criminal activities	Mutual support and cooperation

Source: pp. 25-26. 'Risk, Vulnerability and Asset-based Approach to Disaster Risk Management,' K.S. Vatsa. *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*. 24(10/11). (2004).

Conceptualizing Determinants

Three levels of inquiry are relevant here. The macro, meso and micro level factors that influence life options, choices and aspirations. While these are individual and household level variables, they are clearly going to be influenced by the larger economic social. Moreover, it is important to know that such categories are study-specific as these are not universal and holistic. For the purpose of present study, following dimensions were taken on the basis of unit of study:

- a) Macro: social structure as manifested in caste, class and gender, value frameworks, media;
- b) Meso: family and parent-child relationship, peer;
- c) Micro: individual.

The macro is the larger whole in which the individual is located. The material resource base of the family as well as the class shapes individual's behaviour. These values accord differential importance to other elements of social structure like, caste, class and gender. These differentials are hierarchical in nature. Cultural patterns and worldviews shape values of social groups as well. Given the limitations of single researcher and short time span, it was not possible to study different sub-groups of Indian population and so one geographical location, and broad economic segment – the middle class - was to be the focus of this study.

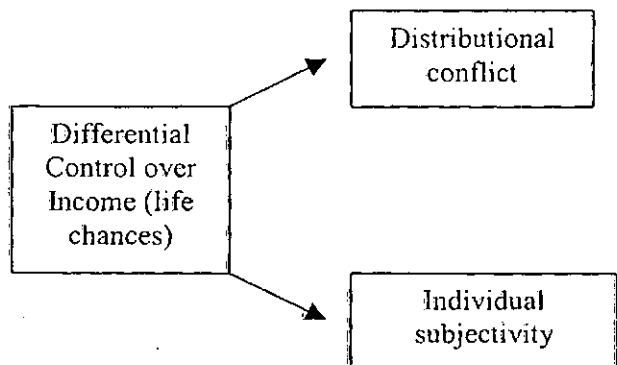
Meso is the middle layer which mediates between the individual and macro. At this level, the present study tries to analyse the interactions between family, peer group and influence of media on individuals. Individual's options, choices and aspirations are determined by the above-discussed factors at various levels. The possibility of achieving the desired life aspiration is also going to be influenced by these same variables, some acting as barriers and others providing support to the youth in their efforts. It is envisaged that the match or mismatch between available options, aspirations and the self-perceived possible achievements leads to life choices and their outcomes. It is these that enhance or decrease the levels of 'risk behaviours'.

B) Socio-Economic Structure

The class position of the family in general and youth in particular is an important criteria in life options available and life choices opted for. A brief theoretical review of the class in general and middle class particular to India is necessary here. Broadly defining, class is a segment of population of any community or society which shares more or less same economic criteria. Thus, class is economic in nature. Following this argument, the thinkers who are oft quoted are Karl Marx and Max Weber. While the former saw class primarily as an economic category and argued that persons performing the same function in production process are in same social class; the latter added dimensions of class (economic), status (social) and power (political) to his discussions on class and explained 'market position' and 'life-chances' of individuals.¹⁵ Figure 3.2 reflects the major theoretical discussion on class along with the 'common sensical' understanding of class.

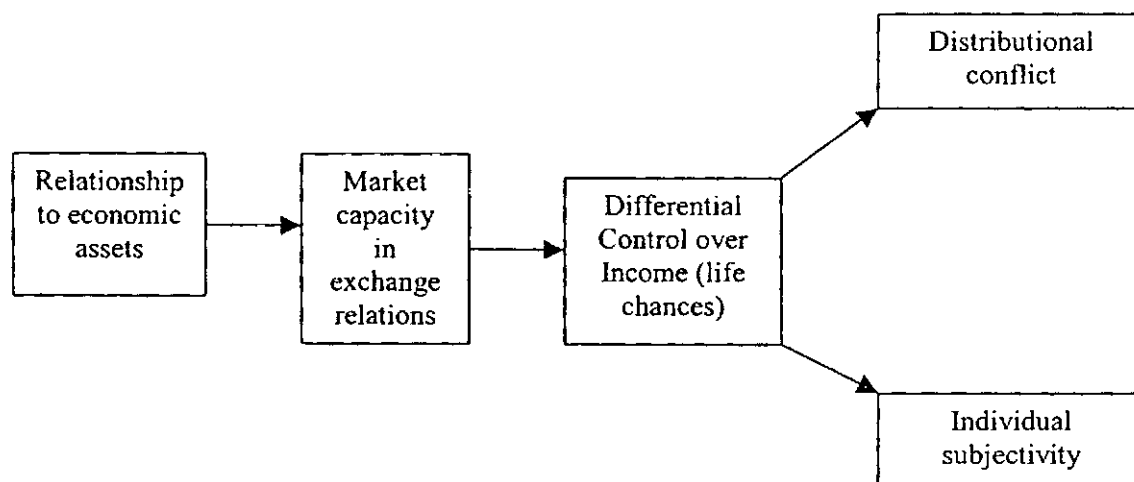
Figure 3.2: Approaches of Weber and Marx to Social Class

I. Simple Gradation Class Analysis:

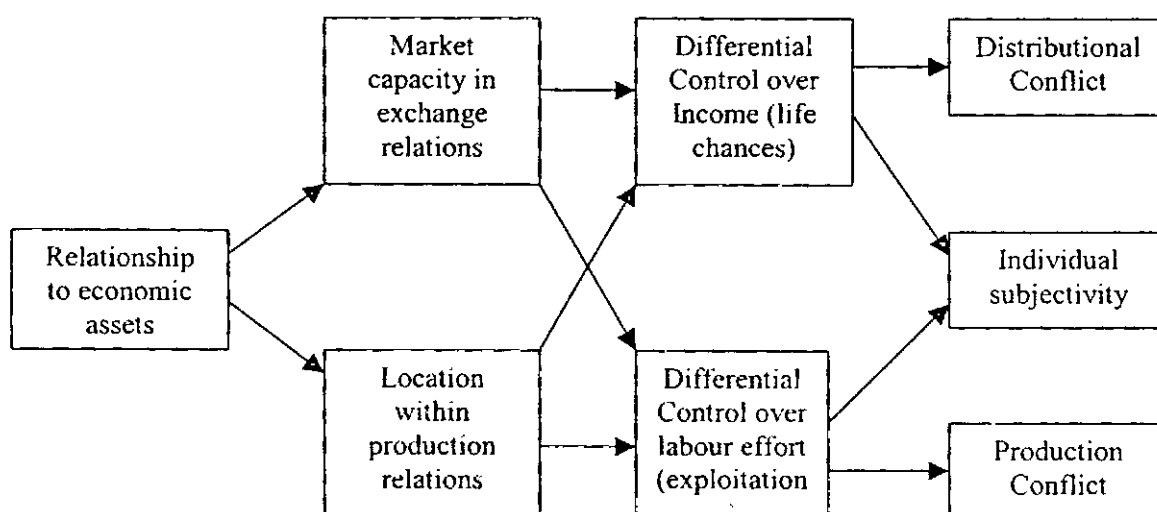


¹⁵ For details see Gerth H. Hans and Mills C. Wright (eds.) 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. New York: Oxford. pp. 181-187. Also see Weber, Max, 1992. 'Class, Status, Party,' In D. Gupta (ed.) *Social Stratification. Oxford in India Readings in Sociology and Anthropology*. Delhi: Oxford University Press. Pp. 455-470.

II. Weberian Class Analysis:



III. Marxist Class Analysis:



Source: Wright, Erik O. in *Theory and Society*, 25: 698, (1998). As quoted in pp. 56, *Industrial/Urban Classes: Conceptual and Methodological Issues*. R.N. Sharma. *IASSI Quarterly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (2002).

In context of India, we come across several interpretations of class and middle class. The theoretical understanding of class in terms of economic, social and political criteria gets obscured when confronted by empirical reality. The most accepted definition of class is based on economic levels of income and wealth. If there were a list of all citizens that also told us about their incomes, we could 'classify' each person, determine the size of each class at the national or regional levels, and so in. Of

course, there is no such list, so we have to begin improvising.¹⁶ Another related issue to be resolved is the presence of another category known as caste or caste system. These two categories have been in congruence to each other¹⁷ although the relation between these is getting diluted due to the rising middle class.¹⁸

Middle class is the product of a colonial administrative framework, which required 'brown Sahibs', taught in western-style educational institution for administrative purposes.¹⁹ After independence, it included professional workers as lawyers, doctors, and academicians among others.²⁰ Gradually events like land reforms initiated in 1950s in various states over the years and green revolution in some states in late 1960s made the rich farmers or big peasants another element of this class. Later on, constitutional provisions/initiatives like reservation policy for the other backward classes/castes (Second Backward Commission appointed on January 1, 1979 having B.P. Mandal as its chairperson) gave a new identity to middle class as neo-rich and politically assertive entered into this class. Most significant event in redefining middle class was the liberalization and globalization process in the 1990s coupled with opening up of market. This gave a new meaning to Indian middle class as 'consumerist class' driving the ever-increasing consumer culture.²¹

Summarizing, 'a new middle class began to emerge in India in the middle of the 19th century in the womb of an ancient hierarchical society. The new middle class first

¹⁶ Deshpande, S. 2003. *Contemporary India: A Sociological View*. Penguin Books. Pp. 132.

¹⁷ Mukherjee, R.K. 1999. 'Caste in itself, Caste and Class, or Caste in Class,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 3-9. Here the author argues that '...the caste structure has invaginated itself into the class structure evolved in colonial India'.

¹⁸ Seth, D.L. 1999. 'Secularisation of Castes and Making of New Middle Class,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 21-28.

¹⁹ Misra, B.B. *The Indian Middle Classes: Their Growth in Modern Times*. Oxford University Press. Pp. 10. The author argues that conditions for the emergence of Indian middle class did not '...existed prior to British rule. Society was divided into fixed status groups (caste?). There were intermediate categories as well but no middle classes.' Also see *What Should we mean by Middle Class?* Satish Deshpande. Paper presented at the Workshop on Emerging Social Formations in Contemporary India. School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. 24-26 April, (2003). Also see Chhibbar, Y.P. 1968. *From Caste to Class: A Study of the Indian Middle Classes*. New Delhi: Associated Publishing House. Pp. 36-54.

²⁰ For detailed description on the constituents of Indian middle class see Verma, P.K. 1998. *The Great Indian Middle Class*. Penguin Books. Pp. 26-27.

²¹ For details see, Verma, P.K. 1998. *The Great Indian Middle Class*. Penguin Books. Pp. 170. Also notable in the same context is pp. 7. Public Modernity in India by Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Brecknridge (eds.) *Consuming Modernity*. University of Minnesota Press (1995). In here the author argues that the Indian middle class has become 'economic support of new forms of cultural consumption.'

emerged in the presidency capitals of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, in law courts, hospitals, banks and offices set up for commercial administrative and other purposes. The backbone of the middle class is a particular kind of occupational system. Middle class occupations are non-manual and require some measure of formal education. The growth of the new middle class is accompanied by the growth of a new educational system. The middle class has played the leading part in the modernization of Indian society; without it there would be no modernization'.²²

The above brief socio-political historical sketch of Indian middle class has given multiplicity of definitions of middle class adopted by social scientists. Apart from these there are views from governmental/ official views like National Statistical System of Population Census, National Sample Survey and Agricultural Censuses (primarily by economic policy makers); views of social scientists (primarily economist and sociologists) along with the market agencies or organizations like MARG and IMRB among others aiming at product survey and performance. Table 3.2 at next page presents the official demarcation of economic status groups accepting at the same time that it is not the only one way of locating the Indian middle class. The 'Non-poor' category can be taken to represent the middle class along with some of the lower middle class also being located in 'less poor'.

²² Beteille, A. 'The Indian Middle Class'. [Online]. Available: <http://www.ambedkar.org/News/TheIndian.htm>

Table 3.2: Estimated Class Composition of the Indian Population
(Based on Monthly Per Capita Consumption Expenditure Data, NSSO (1999-2000))

Description of Class	Rural India		Urban India	
	Monthly Per Capita Expenditure Class	% of Population	% of Population	Monthly Per Capita Expenditure Class
Below Poverty Line Population	Rs. 329 or Less	34.4	29.6	Rs. 458 or less
Above Poverty Line (Next 4 Classes)	Rs. 329 to Rs. 470	33.8	36.9	Rs. 458 to Rs. 775
Less Poor (Next 4 Classes)	Rs. 470 to Rs. 775	24.7	25.9	Rs. 775 to Rs. 1,500
Non-poor (Top 2 Classes)	Rs. 775 or More	7.0	7.6	Rs. 1,500 or More
	All Classes	100	100	

Note: Rs. 329 and Rs. 458 were the official (Planning Commission of India) estimates of the Poverty Line for Rural and Urban India respectively in 1999-2000. .
Source: NSSO 55th Round

Source: pp. 135. *Contemporary India: A Sociological View*. Satish Deshpande. Penguin Books (2003).

From the above discussions involving both the theoretical issues as well as empirical data (Indian middle class) it can be concluded that a precise definition of middle class is not possible. Yet for the purpose of our study, the following criteria have been taken for the selection of sample:

- Educational level of the head of the house hold/family: Not less than graduation.
- Occupation: Non-manual work i.e. service and business (small and medium).

For our study we have followed this income level for taking it as the lower level of income per month for the middle class as given by NCAER (1995-1996):

- Lower middle class (25,001-50,000 annual income).
- Upper middle class (50,001-77,000 annual income).

Gender relates to culturally appropriate behavior of men and women, whereas 'sex' refers to biological differences. Gender is a culture-specific construct but it is fairly consistent across cultures that there is always a distinct difference between roles of women and men and access to productive resources and decision-making. As a social institution, gender is composed of gender statuses, gendered division of labour, gendered kinship, gendered sexual scripts, gendered personalities, gendered social control, gender ideology and gender imagery. For an individual, gender is composed of sex category, gender identity, gendered marital and procreative status, gendered sexual orientation, gendered personality, gendered processes, gender beliefs and gender display.²³

The studies by L. Tiger and R. Fox proposed the logic of 'human biogrammar'.²⁴ In here, men are programmed by their biogrammar to be assertive and aggressive whereas in the case of women, the latter are to reproduce and to take care of children. In the similar way, Murdock's study emphasized the sexual division of labour among men and women.²⁵ According to him due to the physiological function of childbirth, women are incapable of looking after the economic as well as physical security of the family. Here the men take over such responsibilities and thus they are of more importance to the survival of the society. More or less relying on the biological genes basis, Parsonian notion of 'instrumental' and 'expressive' roles explains that the former means economic activities performed by men and the latter is women providing emotional support to the family.²⁶ According to him in the process of socialization the role of mother is of prime importance due to her biological role of childbearing activity.

A close examination of the above arguments makes us aware that '...what has not been generally recognized is the bias that often underlies studies of both sex roles and male dominance --- an assumption that we know what 'men' and 'women' are, an assumption that male and female are predominantly natural objects rather than predominantly cultural constructions. What gender is, what men and women are, what

²³ Pp. 18-19. 'Paradoxes of Gender,' Judith Lorber, In *Masculinities: Interdisciplinary Readings*. (ed.) Mark Hussey. New Jersey: Prentice Hall. 2003.

²⁴ *The Imperial Animal*. 1972. L. Tiger and Robin Fox. London: Secker & Warburg.

²⁵ *Social Structure*. 1949. G.P. Murdock. New York: Macmillan.

²⁶ 'The Social Structure of the Family' by T. Parsons In *The Family: Its Functions and Destiny* edited by R.N. Anshen. New York: Harper & Row. 1959.

sort of relations do or should obtain between them --- all of these notions do not simply reflect or elaborate upon biological 'givens', but are largely products of social and cultural processes.²⁷

Gender norms cast men as primary economic actors and producers outside home. The dominant ideology of femininity in most societies casts women in a subordinate, dependent, and passive position with virginity, chastity, motherhood, moral superiority and obedience as key virtues of ideal women.²⁸ Such gender stereotypes account for women having much less than men to key productive resources such as education, land, income, credit and employment that significantly reduce the leverage they have ability to negotiate and cope.

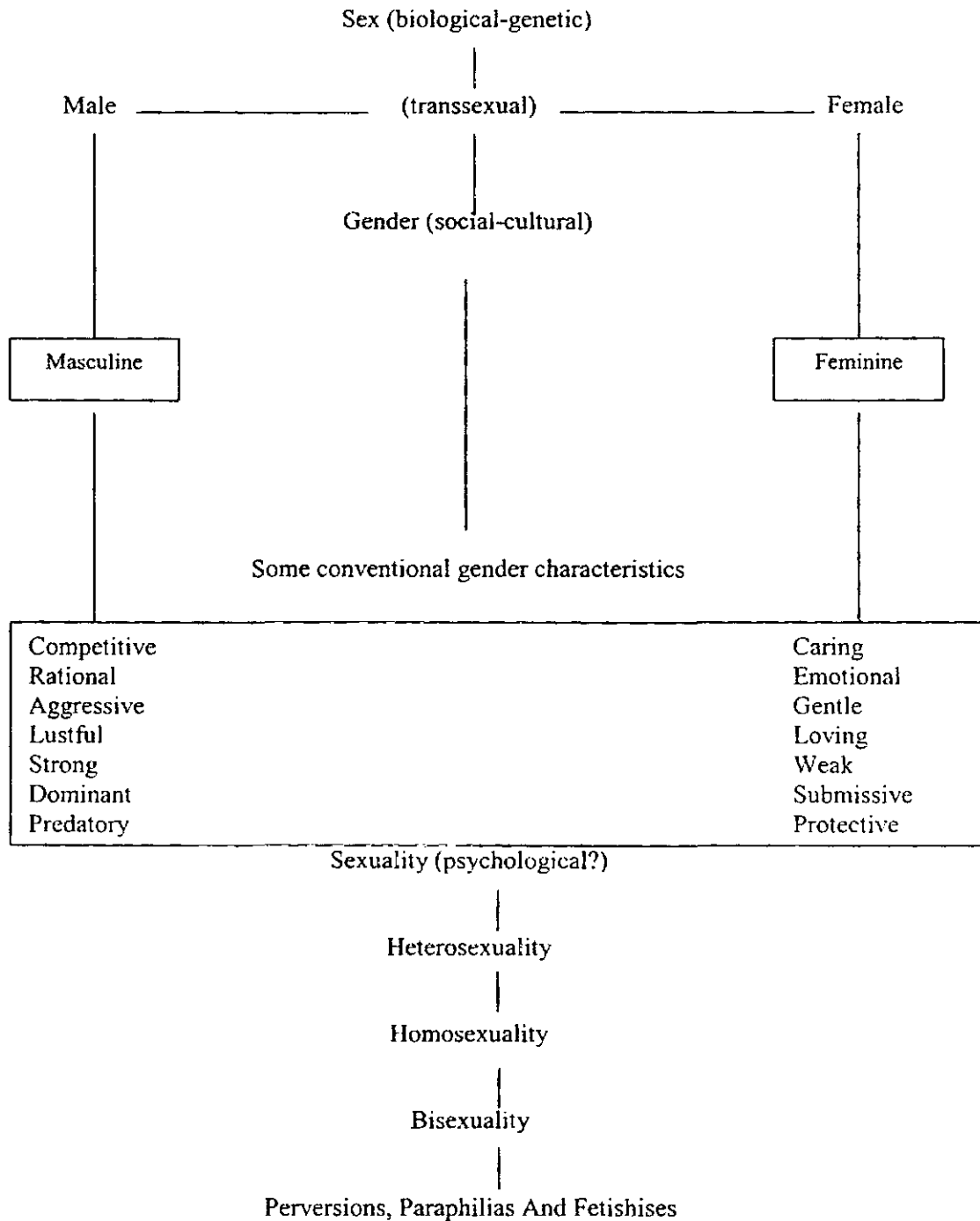
It is all the more necessary to '...view gender identity not as a 'thing' that people 'have', but rather as a process of construction that develops, comes into crisis, and changes as a person interacts with the social world. Through this perspective, it becomes possible to speak of 'gendering' identities rather than 'masculinity' or 'femininity' as relatively fixed identities or statuses.'²⁹ Thus, gender is a social construct that is the result of the socialization process of the family, community and society specific. Most of the time, it differentiates the power, roles responsibilities and obligations of women from that of man in a society in a hierarchical manner. It determines to a great extent how one thinks, feels and what one believes one can and cannot do as woman and man. Figure 3.3 represents the variations in context of gender.

²⁷ Pp.1. 'Introduction: Accounting for Sexual Meanings in Sexual Meanings,' by S.B. Ortner and H. Whitehead In *Sexual Meanings: The Cultural Construction of Gender and Sexuality* (eds.) S.B. Ortner and H. Whitehead. Cambridge University Press. 1996.

²⁸ A very exhaustive list of focused-sex stereotypes regarding the adjectives associated with men and women can be found at pg. 22. *Measuring Sex Stereotypes: A Multination Study*. John E. Williams and D.L. Best. New Delhi: Sage Publication. 1990.

²⁹ Pp. 140. 'Boyhood, Organized Sports and the Construction of Masculinities' by M.A. Messener In Mark Hussey (ed.) *Masculinities: Interdisciplinary Readings* New Jersey: Prentice Hall. 2003.

Figure 3.3: Defining Terms: Sex, Sexuality, and Gender



Source: McNair, Brian. 2002. *Striptease Culture: Sex, Media and the Democratization of Desire*. London: Routledge Publications.

In relation of our hypothesis that the nature of family and the level of interaction (mutual bonding) between the members of the family further influence the process of

opting the life choices, it is here necessary to conceptualize family. Broadly understood, family is the socio-legal union between two opposite sexes along with the unmarried offspring. In Indian context, most of the time, family as a genealogical construct and households as common living and eating-place come together and are treated as more or less same. The household or family was first defined in 1872 census as comprising of those who lived together and ordinarily cooked at the same hearth including their servants and visitors. In 1971 Census, a household was defined as 'a group of persons who commonly live together and would take their meals from a common kitchen unless the exigencies of work prevented any of them from doing so'.³⁰

It is all the more accepted that the above definition in census does not fully reflects the dynamics of Indian family. Family includes a wider set of relationships beyond the economic unit of household, since it involves other social basis for the bonding. Methodological as well as definitional problem arises from difficulty in delineating nuclear from joint family. Various changes like increased urbanization, industrialization, migrations of family members from rural/agricultural to urban/industrial areas, modernization and subsequent globalization have further compounded the issue. The breakdown of traditional joint family has led to rise of extended/stem/nuclear family in town/city/urban areas. However, the importance of family as a social institution is still there due to the function of primary socialization of individuals. At the same time, marriage, career decisions, etc. involve wider kin-group. The nature and type of the family influence the youth in myriad ways as seen from the following observation.

Krishna Kumar's work has succeeded in bringing under examination the cultural practices of the Indian urban middle classes whose obsessive concern with their children's education, employment, and marriage instances the modern family's critical role in the reproduction of class status. Andre Beteille has argued that in contemporary India it is the institution of family rather than the traditional caste group) that now ensures the social placement of the younger generation --- through arranging school and college admissions, professional training, and employment opportunities.³¹

³⁰ Census Terms: Implication of Terms Used in Indian Censuses [Online]
Available: <http://www.censusindia.net/census2001/history/censusterm.html>
Accessed on 22nd May 2006.

³¹ 'The Family in India: Beyond the Nuclear Versus Joint Debate,' P. Uberoi. In Veena Das (ed.) *The Oxford India Companion to Sociology and Social Anthropology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2002. Pp. 1082.

Peer group is another important variable for our study. It is hypothesized that the intensity of peer relationship shared by the individual influences the process of opting the life choices. An important reference is found in Cooley's study of primary group. For him, it is a group 'characterized by intimate face-to-face association and cooperation. They are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual. The most important spheres of this intimate association and cooperation -- though by no means the only ones--are the family, the play-group of children, and the neighborhood or community group of elders'.³²

The relationship of adolescent with her peer group is most of the time compared with that of family relation. There are two bipolar views on this basis. The first sees both peer group and family acting towards socially shared goals and accepted means to achieve these goals. In due process, the frictions among them sometime do not exist at all and if they exist are at the minimum. The other viewpoint holds that as the adolescent steps out of socialization model of family, peer group become very much influential in shaping her attitudes. This situation becomes all the more acceptable due to the presence of conflictual relationship between her and family. It leads to the former finding solace in her peer group.

Nature of peer pressure is also an outcome of social values and aspirations of the same generation. Here the individual might be pressurized to observe the norms of the group which may override the personal habits, values, ideas and desires. It might lead to friction between individual and peer group dynamics. Peers influence can be both negative and positive i.e. lead to both pro-social behaviors as well as problem behaviors. Most of the time, peers do not influence the individual in a coercive manner rather it is due to the latter's admire for the former. Peers influence adolescents in middle adolescence relatively less compared to that of early and late adolescence. Moreover, differences are seen by the age, personality, socialization history and perceptions of peers etc.

³² pp. 25-31. *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind*. 1909. C. H. Cooley. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The adolescent peer relations can be analyzed on the basis of three parameters.³³ First, the friendship quality explores the relationship characterized by the highest level of connectedness and intimacy besides family bonds. The second one is peer rejection, which focuses on more distant peer relations that are less close but still based on face-to-face interactions. Finally, peer orientation as to measure as a general tendency of adolescents to value their own generation highly and see age-mates as those to turn to for advice and support.

While this section comprises roughly 10-20 percent of the population, it has a disproportionately greater influence in shaping societal values. The values of this class are, in turn, influenced by traditional social structures and changes occurring in them. Broadly understood, values are ideas about life which are important for an individual and society.³⁴ They act as guidelines to act in the social situations. Another important feature of value system i.e. the ordered and prioritized set of values is that they are context specific. A set of values may be held in primer importance whereas the same can be of little use to other collectivity or situations.

The value system influences the core of the interaction-taking place in the society whether socialization at the macro level or career aspirations at the micro level. Regarding the latter aspect, it is worth mentioning that individual has her own aim/goal or to say career aspirations. These are shaped by values as they allow and restrict goals for particular individuals. Moreover, the available means to achieve such career aims are influenced/determined by value system. In such situations, the values adhered by the collectivity becomes important. For instance, 'the basic argument is that the concern with protection of female sexuality accounts for whether girls have access to education or not' (Chanana, 2001:38).³⁵

³³ These three parameters are based on Peter Noack's 'Adolescent Peer Relations in Times of Social Change,' In Lisa J. Crockett and Rainer K. Silberson (eds.,) *Negotiating Adolescence in Times of Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. 137-156.

³⁴ F. Alder, 1956. 'The Value Concept in Sociology,' *American Journal of Sociology*, 27:272-279. Also see, Spates, J.L. 1983. 'The Sociology of Values,' *Annual Review of Sociology*, August, 9:27-49. S. Hitlin and J.A. Piliavin, 2004. 'Values: Reviving a Dormant Concept', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 30:359-393.

³⁵ Chanana, K. 2001. 'Hinduism and Female Sexuality: Social Control and Education of girls in India,' *Sociological Bulletin*, March, 50(1):37-63.

Study Design

An empirical was undertaken as per the objectives of the study. The field of the study chosen was Faizabad district located at the eastern part of Uttar Pradesh (U.P.). Uttar Pradesh is one of the less developed states of India and with a population of 166 million is the most populous state. The sex ratio according to 2001 census is 898. Density of population is 689. Literacy rate is 57.36 percent. Faizabad is classified by the census as Class I town of Uttar Pradesh.

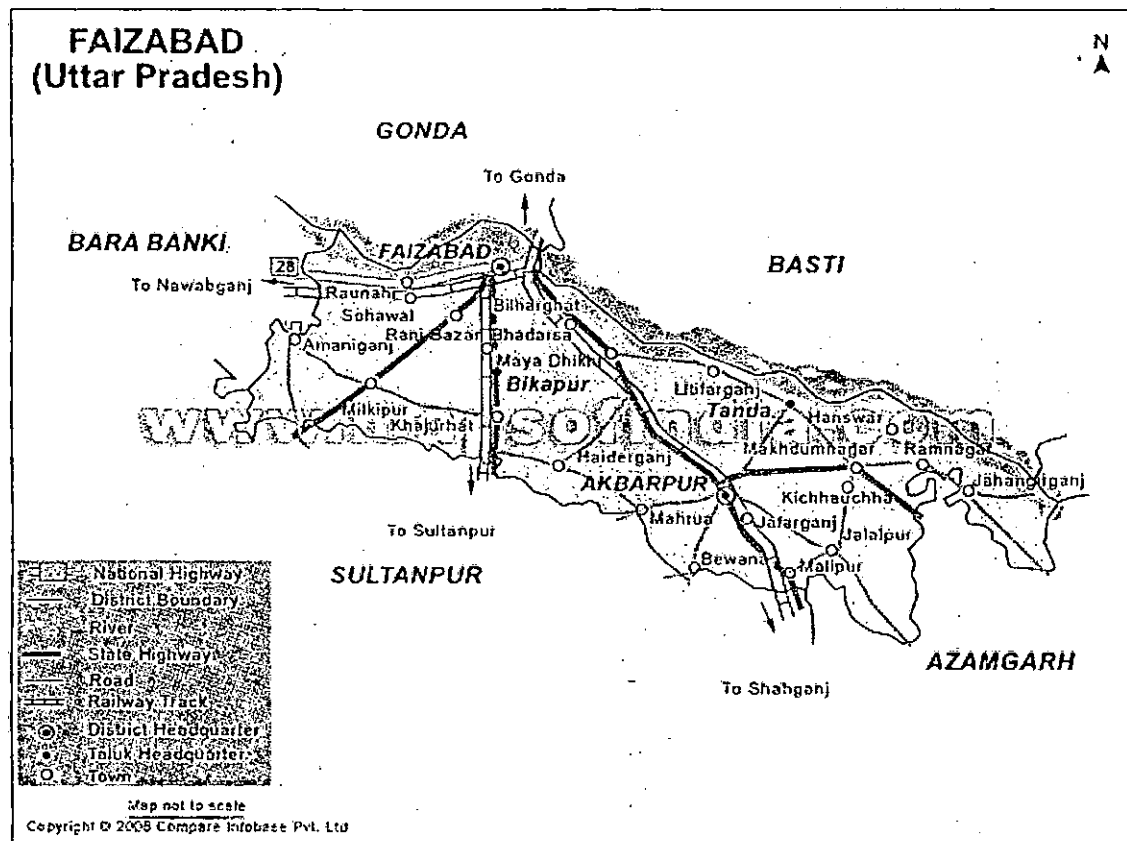
In terms of facilities, it is less developed than other well-developed towns of Uttar Pradesh such as Lucknow, Kanpur, Allahabad and Varanasi. This include less educational opportunities, presence of more 'vernacular' educational institutes in town and more 'westernized' elite educational institutions in nearby cities, less career options and opportunities; more spatial mobility is necessary for the purpose of education and occupation, less openness for mixing of boys and girls, decision-making by individuals about their own marriage and relationships.

The next important variable of this study is youth or adolescent. Adolescent is a late entrant in psychological literature. It is recognized as a distinct stage of life in the West. In the case of developing/ under developed i.e. the countries of third world, as Asia and Africa adolescents were not recognized as a distinct group till 1983 (Dak, 1991). It is very recently that the category of youth has begun to emerge as a group requiring better understanding and special attention in the context of health (Singhal, 2004).

World Health Organization defines adolescence as 'the progression from the appearance of secondary sex characteristics (puberty) to sexual and reproductive maturity, development of adult mental processes and adult identity; and the transition from total dependence to relative dependence'.³⁶ The physiological coupled with the bio-medical approach generally takes the age parameter as the defining foci of adolescence. In terms of age category it gives 10-19 years of age for adolescence. It is again classified as early adolescence 10 to 14 years and 15 to 19 years for late

³⁶ *Adolescent Health & Wellness: Global Pattern and Trends*. [Online] Anant Kumar. Available: http://www.freeindiamedia.com/4__oct_04_health.htm

Map: Faizabad



adolescence. Further youth covers the age group of 15 to 24 years. Another category of 'young people' encompasses broadly the period of 10 to 24 years including adolescence and youth. The National Youth Policy of India (2000) gives three age categories viz. adolescence (13-19 years), attainment of maturity (20-30 years), youth (13-30 years). For the purpose of our study the age criteria taken for youth is 19-24 years.

Pravin Visaria (1998) in his study has studied youth as persons between the age of 15 to 24.³⁷ A distinction is made between teenagers or the age group 15 to 19 and the young adults aged 20 to 24 years and between males and females by rural-urban. Among researchers and policy planners in India it is still a matter of debate and ambiguity at what age adolescence begins and when it merges into young adulthood,³⁸ the period when some choices have been made or are in the process and some achievements or failures are known. Youths of 19-24 years age group, both inclusive from a middle class residential colony were taken as the study population.

Purposive selection of a geographical area having middle class residents was done on the basis of familiarity with field of study and keeping research aims into consideration. The name of the colony selected for the study was *Dhara* road colony of *dilli darwaja* ward. The broad practical reasons for this selection were considerable population of youth and the cooperation of the people in getting information. Help of key informants was also taken for obtaining information about the colony and the youths/sample. The sample households were selected through 'house-to-house survey'. The researcher went from house to house till 100 youth (19-24 years) were identified.

The study was conducted in two phases. First phase of the study comprised of baseline survey to identify households with persons in the 19-24 years age group and

³⁷ 'Unemployment: Levels, Reasons and Causes'. Working Paper. Pravin Visaria.

³⁸ 'The concept of age changed from census to census. In 1872, age 'next birthday' was recorded. From 1881 to 1921 and also in 1951, age completed on the 'last birthday' was recorded. In 1931 age 'nearest birthday' was recorded. In 1941 Census, the age was recorded 'in years and month'. In 1961 Census, 'age last birthday' was recorded. In 1971 Census the age of the person in total years completed last birthday was recorded.' Census Terms: Implication of Terms Used in Indian Censuses [Online] Available: <http://www.censusindia.net/census2001/history/censusterm.html> Accessed on 22nd May 2006.

to record social and economic characteristics of the household. For this purpose, quantitative method of data collection was used. A structured schedule was used to gather data. Various parameters on which data was collected were family size, family type, income, and education and employment status of the family members among others. Data was also gathered about the current education, employment and marital status and place of stay of the youths. Thus, in the first stage, data on brief background of the family having youth/s and current status of the youth was gathered.

The second phase of the study was based on in-depth studies of 44 youths. It collected data about the perceptions of the youth for the life options available to them. The sample for this stage was selected in order to cover the various sub-groups present in the study as male-female, married and unmarried, resident and non-resident youth. Moreover, cooperation of the youths was also taken into consideration.

In-depth interviews were based on unstructured discussions with the youths based on a checklist of issues. As usual, there were mixed responses towards the study. Those who agreed to the structure and process of study voluntarily shared their experiences. Another hurdle was to convince some youths regarding the academic nature of the study and only when they were assured of the secrecy of their experiences, they agreed for in-depth interview. The nature of questions was both open ended and close ended.

In-depth interviews were mostly taken in the vernacular language i.e. Hindi as the youths were comfortable in it. However, 18 percent (8 youths) of the total youths answered in English as well. The experiences of the youths were written as well as recorded by the researcher while conducting interview. Most of the interviews were taken in home of the youths. Some interviews were also taken at the workplace of the youths who were working/ employed.

Data analysis was done both quantitatively and qualitatively. The data of first stage was quantitatively analyzed to get a socio-economic profile of the youths. Per capita income of the households was calculated so as to categorize the households into three groups, i.e. the lower middle class (per capita per month income below 2000 rupees),

middle-middle class (per capita per month income below 4000 rupees) and the upper-middle class (per capita per month income above 4000 rupees).

Further the analysis was done for the educational level, occupational status and current status of the youth. The current status of the youth was categorized into those 'studying', 'working', 'studying and working' both, 'not doing anything'. Another category was that of Housewife. Grouping was also made on the basis of place of stay i.e. the resident and non-resident. Those who were currently staying in Faizabad were taken as residents where as those who were staying outside the area of study during the course of study were taken as non-residents.

In-depth interviews were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively to see the congruence between the life options, aspirations and life choices as all these emerged in combination with each other. The categories thus formulated were 'matched and satisfied', 'unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied', 'totally unmatched dissatisfied', 'unmatched with aspirations but satisfactorily reconciled', 'low aspiration and no conscious choice making', 'aspiration higher than life options and so opting outside legitimate structures'. The process of how these categories have been formulated is discussed in the next chapter. Perceptions of the youth were analyzed to find the kind of options, aspirations and choices youth are having. Further, it was also analyzed to know the barriers and support structures and the determinants of their current 'choices'. Attempts were made to understand the whole process of arriving at decisions regarding the choices and the crucial issues and factors associated with it. Finally, the links of these with vulnerability of youth to risk behaviour were analysed.

CHAPTER III

CHAPTER 3

Life Options and Choices

The field of study selected purposively was Faizabad town in eastern Uttar Pradesh. Faizabad is famous for its proximity to the town of and the disputed Ayodhya temple. It is located on the banks of river Saryu. The major tourism and historical places including Ayodhya, Surajkund, Bharatkund, Guptar ghat, Ratnagiri temple, Company garden, Bahubegam tomb, Gulabbari, Maniparvat and Jain temples of Ayodhya.

Faizabad is a district as well as Mandal headquarters. Therefore it is a seat of administrative offices, educational and health institutions, industry and handicrafts. The educational institutions in Faizabad district include 991 Junior Basic schools, 292 Senior Basic schools, 129 Intermediate schools, 13 Degree colleges, 2 universities, 1 I.T.I. and 2 polytechnic. Health institutions include 22 allopathic centers, 9 community health centers, 31 primary health centers, 2 eye hospitals and 25 veterinary hospitals. Major handicrafts of this place are bamboo and leather works. Main industries include sugar, paper, biscuit oven plant, solvent extension oil, pulse and rice mill, cold drinks, etc.

Faizabad town is divided on the basis of population into 'wards'. Each ward has a population of 5000. Moreover, this geographical area having middle class residents was selected as field of study on the basis of familiarity with the area. For the purpose of my study, I selected '*Dilli Darwaja ward*'. This is one of the biggest wards having three *mohallas* namely *Dhara Road, Kakarahi Bazaar, Dilli Darwaja*. The study was conducted in the Dhara Road locality. This is one of the oldest localities and near the main market. It is situated in the south of the city. The beginning part of the colony has its own small market which further becomes a residential area. The colony was very suited for the study as it had a mixed population of middle class residents with diverse occupations. Although the colony is in the urban area, the other end stretches towards the semi-urbanised areas. In fact, this colony itself was semi-urbanised, but now it has been urbanised in due process. On the other end it is near to river.

The study was done through a house-to-house survey. Researcher started at point 'A' and moved till point 'C' as shown in the Map 2. Beginning with the first house, which is shown as point 'A' in the map, the study moved till the point 'C' which was the end point of the house hold surveyed as the number of youth identified reached 106. This was in 52 households. There were certain things about the colony important to be mentioned here.

The analysis of the data showed three broad economic categories in the sample as lower middle class, middle-middle class and upper middle class (Table 4.1). Although, it was not done knowingly, it was found that almost all the households of the lower middle class were from the point 'A' to 'B', and only one household was in between the point 'H' to 'I' which was the beginning of the rural area 'F' to 'H'. The point 'B' to 'H' and then to 'C' (the end point) had almost all the households of the middle-middle class. This showed that the spatial distribution also depicted socio-economic differentials even in this urban middle class colony. Another important thing found out during the study is that needs to be mentioned here is that from point 'B' to 'E' had households, each had a liquor-manufacturing site in their home and they sold it outside. This area was not part of the study.

The lowest per capita per month income of the household was 675 rupees and the highest was upto rupees 8000. The households were grouped for the analysis mainly on the economic basis, and these were found to correlate a number of other variables of interest in the study.

DELHI DARWAZA WARD NO. 11

NAGAR PALIKA Limit

GHAGHARA RIVER

JAMTHARA
OLD CHOONA BHATTI

BISRAM GHAT

DARIKARMA ROAD

HOUSE SMT. GEEMA SOKHAN

DARIKARMA ROAD

AFFEEM COCHI

HOUSE SHOK TAORU
BHARAT PURI COLONY

HOUSE AGARWAL TRACT

MOTI MAHAL

HASHMUKATRA ROAD

DELHI DARWAZA

ROADS 1/2

HOUSE VIJAI ADVOCATE

CHOWK POLICE STATION

VASIKA SCHOOL

RATH-HAVELI

DELHI DARWAZA ROAD

IMAMBARA GATE

RATH HAVELI ROAD

ANAS VIKAS COLONY
ANGORI BAG.

ROAD

IMAMBARA

SHOP HOUSE RAMCHAND

NEHRU PARK

TARANG ROAD

ROAD

ANGORI BAZAR SCHOOL

NAMAN LODGE

GUDARI BAZAR CHAUKHA

SHOP GOAL

KHAWAS PURA

TO CHOWK

KHAWAS PURA ROAD

KHAWAS PURA

TO AYODHA

WARD LIMIT

Table 4.1. Socio-Economic Profile of the Households

House hold survey			In depth interviews			
Economic Category (Income Per capita per month)	H. Holds	No. of Youth	No. of youth	Occupation of head of the household	Caste	Assets
Lower Middle Class (Less than or Equal to 2000)	17 (32.6)	35 (33.01)	10 (22.72)	Small business (sweet shop, milk seller, tea-hotel, laundry), Private jobs (working in a shop), IVth class employee	SC-5 [kanojia (2), Sonker (1), Prajapati (1), Verma (1)] OBC- 5 [Yadav (2), Sahu (2) Jaiswal (1)] GENERAL-3[Shukla (2), Sharma (1)]	House (own or rented) CD Player, TV, Fridge in one house only, bicycle
Middle-middle Class (2000-4000)	26 (50)	52 (49.05)	28 (63.63)	Government Jobs (Teacher, Auditor, Assistant Regional manager, Sub-division inspector, Sub-Divisional engineer)	. OBC – 10 [Rajpal (2), Yadav (2), Gupta (1), Chaurasiya (1), , Rajpal (1), Arora (1), , Muslims (1), Sardar (1)] GENERAL – 16 [Srivastav (6), Sharma (1), Verma (1), Singh (1), Tripathi(1), Pathak (1), Mehrotra (1), Sinha (1) Pandey (1), Mishra (1)]	House (own) CD Player, TV, Fridge, Washing machine, Scooter, Motor cycle,
Upper –middle Class (4000 and above)	9 (17.3)	19 (17.92)	6 (13.63)	Instructor mechanical engineer (polytechnic), Auditor (defense), Clerk, Additional DG, High court advocate, Senior Accountant, Senior prosecuting officer, Divisional accountant, Public relations officer, Business (transport), Agriculture.	GENERAL – 9 [(Srivastava (3), Mishra (2), Pandey (1), Singh (2), Shukla (1)].	House (own) CD Player, TV, Fridge, Washing machine, Scooter, Motor cycle , Four wheeler in most houses
TOTAL	52 (100)	106 (100)	44 (100)			

* Figures in parentheses represent percentage

Social and Economic Profile of the Households

The households having per capita per month income level from 675 rupees up to 2000 rupees formed the **lower middle class** (Table 4.1). There were 17 households forming 33 percent of the total households. The occupations of these households were of mixed type. It included small businesses like sweets shop, milk seller, tea-hotel, laundry work; temporary private jobs like working in a shop and low level jobs like class IV employee. The caste composition of this group was also mixed type. It had only three households, which belonged to general caste; rest included Scheduled Castes and OBCs. Hence, this category had predominantly lower caste in it.

All households owned a CD player and T.V. Only one house had a fridge. Usually, these people had rented the house. The youth female (A 10) of this class had worry for house of their own, '*jyada chinta yeh hai ki apna ghar ho.*' If own house was there, it was either *pushtaini makaan* having kin residing there as well. One youth (A 6) said it was more a source of nuisance rather than a support.

*Ghar mein 4-5 parivar mil kar matlab pooru khandan ek sath rehta hai.
Pushtainin makan hai. Khana ek mey nahi banta par rehtey ek sath hain. Toh
thoda bahut mun-mutav rehta hai ya ho jata hai*

The second economic category included households having per capita per month income ranging 2000 to 4000 rupees as **middle-middle class** (Table 4.1). There were 26 households in this category forming 50 percent of the total households in the sample. The occupations of these households were white-collar jobs including government jobs like teacher, auditor, assistant regional manager bank, and sub-divisional engineer. The caste composition in this category showed dominant presence of higher castes. Only two households were of Yadava's, one of Chaurasiya and one of Gupta. There was one household of Sardar and two of Muslims. Two Punjabi families were also there. Rest all the households were of Thakur, Kayastha and Brahmin. These households owned a CD player, TV, Fridge, Motorcycle or scooter and a washing machine. Only one house had a car. Most of them owned the houses they lived in.

Upper middle class is the third category as shown in the Table 4.1. This class has a per capita per month income of rupees 8000 and above. There were 19 households

forming 17 percent of the total households. The caste composition of this group showed predominance of the higher castes. White-collar jobs like government administrative jobs formed the occupation of this category. It also had households having large business. Agriculture as a supplementary source of income was also there. Assets were more or less similar to middle-middle class but most of the households had a four-wheeler automobile and owned bigger houses.

Educational and Occupational Profile of the Youth

Coming to youth, the total number was 106, out of which 62 were males and 44 were females. On the basis of place of stay, total 77.3 percent (82 youths) were residents and 25.47 percent youths were non-residents. This non-residents group included those youths who have gone out of the town and stayed there for the purpose of study or work. Some youths although grouped into residents stayed out of the town temporarily and come back to their home place frequently. Some stayed out of the town just before the study. Study takes into account their current place of stay.

The total number of married youth were 12, out of which 10 were females and 2 were males. The current status of the total sample showed 44.3 percent (44 youths) were studying, 20.7 percent (22 youths) were working, 16 percent were both studying and working, 9 percent (10 youths) were not doing anything and 9 percent (10 youths) were housewives. The educational level of the whole sample showed that up to intermediate level there were 25.47 percent youths, again at graduate level the same percentage was there. At post-graduate level there were only 12 percent youths and the maximum i.e. 39 percent were in the professional course category.

The above description regarding youth was an aggregate picture, which needs to be dealt in more depth to see the clear demarcations. This will be more evident on the basis of class analysis along with other differences in various domains like current status, educational level, occupational category and place of stay.

Table 4.2. Current Occupational Status of the Youths

Class	Current Status												House -wife	Total
	Studying			Working			Studying and working			Not doing anything				
	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Total</i>
Lower middle-class	3 (8.57)	7 (20)	10 (28.57)	10 (28.57)	-	10 (28.57)*	3 (8.57)	2 (5.71)	5 (14.28)	3 (8.57)	3 (8.57)	6 (17.14)*	4 (11.42)	35
Middle-middle class	17 (32.6)	8 (15.3)	25 (48.07)	9 (17.3)	1 (1.92)	10 (19.23)	5 (9.61)	6 (11.53)	11 (21.15)*	2 (3.84)	2 (3.84)	4 (7.69)	2 (3.84)	52
Upper-middle class	7 (36.8)	4 (21.05)	11 (57.8)*	1 (5.26)	1 (5.26)	2 (10.52)	2 (10.52)		2 (10.52)	-	-	-	4 (21.05)*	19
Total			47			22			17			10	10	106

* Figures in parentheses represent percentage

Table 4.3: Place of Stay of Youth (Resident and Non-Resident) in Faizabad by Class and Sex

Class	Place of stay of youth								
	Male			Female			Total		
	<i>resident</i>	<i>Non-resident</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>resident</i>	<i>Non-resident</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>resident</i>	<i>Non-resident</i>	<i>total</i>
Lower middle-class	17 (48.57)	2 (5.71)	19	12 (34.28)	4 (11.42)	16	29(82.8)	6(17.14)	35
Middle-middle class	26 (50)	7 (13.46)	33	17 (32.69)	2 (3.84)	19	43(82.6)	9(17.3)	52
Upper-middle class	4 (21.0)	6 (31.57)	10	3 (15.78)	6 (31.57)	9	10(52.6)	12(63.15)	19
Total	47(44.3)	15(14.15)		32(30.1)	12(11.32)		82(77.3)	27(25.47)	106

* Figures in parentheses represent percentage

Table 4.4: Sex wise Educational level of Youth

Sex	Males	Females	Total
Educational Level			
Preliterate	1 (1.61)		1(0.94)
Primary	5 (8.06)	2(4.54)	7(6.60)
Secondary	5 (8.06)	2(4.54)	7(6.60)
High School	1 (1.61)	-	1(0.94)
Intermediate	7 (11.29)	4(9.09)	11(10.37)
Graduate	13 (20.96)	14(31.81)	27((25.47)
Post-Graduate and above	3 (4.38)	10(22.72)	13(12.26)
Professional course	27 (43.54)	12(27.27)	39(36.79)
TOTAL	62 (100)	44 (100)	106 (100)

* Figures in parentheses represent percentage

Table 4.5: Class wise Educational Level Of Youth (Males)

Economic Categories of house holds	Lower Middle Class		Middle –middle class		Upper Middle-Class		TOTAL	
	No.	Percentages	No.	Percentages	No.	Percentages		
Preliterate	1	63.1		15.15		20	1	
Primary	4		1					5
Secondary	5							5
High School	1							1
Intermediate	1		4				2	7
Graduate	4	21	8	24.24	1	10	13	
Post-Graduate and above	1	5.26	2	6.06		-	3	
Professional course	2	10.5	18	54.54	7	70	27	
TOTAL	19		33		10		(62)	

Table 4.7: Class wise Occupational Pattern and Income of Working youth (Males)

Economic Categories of house holds	Lower Middle Class		Middle –middle Class		Upper Middle Class		TOTAL
	No.	Income range (per month)	No.	Income range (per month)	No.	Income range (per month)	
Family occupation	5 (38.4)	2000-8000/-	2 (14.2)	8000-15,000/-			7
Skilled daily wage	5 (38.4)	2000-6000/-					5
Self small buisness	2 (15.3)	1000-3000/-					2
Salaried/self employed	1 (7.69)	5000/-	7 (50)	2000-8000/-	2 (66.6)	2000-8000/-	10
Own big buisness			4 (28.5)	8000-50,000/-			4
Own medium buisness			1 (7.14)	8000/-	1 (33.3)	10,000/-	2
TOTAL	13		14		3		30

* Working youth (Includes both-working and studying and working)

** Detail of occupations in each class in Appendix - III

Table 4.6: Class wise Educational Level of Youth (Females)

Economic Categories of House holds	Lower Middle Class		Middle –middle class		Upper Middle-Class		TOTAL
	No.	Percentages	No.	Percentages	No.	Percentages	
Preliterate	-						
Primary	2						2
Secondary	2	37.5		5.26		11.1	2
High School	-						
Intermediate	2		1		1		4
Graduate	7	43.75	5	26.3	2	22.2	14
Post-Graduate and above	-	-	7	36.8	3	33.3	10
Professional course	3	18.75	6	31.5	3	33.3	12
TOTAL	16		19		9		44

Table 4.8: Class wise Occupational Pattern and Income of Working Youth (Females)

Economic Categories of House holds	Lower Middle Class		Middle –middle class		Upper Middle-Class		Total
	No.	Income range (per month)	No.	Income range (per month)	No.	Income range (per month)	
Salaried/self employed	2	1,500/-	6	2000-3000/-	1	5000/-	
TOTAL	2		6		1		9

* Working youth (includes both-working and studying and working)

** Detail of occupations in each class in Appendix - III

Youth, belonging to **lower middle class** were 35, i.e. 33 percent of the total sample. In this class, 28.5 percent (10 youths) of youths were 'studying and working' i.e. the percentage for studying youths and working is same as mentioned in Table 4.2. 1 male youth in the working group was married. 14 percent (5 youth) of youths were doing both i.e. studying and working. The 'not doing anything' group of youth was 17 percent and 11 percent (4) were housewives. Seeing the sex differences, there were no female in the working group whereas the number of studying females was higher (20 percent than the male's 8 percent). In the studying category, male's percentage (8 percent) was higher than female's (5 percent) but in the not doing anything group they both were equal i.e. 8 percent.

On the basis of place of stay, 48 percent (17 youths) males of this class were residents and 5 percent (2 youths) were non-residents, whereas 34 percent of female youths were resident and 11 percent were non-residents. The non-residents in this class are mostly the married girls who after marriage are not staying there currently (Table 4.3).

The educational level of male youth in this class showed 63 percent of them had education up to intermediate level. It is an aggregate percentage of those studied up to intermediate level. The numbers are too small at each educational level above it. 21 percent were at the graduate level, 10 percent were doing professional course and only 5 percent were at postgraduate level. Maximum males had education up to intermediate level only. Among females, a bit different picture showing maximum youths in the graduate level category emerged followed by intermediate level. 18 percent were in the professional group. None of the females had education up to postgraduate level (Table 4.5 and Table 4.6).

Males of this class were mainly involved in the family occupation such as milk selling, vegetable selling, betel shop, general merchant and skilled daily wage in battery work, electrician, mechanic and inverter repair equally (38 percent) having income range between 2000-6000 or 8000 rupees per month. This is highest percentage of youth involved in such work across class. 15 percent were involved in self-owned small business including CD's shop and vendor having even lower level of income range i.e. from 1000 to 3000 rupees per month. Only 1 youth (i.e. 7 percent

of this group) was involved in salaried work as a tuition teaching having an income of 5000 rupees per month.

All the Females were involved only in the salaried/self-employed category engaged in ad-hoc teaching and working in a beauty parlour having income level of only up to 1,500 rupees per month as mentioned in Table 4.7 and Table 4.8. The youths of this class were trying hard to make both the ends meet, as household income level was very low. Their resources were very limited. This renders them to think primarily of struggling to solve family's financial problems. A youth of this class tells that:

padhai chodney ka ek karan yeh tha ki pitaji nay hamarey loan ley liya tha. Loan ka mamla itna ulajh gaya tha ki who bher nahi paa rahey they. Pitaji hamarey painter they. Parivar ki kul aay 3000 rupaye thi. Sirf hum do log kam karney waley they.

Other youth of this class told that

paisey ki kami hai. kamana hai. Hum yahi sochthey hai ki meri kamai badh jaye, paisa bahut jaruri hai, apni dono behno ki shadi karni hai'.

Half of the total sample of youth i.e. 49 percent was of **middle-middle class** category. The studying group comprised of 48 percent, which was highest for this class. There were 19 percent youths who were only working and 21 percent youths were working and studying both. The percentage of this category was highest for this class. Thus 69 percent were studying and 40 percent who were earning. 7 percent of youths were not doing anything. Only 3 percent were housewives. Sex differences were observed as females had higher percentage (32 percent) in studying group than males (15 percent). Females were very less (2 percent approximately) than males (17 percent) in the working group. Females who were studying and working both were again higher (12 percent) than males (9 percent). The percent of males and females not doing anything was same (4 percent approximately) (Table 4.2).

50 percent of males and 33 percent of females were residents whereas 13 percent of males and 4 percent of females were non-resident. The non-resident females in this category were studying out of the town. An important thing to mention here is the another category of youths were those who some times stayed in the town and some times went out of the town for educational purposes. Since, they were available there

at the time of study, so were included in the residents category. This number is 4 i.e. 3 for females and 1 for males (Table 4.3).

The educational level of youth males in this class showed 15 percent having education up to intermediate level. It is an aggregate percentage up to intermediate level. 54 percent were doing professional course, where as 24 percent had studied up to graduate level. Only 6 percent had education up to postgraduate and above. The percentage of youth at postgraduate level is highest in this class. Among females also, maximum youths were in the postgraduate and above level, followed by professional course (31 percent), 26 percent in the graduate level. Clearly, more males have to start earning while the females are able to continue their studies up till later age. However, of those who do go in for higher studies, more men go in for professional courses such as B. Tech., biotechnology, fashion designing, chartered of financial analyst, computer courses and diploma, MCA, etc. (Table 4.5 and Table 4.6).

The males in this class were mainly in the salaried and self-employed category (50 percent) as computer operator, working in call center, teaching in a coaching, adhoc lecturer, journalist trainee, agent having income range between 2000-8000 rupees per month. 28 percent were involved in own big business as own school, plastic factory, contractor and running computer centres having income 8000-50,000 rupees. 14 percent were in family occupation such as business (gifts shop and trading) and did not have any separate income. Their income was a part of family income ranging between 8000-15,000 rupees. Only 7 percent was in own medium business as of dry cleaner and finance agent with income level of 8000 rupees. Females were only in the salaried and self-employed teaching, training assistant, temporary jobs in finance and marketing, tuitions teaching category having income level up to 3000 rupees (Table 4.7 and Table 4.8 and Appendix III).

The youth of this class had resources, although not too much. Either as per their requirement or in other circumstances it was again difficult even for this class, especially for some special purposes like sending out of the town to study or for technical and high quality education. One youth of this class said that *financial*

support rehta hai, par haan itna ki jo jarurat ka hai who toh mil jata hai, aisa nahi ki kuch problem hai.'

In other cases, the availability of the resources was dependent on the number of the family members as '*economically jara bhi secured nahi hun, 2-3 bhai hain*'. Another youth could not go out to study as, '*meri maam ney kaha ki tum delhi se hi C.A. karo, par financially delhi ka nahi ho paya to mainey allahabad sey kiya.'*

So, it can be said that this class had resources but not enough to meet their full aspirations to make things very smooth, especially because this class also tries to do too much in their limited resources. As mentioned by a youth,

Lower class ka kya hai. Din bhar jitna unhey mila usmey khaya piya khatm, upper class ka kya hai. woh mast hain, unkey paas itna jyada hota hai. Middle class ka kya hai, yeh upper class mein janey key liye - hum yeh bhi ley ley woh bhi- matlab inkey jo comforts hotein hain who bhi necessities mein aa jatey hain. Matlab sabse jyada problem middle class ko hoti hai.

This response locates middle-middle class very nicely and can said to be the 'real middle class' as all kinds of struggle between aspirations and encounters between limited resources are visible very sharply.

Upper middle class youth were 18 percent in the sample. 58 percent youths were studying, whereas percentage for working (10 percent) and studying and working (10 percent) both was same. Thus 68 percent were studying and 20 percent were working to earn. 21 percent were housewives. There were no youths in the not doing anything category. Studying females were 21 percent, which is lower than males (36 percent). Percentage of working (5 percent) males and females were equal. There were no females in the studying and working category and males were 10 percent. The studying youth's percentage and housewives was highest for this class. The percentage (31 percent) of non-resident youths (both males and females) was highest for this class than any other class. The percentage of residents was very low 21 percent for males and 15 percent for females (Table 4.2).

Highest percentage (70 percent) of males in this class had professional education. 20 percent of youths had education up to intermediate level and only 10 percent had graduate level education. No youth was in the postgraduate and above level. The educational level of female youths showed lowest (11 percent) who had education up to intermediate level. 21 percent had education up to graduate level. 33 percent of youths were in the postgraduate and above and professional courses. The percentage for professional courses was higher for this class than any other class (Table 4.5 and Table 4.6).

Male youths in this class were mainly involved (66 percent) in the salaried and self-employed category like computer education and business having income range of 2000-8000 rupees per month. 33 percent had own medium business like temporary lecturer and journalist trainee with income of 10,000. Females were only in the salaried and self-employed category like teaching beautician course having income of 5000 rupees per month (Table 4.7 and Table 4.8. For details see Appendix III).

The youth of this class are very secured in terms of resources, as, they faced 'no barrier at all' for most of the youths. They received full support as *'poora support raha hai family ka, financially, psychologically, aap samajh lijiye ki jitna bhi support hona chahiye sab mila hai'*.

This is to be noted that the psychological support is a part of the availability of the resources due to better economic condition. Not only from the side of family they are secured, they receive all the assets like education, occupation that they themselves become very secured like, *'I am from a middle class family, and I don't think that anything is insecure for me. After B.Tech., I will do M.B.A. and will try for a good job either here or in foreign and take my parents with me'*. Same was the case of the female of this class who has done engineering, *'agar starting hogi bhi toh 7000-8000 rupees per month sey hogi, phir jitni unchai tak ja sakey. Ek self dependent honey ki feeling aati hai, lagta hai main kuch hun'*. The feeling of self-dependence, self-identity etc. all comes with the better economic condition.

Comparison of classes shows that percentage of studying youth (57.8 percent) was highest in the upper middle class. This makes very clear that they can afford longer period of education/studies. Where as working youth (males) and not doing anything youth (males and females) was highest in lower middle class as compared to any other class. It has the least options and choices for the youth and therefore one sixth are not meaningfully engaged in any work or education. Percentage of studying and working youth is highest in the middle-middle class showing their high aspirations for both work and education. This is reflected in the response of one youth of this class, '*jo kam kar raha hai woh salary ki चाहत तो रक़्ता है, पर हमारा एक उद्देश्य salary ना होकर शौक है.*'

Although, the percentage of resident youths (82 percent) is highest in the lower middle class yet it is more or less equal to the middle-middle class. It indicates the greater options they have open to them and the greater possibility of reaching higher. The percent of non-resident youth (63 percent) was highest in the upper middle class. Resident males are highest in middle-middle class where as resident females are highest in lower middle class. Non-resident males as well as females are highest in upper middle class.

The educational level of youth was lowest for youth of lower middle class, 63 percent for males and 37 percent for females getting education only up to intermediate level. The youth of the middle-middle class have greater options and high aspirations for both education and work, but not necessarily sufficient resources. Graduate level, postgraduate and professional level education together was highest (above 70 percent) for females and males. Almost 70 percent of the youth of this class were going for higher education, but one third of them were combining their study with work.

The upper middle class had highest percentage of youth in professional courses (70 percent for males and 33 percent for females). Almost 70 percent youths of this class were studying but few had to work. Respondents having proper technical and professional degrees like B.tech., Bio-tech., post graduation and PG diploma were more in upper middle followed by middle-middle class. However, in the lower middle class there were very few youths having done such courses. Even if they have

done it, it was not proper professional degree instead diploma courses of 6 months or a year. Thus, there was significant difference in the quality of education with the variation in the class.

The lower percentage of housewives in the middle-middle class in comparison to other two classes showed the increasing age of marriage and higher concern for education in this class. Male-female differential in educational level was very clearly seen. Although difference was visible at every level across class, it was very much evident especially in the case of professional courses and less in the case of graduate and postgraduate levels.

In-Depth Interviews

44 youths were selected for the in-depth study of perceptions regarding the options and choices. 22 percent were from the lower middle class, 65 % belonged to middle-middle class and 13 % of the upper middle class.

Congruence Between Life Options, Choices and Aspirations

In the case of options and choices in educational and occupational domain, these were not found as a separate entity. There was combination found between the options, choices and aspirations. Along with these, it was also associated with the kind of psychological well-being. These categories were formed entirely on the basis of the perception and responses given by the youths regarding their aspiration and choices. The categories have been formulated on the basis of responses as discussed below:

1. Matched and satisfied: In this group, there were those youths whose life options matched with their choices and aspirations. As they said that they made choice from what they defined as their options and got full support for that. Usually this group has youths who are satisfied fully in all the economic classes. Like the case of youth A3, belonging to lower middle class, in his words:

Table 4.9: Economic Status and Congruence Between Life Options, Choices and Aspirations

Categories of combination of Life options, Aspiration and choices	Lower middle class			Middle-middle class			Upper middle class			Total		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Matched , satisfied (LO=LC=Aspiration)	3	1	4 (40)	6	6	12 (42.8)	2	2	4 (66.66)	11 (47.8)	9 (42.8)	20 (45.45)
Unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied (LO=LC≠Aspiration)	2		2 (20)	3	4	7 (25)				5 (21.7)	4 (19.0)	9 (20.45)
Totally unmatched ,dissatisfied (LO≠LC≠Aspiration)		1	1 (10)								1 (4.76)	1 (2.27)
Compensatory but satisfactorily reconciled				3	4	7 (25)	1	1	2 (33.33)	4 (17.3)	5 (23.8)	9 (20.45)
Low aspiration and no conscious choice making (Unidentified LO=LC= low aspiration)	1	2	3 (30)							1 (4.34)	2 (9.52)	3 (6.81)
Aspiration higher so opting outside the legitimate structures. (Aspiration higher than LO≠ LC)				2		2 (7.14)				2 (8.69)		2 (4.54)
TOTAL	6	4	10 (100)		14	28	3	3	6 (100)	23 (100)	21 (100)	44 (100)

Table 4.10.1: Self Perceived Barriers and Support of Lower Middle Class Youth (Males and females)

1.	Options available	Choices	Aspirations	1	2	3	4	Barriers		Support
MALES										
								Micro level	Macro level	
A1	Never thought about the options	Electrician, working since childhood	Just to start self-business				√	Mother headed family, Financial crisis, Uneducated parents,		
A2	Studies, farming, not thought	Not doing anything, sells vegetables sometimes	Salaried work		√			Mother headed family, Financial crisis, uneducated parents, Lack of watch by parents, Gender,		
A3	Study, work	Electrician	Electric work	√						Peers influence
A4	Study, Business	Small business (betel shop)	To join army			√		Family Crisis (death of a family member), Financial Crisis, Family responsibilities, Gender,		
A5	Studies, work	Work(Mechanic)	To have own business	*RB				Financial Crisis, Family responsibilities, Gender,	No assurance to get a "Govt. ob"	
A6	Studies, work	Work(Electronic)	Have own business	√				Family Crisis (Father's death), Financial Crisis, Mother's ill health, Family responsibility, Gender,		
FEMALES										
A7	Study.	Not doing anything, Household responsibilities, Marriage awaited.	Open beauty parlour				√	Family Crisis (Mother's death) Family responsibilities, Gender,		
A8	Never thought.	Not doing anything, Household responsibilities, Marriage awaited	Wanted to learn stitching,				√	Family Crisis (Mother's death) Family responsibilities, Gender,		
A9	Studies, Job further (In the process)	Studying	Teaching, Dream job-Air force	√						Family support
A10	Study, Work.	Not doing anything, Household responsibilities,				√		Family Crisis (death of a family member), Financial Crisis, Family responsibilities, Gender,		

1. Matched and satisfied, 2. Unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied, 3. Totally unmatched and dissatisfied, 4. low aspiration and no conscious choice making.

Table 4.10.2: Self Perceived Barriers and Support of Middle-Middle Class (Males)

I	Options available MALES	Choices	Aspirations	1	2	5	6	Barriers		Support
								Micro level	Macro level	
B1	Medical, Research, B.Pharma, Pathologist (but unplanned)	Teaching temporarily	Government job.		√			Lack of guidance, Economic Insecurity	Corruption, (Source, butting, no place for the deserving)	Mother's
B2	Medical, Engineering, Bio-technology, Genetic engineering	Preparation Medical	Doctor		√				Not selected in CPMT High competition	Family
B3	Engineering,	Engineering,	Lieutenant (Air-force)			√		Family Crisis (Father's death),	Lack of opportunities in Faizabad	Full Family, and Peer support
B4	Studies, Career, MBBS, Business	MBBS, Business	MBBS,	√				Family concerns		Family support, Peer support
B5	Career, Studies, Research	Higher Studies, Research, (Bio-Technology)	Research, (Plant Bio-Technology)	√						Full Family, and Peer support
B6	Social service, Work, Studies, Research.	Studies, Social service(running school)	Self-dependent, Name, Fame, Social service	√						Full Family, and Peer support
B7	Studies	Not Doing anything	Money				√	Social environment, Peers negative influence		
B8	Studies, Doctor	Studying Mass Com, Reporter	Doctor			√		Family Crisis, (Father's death) Negative peer influence		Otherwise full support of family
B9	Career, Business, Studies	Business	Government Job			√		Financial crisis/insecurity	Corruption, "ghooskhori"	Otherwise full support of family
B10	Higher Studies(Ph.D.), Work, Doctor	Studies, Sahara Agent	Doctor, Government Job		√			Family concerns and responsibilities		
B11	Study ,UPSC (Civil services),Work	Studying Mass-Com	UPSC	√				Family concerns		
B12	Study ,UPSC (Civil Services),Work	Studying Mass-Com	UPSC	√				Family concerns		
B13	No Thought	Contractor	Money, Higher aspiration				√	Peers and siblings negative influence in early age		
B14	Study, Work	Study (in process)	UPSC	√				Family conflicts		Otherwise full support of family

1. Matched and satisfied, 2. Unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied,
5. Compensatory but satisfactorily reconciled. 6. Aspirations higher so opting outside legitimate structures.

Table 4.10.3: Self Perceived Barriers and Support of Middle-Middle Class (Females)

I.	Options available	Choices	Aspirations	1	2	5	6	Barriers		Support
								Micro level	Macro level	
	FEMALES									
C1	Commerce, Chartered Accountant	Doing C.A.	C.A.		√					Full Family, and Peer support
C2	Engineering	Engineering	Engineering	√				Family Crisis (Father's death), Emotional Insecurity	High competition	
C3	Doctor, Higher Studies, Research (Genetic Engineering, Micro-biology)	Studying B.Sc., Doing Preparation	Doctor		√			Family Crisis (Father's death),		Full Family, and Peer support
C4	Studies, Marriage, Teaching	Marriage, Housewife	Teaching			√		Family Crisis (Father's ill- health), Gender, Increased responsibilities		Full support of in-laws
C5	Studies, Career	Left Studies	Teaching		√			Family foundations, Religion, Gender,		Support of father,
C6	UPSC	UPSC	UPSC	√						Full Family, and Peer support
C7	Studies, Not thought of options	Studying	Teaching, Doing Ph.D., Air Force	√						Full Family, and Peer support
C8	CFA, CS, Dance as a profession, Fashion-designing, Computers	CFA	CFA	√				Change of many options, Gender, Financially not secure, Family(not allowed going out) Religion/Caste and community		
C9	Studies, MBA,	Left Studies, Tuitions,	MBA		√			Gender, Financially not secure, Family(not allowed going out) Religion/Caste and community		
C10	Studies, Teaching,	Studying, Teaching temporarily, Tuitions.	Higher education, Good teaching Job			√		Financial Crisis, Aspiration higher than resources		
C11	Not thought of options,	Teaching temporarily,	Good teaching and paying Job			√		Lacking in education, Gender, Community	Lack of opportunities	
C12	Study, Work	Left studies	Doctor		√			Self mistakes, Choice of wrong subjects		
C13	Engineer	Engineer	Engineer (Government Job)	√				Full Family, and Peer support		
C14	News reading, Business, Marketing and Official work.	Temporary Private job	News reading,			√		Negative Family support		

1. Matched and satisfied, 2. Unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied, 5. Compensatory but satisfactorily reconciled, 6. Aspirations higher so opting outside legitimate structures.

Table 4.10.4: Perceived Barriers and Support of Upper-Middle Class (Males and Females)

I.	Options available	Choices	Aspirations	1	5	6	Barriers		Support
							Micro level	Macro level	
MALES									
D1	Research, Private company, Project	Computer Business and Education	Lecturer or Doctor		√		Family bonds ,not allowed to go out for studies or job	Lack of opportunities in Faizabad	
D2	Doctor	Doctor	Doctor	√					Full support
D3	Engineer	Engineer	Engineer	√					Full support
FEMALES									
D4	M.C.A ,Engineer, B.Sc., BBA	Engineer	Engineer	√					Full support
D5	Studies	Left Studies	Teacher (not very strong)	√			Gender biasness,(not allowed for going out for studies, or job)		Otherwise Full support
D6	B.T.C., B.Ed, NET, UPSC	Doing B.Ed.	UPSC		√		Gender biasness,(not allowed for going out for studies, or job),	Lack of opportunities in Faizabad	

1. Matched and satisfied, 5. Compensatory but satisfactorily reconciled. 6. Aspirations higher so opting outside legitimate structures.

Maine high school tak padha hai. Gaon se form bhar kar aisey hi exam de diya tha. Koi problem nahi thi. Humey keval electric ka kam shuruat se karne ka man tha. Interest tha. Dukan par kam kartey rahe sath mey padhte rahe .man me lagan thi. Ghar walon ka kehna tha padhai karo. Par mera man hat gaya. Phir ghar walon ka aur jo kam seekha rahe they unka support tha, apni dukan khol li. Ab tak jo humne kiya santusht hain aur age badhna chahtey hain.

Starting with the **lower middle class**, there were 3 males and only 1 female. These were youths whose options, choices, aspirations were in congruence with each other. Although satisfied with their current status, there were differences in the factors responsible as barriers and support they received.

A3, who is an electrician, says that although he had all support from his family yet from the very beginning he didn't wanted to study. Instead, he always aspired to learn electric work, as he was interested in it. In the beginning, he started learning it along with his studies. He opened his own shop afterwards. He feels satisfied and wants to grow more in his field. Peer group gave full support to him and his work. According to him, '*...padhai se jyada kamana jaruri hai, naukri to milni nahi hai. Shuru se bas kam mey lag gaye. Padhai chodne ka humey aaj bhi afsos nahi hai aur na koi tension hai.*'

However, it was not so in the other two cases in the same category. Here we see that due to lack of economic support, their school education was discontinued. A6 is an electrician repairing invertors. He has been doing this for last seven years. From the very beginning he wanted to go for work in electronics. There was a break in this goal realization due to negative influence of peers in the beginning and due to his father's death and the family responsibility to return the loan falling on his shoulders.

...par padhai hamari majboori mein choot gayi kyunki hamare father expire kar gaye they. '...Padhai chodne ka ek karan yeh bhi tha ki pitaji ne loan ley liya tha, mamala kuch aisa ulajh gaya tha ki who loan chukka nahi paa rahe they.

Here one important thing to be noted is that there was a negative influence of the peer group on the youth. The peers didn't let him to go school. And they were in a habit of wandering here and there, '*Un doston ki koi buri ya galat aadat nahi thi. Ghumne tahelney ki aadat ho gay thi*'. In his own words, '*Phir humne saare doston ka saath chod diya. Ab jo dost hain unsey jab fursat hoti hai, tabhi mulakat hoti hai*'. He had to leave that group in order to achieve what he is now.

The next economic category is that of **middle-middle class**. There are 12 youths having equal ratio of gender. The youths in this category had congruence between their choice and aspiration within the available options.

Respondent C1 planned her career choice from the very beginning when she was doing her schooling. She wanted to become a Chartered Accountant. For that she took her subject accordingly. She reached higher classes, got support from family members and teachers. Her teacher was the source of her inspiration. She is happy and satisfied.

Ek to commerce field mein sabse achhi line hai C.A. Aur papa ka man yeh tha ki kuch alag karey. Mera bhi meri mam ka kaafi influence pada mere upar jinhoney mujhey is line ke liye motivate kiya.

Coming to the male youths, both B11 and B12 opted for Civil services and are preparing for it. B6 was interested in social work and to earn name and fame. He achieved this by running a school. He is satisfied that he is independent. Others who have decided their goal in life and are working on that same direction are B4 who is pursuing M.B.B.S from Russia, B5 who is researching in bio-technology, and B14, who is doing L.L.B. and later on will be preparing for civil services.

In **upper middle class**, there are four youths two girls and two boys. The common thing between them is that they all had full support from the family and peers in both life options and choices. More importantly, their socio-economic condition was also favorable.

D3 is doing B.Tech. For him, family is the cause of his success. From the very beginning he was oriented towards engineering as his career option. He got full support from his family members especially of his elder brother.

Another female youth, D5 had not permission to go out for doing job and studies yet there was full support for her 'local' career options and choices. Consequently, she made up her mind and set her aspirations. Other than doing her post- graduation, she does not have anything to aspire for.

2. Unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied: This group had those youths whose choices were from the available life options but it didn't match with aspirations. Although they made choice as per their circumstances, but they were not adequately successful in that. These youths were not satisfied at all with what they are doing. Like the case of youth B1, belonging to the middle-middle class; in school, this youth wanted to be in the field of science. He planned to go in the field of medicine. He did science but changed his plans and first thought of going into microbiology, then again changed and decided for B. Pharma to work as a pathologist. However, he could not get into any of these fields and is currently teaching in a coaching class for rupees 1500 per month. He feels tense and frustrated. In his words, '*Bahut nirasha hoti hai. Merey kai friends hain jo job kar rahein hain. Main abhi kuch nahi kar paya. Main mehnat bhi kar raha hun phir bhi.*'

This group has only two male youths in **lower middle class**. Their aspirations were very different from their present situation. Due to this, there is lack of satisfaction from their current situation.

A4 was very young when, due to death of the sole bread earner of his family i.e. his elder brother, was forced to run his family's betel shop. He wanted to join the army as a soldier but had to drop his studies for this. Later he tried to rebuild his career, but could not do so. He still tries for improvement in his situation. This has resulted in a fatalistic attitude towards his work as can be seen from his responses:

My Studies were dropped when my elder brother died. I was supposed to look after the home and shop. Even after losing three years I wanted to study. I am still trying. I wanted to join the Army. I covered my dropped class but I have to do it along with my work. I failed twice. I am totally disappointed now. Still, I am trying hard....

In the **middle-middle class** there are 3 male and 4 female youths. Respondent B2 is preparing for C.P.M.T. from Lucknow. He and his father wanted him to be a doctor. He had multiple options as engineering, bio-tech., genetic engineering, etc. Since two years he is preparing but he could not get through. In his words,

Thoda sa kabhi kabhi frustration aa jata hai. Ek tarah se do saal lapse ho gaya. Main har taraph se secured hoon par main career mein sirf dar raha hoon kyonki

abhi clear nahi dikh raha. Selection ho jaaye to thik hai. Wahin se thodi insecurity hai.

3. Totally unmatched, highly dissatisfied: It broadly includes life choices unmatched with the life options and aspirations. Again this group was not satisfied at all. Respondent A10 was in this category. She wanted to study and become a teacher, but because of poor financial conditions and a family crisis, i.e. the death of her elder brother, the whole family was in financial problems. She couldn't continue her studies. She thought of doing work also but, again, due to family and kinship pressure she had to leave the job. In her words,

'Padhai choda kyunki ghar mein kuch pareshani thi. Jaise paper hai (exam) aur ghar mein kam bhi rehta tha, fail ho janey key dar se padhai chod di. Sochney hain, man bhi karta hai ki padhey aur baad mein teacher baney, par yeh jante hain ki nahi ho sakta.'

In the group of 'totally unmatched and dissatisfied', there is only one female youth of lower middle class. A10 being a female faced both family and financial crises due to which she could not continue with studies after 8th class.

4. Unmatched with aspirations but satisfactorily reconciled: Although the life choices made by the youths were from the life options available but didn't matched with the aspirations. Psychologically these youth are not fully satisfied with their current status. However, they have got success or what they were doing was serving the purpose to some extent, so they were not totally unsatisfied. Taking the case of youth B3, he wanted to join the army and become a lieutenant, but he was not selected. Then, he came into the field of engineering, but again he could not find the college of his own choice.

Jo plan kiya tha wo sach nahi ho paya. Toh main sochta hun ki plan banana hi nahi chahiye. Take life as it comes. Aur agar soch lo ki yeh karna hai, phir not selected. To yeh man mein kahin na kahin rehta hai. Par yeh hai ki, engineering graduate to ho hi chukka hun, isiliye khali to nahi hi baithunga.

In this category there are 7 youths out of which there are 3 males of middle-middle class. It has both types of youths as some are satisfied and some who are not have now accepted and adjusted with their present state.

Among the male youths, B3 had aspiration to be lieutenant but could not get selected. In engineering stream also he could not get his desired branch. He can't go out due to

family responsibilities and family crisis, as his father is no more. Although he feels somewhat satisfied, yet many a times he is very disturbed. In his own words:

... frustration hota hai jab socha hua pura nahi hota aur dreams fulfill nahi hotey tab. Jo plan kiya wo sach nahi ho paya. Toh main sochta hun ki plan se bachna chahiye. Mujhe lagta hai take the things as it comes. Aur agar soch lo ki yeh karma hai, phir not selected. Main nahi kar paya isiliye aisey bol raha hun.

There were only two youths of upper middle class who could not pursue what they had wished for. D1 wanted to go out of the town but family didn't let him, so he had to start his business there that was a side-interest for him.

5. Low aspirations and no conscious choice making: This is the group that had not consciously thought of their career or can be said to have low aspirational level. Choices were made as per the circumstances available. The youths clearly said that they were satisfied with what they are doing. These include those female youths belonging to lower middle class who due to the family crisis surrendered to the situation and accepted to choose as per the need. A male in this category, belonging to same class, at a very early age he started working in an electric shop as some body asked him to do. In his words,

15-16 saal ho gaye, kam kar rahein hain padhai ki hi nahi. Jab bachpan se kam karney lage to aur kuch socha hi nahi. Abhi jo kar rahein hain ussey khush hain.

This is the other group that is important for this study belonging to lower middle class. Two females and one male were there in this category. The females had to takeover the household responsibility due to loss of a family member. In both the cases, the loss was of their mother. Being a girl significantly determined their future course of action. In both the cases, youths had their respective aspirations as A7 wanted to open a beauty parlor and A8 wanted to learn stitching but it was not that strong.

A7, a daughter of a general grocery shopkeeper, says that presently she is not doing anything. She could not study even though she wanted to do post graduation but due to a sudden family member loss, the entire burden of the family came on her shoulders. She had no other option left to her, as she is the eldest daughter.

6. Aspiration higher than life options and choices made outside legitimate structures: These youths had higher aspirations than the options available to them within the prevailing social and economic structures. They made choices from options outside the legitimate structures. It included those youths who aspired for more and more money. In their own words, '*Us samay humko bus paise ki dhun thi.*' This category has only 2 youths middle-middle class who were males. And in doing so they started engaging in criminal activities. They were caught and put in jail.

Class wise analysis shows that highest number of matched and satisfied youths (66 percent) was in the upper middle class followed by 42 percent for middle-middle and 40 percent for lower middle class. In the category of unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied, 25 percent youths were in the middle-middle class followed by 20 percent for lower middle class. There were no youths of upper middle class in this category. In compensatory but satisfactorily reconciled, there were no youths from lower middle class but 33 per cent from upper middle and 25 percent from middle-middle class.

Low aspiration and no conscious choice-making category had 30 percent youths from lower middle class. There were no youths in other classes. 7 percent youths of middle-middle class belonged to higher aspiration and opting outside the legitimate structures, but there were no such youths in other classes.

If we see the overall sections, maximum youths of middle class in this study were in the category of matched and satisfied followed by unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied and compensatory but satisfactorily reconciled. Although, the percentage for totally unmatched and dissatisfied was very low, 2 percent present in lower middle class it was seen as one of the most vulnerable. The percentage of aspiration higher and so opting outside legitimate structures show 4 percent of youths which was present in middle-middle class. They were found to be in risk behaviour.

Gender Relationships With Opposite Sex and Marriage

On the issue of marriage there were two major kinds of responses, 'marriage as primary' or as 'secondary priority' and a marriage alliance arranged by the guardians or a 'love marriage' (Table 4.11.1 to 4.11.4). Among the 106 youth of 19-24 years age group, 10 females (9 %) and 2 males (approximately 2 percent) were already married.

In the lower middle class, there were 10 percent of males and 30 percent of females who were in the category of 'marriage as primary'. They don't have any other option. More significantly, these were females who have faced family crisis like the death of a family member. Two youths have accepted marriage happily as their family has some one who shoulders all the responsibilities.

According to female youth A7, *'jahan ghar wale kar denge wahan kar lenge'*. Another youth A8 said that *'Parivar sahi ho, chota ho, ladai jhagra na karey bas'*. Another youth says that among her friends she is the most educated one and all of her friends have been married already. There is only one female for whom marriage is the secondary option as she is more oriented towards career. According to her a girl should marry only after establishing the career, as *'apney pair par khadey honey ke baad.'* Again, for male youth of this class, they had family responsibilities to shoulder, *'Shaadi karni to hai, par abhi nahin karni. Pahley ghar ki responsibility puri karni hai. Do bahnon ki karni hai. Pahley career par bhi dhayan dena chahiye'*.

The aspirations were seen in terms of exercising their individual freedom or accepting parent's choice in relation to marriage. There were 70 percent of youths who said that they would go for parent's choice for marriage. Whereas 20 percent accepted that they would wish to go for love marriage. The rest 10 percent would like to go for a mid way, combine their own and their parent's wish.

Table 4.11.1: MARRIAGE as an Option, Choice and Aspiration (Lower Middle-Class: Males and Females)

1.	Occupational and educational Choices	Perceived Options between early marriage and career enhancement	Choices regarding marriage	Aspirations regarding Love/ arranged Marriage
	MALES			
A1	Electrician, working since childhood	Married		Love plus arranged
A2	Not doing anything, sells vegetables sometimes	Secondary to work		Love
A3	Electrician	Career and family responsibility first. Not now. Not thought about it.	Wants his wife to take household responsibilities ,not do work outside	Parents choice
A4	Small business (betel shop)	Not thought about it.	Educated wife who can take better care of family, save money too. She should be educated	Parents and family's choice
A5	Work(Mechanic)	Not thought about it. First career and family responsibility	-	Parents and family's choice
	FEMALES	Not now. Work first.	-	
A6	Work(Electronic)	No other option	-	Parents and family's choice
A7	Not doing anything, Household responsibilities, Marriage awaited.	No other option		Parents choice
A8	Not doing anything, Household responsibilities, Marriage awaited	Secondary to career	-	Parents choice
A9	Studying	No other option	Wants to fulfill family responsibility	Parents choice
A10	Not doing anything, Household responsibilities,		Wants a small family similar to hers	Love
			Marriage after becoming self - dependent	
			Wants that her wish of love marriage could be fulfilled	

Table 4.11.2: MARRIAGE as an Option, Choice and Aspiration (Middle-Middle-Class: Males)

1.	Occupational and educational Choices	Perceived Options between early marriage and career enhancement	Choices regarding marriage	Aspirations regarding Love/ arranged Marriage
B1	Teaching temporarily	No interest. It increases responsibilities.	-	
B2	Preparation Medical	Primary education and career.		Parents choice
B3	Engineering,	First establish yourself and then marry.	It's a bond of love. Positive attitude is must.	Love plus arranged
B4	MBBS, Business	Have to do.	In my caste as I don't want to go against my family.	Love plus arranged.
B5	Higher Studies, Research, (Bio-Technology)	Career first priority.	Its not a necessity, Lot of work load	May go for love marriage if gets someone in life otherwise parents choice
B6	Studies, Social service (running school)	Never thought about it. Gave first priority to career.	-	Parents and family's choice
B7	Not Doing anything	Have to do.	I will not take dowry. I will do it in a "different" way. Will go for "Court Marriage"; will not follow traditional trends	Parents choice
B8	Studying Mass Com, Reporter	Have to do but after getting established.	-	Parents choice
B9	Business	Career / work first	After getting established in my established.	Love plus arranged.
B10	Studies, Sahara Agent	First Career than marriage.	-	Parents choice
B11	Studying Mass-Com	First Career than marriage		Parents choice
B12	Studying Mass-Com	First Career than marriage	Can't get married to an unknown person.	Love plus arranged.
B13	Contractor	Have to get married	-	Parents and family's choice
B14	Study (in process)	Career first priority. First family responsibility.	-	Parents and family's choice

Table 4.11.3: MARRIAGE as an Option, Choice and Aspiration (Middle Middle-Class: Females)

1.	Occupational and educational Choices	Perceived Options between early marriage and career enhancement	Choices regarding marriage	Aspirations regarding Love/ arranged Marriage
C1	Doing C.A.	Career first priority	Needs to be accepted by all.	Love plus arranged.
C2	Engineering	Career first priority	-	Depends with the time.
C3	Studying B.Sc., Doing Preparation	Career first priority	-	Will go for parents choice, If any such thing doesn't happens in my life
C4	Marriage, Housewife	Married, No option	-	Parent's choice
C5	Left Studies	No option, Have to do.	She wants to do job even after marriage. Wants a life partner who is a good person.	Parent's choice
C6	UPSC	Career first priority	There should be a balance, after becoming self-dependent , Family is more important.	Parent's and Family's choice
C7	Studying	First Career,	-	Parent's choice.
C8	CFA	First Career, But we don't have options.	There should be understanding in such a relation, and one should at least know a person whom you are marrying.	Parent's choice.
C9	Left Studies, Tutions,	First Career, But we don't have options. They will not wait for the career for marriage.	-	Parent's choice.
C10	Studying , Teaching temporarily, Tutions.	First Career, Its important, and should be on time. But we don't have options	First girls should be self-dependent and be ready for odd times.	Parent's choice but that person should deserve.
C11	Teaching temporarily,	Marriage is a necessity, need of society, Should be on right time.	-	Parent's choice.
C12	Left studies	First education, then marriage.	-	Parent's choice.
C13	Engineer	First priority to Career	First girl should be self- dependent,	Parent's choice.
C14	Temporary Private job	Career is primary and most important. Marriage is a need but secondary.	Life partner should let her wife grow in her career.	Love plus arranged.

Table 4.11.4: MARRIAGE as an Option, Choice and Aspiration (Upper Middle-Class: Females)

1.	Occupational and educational Choices	Perceived Options between early marriage and career enhancement	Choices regarding marriage	Aspirations regarding Love/ arranged Marriage
	MALES			
D1	We have to do	Working and studying	There should not be any casteism for marriage. We can't do inter-caste marriage due to social norms and family expectations.	Love plus arranged.
D2	Prime is career	Studying (MBBS)	-	Parents choice
D3	Career first priority	Studying (B.Tech)	-	Love plus arranged
	FEMALES			
D4	Secondary to career	Computer Business and Education	Life partner should be from same field. After becoming self-dependent.	Parents choice
D5	No other option	Marriage is the only option and choice	No desire to study after marriage	Parents choice
D6	Secondary to career	Doing B.Ed.	After becoming self-dependent	Arranged

Table 4.12.1: Perception of Youth towards Girl-boy Relationship (Lower Middle –Class: Males and Females)

S. No.	Perception for Girl-Boy Relationship	Explanation/Views	Reason/Determinant Values	Perception for the Change in this dimension overtime.	Sex
A1.	Very strictly negative	It should not be there at all.	Social norms.	The Change that is taking place is negative, unacceptable. Environment is deteriorating. Excess of freedom is not right.	M
A2.	Negative attitude. It should be in limits.	It not wrong to talk, but he can't tolerate an unreliable boy talking. Although, he has girlfriend, with whom he wants to get married.		A time will come when there will be a lot of openness. It is also now, but it will increase with the time.	M
A3.	Strictly negative.	This openness is nothing but, entertainment. To talk is fine, but it should not be in excess, then it becomes totally wrong.	Social norms.	Change is that, that earlier women use to carry "ghoonghat", now moves freely. This is totally wrong. Females should not be open and free in front of males and have "liha"	M
A4.	It's not wrong, but not for self.	But, I keep myself away from these things. It should be in right manner. According to what is acceptable for the society.	Social norms.	-	M
A5.	Negative attitude.	Society sees it in wrong way. Same for me, because boys "chedte hai girls ko"	Social norms.	-	M
A6.	It's not wrong. But, I see it both ways, positively and negatively.	If both the individuals understand each other, it's right.		Change is fine.	M
A7.	Negative attitude	But because family and society doesn't see it properly, I can't accept with me I prefer my family's wish	Society, norms, family values.	Positive attitude. Now, girls are open, have freedom. But, not for self.	F
A8.	Not negative attitude	It's not wrong, but society sees it in wrong way. I have fear. I don't want my family's bad name.	Society, norms, family values.	Positive attitude. Now, girls are open, have freedom. But, not for self.	F
A9.	Positive attitude, but should be in limits.	Society sees it negatively. This view may not be right, but I didn't have as I never felt the need for it.	Society, norms, family values.	Change is there, but very less. Frankness is fine, but should be in limit, "jitna jaruri hai, utna hi"	F
A10	Negative attitude.	Because thinking is wrong in the society. There should be no openness and interaction. But, she likes somebody.	Society	-	F

Coming to middle-middle class, there were 71 percent of males who gave secondary priority to marriage, where as 21 percent gave it first preference. Respondent C11 says that marriage is necessary and should be on right time. *'Shaadi thik hai, honi chahiye. Samay ke hisaab se ho jani chahiye. Ladkiyon ki shadi ki bahut aawashyaskta hai. Samay ki manng ha'i.*

7 percent said that they had no interest, as B1 said that *'marriage ke barey mein mera koi interest nahi hai.'* The reason behind disinterest generally was not being ready to take the additional responsibilities. Those who gave it secondary priority such as B3 says that, *'It's a bond of love. How can one live alone. I don't think anybody can force you to marry. Koi soch ley ki career banana hai toh koi kyun force karega.'* Where as B2 said, *'jab kuch ban jao tab hi karna.'* Respondent C6 says that,

marriage jaruri hai, honi chahiye, ambitious nahi hona chahiye, career oriented ho par ambitious nahi. Ek balance hona chahiye, dono mein career aur marriage, both mein. Prime importance family ko hai. Family sey jyada important career nahi hai. Apney ko itna able bana ley ki apney pairon par khadey ho sakey. Kabhi is tharaf dhyan nahi diya, bas apney ko establish karney mein lagay rahey.

There were 21 percent of female youths whose family socialization allowed them no option but to get married and so they had also seen it as their first priority just after their graduation. C5 said that

hamarey religion mein jaldi shadi kar detey hain, isiliye padhai chodni padi. Shadi key baad chatey hain ki naukri karney ko miley. Hum teacher banana chahtey hain.

Another youth was married, who had to marry because her father had ill health. She says:

Ladkiyan jab ghar walon key upar hain toh unki majboori haiyeh hai ki ya toh woh apney pairon par khadi hon, toh woh jid kar key hi rahein ki hum shadi nahi karengy. Yu toh ghar walon ka itna sahyog rahey'.

Another 21 percent gave first priority to career, but they don't have an option as the family will not wait or stop for the sake of career.

Male's 57 percent wished to go for parent's choice, 28.5 percent for love and arranged marriage where as 7 percent said it would depend on time and rest 7 percent had no specific interest. Of the females 78.5 percent said they would go for parent's choice, 14.5 said love plus arranged and 7 percent said that it would depend on time.

Of the upper middle class 66 percent, gave secondary priority to marriage. Respondent D6 said, '*Self dependent honey key baad marriage karna jayada accha hai.*' Where as 33 percent of youths have to do. D5 was not at all interested in career or education, and says '*marriage key baad padhai ka bilkul mann nahi hai*'. She made up her mind like that as she saw that her elder sister was also not allowed to go for a career and it was her parents wish. They did not want her to work. 66 percent of youths preferred to go for parent's choice for marriage where as 33 percent preferred to go for their as well as their parents' wish.

Thus, it's more the matter of lack of options for lower middle class. For males, as they had to carry their parental family's responsibility, earning becomes their first priority. For females they have nothing but to get married, as they can't do anything else. Although the male youths were working and self-dependent, most of them preferred for parent's choice due to their obligation towards their family and values that didn't let them exercise their individual freedom. The middle-middle class and upper middle class also had maximum percentage of youths who gave primary importance to their careers at this age. The age at marriage was considerably higher, since only 7% were married in the age of 19-24 years.

There was fluctuation in the percentage for parent's choice and theirs or combination of their and their parent's choice. Usually these two classes are trying to exercise their individual freedom, but at the same time wanted to be part of the family collective and fulfill their parent's wishes. It can be seen from the increase in the percentage for for those preferring love as well as arranged marriage.

Opposite Sex Friendship and Interaction Outside Marriage

Another significant variable, which the present study took into consideration, was with the opposite sex relationships among the youths. It was to know their perception regarding such relationships. In the lower middle class, there were 30 percent of youths having strictly negative attitude towards such a relationship. Another 30 percent had a mixed attitude as reflected in their response of 'positive but in limits'. A1 says, '*agar dono mein understanding hai toh sahi hai.*' 20 percent of youths gave a third response, i.e. 'such relationships should be there but within limits and I would not go in for it myself'. As A7 says, '*girl-boy relationship ko samaj mein thik nahin dekhtey hai. Hamara manana hai, dosti tak toh thik hai, issey jyada kuch nahin hai. Hamarey ghar mein achha nahin mantey, naa hum khud aisa kar saktey hain.*' Limits imply any physical sexual relationship, which is not considered desirable by them. There was another category of contradictory responses, which formed 20 percent of total youth. There was no youth who considered a complete man woman relationship with physical relations a desirable one outside the marriage.

In the male youths of middle-middle class, 50 percent of youths had mixed attitude, i.e. they considered the interaction 'positive but in limits'. 28 percent youths had a positive attitude towards the interaction. B2 says, '*must hai, ineration hona chahiye for full development.*' 14.2 percent youths were having negative views. B10 says, '*nahi hona chahiye, yahi behtar hai. Samaj mey anek dharnayein hain.sahi tarah se dekhne wale log bahut kam hain. Antar aaya hai, pehle se ab mein, par bahut gadbad ho gaya hai.*' There was only 7 percent youth who said they had not thought about it. B6 says that, '*kabhi is barey mein socha hi nahi.*'

In the case of females of this class, there were 57 percent having mixed attitude i.e. 'positive but in limits'. As C1 says, '*aisa nahin hota jis tarah samaj mein sochthey hain. Agar loyal relationship hai toh galat nahin hai.*' 28 percent had mixed attitude but not for self, i.e. 'positive and in limits, but they don't want to apply this on themselves. C5 says that, '*ladke ladkiyon ke bolne ko samaj mein galat mantein hain, hamare hisab se agar feelings sahi hai tohbaat karna galat nahi hai.humney toh kisi*

Table 4.12.1.: Perception of Youth towards Girl-boy relationship (Lower Middle –Class: Males les).

1.	Perception for Girl-Boy Relationship	Explanation/Views	Reason/ Determinant Values	Perception for the Change in this dimension overtime.
	MALES			
A1	Very strictly negative	It should not be there at all.	Social norms.	The Change that is taking place is negative, unacceptable. Environment is deteriorating. Excess of freedom is not right.
A2	Negative attitude. It should be in limits.	It not wrong to talk, but he can't tolerate an unreliable boy talking. Although, he has girlfriend, with whom he wants to get married.		A time will come when there will be a lot of openness. It is also now, but it will increase with the time.
A3	Strictly negative.	This openness is nothing but, entertainment. To talk is fine, but it should not be in excess, then it becomes totally wrong.	Social norms.	Change is that, that earlier women use to carry "ghoonghat", now moves freely. This is totally wrong. Females should not be open and free in front of males and have "fihaj"
A4	It's not wrong, but not for self.	But, I keep myself away from these things. It should be in right manner. According to what is acceptable for the society.	Social norms.	-
A5	Negative attitude.	Society sees it in wrong way. Same for me, because boys "chedte hai girls ko"	Social norms.	-
A6	It's not wrong. But, I see it both ways, positively and negatively.	If both the individuals understand each other, it's right.		Change is fine.
	Females			
A7	Negative attitude	But because family and society doesn't see it properly, I can't accept with me. I prefer my family's wish	Society, norms, family values.	Positive attitude. Now, girls are open, have freedom. But, not for self.
A8	Not negative attitude	It's not wrong, but society sees it in wrong way. I have fear. I don't want my family's bad name.	Society, norms, family values.	Positive attitude. Now, girls are open, have freedom. But, not for self.
A9	Positive attitude, but should be in limits.	Society sees it negatively. This view may not be right, but I didn't have as I never felt the need for it.	Society, norms, family values.	Change is there, but very less. Frankness is fine, but should be in limit, "jitna jaruri hai, utna hi"
A10	Negative attitude.	Because thinking is wrong in the society. There should be no openness and interaction. But, she likes somebody.	Society	-

Table 4.12.2: Perception of Youth towards Girl-boy relationship (Middle-middle Class: Males).

L.	Perception for Girl-Boy Relationship	Explanation/Views	Reason/ Determinant Values	Perception for the Change in this dimension overtime.
B1	Positive attitude .It is the Locality and mentality that sees it as wrong.	Can be a healthy relation. We have friends, both boys and girls.	Locality and mentality.	But, the more the changes the more incidence of cases. Change has come in the mentality of our generation.
B2	Positive attitude..	Interaction is must for full development.	-	Change is there and it is positive.
B3	I see it similar to a boy-boy relationship but in limits.	Earlier it was seen wrong, but nowadays we are studying together. Many things a boy can do for girls and girls for boys.	-	Change is positive.
B4	Positive attitude but in limits.	I already have a girl friend before going to Russia. I didn't cross my limits because I want to be loyal to her and I don't want to be "Sharminda" in front of my wife.	Society, Gender accepted roles. Family values.	Change is negative. We are copying wrong things from other culture leaving ours. There should be limits, which should not be crossed.
B5	Positive attitude.	Not thought about it. It comes with the age. Work comes first. It's not right to bind anything, or keeping strict rules causes problems. We have both boys and girls in the circle.		Earlier, there were more boundations. Now, changed. People know what they have to do.
B6	Not thought about it.	Every person has his or her own mentality.	Mentality	Earlier there were neat and clean relations.
B7	No interest.	Lot of things are happening, but, I don't have interest in it. I had a girl-friend. but the friendship ended. She left to some other place.	Media	Openness is there that is due to media. People try to do what they see in the television. Media has negative role.
B8	Positive	Hesitation is there, because we have been socialized like that. Openness is determined by the place we have been brought up.	Society and Family.	Change is there.
B9	Positive attitude. It should be right.	Have a "different" attitude from society. Behind every successful man, there is a woman. Women are stronger. But, the relationship should be right.		There may be change in such dimension. In a place like Faizabad and its locality, there are no changes. Openness is right to some extent.
B10	Strictly negative attitude.	I think it should not be there at all, because society sees it in a wrong way. I don't even see them. People think it wrong.	Society, peers	Change has come. But, condition has deteriorated. "Ladkiyan apne raste se bhatak gayi hain."
B11	Positive attitude, but it should be in limits.	Friendship is fine, but it should be healthy and depends on mentality.	Society, Media.	Lot of change is there, which is both positive and negative. Ideal has become movies. Youth are copying and learning outside culture through movies.
B12	Positive attitude, but in limits.	Excess is wrong.		
B13	Strictly negative.	Not acceptable at all.		Girls have become wrong. There are no limitations. "Girls bhatak rahin hain"
B14	Not wrong.	I have both in my friend circle.		

Table 4.12.3: Perception of Youth towards Girl-boy relationship (Middle-middle Class: Males).

I	Perception for Girl-Boy Relationship	Explanation/Views	Reason/Determinant Values	Perception for the Change in this dimension overtime.
C1	Positive attitude, but should be in limits.	If the relationship is loyal and within limits, then it's not wrong. And should also be acceptable by the society and family especially parents.	Family and Society	
C2	Positive attitude. But, it should be in limits.	Friendship is not wrong and bad. Both should have understanding what they are doing. It should be acceptable.	Society, Parents, Family	The field in which we are entering now, boys and girls are equal.
C3	It's very necessary, if positive. Limits should also be there.	There should not be any mental block. One should also be clear what type of people are they with whom they are interacting. It should be a healthy relation. Above all, girls should sensible enough to protect themselves and use their "six sense".	Family and Parents	Openness is in excess nowadays, it should not be. But, here comes the matter of high class, its all normal for them. But, in middle class all the circle is known to family. It's more of family relation.
C4	Neither very negative nor positive.	The mentality with which such relations are seen is not right and good. People develop attitude according to the place they have been brought up.	Locality and Family Values.	. Lot of freedom is there but people get cheated because of more openness.
C5	Positive attitude, but not for self.	Society doesn't see it rightly. Id the feelings are right, then talking is not wrong. I could not accept it for myself, because this has brought us up way only.	Family, Socialization, Society.	There has been a lot of change from past.
C6	Positive attitude.	A good and healthy relation is possible. Depends on people's attitude. "When we have to do job, studies etc. then we have to rub our hands with either a boy or a girl. Limitations should not be crossed "	Values Broadmindedness.	
C7	Positive attitude, but not for self.	It can be right, but I never thought about it and neither the need was felt.	Socialization, Society.	Changed a lot overtime. Lot of freedom. Not right.
C8	Positive attitude. But, there should be limits.	The thinking has changed with education. Distance should be maintained. We can't move openly with boys in the society and place like Faizabad. Parents, relatives tell on the basis of their experience.	Family pressure, Relatives pressure, Community	Change is there, but the openness and freedom should be limited.
C9	Should be in limits	Friendship is fine, but even this becomes family relations. Strongly forbidden by the family. Even self doesn't allow more involvement than this.	Family, Self.	
C10	Positive attitude, but in limits.	Thinking towards such relation is very negative and wrong. We only talk to boys who are known to our family I don't mind talking to boys; it's a kind of protection .	Society, Self	It has been said that "Samaj badal gaya hai, but I still feel same boundations. suffocations.
C11	Positive attitude if in limits	Not wrong. Don't have boys as friends. Not studied in co-education. So, hesitation.	Socialization	Lot of change from past. No difference between girls and boys.
C12	Should not be open and freedom in such relations.	There should be some boundations on girls, they are "izzat of family"	Family,	
C13	Positive attitude.	Friendship is possible between boys and girls. I think society is also accepting it.		There is a lot of change, due to co-education.
C14	Positive attitude, but in limits.	Both should accept and follow their limits. This can be a better relationship than a girl-girl relationship.	Media	Change is that presently relations are not based on trust. They learn from media.

Table 4.12.4.: Perception of Youth towards Girl-boy relationship (Upper Middle –Class: Males and Females).

I.	Perception for Girl-Boy Relationship	Explanation/Views	Reason/Determinant Values	Perception for the Change in this dimension overtime.	Sex
D1	It should be there. One should have friendly and frank thinking, which becomes difficult to develop.	But, it's wrong in small cities and towns. Narrow mindedness is there. But, in big cities it is broad.	Should not be too strict societal rules. Medium freedom.	Changes have come. We have both boys and girls in friend circle. But, there should be limits fixed. It should be middle-level freedom.	M
D2	It should be there, But in limits.	If in college, it should be professional. Interaction should be there in both-boys and girls.	Society and Mentality.	Society has not changed and mentality too hasn't changed.	
D3	It should be, but within limits.	It should be just in the form of good friendship or with the attitude of brother and sister. Involvement more than this can be harmful for the career.	Social norms as developed with socialization in family and society he has grown -up.	Change is there in metropolitans. But, I have lived here since 19 years; it can't be changed in 5-6 months. Culture of my place is more dominant on me	
D4	Positive attitude, but in limits. I have boys in my friend circle.	It can be a good friendship, healthy relation. Nowadays, we have co-education. Unlike past. And if we will not interact we can't do our work, like in our field we have to do field work.	Social norms.	The biggest change overtime is that there is interaction between both. And its not always wrong. This is the biggest frankness achieved overtime. Yes, openness that has come should be in limits, otherwise it takes wrong form, like what is happening in big cities.	
D5	Can be positive, but in limits.	No problem with the friendship. Had friends, but only limited to college. Should not be very much openness. Don't like high involvement. Mentality develops according to the place.	Socialization by the family and in Society.	Change is there, but I can only ignore what is wrong happening anywhere. Will only follow what is seen positively by the family and vice versa.	
D6	Positive attitude, but in limits.	It's not right to see it wrong. Can be a good friendship.	Should not be too strict societal rules.	Excess of openness is wrong.	

gair se baat nahi ki, humko khud thik nahi laga. lekin yeh isiliye ho sakta hai kyunki humney ghar mein yahi seekha hai. ' 7 percent a fully negative attitude, *'Ladkiyon par bandish honi chahiye, parivar ki izzat ladkiyan hain.'* 7 percent had a positive attitude. *'There is a lot of change. Co education has started, frienship is possible between boys and girls.'*

In the upper middle class, there were 83 percent youths having mixed attitude i.e. 'positive but in limits'. D5 says that, *'humey koi problem nahi hai. Hum har mahaul mein adjust kar letey hain. Aisa relation ho ki dusron ko bataney mein sharm na aaye'* .16 percent having fully positive views for it. D1 says, *'hona chahiye, Chotey shahar mein attitude bahut galat hai. Bade shahron mein log broad minded hotein hain.'*

The overall comparison of perception towards gender relationships across class shows that there is declining trend for 'negative' attitudes with rising socio-economic status. There is increasing trend for 'mixed' responses .It was significantly high in the upper middle class. The responses of 'mixed but not for self' continued from lower middle class to female youth of upper middle class, but it was fully absent in males of the two higher classes. Although, fully positive responses were absent in the lower middle class, it was significant in the middle middle class. In the upper middle class it was reduced and mixed responses were highest.

CHAPTER IV

CHAPTER 4

Aspirations and Achievements

The preceding chapter presented data on each domains separately i.e. on educational life options and choices, occupational, marriage and gender relationships. This gave some important links to the determinants and various issues. However, it has been said that '*...the whole is more than the sum of its parts, because summing is a meaningless relation, whereas the whole-part relationship is meaningful.*' - Kurt Koffka.

It will be more useful to understand the processes, determinants and the collective role of those factors as a complete entity. Case studies are being discussed here to get insights into the dynamics behind the perceptions and behavior of the youth. The choices of youth are more determined by the interplay of socio, economic and cultural factors and the psychology they generate. The case studies are discussed on the basis of groups made according to the congruence between the life options, choices and aspirations of different class as discussing in the preceding chapter (Table 4.9).

Matched and Satisfied

A5 is a youth from the lower middle class and schedule caste. In the family, there are seven members. Father is a peon and mother is a housewife. Family is fully supportive. Brother does the work of laundry. Friends does the same work, where as the other is a driver. He knew what he could do and hence, he made efforts in the same direction. He had thought of other things as seen in his response, '*... motorcycle repairing ka kam karte hain, mechanic hun. Padhai 7th tak ki hai. Humne kabhi kuch nahi socha tha ki hum aage jakar yeh karenge*'. There was a gradual molding of his options. This happened as he became more aware of his limitations of not getting into any kind of governmental jobs and discontinued the school because of that. At the same time, the peer group was more influential in his career defining process as *Sath ke friends they, woh kam seekh rahe they, Maine bhi socha naukri toh milegi nahi,*

kam hi seikh le. Aur kam shuru kar diya. ' To earn money holds priority, *'paisa hoga to sab theek hoga'*.

At the later stage, he is much satisfied with what he is doing and is not that much concerned of his past aspirations *'Abhi jo hum kar rahein hain khush hain.'* He is working since ten years, now he has his own workshop. Whatever he had earned during this period, he has invested on the workshop. His only aspiration now is for earning more and more as *'hum bas yahi sochtey hain ki kitna paisa hum kama lein.'* He also told that when he left studies he didn't feel bad, but now he regrets *'ab bahut afsos hota hai ki padhai kyun chod di.'*

Since, he has worked as mechanic at Lucknow for 7 years, (one of the big and developed cities of U.P. also its capital), he finds lot of difference here in Faizabad. He cannot earn as much as *'wahan accha city hai, kam bahut aata hai, paise adhik miltey hain'*. He doesn't like Faizabad, as people quarrel, drink and gamble. Here in his immediate neighbourhood there is no educated family.

In his opinion, girl boy relationships should not be there. There should be no openness and no interaction at all as society doesn't thinks well for such relations. Work is first priority for him and he has to first get his sisters married off. He feels family responsibility is there on him, even though he is the younger brother yet *'hum bas yahi sochtey hain, ki meri kamai badh jaye, paisa bahut jaruri hai. Apni dono bahen ki shadi karni hai.'* Then only he will think about his own marriage.

From the above case study, the major issue that comes up is the importance given to 'money'. This shows his economic insecurity, which renders them with lack of options. Although, they also had aspiration, but 'choices' are being modified by the options available to them. Even after staying for 7 years at Lucknow, he is consistent in his values related to gender relationships.

A9 had faced few barriers as she is studying in graduation. She belongs to lower middle class and an OBC caste. She has four brothers. She is the only daughter in the

family. All the brothers are working. Father has a tea hotel. Even though she is from lower middle class, they are slightly better off than others of the same class as all the male members are working. This was the only house of this class having fridge in their home. She got full love and support of her family in all aspects psychologically, emotionally, economically with no conflict or problem at home. Elder brother is the major source of support for her along with the mother and father is usually busy.

Till now she is doing whatever she wanted. Although there was a bit of opposition while joining a co-education institution by younger brother yet full support of her elder brother and mother got her to join that course. They tried to explain that there is no point in studying if one could not get his/her desired subject. There was some problem in the beginning, but she waited, and when her younger brother also agreed then only she joined the institute.

She now aspires to become teacher. Although her dream job was to become an 'air hostess' as she says that '*kash waise padhai ki hoti, ki main air hostess ban pati*'. Now, she wants to pursue that education which is needed to take her in teaching line. Till graduation everything is fine. There was full freedom, but she herself was not able to define or plan in the beginning. She was not aware of the things about how to plan the future career. Till now she is happy and satisfied and regarding her further aspiration she says that '*itney mey santusht hun, aagey kuch banna chahti hun, bas aagey badhna hai*'. She herself tells that she doesn't face any problems discrimination in her home because she is the only daughter and youngest in the family. Other reason she tells that her mother is educated as:

meray ghar mey meri mummy thoda padhi hain. Woh bahut chahti hain ki hum padhe jyada. Humko padhai ke liye batati hain. Mera paksh letin hain.

Another source of support is her friend who wants to become psychologist, and will go out for further studies. Because of her only she went to a co-education institute. Even she wants to go out for studies yet she could not stay out without family. She tells that she is doing graduation, but, '*...aagey bahut kuch karna hai. Padh likh kar apney pair par khade hona hai. Abhi to hum kuch bhi nahi kiye hain*'. Marriage is of secondary importance to her as:

Shadi apney pair par khade ho jane ke baad hi karma chahiye. Tab hi theek hai. Ghar ki taraf se bhi koi dabav nahi hai. Pura sath hai. Jitna padhna chaho padho.

For girl boy relationship, she accepts that there is change. Although she doesn't find anything bad in it but, because society doesn't see it right she herself didn't tries for such interactions. In her case she says *'humey to jarurat nahi padi, na is tharah ka parichay banaya. Jitna jaruri hai utna hona chahiye. Humey jaruri nahi laga ladkon se baat karna.'* Regarding marriage she told that first she will study to make her career and then, she will think for marriage. She will go for parent's choice. She is happy for what she has done till now. Family has more influence on her, greater than friends in her own words:

In her case, the lack of exposure to options seems to be a barrier in education and career choices but she is happy and satisfied with the family support and has hopes for a bright future. She has happily given up the dream of being an airhostess and would rather the 'family values'. Patriarchy is very much visible as even her younger brother's view holds so much importance. People define their aspiration as per the options available from their socio-economic conditions. Mother's education can become a major source of support for the girl, in such circumstances. Not to go for other sex relation ship is not forceful but indirectly it works unconsciously due to social and family norms.

C2 is a non-resident and belongs to middle-middle class. Since she is doing a graduation in engineering from Lucknow. Mother is working and has a government job as a teacher. Her father expired last year. Maternal grandfather stays with them. In family she has a brother and a sister, all of them are studying in same stream. They are *'inspired with each other.'* There was no conflict in the family till now. In fact, family was a source of motivation. Mother is the ideal for them. She had dreamt of a job in the Air Force and given the opportunity, she would have tried once at least. However, she accepts the limited nature of options available for the middle class in Faizabad town:

... yahi sabse badi problem hoti hai middle class ki, jyada options apko maloom nahi hotey. Doctor ya engineer sirf do hi cheez jantey hain. Iskey alawa lakhon courses padey hain, par uap nahi jaantey hain. Kyunki utney mature hi nahi

hotey. I mean jab utni opportunities and conditions hain hi nahi apke paas. Aap Jaizabad mein baithey ho, to obviously aap nahi jaan paoge.

However, from the very beginning she decided to go into this field as her sister and brother all are doing same course. However, she says that when you go out, you find 'n' number of options, which you can't get in a town like Faizabad. Regarding her choice, she says that:

...opportunities mey yahi pata tha ki ek CPMT hota hai and ek IIT hota hai. Iski preparation karni hoti hai. Par bahar niklo to pata chalta hai ki aur bhi bahut kuch creative karney ko hai...toh ab jo main kar rahi hun uske liye I am very happy and satisfied too.

Family role is also very important to discuss here. She got her own trade i.e. electronics but it was in Allahabad. However, family was in view to take admission at Lucknow because of her elder sister being there and nearest location. However, there was a problem that her trade was changing. She had already done a three years diploma in electronics. She was not at all prepared for this change, as both are totally different field. However, she took admission in computer science.

Earlier situation was that she did not know even basic things and operations about computer. However, she very well adjusted and did her best effort and now she feels that '*she can do something, infact anything about computer*'. And now she feels that it was a benefit for her. As other people have degree in only one subject, but she has command on two trades. In her words now she is not 'illiterate' in both of the fields. That change was a plus point for her. Although, she had family problems, her father was ill and he died. Otherwise, in the entire situation there was family support. No body stopped for anything, no pressure to do this or that. Regarding, her current aspirations, she wants to be a successful networking engineer. And, she stayed out of the town and her home that led to drastic change in her. And she is quite happy for that. It was a positive change as she got confidence.

Further talking about her friends and peers, she has lot of friends and she has got full support. The college where she is studying now, her peers belong to a very high-fi society and nothing like a middle-class. Coming by flights every time is very normal. Not like them, traveling in a train. Their thinking is totally different. If students like her will think about IIT-JEE, means M.B.A., C.A.T., the students of that high class

will think of GRE-NET, going to U.S. Talking about the gender discrimination, she says that she didn't face any such difference either in her friend circle or family.

She again and again emphasizes the role of the family in her career. According to her, if parents are not mature and serious about their children's career then it creates lot of problem. However, she feels much secured in that way as, in her own words, '*...I feel myself very secured from my family side, and economically utna hi jitna ki ek middle-class family hoti hai. Not more than that and not lower than that.*' She says that she has just entered in the corporate world, so her career has just started. She also says '*...I think I am much better than someone who has done simple graduation. Obviously, I have some technical degree. I feel that I am better than that.*'

For marriage she says that it's more like a tradition for her. And she don't have problem about it. However, career is first and as her age is like that she has enough time. And so, because of her marriage her career will not be hindered. Regarding girl boy relationship, she says its necessary and its normal. In her friend circle they have both sexes. The only thing she feels is that '*openness kuch jyada ho gai hai. Itni nahi honi chahiye.*' Although, she says that everybody doesn't cross limitations. However, in her views it is all attached with the 'class factor'. It is all about hi-fi society as

I mean that they hide from their family and parents that they are going arround with somebody. Matlab, who nahi batatey, obviously its normal for them. Yahi baat hai ki middle class mein, yeh ki jitni friend circle haiwoh sab apki family janti hai. Lekin bahut jyada hi-fi society mein unke parents ko pata hi nahi hota hai ki acha, yeh bhi friend hai. I mean the girl is going to meet someone, but she doesn't tell her family or she doesn't feel that this is wrong. These things are not good. Waise to its O.K. But, itna nahi hona chahiye ki you can't talk about it to all.

One very important thing she mentions here is that girls should be responsible,

...girls are more sensible, they are much more sensible than guys. So, they must protect themselves that is it. They can be secure in that condition when they will protect themselves. If they are protecting themselves, no body can hurt them. Your sixth sense is your power. How do you read which kind of a person is someone.

Further she points that '*even doing a friendship, there should be a limit in it and a relationship should be made accordingly.*' She says that every body has his/her field of interest. And, it's very normal in this age to have attraction for opposite sex, but one should know what one is doing. If one is right then nothing is wrong.

This case study C2 of a non-resident female showed that although there were barriers like family crisis, but other sources of support like mother's education and government job gave their family a feeling of security. Despite her independence, the family role has major importance. She has feeling of self-confidence, especially due to her education and the technical degree. While discussing the girl boy relationship, she very well differentiates middle class, and upper class youth's behavior in such aspect. And, when suggesting for the girls to be careful in their relationships and to be responsible towards what they are doing, which gave insight/glimpse of responsible relations and responsible sexuality.

Another female of middle-middle class C8 is a resident of Faizabad and belongs to a Sikh family. Her father holds a medium business of gifts and trading in military area. There are 4 members. Elder brother sits at shop with his father. Initially she faced some problem in defining her life choice. After thinking a lot about various options she finally decided for a degree in commerce. As finance management is the growing field and commercial activities are the 'core' of economic interactions in business, job etc. 'Money' according to her is the ultimate aim in any case. This is having lot of scope and is very 'paying' field. So, she chose this field of Chartered of Financial Analyst as her career. Another reason for deciding that as a career was that its' branch had opened in Faizabad.

In opting for Chartered of Financial Analyst, she was influenced or motivated by her cousin brother. Along with CFA, she has kept MBA as another option. She says that whatever she has chosen is same as her dream and it has not changed. She also takes tuitions. However, She had various other dreams or an aspiration like becoming a company secretary, but that was time taking options. CFA is the latest in the field. She wanted to go out of the town for coaching for CS but could not. As there was family and financial problems because of partition of family property. Her family allowed her to study in Faizabad only.

Talking about barriers she told that she had to change number of options like fashion designing, she did her best effort to learn that. However, the institute was suddenly closed, even though it was affiliated with the national institute. She was very good in

sports, but there was no career for girls in this field in U.P. '*Khaskar U.P. side mey sports ka scope nahi hai.*' Then she thought of making her career life in the field of dancing. However, she says that she could not get what she wanted.

U.P. mein girls ke liye jo options hotay hain ki bas doctor ban jaye, engineer ban jaye to theek hai, par agar who dance ki field mein ya kisi aur cheez mein jene chahey to thinking galat rehti hai. Dance ko kuch nahi samajhtey. It's a growing field. And there is lot of scope to do new things in it.

The most important for her was her mother support who believes that whatever she could not have done her daughter should get. The youth said that due to family problems she could not have done much, but whatever she has decided regarding career is also a good option. Although she was disturbed and frustrated for changing options too many times, taking from CS, to Fashion designing, dance, computers. She only faced one major problem and that was the change of options.

Due to family pressure (being a female) she could not go out of town for studies, yet has full freedom in doing so in Faizabad itself. However in her own words she is an enthusiastic person and adjusts very well with the circumstances. She feels very nice as she got the job offer and she is working there as a trainer. She got a very positive input and feels that she is eligible person. She has developed a feeling of achievement.

Peers had an important role in her life. She has a friend who is very supportive to her. And she finds her friends support very different from her family's support

...friends mere sath hai. Woh merey career ko jyada acchi tarah samajh sakti hai. Family hamare sath bahar har moment par nahi rahegi. Friends ka kaha jaye toh jyada support hota hai.

Pressure of marriage is always there. It is more by relatives than of her immediate family itself. And because of marriage girls have limited options. However, she will be able to finish her course before that. Although after marriage also she wants to pursue her studies and work for her career. She wants to do Ph.D. in finance and go into academics. She also wants to do job.

For girl boy relationship, she says that thinking has been changed due to education and its more conservative in backward areas and rural areas. It's all a matter of thinking. '*Excess of everything is bad*', so she says that *these relationships should be in limits*. The distance should be maintained at a desired level. In a place like

Faizabad, there is no openness and freedom at all, like we have in big cities. Pressure of family, relatives and society is always there. However, one can make a good understanding relationship.

In her home, there is not that much openness at all. However, she says that, still she wants to know the person whom she will be married as '*Marriage is not just limited to physical relation, iskey alawa puri life bitani hai. There should be understanding, but yes nobody can't go against family's wish. It's very strong.*' She also agrees that parents, relatives say on the basis of their experience, and further emphasizes that

...hamare parents jo mana kar rahein hain, aisa nahi hai ki woh jo keh rahein hain ussey ZERO percent manana chahiye. Manana chahiye. Jo jayaj hai, who cheez follow karni chahiye. Hamare culture ki jo values hain wo bahut acchi hain.

Case study of C8 showed the influence of gender in determining their life choices, as it influenced their access to education outside the town. Barriers at local level come very clearly from this case study. This shows the lack of opportunities at the level of a town can influence negatively on the psychological well being. Since, she is an enthusiastic girl of positive orientation, her personality characteristics prevented her from falling into any kind of frustration. Friends can be a support system outside the family. Culture and values are very important and have a protective role. It should be preserved.

B4 is again a middle-middle class youth. He belongs to a Muslim family. There are four members in his immediate family. His father is in government job in telephone department. His mother is a housewife. Her sister has completed graduation. Her marriage is awaited. B4 is doing business in Faizabad these days. He is also doing M.B.B.S. from Russia. But, because he was severely ill he came back for two years and again he will go and continue his studies there. He is 23 years old.

About family, he told that everyone is very supportive. Above all his father is the inspiring soul for him. There was a problem in his family which was the cause behind going to Russia for studies,

waise toh hum char log hi hain ghar par, par merey pitaji key upar sixteen logon ka bhar hai. Merey chacha ko papalysis hai. Merey haki parivar waley bhi papa bahut gareeb hain. Main apney papa ko bahut mehnat kartey huve dekhta tha. Mainey tabhi decide kar liya tha ki main kuch karunga. Mujhey life mein kuch banana hai.

As soon as he completed my graduation, he started looking here and there for what he should do. He came to know about this course from an advertisement. He applied and then got selected. He asked his father for that. Although, his father had not enough money to give him but some how he arranged it. Telling about his experiences, he told that when he went to Russia he was only 19 years old. But, going there gave him a lot of confidence. Now, he is happy and satisfied and hopeful for his life. After reaching there he did lot of work along with studies, '*maine wahan par saman dhoney tak ka kam kiya hai. Phir mainey restaurant mein kam kiya. Jab paisay ho gaye tab apna ek chota sa reatra apney college mein khola.*' In this way he earned while working. He beared his expenses himself.

In Russia, because of cold people used to take liquor. In the beginning he always avoided, but due to the cold weather he could not. He started drinking. But, because he started taking a lot, he fell ill. There was liver failure. He decided to take a break and come back because there was no one to take care of him and he was missing his family very much.

Then, he came back and started taking treatment. When, he recovered, he thought of doing something. He started teaching computer education. He opened computer centers. He has opened four computer centers and now, he is earning a lot. He is quite happy with his achievements.

Regarding marriage he told that he already has a girl friend. She is from Faizabad. He will marry with her only if the family agrees. She is from same caste and community. For girl- boy relationship he told that, there can be good friendship, but in limits. He told that,

meri dosti 20 sal se lekar 75 years ki females sey hai. Jab main Russia mein tha tab mujhey kai ladkiyon ney kaha, par mainey ek had tak hi dosti rakhi. Mainey kabhi apni hadon ko par nahi kiya.

He told that he never had sexual relations with any body although it was very normal there, '*Kyunki mainey pehley hi kisi ko wada kiya tha .Aur main uskey aagey sharminda nahi hona chahtaa. Who bahut acchi hai aur main ussay hi 'nikah' karunga.*' In order to be loyal to his girl friend he did not crossed his limits. About the

change he told that it is negative. We are copying negative things from western culture and forgetting our's. *"Yeh media ka bahut bura asar ho raha hai. Log apni sabhyata sanskriti ko bhultey ja rahein hain. Videshi sanskriti ko apnatey jana akalmandi nahi hai, yeh bahut hi nuksandeh sabit hoga."* His family always supported him and he wants to do lot for his family.

From his case, the very striking thing that is coming is the following up of Indian values even after leaving his country.

D4 belongs to an upper middle class educated family. Her father is an instructor of mechanical engineering and mother has done LLB. She has opted for engineering as her career from the very beginning. Her motto was to become engineer; she studied according to that only. She is going to complete B.Tech. She did her schooling from Faizabad. Then she did diploma from Varanasi. Further, she did apprentice ship from Lucknow. Finally she is doing B.Tech from Jaunpur. In deciding for admission in B.Tech. has various other diplomas related to engineering.

She also explains that there were many options for her as B.Sc., M.B.A., B.C.A., medical etc. but she aimed for one from the very beginning. For her, *'...option to bahut se hotein hai, par aim /motto kya hai, aur admi ki nazar hamesha usi motto ki taraf hoti hai.'* This aim she got from his parents. Her father himself is a mechanical engineer and hence, from the very beginning he wanted his children to become engineer. He has lot of expectations from her. She got full motivation from her parents as *'aaj main jo kuch bhi hun, woh apney parents ki badaulat hi hun.'* Mother is also educated up to LLB. She could not practice due to family responsibilities. Family gave full support, financially, psychologically.

She has a good and huge friend circle in all the fields. Some are studying and some are working. She says that,

Hum sab ki life ka motto bas yahi hai ki kuch karna hai, kuch banana hai. Jitni unchai par pahunch sako utna hi kam hai jitna hi uncha jayenge utna hi accha hai. Humko yeh dekhna hai ki hum kitna jyada chadh saktey hain. Yeh nahi sochna chahiye ki hum itna kar chuke hain, bas this is sufficient. Satisfaction life mein nahi hona chahiye. Agar hum satisfied ho jayenge to life khatm ho jayegi. Aur marriage ke pehley jitna unchai par chadh gaye utna accha hai.'

She didn't face any barrier as such however she was once confused whether to do B.Tech. as she already did a diploma which for enough to work as a junior engineer, but her parents suggested doing it. Because this is the time of high competition and so the more you study, the more benefit you will get. After completing B.Tech., she can be self dependent. Even she will earn minimum up to 8000 rupees per month in the starting. And then, one can move as higher as much one can. She says that,

Yeh to hai ki study se ek self-dependent honey ki feeling aati hai, who aur mein nahi aati. Lagta hai ki main kuch hun. Ek self image jo hoti hai, who sabse badi hoti hai. Jo India mein ladkiyon ki bahut kam hoti hai aur jo abhi banani hai.

First importance she gives to career. Marriage is also important but after the career is formed. Marriage should be 'secondary'. Life partner should understand you. It's better if he is from the same field. However, '*padhai ko rok kar marriage kar di to, aisi marriage bandish hai, thopi gai hai. Mera kahyal hai usmey na ladki satisfied hoti hai na ladki ka man.*' Telling about her experience when she went out, she learnt a lot, especially to adjust and in every circumstance. A different mindset develops and the person becomes open minded. She has gained a lot of self-confidence and says:

Main itna janti hun ki life mein koi bhi paristhiti ayegi toh main khud handle kar sakti hun. Chaha who meri degree ya qualification ki wajah se ho yajo bhi ho. Jo meri muthi mein hai who meri padhai, meri degrees hain.

She likes Faizabad, is happy and satisfied with it. Tells that it is cool place. No rush like big cities. She has got religious feelings from this place only, the '*sanskar*' and the faith on parents. Lot on faith on God whenever doing anything, it's all due to ayodhya. The only problem is that it is not that developed. There are no factories and as they have degrees of B.Tech, they have to move to big cities. There is lack of facilities and is not that developed, as it should be.

Regarding girl-boy relationships she tells that it can be a healthy relationship and they have both in their friend circle. Before co-education there was conservatism regarding such relations, it was considered to be wrong.

But nowadays this is not. Hamara fieldwork aisa hota hai ki ki hum logon ka kam nahi chalta. Sabse bada change yahi hai ki agar koi ladka ladki se baat karta hai to iska matlab ek hi nahi hota hai. Yahi sabse badi frankness aayi hai. Openness honi chahiye but, ek limit tak. Jo big cities mein galat roop leleti hai.

Her one desire is *'Society mein jo ladkiyon ko samjha jata hai ki yeh boys se neechey hain, pehley to usko hatana hai.*

Coming to the male youths, D2 is doing M.B.B.S. In addition to being very educated, the class position of his family members is very high. He is from upper middle class. Interesting in his family is that, there are members who are IAS officer, famous lawyer, and doctor. Other than this, there is another member who is doing various kinds of business which also involved illegal activities which is common knowledge. However, because of the family members position in power there was no danger as such to their family. He feels proud of his family. His family has fully supportive to him in his career choice. He got this aim from his family.

As options he had only two in mind, engineering and medical. Civil services was also there as an option, but comes later. He did lot of preparation, and got selected. As his rank was low, he decided of leaving home and gave one more attempt after coaching and he got through. He is doing what he wanted to do. As a barrier, there was nothing as such at the level of family. Only when he went, he faced problem of language. However, that was also overcome after some time.

Friends were from the neighborhood. He had very less interaction with them, as they were not into studies. They were financially weak, although there were aspirations in all of them. Although satisfied, he says, *'abhi bahut kuch karna hai, bahut struggle karni hai. But, I am satisfied with whatever I am doing.'* Yet he feels some insecurity as he has again some desires after the completion of this course.

I can't say myself fully secured in my line. Koi doctor chotey jiley mein nahi aana chahta. Super specialization karna chahtey hain, MS, MCH etc. National, international level ki fame paana chahtey hain.

He told that in the matter of education up to school, Faizabad is much better than big cities but for higher education we need to go out. He emphasizes that those who are living in any kind of deficiency gain the success. They have desire to do sincere efforts. There is lack of opportunities, but *'Faizabad key bacchey bahar jakar successful hotey hain.'* He has learnt a lot after living out of his hometown, and has become confident. He says that girl boy relationship should be there but in limits. It

should be a professional relation. According to him, *'Society and mentality has not changed that much as it seems to be'*. For him, prime is career.

These two above indepth interviews, show that as their economic status is better, their position is also better than other youths of this category. Both these two had positive support from the family for everything. Positive role of family and achievement can lead to development of identity, self-image, self-dependence, and self-actualization, especially in case of girls. Staying outside has resulted in the non-resident gaining confidence and ability to live in any circumstances and handle any situation.

Summarising the main characteristics of this particular category, it can be clearly made out that the desire to 'become something big' is strong in all the classes; ties with the family are also strong. Such desire in the lower class youths had been adjusted as per their conditions were. A sense of responsibility towards family and society is seen in almost all the youth in this category.

Unmatched With Aspirations and Dissatisfied

A2 belongs to a family of lower middle class. His father works in a bookshop and mother works on farms. They live in their maternal family as their father and mother were living separately from the very beginning. He works on the family farm and earns money by selling vegetables, there are number of issues coming in the way of his choices. According to his perception he is not doing anything as such. Sells vegetables some times. He is in search of a salaried kind of job, which will give certain amount of money in the end of month. *'1000-1,500 ki koi bhi naukri miley to kar lunga. Kam ki talash hai'*. On the issue of options regarding education and career, he said that he studied till 5th class and due to ill health (*'sans ki bimari'*) he discontinued it later. He regrets a lot for leaving the studies.

Us samay jab chodey tab nahi laga, par ab lagta hai, afsos hota hai. Ab yeh lagta hai ki koi chota mota kam kar ley. Waisey jab se padhai chodi hai tab se khet par kam kar rahein hain.

However another problem here is that, *'main sasta bech raha hun, phir bhi log sasta bechney ko kehtey hain. isiliye man hat gaya hai ki thela lagayein.'* Sometimes he has to invest his own money. He is concerned that *'Yahi chinta hai ki abhi toh kheti se*

kam chal jayega, par agar kisi karan khet chala jaye toh kya hoga.' That is why now he wishes for a salaried job.

He is quite unsatisfied with his family and finds them responsible for what happened to him. Low level of literacy in the family and marital discord between his parents also had a deterministic effect on his future plans. He sees family as the major reason for his state of being as can be seen from his response: '*Parivar ki taraf se to kami hai hi. Padhe likhey hain nahi papa mammi. Papa ney hum logon ko dekha hi nahi.*'

In the beginning when he started earning through selling vegetables, that time nobody said anything, '*ghar par koi hisab mangney wala nahi hai*'. Father does not take care of family as he lives separately. There is no support from his side from the very beginning. Only mother's support is there. However, it's not in studies as she is not educated. It is very important and crucial according to him, as

Kyunki agar admi padha likha hota hai toh admi key sanskar waisey hi hotey hain. Admi waisa hi hota hai...man lijiye school gaye aur khelney chaley gaye aur keh diya school gaye they toh koi shak nahi karta hai. Sochthey hain padh key hi aa raha hai.

One important thing here is that although the immediate family was at fault but the maternal grandmother's support helped him a lot to survive. He wants to be with his friends always. He can't live alone. Now, he wants to help his friends, especially in studies. Comparing his situation with his friends, he says that they get enough money from the family, as his father is a cashier.

In general, he is not in favour of girl boy relationships. However, he himself has a girl friend. In his opinion, there is lot of change from past. There will be more increase in such openness with time. He thinks that his girl friend will be a good wife for him because she is educated and she can run a home nicely. She can save money too.

A2 faces lack of options, as he didn't study. He wants to work but he is not able to get. He sells vegetables in that also he is not getting sufficient money or a considerable sum of money, which can give him economic security. Conditions become more pathetic when even in that he needs to invest himself. There is a kind of handicapped situation. All this leads to severe dissatisfaction. There is a kind of

grudge seen clearly towards his own parents who are responsible for his condition. Can't live alone external locus of control. He feels that he should have been educated.

B1 belongs to middle middle class. His father is a government servant. His mother is a housewife and is involved in social work. She has opened a school and gives free education to the children in the locality. There are 7 members in the family. He was inclined towards a career in the scientific field. First his goal was 'medical' but later on switched over to satisfying government job with a professional degree. He had options, which ranged from 'medical', then changed to government job, medical representative, and lastly to pathologist. However, unable to achieve any of them, he is teaching in a coaching currently.

In the family, mother's support was there. She is educated. He took self-decisions and He feels lack of guidance and interest from his parent's side led to failure or lack of achievement in his case. Referring to his friend's family, he says in other family parents guide in their children's career and involve a lot. In his words, he feels that he has achieved nothing till now and he need to do a lot of efforts. Not feels himself secured.

...Career mein main puri tarah secured hun, aisa nahi hai...main bilkul secured nahi hun. Economically bhi nahi. 2-3 bhai hain, sabko sochna hai.... bahut nirasha hoti hai... mere kai friends hai jo job kar rahein hai. Par main abhi kuch nahi kar paya. Main mehnat bhi kar raha hun phir bhi.

Friends are there but he does not spend much time with them. He has developed a very negative thinking as '*Mujhey bahut dar laga rehta hai, agar koi weak ladka hai par achieve kar liya hai toh toh main frustrated feel karta hun.*' Girl boy relationship is not bad as '*burai is in the locality and mentality*'. It's more important to note that with more openness and changes more cases are coming. Change has come in their generation. About marriage he does not gives any views, has no interest in it because responsibilities are increased.

Talking about Faizabad, he says that there is lot of corruption in education, job, and admission. There are no positives at all in Faizabad. 'Donation, buttering, source, dadagiri' are the means of getting of marks. Teachers, professors they are scared of these student leaders. Examination papers are out before the exams. College politics is

very dirty.. In all aspects including job, studies. Reservation is there, which is being misused. Deserving candidates are not getting it. The environment of society is not very good in relation to education. There is influence of casteism on the society and it influences a lot. He is not satisfied at all. According to him, corruption and college politics is another major cause behind his failure.

B1 is not only suffering from lack of resources, in his words 'money', but also lack of guidance from parents. Although gradual changing and downward change of aspirations was there, it seems as if he has not either planned his options clearly or lack of resources is inhibiting his options. It resulted in lack of self-confidence, frustration, and insecurity. Psychological well being was disturbed. He ascribed structural and systemic factors like corruption, college politics again as major factors affecting negatively in his achievement.

Among the female youth of middle class is C3. There are 5 members in the family. Her father died very recently. Mother is housewife. Elder brother looks seeds business. They have two schools running in the rural area. She wanted to become doctor. Her father was source of motivation as well as he was the only person with whom she shared all her thoughts. She told that '*Jaisey family mein aur toh Kisi aur ka nahi, father ka tha ki main kuch karun, ya acchi line mein jaun. Toh unka hi inspiration tha.*'

The sudden loss of her father left her totally disoriented in her studies. She was very depressed and became 'silent'. When she went for the first time for preparation, she thought she will get her father's dream fulfilled, but she could not. Although she tried to get through CPMT examinations for admission into medical college, yet she could not succeed. It was a double shock for her. She was depressed and had a very strange feeling because of not being able to fulfill her dream. C3 feels that it would have been possible for her to get more opportunity to study further if her mother had been working. Her brother is also there who is preparing for IIT, which is very expensive. She feels that '*Agar meri mammi job mey hotin toh main soch sakti thi. Par mujhey lagta hai ki mujhey apna pair peechey karna chahiye aur kisi line mey try karna chahiye.*'

She, being a girl decided to leave her preparations midway that left her unsatisfied. On one hand, she says that her elder brother supports and inspires her. She feels herself lucky to get such a family. Every body is so good, and the family gives '*sanskar, badon ka aadar. Everything comes automatically*'. Still she misses her father a lot. However, on the other hand she says that she is not fully secured from family side. If some body in the family says something, in that situation she starts feeling insecure. Economically too she does not feel so secured. Earlier everything was all right, they had a joint family. However there was a property division after the death of her father, so she feels the absence of that support that was there earlier. Now she feels surely the problems will come. She is also insecure of career.

She says that being a girl has not influenced her life choice at home but she feels that in the colony and society there is influence of gender. After her father's death, whenever she goes out of home every body had a strange attitude towards her. Where she is going, what is she doing, every body keeps an eye and asks number of questions. She feels that girls are always suppressed. Even if they want to do something they cannot. Society does not support. However, if family supports then girls can progress. She has friends but there is very less interaction with them. Girl boy relationship is not bad. Both should have understanding what he or she is doing.

Because now we are in such a field that both girls and boys are equal and parents to are accepting nowadays. Frankness is there as compared to earlier times in such relations. She is more comfortable talking to girls. When she went out for coaching, there was a positive change in her. She became comfortable in handling such relations and now she feels that everything is not wrong as society considers it to be. Marriage is secondary, first is career. There should be no pressure at all. She is not satisfied at all. She says that '*Abhi toh mujhey bilkul satisfaction nahi lagta hai. Mujhey bilkul family life mein nahi rehbna hai. Asantosh hai. Agar main kuch kar payi toh main apni family ke liye kuch kar sakti hun.support dey sakti hun*'.

She is still hopeful and she has options. She does not like the environment of the locality. Whenever she comes out people always have a watch, which she dislikes. Faizabad is good but the attitude of people here is not that open. In the end she says

that if she could have done some efforts, she should have achieved, and there would have no need to come back here in such a 'mahaul' and jhanjhat. There might be some lacks in her preparation that is why she was not selected.

From her situation, it is very clear that her aspirations were high. There was also a need of support as she had just started working on her choice, when she lost her father. He was the only source of support for her. It also emphasise that just because of the loss of the male head of the family results into various other 'crises' taking place in the family.

Thus in the case of those whose aspirations and achievements are mismatched and they are dissatisfied, most of the youths in this category shows that there was lack of family supportive family. No talk of 'limits' in boy-girl relationships. No talk of responsibility towards family, in fact seem dependent on others and with low self-esteem.

Totally Unmatched and Dissatisfied

A10 is the only individual in this category. She belongs to lower middle class. She had two brothers and two sisters. There were 7 members in the family. Elder brother died. He was under treatment, but the disease was not diagnosed. She started working at an early age just after leaving the school. Studied till 8th standard from a government school. Her age is 20 years. She is working since 5-6 years as she left studies due to family crisis. Elder brother died. She had to take the family responsibilities. The aspiration she had was that of becoming teacher but due to financial problem, it was not realized

'.... sochthey hain, man bhi karta hai, par yeh bhi jante hain ki nahi ho sakta hai. Mammi aur bhaiya dukan par baithey hain. Phir wahi baat ati hai ki padhe ya kam karein. Main teacher banna chahti thi, par pura toh hoga nahi.'

The present condition has left no hope for her to continue with her aspiration. She feels bad for not being able to study. Still has desire to study but also worried that they should have their own house. She says that the barrier was only due to 'ghar ka kam'; otherwise there is no discrimination at home. On one hand, she tells they have

full faith in her. On the other hand, she told that the family members and relatives were not ready to let her work. She used to do stitching work at a tailor's shop as '*...sirf mahaul ke karan. Saarey log ilzam lagatey hain ki 'dhandha' karti hai.*' She told that the environment is not good. People are not cooperative. She doesn't like Faizabad, *Sabsey badi baat yahan koi kam bhi nahi hai. Ladkiyan chahey bhi to kam nahi kar sakti. Ladkiyan bahar jayein toh log 'apyash' detey hain. But, she likes ayodhya.*' She also wanted to join a beautician's course, but again she had to quit due to the environment as '*mohalla sahi nahi.*' In her response she said that girl boy relationship should not been there and it is not seen rightly in the society. She wants to marry of her own choice. She has a boy friend.

A10 wants to do a lot of things. She has lot of talent and feels that she can learn a lot of things. She had interest in studies as well. However, due to financial problems of the family she had to frogo all this .She was unable to work outside due to the stigmatization by neighbourhood. However has a boy friend too.her loud disapproval of boy girl relationships further revealed her contradictions and dissatisfactions apparently making her condition very vulnerable.

Unmatched With Aspirations but Satisfactorily Reconciled

A youth of middle –middle class, B9 he is working as an agent of mutual funds and he has buisness of dry cleaning. He studied till graduation and started business very early, before graduation only. It is for 8 years he is doing the business. He talks about the present time scenario, '*Aaj key samay mein ya toh SC,ST, OBC, ka certificate lekar baithey raho ya phir 5-7 lakh rupaye donation key liye rakhey raho.tab kahin jaker choti moti naukri milegi.*'

He had desire for job from the very beginning, but as he was growing up he saw how the trade market is working and so he says '*I hate government jobs.*' It is all because of the corruption and reservation. About options he says that he has a number of options and he will increase his work and area. And he will be starting something new with time. The field in which he is working is very challenging, customers

availability, faith and getting agreement etc is not that easy. He is fully satisfied with what he is doing.

He told that he started business very early because of the family's economic crisis. They were the biggest supplier of cycles in the Faizabad district. However there was a downfall in the business in his period since he was a child. He is again trying to establish it. Family's support is always there with him. In his family, although mother is a housewife yet she takes tuitions. Father takes care of business and younger brother is there. Sister is married.

He has lot friends, but according to him in such a fast life there are no friend at all actually. He meets his friends very rarely. Some are working, some are preparing for higher studies, and some are in search of a job. He gives the instance of his friends. One of his friends has done MCA. He got an offer from Government College to take computer classes for 11 months. His salary is 2,500 rupees per month. That school is in a rural area and going there costs 80 rupees per day. Another friend wanted to become doctor, and he did it. He went out of Faizabad 7 years ago. And he has completed M.B.B.S. and now he is doing practice. From their example he wanted to say that '*Kuch main yeh bhi keh sakta hun ki Faizabad ki locality hi aisi hai ki yahan log successful nahi hotey hain. Jo bhi successful hua hai wo bahar ja kar hi hua hai.*'

He says that he wanted to go out but for business. He did some work out side. He started his business in Varanasi, but he was not able to settle himself there, although it was much better there. Faizabad is good and peaceful place. However there is lack of chances and opportunities in any field for studies and business. All business of Faizabad had shifted to Lucknow. Regarding girl boy relationship, he says that

Ek ladka ek ladki dost kyon nahin ho saktey. Ek kahavat hai ki 'har successful aadmi ke pichhey kisi ladki ka haath hota hai'. Hamari religious stories bhi yahi batati hain. Pahley ke samay se ab mein gender relationship mein ya uskey liye attitude mein antar aaya hoga, par Faizabad ki is locality mein nahin aaya hai.

In his opinion, psychologically females are stronger than males and males physically so if both the strengths meet it is good. However, it should be in right ways. He will go for marriage after getting established. He would like to have a love plus arranged marriage. He thinks his parents will not refuse if he will say something. About the area he told that the locality is full of business class people, '*education se to touch bhi nahi rakhtey. Locality is not good, very poor mental standard.*' About corruption, he gave number of illustrations as '*Yahan upar se neechey tak lekar sab corrupt hain.*' Politics according to him is the dirtiest field and the leaders of present time are very corrupt.

Although B9 had adjusted with the limitations and situations yet he had made his own choice. Youth face problems when they enter into the field of job and work. He points out major barriers that are structural like limited opportunities in Faizabad town; corruption and reservation in the job opportunities and the inability of the education to provide a satisfying job. regarding gender relationship still there are no changes in towns or can say backward areas. It's the environment that pushes them into any kind of behaviour they adopt.

C10 belongs to middle middle class. There are 6 members in her family. Father is in government job. Mother is a housewife. Elder brother does works in a electric shop. Her younger brother who was 19 years old went to prison for criminal activities delinquency. She is doing graduation and also teaching in a school of her locality. She had interest in teaching from the very beginning. In order to make use of her time she started teaching there. She is doing undergraduation in Arts. She feels she was not that 'mature' to think what she had to do. She did whatever her father told her.

So she did not think at that moment what she had to do. The only thing she was that she used to study hard and always thought to become and achieve something in life. She also wanted to be different from others. Teaching was her aspiration from the very beginning. Earlier she could not plan her career but now she wants .She is doing as per the need of that line. She wants to B.Ed., B.T.C. or Ph.D. She started planning it when she came in the intermediate. As soon as she became mature towards her career she started planning. After that she did not asked anybody and planned it as her

interest was. Till now, she feels that she has not done any efforts except teaching and taking tuitions. Her father is helping in reaching her goal. *'Papa chahtey hain aur kehtey hain ki tum jo karna chahti ho wo karo, hum bhi tumhari aagey madat karengey.'*

Coming to family, she told that she did not have any such freedom regarding her studies etc.

Nahi humko aaj tak ghar se aisi koi choot nahi mil payi- chahey hum kuch seekhna chahey kuch nahi kar paye ladki honey key natey humko aage y badhney ki kabhi choot nahi mil payi. Coaching, extra class is tarah ki humko koi choot nahi mili.

Mother and father gave her major support. The person who opposed her was her younger brother. He thinks that if she is teaching, society will see and talk bad about her as *'wahi humney pehley hi batay ki ladki honey key natey. Jahan bhi humko thokar mili wo ladki honey ki wajah se.'* Parents also stop to go out just because of the society. There is unsafe environment everywhere as *'samaj itna ganda ho gaya hai ki koi bhi ladki, koi bhi aurat gandi najron se bachi nahi hai.'*

Although society has changed a lot yet there are lots of things unchanged. They think that if a girl goes to that place why she went there. Nobody thinks its for some reason or purpose. She says that she wants to do a lot of things and for that she needs the support of parents, she did not even needs siblings to support her. Source of inspiration was her father and he always gave importance to honesty and self-respect. She faced lot of opposition in the family, but this was overcome by the parent's support. Talking about the barriers she says that nothing other than the 'society':

Samaj key hisab sey chalna padta hai, kabhi kabhi yeh lagta hai ki papa humey padhayenge toh samaj waley kahengey ki aap apni ladki ko padhaney bhej rahey hain. Apko paisey ki itni jarurat aa gayi hai. Lekin koi hamari feeling nahi samjhega ki hum padhna chahtey hain. Humko shauk hai.

She has friends, but they are not as enthusiastic regarding a career as she is. Her friends always say that *'Kehti hain ki tum pahltu idar udhar ka demag laga lo, par is sab mehnat se kuch hota nahi hai. Ghar mein kaid ho kar rehna padta hai, band ghar mein. Ladkiyon ki jindagi ek kaid jaisey rehti hai.'*

However, still she does not take this too seriously and continuously making her efforts. She told that the main reason why parents don't want to teach their daughter is just because of the dowry, or even if they want to get them educated they can't do it due to lack of resources and societal attitudes: '*...ki agar jara sa bhi naam uchala gaya, badnami hui turant padhai band. Chahey who ladki khud galat na ho' ladki ki padhai band ho jati hai*'.

Girl boy relationship is not seen positively. Thinking towards it is wrong. A strange kind of response is always there. She says that

Samaj badal gaya hai, kehety hain. Ho sakta hai. Par humney to aaj bhi wahi bandhan mehsoos kiya hai. Wahi attitude hai. Han bas hum sath ki ladkiyan sirf jan pehchan key ladkon sey bolti hain.

She don't have problem in talking to boys, in fact it gives a feeling of protection but it's not allowed There was lot of hesitation and fear to join co education. . Now, she has opened and there is no fear at all. She told that she has nervousness and 'ghabrahat'.

Hum kuch bhi karna chahtey hain bahut dar jatey hain.Hum uncha karna chahtey hain par dartey hain ki hum us manjil tak kar na payein. Humey yeh dar hai ki kahin humsey yeh choot na jaye, humsey galat na ho jaye, ya hamarey upar koi ungali na uthaye. log kehety hain bahut aagey badhi thi kya hua,--ladkiyon ke liye khaskar.

Although she is happy as she wanted to do something for the family and did not wanted to be busy in useless things. Marriage should take place at right time. Neither it should be too early, nor too late. However, especially not until a girl does not want. In her views one should not go for it until they are able to stand on their own feet. It helps to be prepared for any situation. It becomes a barrier if it is without anybody's agreement. If somebody goes for his or her own choice it should not be a flirt kind of relationships, should be made after thinking. She wanted to go out of the town to study and work but family does not allows for that '*Ghar se choot milna bahut mushkil hai. College mein admission ke samay hi bahut opposition hua tha. Ladki honey key natey. Choti moti dikatey paisey ke karan ho jati hain par utni badi nahi jitna ladki hoaney ki wajah sey.*'

Family's faith is must in the progress of a girl. Any relation if it is in limits there will be no problem. It becomes the matter of family's respect.

Another major problem she faced was of taking admission to college. Due to reservation she could not get admission even after getting 63 marks and another girl under reservation got admission at only 40-35 marks. There is influence of casteism on many aspects. If some body is of upper caste but poor they will not get any scholarship or support of government. It's right to give reservation, '*Aarakshan dena jaruri hai, par pehle yeh dekha jaye ki us jati ka admi gareeb hai ya nahi. College ke students ko paisa milta hai toh gareeb ko miley na ki jati ko.*'

Further she told for the barriers:

Main karan aagey na badh paney mein samaj jimmedar hai aur dusra karan hai to who admission, results, number sab kuch dekhey toh mein who hai jati pati ka bhed bhav aa jata hai. Gareeb ko na dekhker jati ko uthaya ja raha hai muddey ke taur par. Gareebi dekhni chahiye.

Regarding politics she says government should look for the individual citizen that '*sarkar ko ek ek nagrik ko lekar chalna chahiye.* Being a female she faced lot of problems. Patriarchy was very much visible. Talks extensively about society and the gender biasness or discrimination, which she faced at every turn of her life. There was lack of siblings support for her. Peers perception again reflects the larger level mentality going on in the society. Reservation and corruption was again a part of her negative experience as larger level.

C14 is a female youth of middle-middle class. Her father is a property dealer and mother is a teacher in a government junior school. Her brother is a contractor and younger sister is studying. Father's work is just for the name, he does not earn. Her mother bears the expenses of family. Brother has started working earlier, but it was not through fair means. He had been arrested two three times.

She feels that she could not do what she had earlier wished to do. She changed her choices number of times due to lack of family support and financial insecurity. Her aspiration was to go for job of airhostess or news reading, but she could not. She decided for commerce thinking a lot. Because she said that she knew her situation and economic condition. She could not do any expensive course and coaching for any preparations. Now she is doing as she is becoming more mature for her career. Her studies were in very unplanned way. Although, seeing her circumstances she feels

satisfied. At present she is employed in a private firm, her confidence level has increased. She describes in her words:

...Jo socha tha who kar nahi paye, due to financial problems aur social boundations ke karan keh saktey hain. Commerce mein interest tha lekin co-education ke karan allow nahi kiya. Parents ney kabhi dhyan nahi diya, guidance nahi mila. News reading and Air-hostess yeh mere man mein tha par not allowed...now, ab thik hai, jo hai, official work bhi pasand hai, toh thik.

She wanted to go out of the town, but the conditions were not allowing her to do that. She had to take care of her family. For barriers she told that it is the economic condition, lack of family support, especially elder brothers support was not there. In the family mother always supported but, father never. He did not want her to work. The timings of job was not very right, it was 10 to 5 in the evening and took 7.30 to come back. Her family is a middle class family in big cities there is lot of change in the life style. However, her parents do not give value to or accept the changes taking place.

They want her to study and do a job, but there are people who change their mind as '*jaisey mainey job ki toh log yeh bhi kehtey they ki tumharey ghar mein kya kami ho gayi thi. Unko rokney waley bahut log hotey hain*'. Elder brother was always against her progress. Maximum opposition was from his side. The biggest problem is people's interference in other's life, '*logon ka interference bahut jyada hai. Hum chah key bhi kuch nahi kar patey.*'

The other reason is that the household responsibility is solely on her. And if she wants to do this she has to answer lot of questions, '*kyun jana hai,*' In her exam of intermediate members in the family use to discourage her, '*hamesha mujhey kehtey second aaogi*'. It is kind of mental torture. She never found any motivation from her family side. Instead if she thought to do something, they use to take out negative points in it. Always a kind of discouragement was there as '*tum nahi kar paogi.*' Financial support was not there at all. She was selected in the polytechnic, but she could not go. From her childhood years she was discouraged. They kept on saying, '*You cannot do,*' It results in negative influence on the mind. However, she always kept herself positive and passed with first division.

Parent's educational level is very important for all kinds of support. In her case her parents are educated but they change with others views. In her friend circle there was not much ambitious girls were there. Even if they had ambition, there were no support of family in its fulfillment as they all were from a middle- class family. So after graduation all were married. In Faizabad, the situation of females is very bad. They are not permitted to do what they wish to do. And all her friends have felt this '*agar aap kuch bhi pahan rahi hain, kisi key sath aa rahi hain, log usey galat kahengey.*' This is not a good sign as '*ladki ki life choices mein uski apni choices nahi hati hai. Career aur education peechey choot jata hai marriage sey.*'

Parents believe it to be their responsibility and if they get good proposals for marriage they feel to do it as soon as possible to get rid of their responsibility. And if a girl says she had to do something else, they say '*beta, tumko jo karna hai, apney sasural ja kar karna.*' Marriage is a need and very important but career is primary. She wants a life partner who can let her grow.

Girl boy relationship can be better, but nowadays trust is missing in such relations. It's all because of media. There should be limits in such relations. In the society like in Faizabad, there is lot of influence of others what people do, but not in bigger cities. Others interference is too much in life of people.

As she is working, she told lot of corruption taking place in her work place. Psychological as well as sexual exploitation were taking place. Wages were not given. She herself went through that kind of exploitation. She was very shocked. Boss flirting with the females working there is again a problem. Faizabad is a good place as here '*sukoon hai,*' but you cannot get success here especially in the case of career and education. She is not fully satisfied; there was frustration that she could not achieve that much. However, she says, '*main is tarah ki hunki phir bhi khud ko positive rakha hai itney saarey negatives key baad.*'

C14 faced a gamut of problems like financial, familial and social boundations along with patriarchy.

D1 belongs to upper middle class. There are 7 members in the family. But because elder brother is married settled out side the town, there are only 4 members in the family at Faizabad. Regarding his options and choices he told that he had interest in the biology, but because of his father, he took industrial microbiology. His brother was also in that same line so he has been asked to follow his line. He got admission in that subject but out of Faizabad town. Then he had no option but to join some other subject. He then took chemistry. After sometime, he left as he was not having interest in that. Then finally, he opted for Computer education and business, as it was a subsidiary interest for him.

Although his dream job was doctor, his aspiration was to continue education in microbiology and become a lecturer. About his interest he tells that, *'shuru se main tuitions karta tha. Mujhey interest tha aur mujhey accha lagta tha, self education sey mainey Ph.D. aur B.Ed. ki padhai shuru ki.'* He dream could not get materialized, then he shifted to computers, *'teacher banana aim tha par who choot gaya. Computer field mein aaya . isiliye phir humnay socha woh nahi kar paye toh yeh field majboot tha. Ab mainey yeh kam kiya.'* Although he had multiple options like research, private job in a company in the chemical field, *'par who bhi project ka tha.bahut paying nahi hoyi hai yeh fields.'*

He got full support from his family, but the only problem was his mother who was very attached to him. He could have done better and fulfilled his desire of doing Ph.D. but his parents did not let him go and leave Faizabad. He is the younger son also. He had to surrender to the family, *'mujhey afsos hai ki mera aim choot gaya. Mera bad luck tha. Mera aim nahi fulfill ho paya.Mera bahar janey ka bahut man tha. Muiney bahut struggle kiya.Ghar mein bahut jhik- jhik hui par allow nahi hua.'*

Family gives lot of important to education and they. He and his siblings gave good results always. His elder brother also gave lot of support to him. He also has lot of friends. Those friends who are not working, he involved them in his business. Now he is very secured and says, *'I am very secure and confident for my career in education. Economically he was self dependent from the very beginning as he used to give tuitions.'* He told that as he was not economically secure in the very beginning he

thought of becoming self-dependent, '*abhav ki wajah se hi mainey khud kamaney ki sochi. Inter ke baad himainey soch liya tha ki mujhey kuch apney liye karna hai. Kisi kay peechey bahgna na padey.*' And he always gave lot of importance to self-image. Now he is happy and economically secure but, still he desires for his early interest of becoming a lecturer.

Further father only motivated him to develop his computer interest and start business. He only bought him two computers. Now, he has developed his interest in that .He further wants to expand it and '*main aagey aur 14-15 centres kholna chahta hun. Computer education main adik sey adhik logon ko dena chahta hun.*' Thus, except one barrier he did not faced any problem and started growing in that field and he was successful in doing that.

According to him, there is nothing bad in girl boy relationship. Only thing is that, '*Freedom is right but, nirdharit honi chahiye.*' Regarding marriage he says that, '*is par bhi casteism hai. Young generation mein nahi hai, par parents don't like. Boys agar chahtey hain bhi toh kar nahi patein hain*'. In his case he only faced one barrier and that was of not being allowed to go out for education. He also had to adjust his aspiration, but there was a positive resolution.

From the above youths discussions it can be concluded that barriers to achieving aspirations because of options being closed by the family and community attitudes, and the opportunities closing because of social policies and corruption. but, are able to achieve something though different from their dreams. They are able to explain the difference by family and social conditions and thereby reconcile.

Low Aspiration and No Conscious Choice Making

A8 is daughter of milk seller and belongs to lower middle class. Two brothers are there who helps the father in his work of milk selling and on farms too. Her mother died in her childhood and her eldest sister is married. Due to a sudden family member loss, she herself could not feel like studying. The reason of doing so according to her was that she was the elder daughter, and there was nobody to work and take care of

the family. Above all, she was not that 'samajhdar' (mature) that time. 'Mammi ki death ho gayi 13-14 years par, utne samajhdar they bhi nahi. Humey ghar key liye karna hi pada, chotey chotey bhai they.'

That time she liked household work. About family she told that they always supported. They wanted her to study. 3-4 times they took her for admission. Eldest sister also studied but she got married. Now she regrets that she should have studied something and she had made wrong choice. Now, the family will marry her very soon. She is happy and satisfied no problem from family's side. She thinks that the in-laws family should be small like her's and there should not be any quarrels. She will go for family's choice.

There are friends, but she never goes out to meet any of the friends. They themselves come to her at home while going to their fields. Her friends also are involved in household and farm responsibilities. Females are always under number of boundations, although in her family there is nothing like that in her family. No 'roktok' to go anywhere. She herself don't like to go anywhere. And the people near to her house are 'badey log' than them, they don't talk to us so, even I do not like to go there. She had desire to learn Stitching but she could not because she can't go alone. She never went out alone. She says:

hamara hath pair kampta hai, koi chinta nahi hai. Humko jaisey dehsat si bani hai ki hum kahin javein toh kahin log yeh na kahein ki inki ladki aisi hai, waisi hai. Isiliye hamarev kampkapi bani rehti hai. Ladkiyon ko log jyada kehney hain.

Regarding girl boy relationship, she says that people think it wrong but it's not true always. It is girls who are held wrong. Now time has changed. Faizabad she likes as the 'best city'. Only thing she regrets for not studying as:

Bas sirf yeh lagta hai ki thoda padhey hotey. Ab shuru karney mey sharm aati hai. log kya kahengey. Badi didi padhi hain, bua ki ladki padhti hai, usko dekh kar accha lagta hai. Hum sochney hain hamari mummy hoti toh hum bhi padhney.

We can see that the patriarchy is running at unconscious level. Community watch and norms are strong, but that are effecting negatively as it resulted into the development of fear. The fear may also be due to the lack of self-confidence due to lack of education or any other reason. No clear life choice and acceptance of the situational

choices. There is lack of peer interaction. She also showed an introvert personality which may be due to the number of above discussed factors.

A1 a married male of lower middle class is an electrician by profession. His parents lived separately. Mother used to bear the family expenses. They were brought up at his maternal grandmother's house. Father works in a bookshop and lives separately. He had to start working at the early age of 15-16 years. He could not study at all. He wanted to study in the beginning but '*Jab kam karne bachpan se lag gaye toh kuch aur socha hi nahi.*' How he got the work he told that '*bachpan mein jab ek jagah kam laga, toh un logon ne pucha kam karogey, hum tayyar ho gaye. Pehley padhney ka man hota tha. He studied for beginning 2-4 months. 'Naani' thi tab tak padhe, unki death key bad padhai choot gayi.*'

And its not that no body asked him to study, although he was given a choice to study yet due to overload of work, he could not study. '*Paisey kamaney lage, kam karkey padhney ka time nahi mila.*' There was no problem and barriers. In the beginning he learnt the work. Now, he has a desire to open a shop near to his home. Daily he earns 150 rupees. When he will collect some amount of money he will open a shop. He works from 9 o'clock morning to 9 o'clock night as '*Jitni kamai hoti hai usimein kam chal jata hai, kam lagta hai to khet se nikalna padta hai.*'

His wife is also preliterate. He wants that his children should be educated much as the coming time is like that where any body can't do without studying. Wants a baby after opening the shop. He doesn't want his wife to work as he is working and there is no need. He did marriage on his own choice. In his opinion, the girl boy relationship these days are not right as '*pehley se ab ka mahaul bahut bigad gaya hai. Log flirt kartey hain.*' According to him, it's not right to break after going around in a relation. He is happy in whatever he is earning. In the end he says '*padhai sey mann hat gaya, phir khet mein lag gaye. Karan nanny's death*'. However he has no regrets for not studying.

His situation showed the instance of child labour in such situations. Patriarchal attitudes were visible, as he doesn't want his wife to work. He himself could not study

but wants his children to study shows that they also realize the importance of education but their situation does not access it. Double standard regarding gender relationships was visible as love marriage for self but for girls and others its wrong.

High Aspirations, Lower Options and so Opting Outside Legitimate Structures

Life options for livelihood and career that includes education (formal education and training possibilities), types of economic activity offered by the social and economic structure as legitimate for the present generation of youth of each sex respectively.

B13 is a middle-middle class youth. His mother is the bread earner of the family. Father is working as a property dealer has a very negligible earning. One sister is working and studying both and younger sister is studying. His father is also politically active, and was elected as a representative at local level. Although during the course of the study we interacted with him directly, but his sister told various facts about his personal life and she was judged to be a reliable source. Much of the broad details were openly known to others in the neighbourhood and thus corroborated her version.

She told that **B13** was very good in studies in his childhood. He used to work hard. When he was very young his cousins came to stay at his house, as they were residents of rural area. They came for the purpose of studying. They were elder to **B13**. Parents of **B13** asked his cousins to teach him, as the mother could not have time for that. The cousins started teaching him. Often, they use to scold him with or without reason. Suddenly, he developed inferiority complex as his cousins also never studied but enjoyed a lot. After some period there was deep friendship developed between the **B13** and his cousins. Gradually it was found by the family that **B13** was involved in the delinquent activities. After probing a lot by the mother he told that his cousins asked him to do that. And, it was also found that the one of the cousin who came to stay there was already involved in criminal activities like murder etc. **B13** learnt all such activities from him. In the early days, his mother was not having time to take care of him. Now, he had fully adopted those practices. Since that time he was found to be involved in many criminal activities.

Other thing, which was important to be mentioned here, was his relationship with a number of girls with whom he had sexual relations. Not only that he, had such relations with some females in the family also, like his younger aunt and cousin sisters. He was arrested many a times for crimes as well as relationship with some girl as reported by the family members of that girl. As his father who was politically active got him saved from going to prison many times.

Regarding his options he told that initially he wanted to study, but as soon as he started involving in the illegal and delinquent acts his only aspiration was lot of money and that's it. At present he is a building contractor. He is earning lot of money but still he does illegal work within that. He says that the engineers bribe asks for passing the sanction for construction, so why not he will use unfair means. Everyone wants money.

Another youth, B7 is 19 years old and belongs to the middle- middle class. There are 6 members in the family. His father is a government servant. Mother is a housewife. Elder borther works in an electric shop. Two sisters are studying. He told that he works in the agency of Amul butter as a sales man and earns 2000 rupees. He explained about himself that earlier they lived in Bareilly where he used to study a lot and was in English medium school. His father was transferred to Faizabad when he was still young. Here he got company of 'galat log'. He could not get a good environment, 'mahaul'. Then he got admission in the school. However, instead of padhai, they use to just wander here and there with friends because they used to be with him most f the time:

Maine kabhi kuch socha nahi, kabhi koi plan nahi banaya ki main yeh banana chahta hun, kyunki mujhe galat ladkon ka sath mil gaya tha.jaise ghumne waley, kharab ladkey hotey hain. Mohalley key saarey gandey ladkey,ghumney wale,unka kam lofargiri karna tha.Kahin kisi ko phaltu mein hi maar diya.kisi se kuch cheen letey they. Mera sath aisey ladkon ka pad gaya. Au un logon ke sath main bhi wahi kam karney laga jo woh karety they. Usmey humko jyada maja aata tha.padhai likhai mein dhyan nahi lagtatha.yahi karan tha ki hamari padhai chut gayi.

He says they didn't let him study. They use to come to leave him at the school and come to take him, when it's over. They did whatever they wanted and these all were bad things:

Logon ko marna peetna, logon ke paisey cheen lena, kisi se paisey lekar logon ko marna. Ab jaisey kisi ki kisi se dushmani hai toh woh directly nahi

maar sakta hai, toh who hum logon ke paas paisey fek kar jata hai. Haan, who jabardasti kam nahi karata hai jab tak admi khud tayyar na ho. Koi man mein lalch nahi tha...Bas dhun sawar thi ki jo karna chatey they woh kartey they. Us samay bas yahi lagta tha ki kisi bhi prakar paisey kamaney hain aur paisey kama kar doston key sath ayyashi karni hain,ghumna phirna hai,kharcha karna hai..Kai baar hum log dher saara paisa ikatha har keybahar chaleyy jaatey they. 2-3 mahiney baad aatey they ghar pey. Ghar waley jantey they. Unhon ney roka, danta, bahut samjhaya...Par control nahi kar paye hamare upar. Admi key upar bandhan lagaya ja sakta hai, par man par nahi. Mun sthir hi nahi tha hamara.

This whole illustration reflects how he fell into illegitimate activities. However, he realised his mistake when he was in prison for one and a half years. After that only he felt that he was wrong and he wanted to correct himself.

Mujhey jail mein bahut burey anubhav huvey. Maa baap sath mein nahi, ghar ki yaad aati thi. Tension se dimag bhara rehta tha. Jamant manjur hui ki nahi, bail hui ki nahi. Chutengey ya yahin rahenge. Ab mujhey samajh aa gayi. Na uayi hoti toh jindagi hath sey nikal gayi hoti. Aaney waley jeevan key baarey mein bas itna hi kehna hai ki jo case chul raha hai ussey nikalna hai.

He told that there are charges of very serious crime on him, Arms act, gangster, kidnapping and even those acts in which he was not at all involved. Police forced all these charges on him 'jabardasti'. Thus, he never made any plan or never aspired for anything as such in his career.

Merey man mey kabhi kuch banaey ki iksha hi nahi thi,kabhi is baey mein dimag lagaya nahi. Kabhi kuch banaey ka soch liya hota toh galat rastey par nahi jaata. Hum apney doston mein hi lagey rehtey they.

Now, those friends are in Delhi. He fell into such friendship due to the colony. However, now he has some desires and he will try to fulfill that. He will open a shop to earn his livelihood. He has also planned to do some side business. He has lot of talents in him. Telling about the barriers he says that there were no barriers as such. His father was in a good job. Now, he has thought of earning money and run his home. He did only wrong deeds. Now, he wants to come back and to correct himself. He will do good and right works. He says that he could not have gone into such illegal activities, if he would not have come there to live especially in that locality as 'main in sab sey bach gaya hota agar main yahan na aata.' He says that he don't want to say that everyone in Faizabad is bad; the locality in which he was staying was the cause as: 'haan main jis mohaaaley mein rehney laga iske bajay kisi aur jagah rehney

laga hota toh main shayad accha bana rehta. Is jagah aur doston ki wajah se meri jindagi kharab ho gayi'.

About family, he tells that it's a happy family. There are 2 sisters, one elder brother and parents. They always supported him, and tried to make him understand always the right things. They also tried a lot to stop him at that time, '*merey pitaji, badey bhai hum ko ek-ek, do teen ghantey baith kar samjhatey. Par main ek kan sey sunta, dusrey sey nikal deta. Na unko batat ki main kya karney ja raha hun, kabhi nahi batata.*'

Family tried its level best to get me out of the prison. Whatever he did, he is himself responsible in his own words. They still support him, because now he has tried to correct himself. About peers he told that, that now he don't want their company and don't want to see them at all. He can fight with them, but he will not, as '*ek baar main jis dal dal sey nikal aaya, uasmey ek kadam bhi nahi rakhna chahta.*'

Explaining the process how he went into illegal activities with them, he tells that his friends used to meet morning and evening every day. They used to talk about their plans what they were going to do that day. He became intimate and more involved with them as they had close friendship. Slowly, he started going with them. He saw them doing those acts once or twice then he started doing himself. This is how he learnt those criminal acts like, beating somebody, snatching the things etc. The reason behind doing all this was 'money'. They were not giving the amount of money they felt that they need for. He was attracted to them because they earned a lot of money without doing anything, and he felt if one can get such amount of money why to do hard work. He says, '*hum logon ko khali shauk tha to sirf paisey ka*'.

He also wanted to get money as much as he can, and '*eat drink and be merry*'. He feels that it is good that he had changed himself. Now, he thinks about his family. He had learnt the lesson that in bad times it is the family which is always there with you, especially the parents. He also realized that when there is 'money' everybody is with you. So money is very important. However, in order to attain success there should be

someone who can understand you. People can get success through 'shortcuts' but that very soon leads to decline.

Regarding girl-boy relationship he says that he does not want to talk about it and he had no interest in such issues. However further he told that he had a girl friend. About the openness in such relations nowadays, he says that:

Jaisey aap bimar padtey hain toh aap crocin khatay hain... yeh sab kahan sey janey... T.V. se. Yeh aisi cheez hai ki admi is par jyada vishwas karta hai. Toh mera kehna hai ki log jaisa T.V. mein dekhtey hain waisa kartey hain. Ladkiyan aur ladkey dono dekhtey hain. Meray khayal sey itna bahut jyada ho gaya hai. T.V. ka bahut bura prabhav pada hai.

Regarding marriage his views are that he will go for parents choice, but he will not do it in a traditional ways. He will do it in a different way. He will go for court marriage and he will not take the dowry. He wants to do something different and prove his transformation to otherwise being a good person.

He feels himself secured from the side of family, but he is still insecure otherwise. The danger is still there. Now, not only is police looking for him but also he has a number of enemies. He had left that dirty field .He had been released anyhow from the prison after giving money, but police is also a source of insecurity. After releasing also it had taken him two times to prison. Other sources of danger are his friend who again wants him back in that field. Those friends are scared that he will tell the police about them and others want him back. So, in all the ways he is still in danger.

A common characteristic shared by both the above case studies into the risk behaviour is the complex chain of events that led them to where they are finally now. Peer pressure had a negative role. Aspirations for easy money, early age or immaturity, bad environment, etc. are the responsible factors. The only difference in the two is that, B13's father who was politically active and slightly better off got his son saved. On the other hand; B7 parents could not do anything for him. Instead they had to give lot of money to get his son out from the prison but still there is danger. B7 is in a very difficult situation and there are chances that conditions fear of police can again throw him into such behaviour. The B7 told that although peers were responsible it was the

media behind the experimentation and delinquent acts. He now wants to get rid of such life and there is development of identity formation and desire for positive resolution.

Another thing needs to be mentioned here is that the same kind of aspiration regarding money was there in a youth was there. A youth in lower middle class is there, A5, who is also having similar aspiration for money. Above all he also had severe need for it. However, he did not go into the risk behaviour and adopted family and societal values in deciding his life choice from the realistic evaluation of options available to him.

CHAPTER V

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and Conclusion: Issues of Vulnerability and Risk

The vulnerability has been observed in certain categories of congruence between options, choices and aspirations in this study. Where the life options, choices and aspiration were in accordance to each other, the chances of vulnerability were minimum whereas any mismatch between them led to vulnerable situation. Thus, vulnerability is not the inherent characteristic of any individual or collectivity rather the absence of enabling means to realize the goals that makes them vulnerable. Although the degree may vary, yet, mismatch between options, choices and aspirations leads to vulnerability among the youths. This vulnerable situation makes them more prone to risk behaviours in comparison to others.

In the category of 'totally unmatched options, choices and aspirations'; there was a female youth A10 who can be said to be in the vulnerable position. The observations giving such links were the contradictory responses from her regarding negative attitude towards girl-boy relationship despite having a boyfriend and even having sexual relationship with him. She was extremely dissatisfied with her life, with all the restrictions and constraints imposed by her lower middle class resources and as a girl.

Again the vulnerability was visible in the case of a youth in the category of 'unmatched with aspirations and dissatisfied'. This individual suffered a lot for the reasons for which he was not responsible at all. The marital discord and separation of his parents, the loss of supporting family member and the resulting psychological stress, desire for a salaried job, inability to take the advantage of resources. For instance, source of income from his agricultural land is limited. Dissatisfaction from his situations led to his external locus of control. He needs support, as he is not able to live alone. That results in his over involvement with the peers. His peers are those who are not doing anything. He also has a girlfriend who is educated. It is again contradictory as he had negative attitude for girl-boy relationship. There is probability that his life chances can push him into risky behaviour. Although, he is aware of high value given to education yet his resources could not let him access it.

The above two youths from the lower middle class were in the probability of falling into risky behaviour whereas there were two youths from middle-middle class who were already into the risky behavior. Individuals in risk behaviour were in the category of 'higher aspirations and so opting outside the legitimate structures.' They were into criminal activities, sexual promiscuity and went to prison a number of times. The factors that can be considered responsible are rise in the aspirations and need for money as a result of influence of consumerism in society, reinforced by the media, the options and choices limited by the economic status of their household, influence of family peer with the negative materialistic attitude and criminal behaviour, family being unable to control them because of lack of sense of responsibility towards family, and yet a sense of confidence that if we do these illegal activities our family will save us from the consequences.

Although, this is not to say that the presence of these factors lead to such risk behaviour and vulnerability or to establish a causal relation between them. Yet, the study clearly shows the higher possibility of vulnerability and risk behaviour with certain combination of factors. Through in depth interviews, the complex interrelations between such factors leading to risky behaviour were explored. In due process, various factors were observed and analysed.

Analyzing the remaining three categories i.e. firstly, matched and satisfied, second, unmatched but satisfactorily reconciled and low aspiration and third, no conscious choice making brings out the other half of the story. The youth in these categories were either satisfied with what they had or they adjusted their choices accepting the reality. The youth of the lower middle class also had high aspirations somewhere in their mind, but the limitations in realization of them lead to shift the aspirations. In the middle-middle class and upper middle class, the youths who got support of everything along with resources had positive wellbeing. They were satisfied and happy. Another grouping of unmatched but, satisfactorily reconciled were included those youths who were not able to fulfill what they aspired for but, they either got success or made themselves busy in other endeavors.

At the aggregate level, the above three groups which can be put into the rubric of matched or satisfied groups can be further analysed for probable links. The important thing about youth in the matched or satisfied group is the feeling of responsibility towards their family, as in matched cases. They found the full support of family, attained some of their goals and in turn this generated a sense of social responsibility in them. Another group reconciled accepting their limitations in the social and familial milieu. At the same time, their ability to reconcile can also be located in the support of some or the other factors again in the family or society and some achievements in their life. The group of low aspiration and no conscious choice making suggested that they again accepted the situation and gave up their aspirations. It does not mean that they were not having the aspiration, yet, there was a functional resolution again.

So, the overall discussion shows that this group had a sense of feeling of responsibility towards their immediate setting, i.e. their parents, family, even peers and society. Here, they accept and abide by the norms and values both at family and societal level. It is also not that this group only talked about preserving and following the culture of their society and nation at larger level; they also pointed out its shortcomings and found ways of changing it to a limited extent in their own lives i.e. a common desire for a marriage alliance which was both a 'love' marriage and involving the family.

From the above discussion, class position of family emerged as the major factor in influencing the available life options, choices and aspirations. The most accepted definition of class is based on economic levels of income and wealth. Vulnerability was observed to some degree in the lower middle class and to a greater degree in the middle-middle class. It showed that limitations of the available resources, mismatch with the aspirations, and confidence to undertake risk behaviour have its association with class position. In general, for other youth also the differentials regarding educational, occupational and perception of gender relations can be explained in the context of class background.

Various responses in the study can be contextualized in not less than two theoretical perspectives providing key insights in the study. Not in the order of preference; first,

the Weber's notion of 'life chances' and second, 'capability approach' by Amartya Sen. A brief elaboration of these in the following paragraphs.

'Money is not a thing rather it is a relationship', so said Marx. In this context, the class position of the family becomes important in our study. The economic purchasing power parity many a times has its influence on life options and choices. Broadly understood, the chances that an individual has in sharing the economic and cultural goods of a society are referred to in Weberian sociology as 'life chances'. In today's urban, modern and highly competitive as well as professional educational front, it becomes very necessary to get the best available education and training in order to get into job market. Herein, the family's class position is important in terms of financial assets all the more among the middle class. It came out in the study that some times the youth had to forgo the best and settle for the affordable due to the monetary constraints. Again, such decisions have a negative impact on the youth as they become very much depressed and if they settle for less, they suffer from alienation from the work or career.

It has been also argued that the quality of education determines the kind of job one gets into. Herein, once again the affordability of various professional degree courses along with career in natural sciences by the family becomes an important issue. Also, there are issues of additional tuitions and coaching classes involved here. Moreover, the gender dimension here becomes more visible as in the case of female; various professional degree courses along with career in natural sciences are restricted keeping in mind the future expenditure on their marriage.

Furthermore, in the time of family crisis the financial backup of the family is of prime importance for the survival and maintenance of family. Many a times, due to lack of such backup, youth had to opt for less desirable job or self-employment to secure livelihood both for her/his and family. This restricts the availability of various life choices. Thus, the class position in terms of family's financial assets is very important. This responsibility affects the male youth more, even though the females are not unaffected by it.

Coming to capability approach, a capability reflects a person's *ability* to achieve a given functioning (doing or being) (Saith, 2001:8).¹ It is different from capacity which is 'a biologically inherited, innate potentiality for learning within an individual. This psychological concept of assumed inherited differences in intelligence, aptitudes, etc., thus far has been of little value to sociologists because of the great difficulty of distinguishing inherited influences from social and cultural influences in accounting for variations in human personality and intelligence' (Scott 1999: 36).

Closely related with the notion of capability is the notion of *Functionings* which is 'an achievement of a person: what she or he manages to do or to be. It reflects, as it were, a part of the state of that person' (Sen 1985:10).² A *functioning* therefore, refers to the use a person makes of the commodities at his or her command. The inter-linkage between capability and *functionings* is argued in following words:

Functionings represents parts of the state of a person – in particular the various things that he or she manages to do or be in leading a life. The *capability* of a person reflects the alternative combination of functionings the person can achieve, and from which he or she can choose one collection. The approach is based on a view of living as a combination of various 'doings and beings', with quality of life to be assessed in terms of the capability to achieve valuable functionings' (Sen 1993:31).³

The capability approach is further linked with the theoretical understandings of development. It can be seen from the following observation:

The 'capability' of a person is a concept that has distinctly Aristotelian roots. The life of a person can be seen as a sequence of things the person does, or states of being he or she achieves, and these constitute a collection of 'functionings' – doings and beings the person achieves. 'Capability' refers to the alternative combinations of functionings from which a person can choose. Thus, the notion of capability is essentially one of freedom – the range of options a person has in deciding what kind of life to lead' (Dreze and Sen 2002:35-36).⁴

¹ Saith, R. 2001. '*Capabilities: The Concept and its Operationalisation*,' QEH Working Paper Series 66, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford.

² Sen, A.K. 1985. *Commodities and Capabilities*. Oxford: Elsevier Science Publishers. Also see, Sen, A. K. 1985a. Well-being, Agency and Freedom: The Dewey Lectures, *Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4):169-221.

³ Sen, A.K. 1993. 'Capability and Well-being' in Nussbaum, M.C., and A.K. Sen (eds.) *The Quality of Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 30-53. In the context of application of Sen's views on capability and health see, Anand, P. and P. Dolan. 2005. 'Equity, Capabilities and Health,' *Social Science & Medicine*, 60:219-222.

⁴ Dreze, J. and A. Sen. 2002. *India: Development and Participation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Here it is worth mentioning that:

The word 'social' in the expression 'social opportunity is a useful reminder not to view individuals and their opportunities in isolated terms. The options that a person has depend greatly on relations with others and what the state and other institutions do. The use of the term 'social' is not intended as a contrast with 'economic'. Indeed, ...various economic arrangements (including the market mechanism) are of central importance to the presence or absence of 'social opportunities', and there is a deep-seated complementarity here' (Dreze and Sen 2002:6-7).⁵

In the context of this study, it is important to examine what an individual can manage to do or be in leading a life. In course of discussion, few observations has been made: Aspirations and options although are determined and fulfilled by the class position, it means both ways. If these are adjusted and set on the basis of affordability it results in positive resolution otherwise makes the individual vulnerable and throws him/her in risk behaviour. Another important thing is the cycle that is characteristic of this class position is determination of life options, choices in the forthcoming generation. This is explanatory to the inability of lower class's upward mobility.

The study also found gender as an important aspect in defining the life options available and life choices opted by the youth. Strong and sharp influences of gender were observed in the process of deciding choices. Most of the female youth had high aspirations regarding their life choices and options, but the fact that they were female these aspirations were seldom materialized. This cuts across the class lines of the family.

Broadly understood, gender relates to culturally appropriate behavior of men and women, whereas 'sex' refers to biological differences. Here, the focus is on the culturally constructed images of female as such. In the context of India, such construction is always based on the patriarchal and patri-focal worldview. Such a worldview accords not only differential position to the male and female but also such difference is hierarchical in nature giving female a lower position than that compared to male. This lower position is further more 'legitimized' by the norms and values of the collectivity.

⁵ Dreze, J. and A. Sen. 2002. *India: Development and Participation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

This lower position is passed on from generation to generation through socialization and thus, once again reaffirming the hierarchy of gender statuses. This lower position weakens the capacity to negotiate in the decision making process not only at the household level but also at the collectivity level. Thus, many a times, the issues of deciding the career is entrusted in the hands of male patriarch which results in the loss of self actualization on part of females.

Again in the context of female, the role of mother i.e. procreative status is of prime importance due to her biological role of childbearing activity and key player in the process of socialization. The former concern is very much visible in the issue of marriage during the study. It came out significantly that although marriage was a reality for both the sexes yet for the female, it was more of 'immediate' reality. Due to this, many a times, girls are married even while when their studies are going on or the concern regarding marriage and accompanied expenses in terms of dowry heavily impinges on the expenditure on girl due to education. Such concern was more or less absent in the case of males as they were more concerned about getting settled and running the family. Regarding the socialization, most of the time, the elder daughter had to play role of mother due to family crises.

Moreover, coming back to the patriarchal social setup, the sexuality of the girl/woman has to be protected and guarded, as it is the repository of family prestige and dignity. This has myriad impacts on the overall life of females. Furthermore, the argument is 'that the concern with the protection of female sexuality accounts for whether girls have access to education or not' (Chanana, 2001:38).⁶ In the context of education, she is seldom allowed to join co-educational institutions. Again, her spatial mobility in terms of looking for jobs and better educational facilities is restricted, as family members need to keep a close watch. Moreover, the choice of career is also influenced by such concerns as various career options are out of reach due to circumscription and compromise. Following observation in this context is worth mentioning:

Women's occupational disadvantages must also be related to their role, or potential role, in the family. While the main burden of domestic labour falls on women, they will be constrained in their occupational choice. Furthermore,

⁶ Chanana, K. 2001. 'Hinduism and Female Sexuality: Social Control and Education of Girls in India,' *Sociological Bulletin*, 50(1):37-63.

both employers and other workers will be influenced by the prevailing belief that a woman's place is in the home and will act accordingly. Lastly, women are themselves socialized to believe that they are better suited to being housewives than seeking equality with men in employment' (Turner et al 1994:376).⁷

Another related issue is that of gendered work or occupations/works/careers restricted or earmarked to the females. This creates gendered division of labour where male is primary economic actors and producers outside home and female is entrusted the household domain. This gender division of labour thus gives legitimacy to the public and private spheres of activity in the society or collectivity. Herein, public represents the outer domain of household activities like jobs, occupations, economic actor, etc. whereas the private domain is seen as family and household resting on the shoulders of female. Most of the time such works are broadly termed as houseworks. It is the household activities to which the female should be restricted. For the economic activities, only male are suited. Moreover, the socialization process in the family and wider collectivity also plays its role in this context. From the very beginning, girl child is given differential treatment.⁸

The issue of gender and education is also crucial here. The low value accorded to the female's studies and prospective of realizing their aspirations further limits their negotiating capacity both in private and public spheres of life. The basic tenet of such reasons of whatever nature had to do with that they were 'females'. Many a times, it came out during the study that female youth had to either discontinue her studies or to 'sacrifice' her study in order to get the male relative educated. This system enables the male to earn and to retain the public domain of activities. It is worth mentioning here that:

The low value attached to female education in much of India links with some deep-rooted features of gender relations. Three of these links have been widely observed. First, the gender division of labour (combined with patrilineal property rights) tends to reduce the perceived benefits of female education. Second, the norm of patrilocal exogamy (requiring a woman to settle in her husband's village at the time of marriage and to sever most links with her own family), prevalent in large parts of India, has the effect of further undermining the economic incentives which parents might have to send their daughters to school. Third, the practice of dowry and the ideology of hypergamous marriage (it being thought best that a woman should marry 'up'

⁷ Abercrombie, N., S. Hill and B.S. Turner. 1994. *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*. England: Penguin Books.

⁸ In this context see Richards, M.H. and R. Larson. 1989. 'The Life Space and Socialization of the Self: Sex Differences in the Young Adolescent,' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 18(6):617-626.

in the social scale), also influential in large part of India, can turn female education into a liability' (Dreze and Sen 2002:161-162).⁹

It emerged from the study that the frequency of dissatisfaction with the current status is much more in females compared to that of males. The reasons are not that far to be searched. It is more than natural that individuals have their aspirations and they work hard towards to achieve them. In between come various factors like gender, caste, class and family environment, etc. The gender dimension becomes more relevant here, as responses across classes, castes and family nature have pointed out it as a hurdle. Regarding career options and choices, it will worth mentioning that:

...there are different 'types' of women (or 'preference groupings'). 'Home-centered women give priority to their families, and either withdraw from the labour market altogether or work only intermittently when they have children. 'Work-centered' women, in contrast, give priority to their employment and are often not married and/or childless. A further category of 'adaptives' – by far the largest – shift the emphasis of their 'preferences' over their work/family life cycles.¹⁰

Here it can be argued that if such a condition of equality exists in society, then there should be very few cases of dissatisfaction with current status among the females. At the same time, the frequency of dropping the studies by females would have been lower than reported. Given the presence of entirely opposite situation, it can be safely generalized that gender plays a very significant role in the formation of the life choices for youths in general and females in particular. Another important thing to be mentioned is the negative influence of gender decreases with class. Here the career and geographical mobility was also restricted by the gender.

It is rather very difficult to outline the role played by the family at various levels and stages of individual's life in the context of life choices and options. It is so because, even in the period of rapid change resulting in the erosion of social institutions, it has maintained its importance in social order. Moreover, the educational and cultural levels which are broadly termed as social and cultural capital needs elaboration. It has also been argued how family is emerging as a potent means of educational and subsequent occupational springboard.

⁹ Dreze, J. and A. Sen. 2002. *India: Development and Participation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

¹⁰ Crompton, R. and C. Lyonette. 2005. Pp. 603. 'The New Gender Essentialism – Domestic and Family 'Choices' and their Relation to Attitudes,' *The British Journal of Sociology*, December, 56(4):603.

Some of the broad generalizations can be drawn. It was found that even in the present situation of change and gradual increase in the influence of peer group; family as a social institution had retained its roles. Families are still the primary resource of decision making and decisions are based upon family preference, choice and values. And even the distribution of the economic resources is in the domain of family. Again, extended kinship networks provide the care and guidance for the individual. The academic needs and requirements are also taken care by the family and the career options are collectively decided. More importantly, family provides a sense of psychological support in case of any loss.

Broadly understood, nature of family means the jointness of the family both in terms of family members as well as intensity of interactions among them. Here a situation where both the parents are living together with the rest of the family has a positive impact on the youth and acts as a supportive system for the latter. The unstable family and family discord critically subdued the available options for the youth. It came out in the study that proper socialization and care both in terms of emotional and physical is important here. Sometimes, youth feels lost from the family and takes recourse in the peer group having negative inclinations.

Moreover, it is the family, which builds a support system by invoking the supports of its kin group members; a net sometimes called social capital. In this context Bourdieu's concept is very crucial: 'social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:119).¹¹ More importantly, social capital is both economic capital and social capital i.e. resources grounded in durable exchange-based networks of persons. For the purpose of this study, it came out that those who could afford, purchase cultural capital/social capital in independent schools or through professional course. Herein, the educational level of parents is also of prime

¹¹ Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1992. *An introduction to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of University Press.

importance as they 'have become increasingly career conscious, and this consciousness is implanted in their children at a young age' (Beteille 1991:17).¹²

During the study, the recurrent themes were mostly related to the assigned 'roles' and 'responsibilities' to the respective family members. Again, the statuses of earning member, adolescent, and dependent within the family had its own impact on the nature of family and the level of interaction (mutual bonding) between the members of the family. It will be worth mentioning here that Middletown and Loughhead (1993) developed a typology based on parental involvement in the adolescent's career. According to them, there are three types of parental involvement. These are 1) positive involvement 2) non-involvement, and 3) negative involvement.¹³

Moreover, it was found that the support as well as attitude of family towards the life choices of individual plays an important role. Majority of the youths pointed out the importance of family in their career planning. At the same time there were some responses which reflected the negative aspect of the family. These youths had to give up their aspirations and subsequent life options due to family pressure or lack of family support. It was argued that lack of guidance and support from the family was an obstacle in their realization of career options. However, it has to be noted that there were responses reflecting dissatisfaction with family as a social institution. More precisely, it was due to the uneducated parents. The importance of literacy is underlined as:

...illiteracy... involves not only a negation of the freedom to read and write, but also an impairment of the opportunity to understand and communicate, to take informed personal decisions, and to participate in social choice. Illiteracy is, in fact, a type of 'social unfreedom' and supplements and often intensifies the burden of economic unfreedom in the form of income poverty' (Dreze and Sen 2002:5).¹⁴

¹² Beteille, A. 1991. 'The Reproduction of Inequality: Occupation, Caste and Family,' *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1(25):3-28.

¹³ Middleton, E.B. and T.A. Loughhead. 1993. 'Parental Influence on Career Development: An Integrative Framework for Adolescent Career Counseling,' *Journal of Career Development*, March, 19(3):161-173. Also see in the same context, Laramore, D. 1984. 'Parents' Role in the Education and Career Decision-making Process,' *Journal of Career Education*, 10(4):214-215. Also see Otto, L.B. and V.R.A. Call. 1984. 'Parental Influence on Young People's Career Development,' *Journal of Career Development* 12(1):65-69.

¹⁴ Dreze, J. and A. Sen. 2002. *India: Development and Participation*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Another important line of enquiry reflected the psychological well-being of the youth. In the context of family, it depended on the quality of relationships between parents and the quality of parent-child relationships. Although there were many responses on this aspect, the study came across three broad themes. These were; a) the type and nature of the family such as single headed family; b) general attitudes of the parents towards adolescents and the mode of socialization; and c) family circumstances such as critical life events, educational level of the parents and social class of the respective family.

The intensity of the peer group relationship among other things also influences the process of opting the life choices. This was very much evident from the study. In fact, peer although having overriding influence on youths; the selection of peers was in a way defined by the family, and class too.

The peer group not only had an important role in the academic orientation of adolescents¹⁵ but also, where there was acute lack of family as a provider of emotional support, it was found that peer group was instrumental in providing so. Especially, such observations were seen in case of those youth who were vulnerable and into risk behaviour.

The analysis also showed that there were a number of factors which played a role either influencing positively or negatively the respective options and choices. Although no single factor was highly deterministic, yet, certain factors were comparatively more crucial. Aspiration can be seen as one such factor as its presence or absence had strong correlation with psychological well-being of the youth. This in turn was reflected into the kind of their behaviour. This is visible in the youth having higher aspiration than their resources which took them directly into the risk behaviour overriding other factors like family, norms and values. On the other hand, youth who

¹⁵ Kircler, E. Palmonari, A. & Pombeni, M. 1993. 'Developments Tasks and Adolescents' Relationships with their Peers and their Family'. In Jackson, S. & Rodriguez-Tome, H. (eds.), *Adolescence and Its Social Worlds*. (Pp.145-167). Hillsdale, USA: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. Also see Clasen, D.R., & Brown, B.B. (1985). 'The Multidimensionality of Peer Pressure in Adolescence,' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 14, pp. 451-468. Freeman, H., & Brown, B.B. 2001. 'Primary Attachment to Parents and Peers During Adolescence: Differences by Attachment Style,' *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30:653-674. Corsaro, W.A., & Eder, D. 1990. 'Children's Peer Cultures,' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 16:197-220. Dornbusch, S.M. 1989. 'The Sociology of Adolescence,' *Annual Review of Sociology*, 15: 233-259.

lowered their aspiration accepted and adjusted with respective situation and consequently had positive well-being.

Aspirations for lots of money and a life of fun and 'majaa' within the middle class situation and peer pressure were the factors which reflected the larger level changes in society. This was mediated through media influencing and changing societal and familial norms and values. Such aspirations made the youth confused and unrealistic evaluation about the life chances devoid of their social and economic conditions lead to risky behaviour. The media, it has to be pointed out, is reflecting the dominant paradigm of the times – the market, consumerism and hedonism.

From the overall analysis, we can this study in social capital approach of Bourdieu more appropriately for the discussion of vulnerability. According to Bourdieu, the capital is something that is inherited from the past (primarily from the family) and is constantly reworked on through various social networks. These networks include family; close kin group, neighbourhood and wide community as such. For him, 'social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992:119).¹⁶

He later on categorised the capital in to four broad categories i.e. economic capital, cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital. Economic capital resembles the economic strength. Cultural capital is more abstract in nature as it takes myriad forms like it can be embodied in persons or objectified in art pieces. It also takes on the form of educational qualification of the individual or collectivity concerned. Social capital is the outcome of exchange (of permanent nature) between persons. Symbolic capital is the dynamic form of rest of the three capitals. Although Bourdieu argued that all the types of capital could be derived from economic capital yet they cannot be entirely reducible to it.

¹⁶ Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L. 1992. *An introduction to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of University Press.

It can be argued that the presence or absence of social capital can have a protective and on the other hand increases risk or vulnerability. Here another important thing to be mentioned is that Sen's approach can be limited as it defines the capability totally on the economic basis whereas Bourdieu's approach takes into account the multiple factors and thus fits more appropriately and in wider sense.

From the analysis and observations, few generalizations can be done. It can be very clearly pointed out that it is the group of mismatch between options, choices and aspirations, along with higher aspiration than possible to achieve them due to lack of family and economic support. This is often associated with lack of or having low sense of responsibility towards the family. It is this mismatched group which is vulnerable and in to risky behaviour. The causes can be located into the social, economic and cultural factors.

Where as the other group of matched youths had a very high sense of family responsibility. Family emerged as a very strong determinant of youth's options, choices and aspirations regarding education, occupation and gender relationships including marriage. Moreover, the commitment to family is equally and positively associated with the commitment to positive cultural norms and values while critically engaging with them. Perceived achievements in one's life and a healthy self-esteem were found to be associated with a sense responsibility and responsible behaviours.

Expansion of opportunities are being talked but are not effectively implemented. Educational corruption is widely prevalent and higher education becoming expensive. Quality of education is unable to compete in job market and to equip youth to face challenges in a rapidly changing society. Occupational insecurity is deeply rooted and is more harmful in the form of educated unemployment and underemployment creating psychosocial stress.

In the time of increased concern for HIV/AIDS the focus is on youth as high-risk group due to high rate of heterosexual transmission. Most of the researches and approaches advocate for sex education, behavioural change, life-skills education. The

failure of IEC, BCC and other approaches suggested there is something else which is inhibiting the successful implementation and impacts of such policies. Our study indicates that focus on sexual behaviour alone rather than on the determinants of sexual cultures which are also shaped up by the socio-economics cannot bring much result. Above all, unsafe or risky behavior is as the interplay of a number of factors at macro and micro levels. Following observation further elucidates the argument:

It has been widely acknowledged that the AIDS IEC has led to increased awareness of the problem but not too much behaviour change. How can that be best done? How much is it a resultant of the communication strategies and how much is such behaviour dependent on wider social factors? The economic, social, cultural, and psychological factors are widely recognized as significant determinants of individual behaviours yet we expect the communication strategies to make a significant difference without positive changes in any of these. The negative impact of the current thrust of globalization is creating shifts in relevant dimensions in the opposite directions. How can we use mass media to intervene there appears to be a real challenge for those concerned with limiting the spread of HIV at a population level' (Ritu Priya 2004:10-11).¹⁷

Although the multiple policies and programmes focusing on youth or adolescents like youth policy, population policy, health policy, AIDS policy, nutrition policy, education policy do mention importance of systemic and socio-economic and cultural factors yet the focus is totally irrelevant to the actual issues. Taking the case of the present study, the issue of vulnerability to risk behaviour has its roots in the above discussed factors. This is totally contradictory to the when 'problem behaviour oriented' or the individual 'behaviour change' approach that have been adopted so far in the policies.

¹⁷ Ritu Priya, 2004. *'Between Exaggeration and Denial: Minimising Suffering from HIV Infection and AIDS in India,'* Delhi: Swastha Panchayat Lokayan.

APPENDIX

Appendices

Appendix I: Questionnaire for Socio-economic Profile of Youth

1. Household Number

1.1. Family Type

1.2. Family Size

1.3 Origin of the Family

2. Details of the Head of Household

2.1. Age

2.2. Sex

2.3. Religion

2.4. Caste

2.5. Educational Qualification

2.6. Occupation

2.7. Income

2.8. Other Sources of Income

3. Details of Family Members

3.1. Sex

3.2. Age

3.3. Relation to Head of the Household

3.4. Education Qualification

3.5. Occupation

3.6. Income

4. Details of Youth Members of the Family (19-24 YEARS)

4.1. No. of Youth in the Family.

4.2. Place of Stay

4.3. Age

4.4. Sex

4.5. Marital Status

4.6. Nature of Schooling System

4.7. Educational Qualification

4.7.1. Type of Education

4.8. Occupational Status

4.9. Only for Employed

4.9.1. Nature of the work

4.9.2. Type of the Work

4.9.3. Kind of Work

4.9.4. Income

4.9.5. Previous occupation, if any

4.11. Not Applicable

Appendix II:

Checklist for Perception of Options and Choices for Middle Class Youth of Faizabad Town

- a) What were they doing currently?
- b) Place of schooling and then shifting to college.
- c) Did they make any plan for their future career/goal?
- d) What options were available to them?
- e) How do they see the possibility of achieving their aspired goal?
- f) What finally you decided to do?
- g) Do you feel that you have achieved whatever you decided?
- h) Do you feel that you have achieved whatever you decided?
- i) What barriers you faced in the achievement of the aspiration?
- j) What factors supported you to achieve your desired goal?
 - Role of family
 - Role of peer group
 - Influence of gender on life options and choices
 - Influence of norms and values
 - How do they perceive/feel about their life options and life choices?
 - Marriage and life options and life choices

About Gender Relationship:

- a) How do you see a girl-boy relationship?
- b) What is the change overtime in this dimension?
- c) How do you perceive the changes taking place, positive or negative? How it should be?

d) Do you have boys or girls in your friend circle?

About Larger Issues:

a) Environment of the colony and about Faizabad

b) Society

c) Corruption

d) Politics

e) Ideal personality

Appendix III: Details of Occupation and Income Levels of Youth

(Figures in brackets are total number of youths in each category)

Sex: Male

Income per month

Family occupation (5)

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| ➤ Milk selling | 5000/- |
| ➤ Vegetable selling | 2000/- |
| ➤ Betel shop | 3000/- |
| ➤ General merchant (2) | 5000-8000/- |

Skilled Daily Wage (5)

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------|
| ➤ Battery work | 2000/- |
| ➤ Electrician | 3000-5000/- |
| ➤ Mechanic | 6000/- |
| ➤ Inverter repair | 2000/- |

Self-small business (2)

- | | |
|-------------|--------|
| ➤ Shop CD's | 3000/- |
| ➤ Vendor | 1000/- |

Salary/self employed (1)

- | | |
|------------|--------|
| ➤ Tuitions | 5000/- |
|------------|--------|

(Total Number of Youth: 13)

Sex: Female

Income per month

Salary

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------|
| ➤ Teaching adhoc | 1500/- |
| ➤ Working in a parlor | 1500/- |

(Total Number of Youth: 2)

Middle-middle Class

Income per month

Sex: Male

Family occupation (2)

- Buisness 8000-15,000/-

Own big business (4)

- School 50,000/-
- Plastic factory 8000/-
- Contractor 10,000-15,000/-
- Computer centers 40,000/-

Own medium business (1)

- Dry cleaner and finance agent 8000/-

Salary/self employed (7)

- Computer operator 4000/-
- Call centre 8000/-
- Teaching in a coaching 4000/-
- Lecturer ship / adhoc 8000/-
- Trainee journalist 2000/-
- Sahara agent 3000/-

(Total Number of Youth: 14)

Sex: Female

Salaried (6)

- Temporary jobs in finance and Marketing 3000/-
- Teaching 3000/-
- Training Assistant 3000/-
- Teaching and tuitions 2000/-
- Tuitions 3000/-
- Tuitions and private school 2000/-

All are residents and working, not with studies.

(Total Number of Youth: 6)

Upper Middle Class

Income per month

Sex: Male

Own medium business (2)

- Lecturer/ temporary 8000/-
- Journalist trainee 2000/-

Salary/self employed (1)

- Computer education and business 10,000/

All the males are in the group of studying and working, nobody is just working. They are working with their studies.

(Total Number of Youth: 3)

Sex: Female

Salaried (1)

- Teaching beautician course 5000/-

Completed education and then teaching a course.

(Total Number of Youth:1)

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