

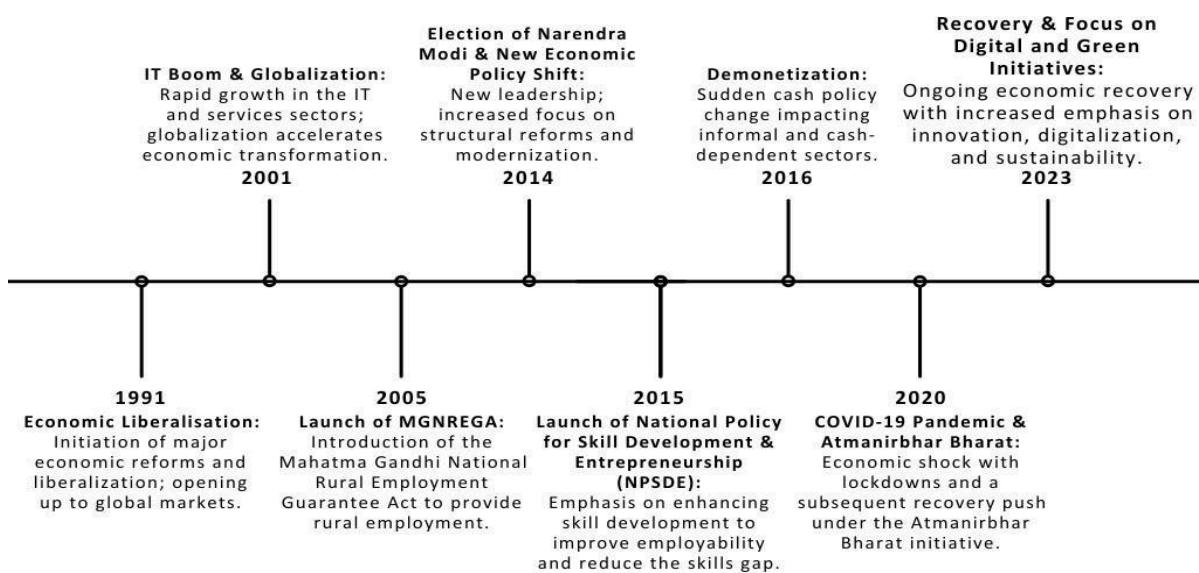
**How have India's economic policies influenced its current unemployment
situation, particularly in terms of skill development and workforce
readiness?**

Research paper by Virika Juneja

1. Introduction

India's economic experience over the past three decades has been one of dramatic transformation. Since economic liberalization started in 1991, the country has witnessed spectacular growth in its Gross Domestic Product (GDP), an expanding services sector and greater international integration. However the growth has not been uniformly distributed, nor has it been translated into commensurate employment. With an expanding working-age population—the so-called "demographic dividend" of India has come to a crossroads where the energies of its youth must be tapped in an effort to translate economic growth into sustainable development (Storey, 2024; NEXT IAS, 2024).

Key Economic Policy Milestones in India (1991-2023)



The early 1990s liberalization reforms introduced a change in India's economic policies, focusing on market-based reforms, deregulation and foreign investment. The reforms led to quick economic growth and made India one of the world's fastest-growing large economies. While the financial, telecommunication and information technology industries prospered, the manufacturing industry and other traditional industries fell behind in the ability to generate

employment. This aspect, commonly known as "jobless growth," is especially poignant in the context of the fact that the nation is seeing millions of new entrants into the labor force each year (International Banker, 2024).

Demographic dividend is the economic benefit that comes to a country when its workforce is greater than its dependent population. India's dividend can be an unparalleled opportunity for faster economic growth, innovation and competitiveness. This benefit depends on the capabilities of the workforce, their education and training to provide to the needs of a modern economy. Unfortunately, entrenched skills mismatch details^{??}, coupled with systemic inadequacies in education have constrained India from achieving its demographic dividend to the fullest (NEXT IAS, 2024; Deutsche Welle, 2024).

In the face of three decades of remarkable Indian GDP growth, unemployment remains a harsh reality . This negates the prospects for inclusive growth. Government statistics issued from official channels have also been skeptically received. Above all, independent estimates and surveys, such as by the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy have placed significantly higher rates of unemployment and, especially, youth unemployment than those officially reported (International Banker, 2024). This difference is an outcome of structural issues in the labor market, which existing policies have yet to resolve.

Amongst the most critical issues in the economic context in India is the increasing gap between economic growth and employment generation. Industry growth, led by high-technology and capital-based growth, has accelerated at a very fast rate, and productivity has risen accordingly; however, the benefits of such growth have not percolated to generate sufficient employment opportunities. Economic growth, in the majority of cases has been accompanied by growing automation and process computerization, which although has increased efficiency, however has minimized the scope for mass employment. This jobless growth situation is further exacerbated by an outdated education system emphasizing rote learning rather than job-oriented, skill-based training, making students poorly equipped to meet the dynamic nature of the employment market (Testbook, 2024).

Besides, the institutional constraints of the labor market have perpetuated a cycle of underemployment and informality. Most of India's working population is in the informal economy, where career advancement, benefits and job security are significantly limited. Informal labor, while a short-term remedy for most, does not lead to long-term

economic security and significantly undermines the country's potential for sustainable growth. Under these conditions, unemployment is not a question of creating jobs; unemployment is a question of restructuring the economic system so that growth becomes inclusive and sustainable (Aljazeera, 2019).

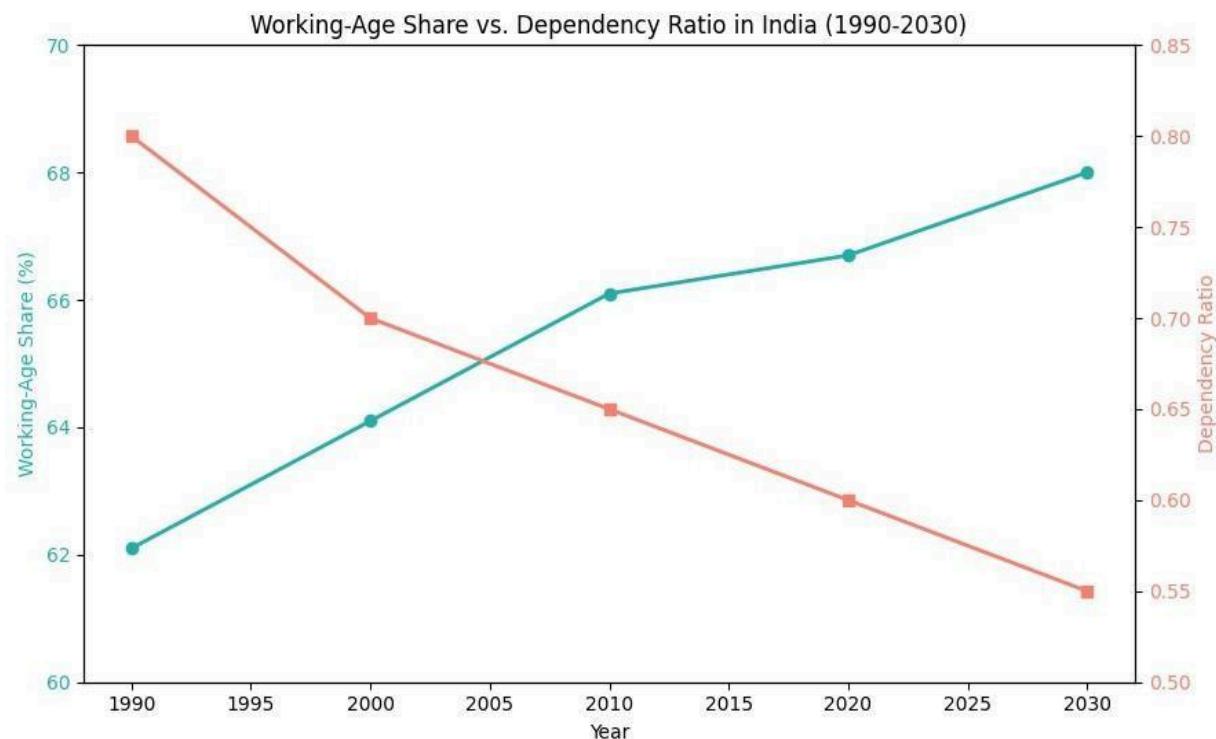
The intersection of demographic transition and economic policy has placed India in a specific position. While a youthful and dynamic population carries the promise of generating innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic dynamism, the lack of appropriate employment opportunities promises to usher in harsh social unrest and economic stagnation. The youth bulge, in the absence of integration with the formal economy, can translate into more competition for scarce resources, increased income inequality, and human capital loss through the phenomenon of "brain drain," where skilled professionals migrate to better-off nations with better job prospects (PW Only IAS, 2024). Therefore, the task for policymakers is to develop a robust ecosystem, which can release this demographic dividend as a catalyst of national development.

To fight unemployment, thus, is not merely an economic necessity but also a social one. Unemployment among educated young people has far-reaching implications, ranging from social isolation, heightened poverty, to human capital loss. Unemployment not only impacts the targeted individuals but also the economy as a whole because it implies less consumer spending, less tax revenue and more dependence on social welfare programs. Such issues, in their turn, could discourage innovation and investment, and thus ultimately harm long-term economic prospects (Storey, 2024).

In addition, the prevailing labor market rigidities—such as complex regulator systems and a strict employment system—have further compounded the issue. The rigidities hinder firms from responding to evolving economic realities, discourage innovation and restrict the capacity of industries to create quality employment opportunities. This discourages innovation and investment, creating a self-reinforcing cycle in which economic growth does not manifest itself in the form of widespread employment opportunities (NEXT IAS, 2024). Therefore, these structural bottlenecks must be overcome to unlock the full potential of India's manpower.

Against this backdrop, the importance of unemployment cannot be overemphasized. Long-term economic growth is irrevocably tied to the generation of quality employment that can offer a secure and rewarding living for the

country's population. Through bringing down unemployment levels and making available the skills of the working people in terms of what is currently required by industrialized economies, India is capable of not just fueling its economic development, but also winning higher social harmony and enhancing lives for its people. Basically, addressing unemployment will be key in converting India's demographic dividend to an actual tangible asset (Deutsche Welle, 2024).

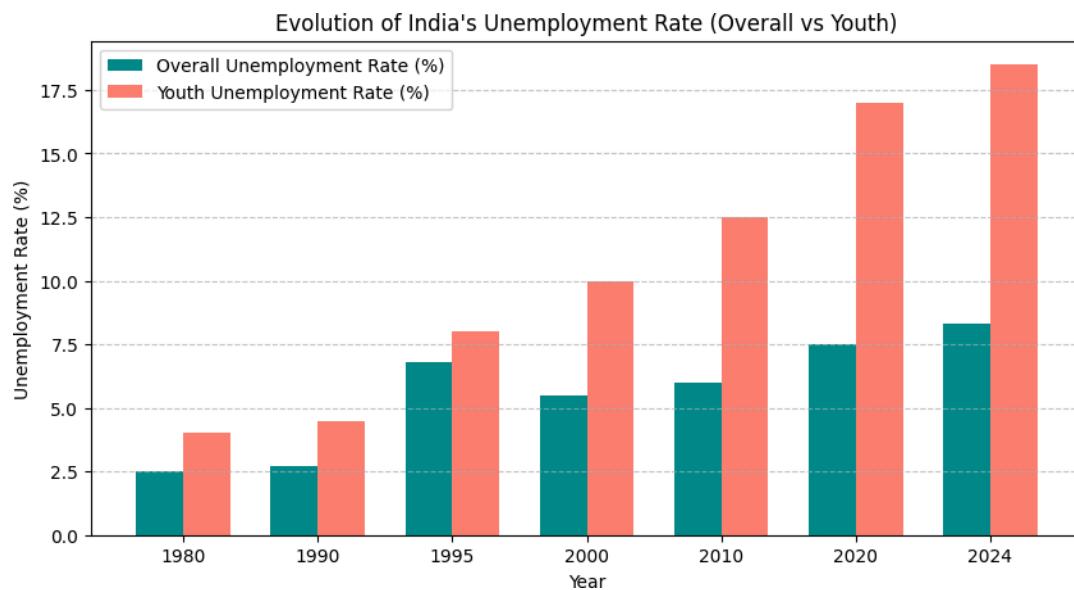


(Sources : [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#))

In summary, India's economic situation is dominated by strong growth, a rising services sector and a possible demographic dividend that has the capability to usher the country into a renewed period of prosperity. The challenge of unemployment, fueled by jobless growth, skill mismatches and structural labor market problems, is a major impediment to capturing this potential. Combatting unemployment is therefore not a tactical goal, but a strategic one that transcends job creation; it is a matter of creating an inclusive, resilient, and future-oriented economy. An integrated strategy bringing together education reforms, skills development schemes and labor market reforms is crucial to ensure that the country's youth and dynamic workforce can play an effective role in its economic growth (International Banker, 2024;

NEXT IAS, 2024). It is only by adopting a multi-faceted strategy that India can possibly turn its existing problems into opportunities for long-term, sustainable growth.

2. Current Unemployment Scenario in India



Data estimates are taken from the International Labour Organization, India Employment Report 2024, and Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) analyses.

(Sources: [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#))

India's unemployment situation has emerged as a matter of intense attention amid rapid economic change and shifting demographic trends. Despite robust GDP growth since the liberalization reforms of the early 1990s, the country continues to wrestle with the problem of failing to generate sufficient formal work opportunities for its expanding labour market. More specifically, the young people—especially those with higher educational levels—are disproportionately affected by unemployment, and there are still huge gaps between urban and rural areas.

Recent estimates suggest that official government statistics on unemployment, like the 3.2% rate for 2022–23, are in stark contrast to independent estimates that put the numbers much higher. For example, the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) estimated a steep increase in unemployment rates in the post-pandemic months, with numbers approaching or crossing 7–9% (International Banker, 2024). This gap is partially due to methodological variation;

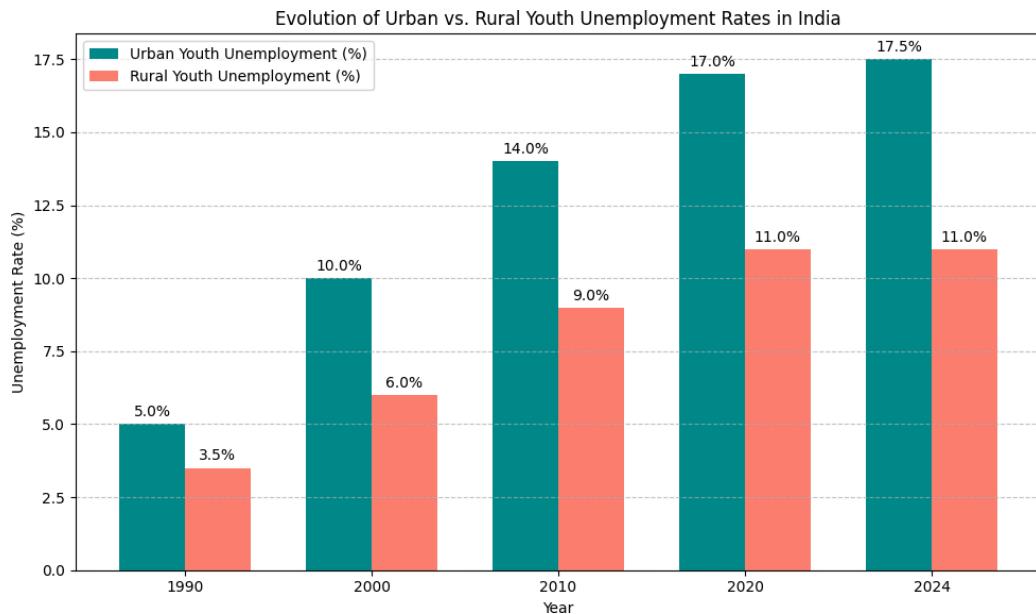
whereas government data may count even small agricultural activity as "employment," independent estimates look at the quality and durability of employment, thus reflecting a more accurate picture of underemployment and jobless growth.

The Indian youth unemployment crisis is specifically worrisome. From recent research, it has been shown that the largest percentage of unemployed people in India are youth. A study by the International Labour Organization (ILO) together with the Institute for Human Development (IHD) has indicated that the unemployment rate of young people in cities is 17.2% and, in rural areas, 10.6% (IDEAs, 2024). In addition, the situation of educated youth is dire: graduates, especially those with technical or professional qualifications, have unemployment rates several times greater than those with lower educational levels. For instance, while the unemployment rate for those who cannot read or write is a modest 3.4%, that for graduates can be as high as 29.1% (Chandrasekhar & Ghosh, 2024).

This phenomenon is further boosted by the "discouraged worker effect" – a majority of young workers, having faced rejection on several occasions, give up their pursuit or end up being pushed to informal jobs with no job security and little social protection. Actually, a major percentage of young people, especially young women, are not employed, educated, or trained (NEET). Recent statistics indicate that almost 28.5% of the youth are NEET, with the percentage among young women even greater (IDEAs, 2024). Such high rates of NEET not only reflect lost human capital but also long-term socio-economic consequences if unresolved.

Urban areas, and in many senses the growth drivers, present an especially grim reality. Urban young people are more likely to be in formal jobs than rural youngsters; yet, they also encounter greater competition as well as greater skill demands. The World Bank (2024) points out that urban joblessness levels remain substantially higher – with urban youth unemployment estimated at approximately 16.8% (Reuters, 2025). This is further compounded by the reality that most urban job vacancies are in industries that require a high degree of technical competence, making it difficult for graduates, even from well-known institutions, to find jobs commensurate with their qualifications. Underinvestment in employment-generating industries like manufacturing and services further adds to the situation in urban areas, despite India's ambitious "Make in India" campaign. Firms constantly report a lack of suitable applicants, which is evidence of the imbalance between what education institutions impart and what is demanded by

industry (FT, 2025).



Data estimates are from the India Employment Report 2024, International Labour Organization reports, and

analyses by Reuters (2025) and WSJ (2024)

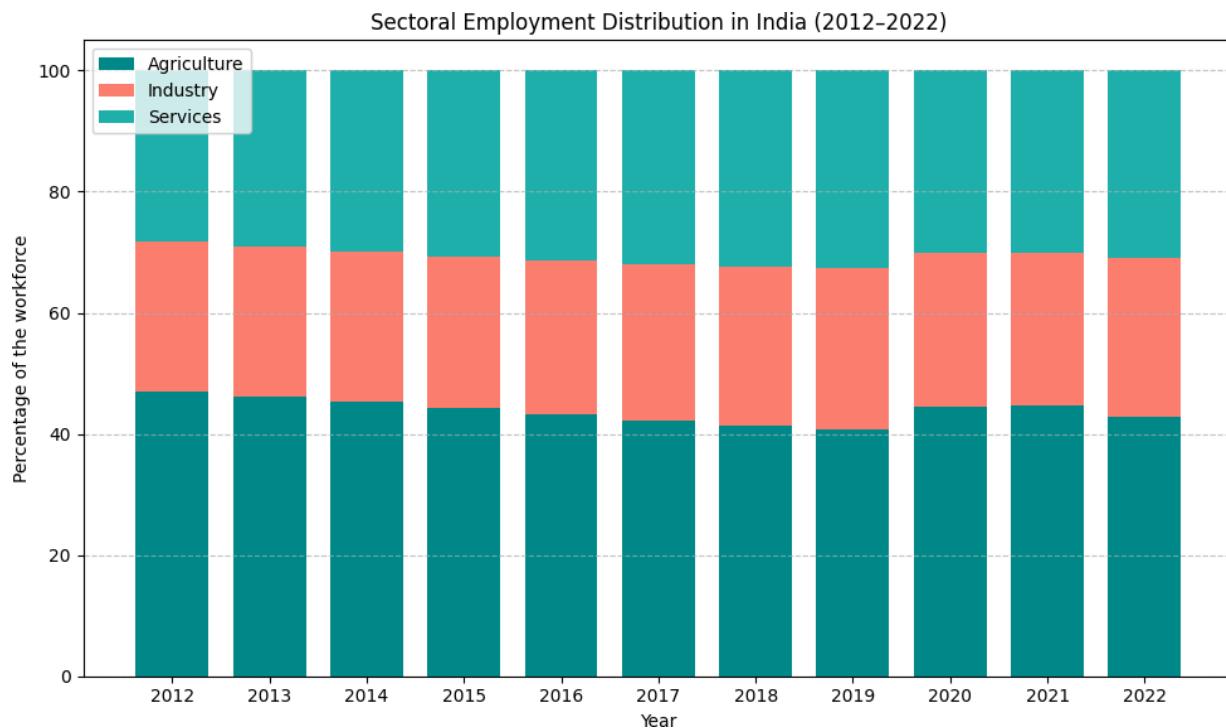
(Sources : [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#))

Agricultural unemployment, though usually lower in relative terms, is a different problem in itself. The rural economy continues to be dominated by agriculture—a low-productivity and seasonally fluctuating sector. While schemes like the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) offer a safety net through the promise of 100 days of wage employment, the work is predominantly unskilled and does not contribute much towards increasing rural incomes (Reuters, 2025). Besides, rural youth lack adequate access to good quality education and skill development facilities, which prevents them from making a shift to more productive non-agricultural sectors. The harsh dichotomy between rural and urban opportunity thus leads to ongoing pressures for migration, as rural youth move in droves to cities in pursuit of greater opportunities—a process that, in turn, taxes urban infrastructure and worsens city unemployment.

The gender aspect of unemployment also makes the situation more complex. Young women, especially, are plagued by very low labor force participation rates in comparison to young men. Cultural norms, lack of proper

childcare facilities and mobility constraints limit young women's access to good work. Even if they are educated, a large number of young women get stuck in insecure, low-paid jobs or have to leave the labor market entirely. Statistics from recent ILO publications show that highly educated young women have open unemployment rates much higher than highly educated young men, at times up to 34.5% as opposed to 26.4% for graduates (Chandrasekhar & Ghosh, 2024). Such a gender-based disparity not only distorts the overall productive capacity of the workforce but also perpetuates poverty and social exclusion.

Adding to the complexity is the effect of technological progress. Although automation and digitalization can increase productivity, they also displace jobs. Increasingly, most industries are depending on technology, and it tends to decrease the number of conventional low-skilled positions open to beginning staff. This technological upheaval has resulted in a skills gap, wherein the fast-changing needs of the contemporary economy overwhelm the ability of the workforce to keep up (WSJ, 2024). In this regard, unemployment is not just about the lack of jobs but also about the incompatibility between existing jobs and the skills of job seekers.

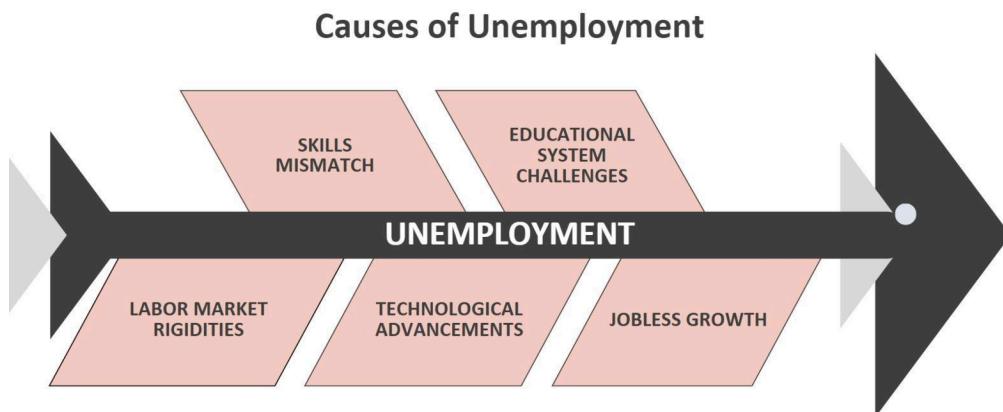


Data obtained from [Statista](#)

Briefly, the Indian unemployment situation today is complex. While India has registered impressive economic advances over the past few decades, gains from growth have not appeared in the form of quality, sufficient employment. High unemployment rates—particularly for educated youth—and large gaps between urban and rural areas highlight the imperative for policy measures focusing not just on employment generation but even on employment quality. Closing the skills gap through better education and vocational training, upgrading rural infrastructure, and promoting gender-responsive labor market policies are key moves towards leveraging India's demographic dividend for sustainable economic growth.

3. Causes of Unemployment

India's unemployment crisis is complex and rooted in a number of interconnected factors. Even with strong economic growth in recent decades, the nation has experienced a chronic disconnect between GDP growth and employment generation—a phenomenon commonly referred to as "jobless growth." Moreover, the misalignment between the skills provided by the education system and those required by industry, exacerbated by technological disruptions and inflexible labor laws, continues to impede the creation of a dynamic, inclusive labor market.



a. Jobless Growth

One of the major reasons for unemployment in India is the mismatch between economic growth and employment generation. Ever since the liberalization policy reforms of 1991, India's economy has witnessed substantial GDP growth, especially in the services and information technology sectors. Yet, the growth has not been accompanied

by a corresponding increase in formal sector employment opportunities. Most industries have adopted capital-intensive technologies that increase productivity but use relatively small numbers of human resources. This "jobless growth" signifies that while the economy grows, the labor force is not at a corresponding rate absorbing the entrants (International Banker, 2024; Lowy Institute, 2024).

b. Skills Mismatch

Most closely associated with jobless growth is the problem of a mismatch of skills in India's labor market. Increasingly, there is a mismatch between the skills of the workforce and the skills demanded by contemporary industries. This is particularly so among the young, where a large proportion of college graduates and technically qualified persons are unemployed or underemployed. For example, research has indicated that over 40% of graduates below 25 years are unable to find work commensurate with their qualifications (NEXT IAS, 2024). The "overqualification" phenomenon is prevalent; most highly qualified individuals have to settle for jobs in lower grades or in the informal sector which do not fully utilize their skills and training.

This imbalance is in part a result of the fast pace at which industry needs have been evolving, most notably with the onset of digitization and globalization, while the speed of skill acquisition within institutions of learning has been slow. Firms have continually pointed out the mismatch between what is learned in classrooms and the practical skills required to survive in today's competitive business environment. Therefore, despite the growing supply of graduates, the absence of skills relevant to industry undermines their employability and hence contributes to long-term unemployment (WSJ, 2024; Chandrasekhar & Ghosh, 2024).

c. Educational System Challenges

The cause of the mismatch of skills goes back to structural problems in India's education system. The system of education has traditionally been criticized for its excessive focus on rote learning and abstract teaching, with too little focus on vocational, employment-ready skills. Education spending by the public is considerably low—only 3% of GDP, which means very low infrastructure, low-quality teachers, and obsolete curricula that are not adjusted according to changing industry requirements (Testbook, 2024; ForumIAS, 2022).

In addition, teacher training programs are usually of poor quality. Educators graduate from "cookie-cutter" training programs that fail to provide them with the pedagogical skills needed to cultivate critical thinking and practical problem-solving skills in students. Consequently, graduates leave the system with a theoretical knowledge that is not compatible with the requirements of the contemporary workplace. Such a disconnect between learning and practicality not only devalues the employability of graduates but also erodes the potential for entrepreneurship and innovation (Deutsche Welle, 2024).

In addition, a considerable segment of the population still struggles with access, especially in rural communities where quality education is an elusive dream. The gap between education and the labor market remains a challenge across many regions and social groups, which further increases unemployment among vulnerable groups (ResearchGate, 2023).

d. Technological Advancements

While technology has remained a propeller of India's economic growth, it has played a contradictory role in the labour market. As more and more automation, AI, and digital technologies have become adopted, more conventional jobs have been displaced, particularly in those industries that in the past have had large quantities of workers employed. When firms invest in capital-intensive operations to enhance efficiency, the overall impact can be the decrease in the number of jobs available—even while productivity is boosted (FT, 2025).

This technological upheaval impacts low-skilled workers and even more highly qualified workers when the demand for routine, repetitive work diminishes. For example, the increasing use of AI-based systems in manufacturing and services has decreased the requirement for human intervention in several processes, which has caused the shrinking of some parts of the labor market. While technology generates new employment opportunities as well, the shift tends to demand skill specialization and retraining, which workers find difficult to learn in a short while. Such a technological gap also results in unemployment among workers who cannot keep pace with the ever-evolving needs of the market (WSJ, 2024; FT, 2025).

Additionally, the accelerated rate of technological innovation can outrun the ability of schools and vocational training to keep pace. This lagging results in a situation where while industries are changing, the workforce is stuck to obsolescent skill sets, thus creating a cycle of displacement and obsolescence of skills.

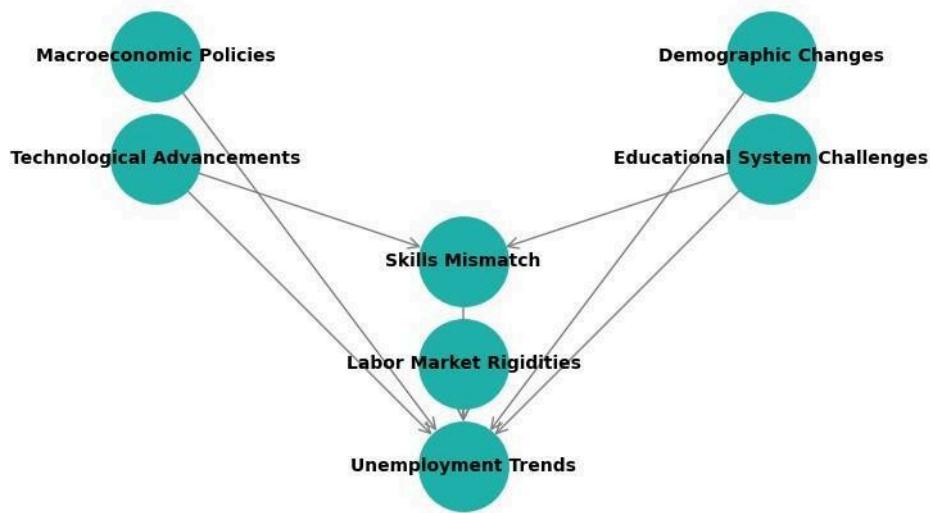
e. Labor Market Rigidities

The other major driver of India's unemployment is the existence of strict labor market rigidities. The labor laws of India are marred by a thicket of more than 50 federal and 200 state-level regulations that determine hiring, dismissal, and other employment policies. These rigidities make the labor market where firms are afraid to add new employees because of the legal and monetary costs that might be involved in making labor force adjustments (Reuters, 2025).

Such regulatory restrictions deter companies from increasing operations, especially in the formal sector, where it is costly and difficult to alter labor force numbers. Additionally, these labor legislations are fashioned to safeguard employees' rights in a manner that inadvertently constrains the adaptability of employers, thus stifling innovation and inhibiting the development of new employment opportunities. Consequently, most firms have turned to contracting or informal hiring of employees, where job security is poor and labor rights are minimal (WSJ, 2024; Reuters, 2025).

Moreover, bureaucratic inefficiencies and the sluggishness of reforms further aggravate these issues. In spite of several efforts by successive governments to rationalize labor legislation and foster increased flexibility, progress has been sluggish. The continued presence of these inflexible regulations does not only inhibit the dynamic re-allocating of labor but also sustains the dominance of informal employment—a sector where employees do not enjoy basic benefits and job security, further fuelling the unemployment problem.

Causal Pathways Leading to Unemployment in India



Policy Implications

In order to address the intricate causes of unemployment in India, the policy needs to be integrated. First of all, employment generation has to be stimulated by promoting labor-intensive industries and eliminating regulatory rigidities to enable firms to reorganize their labor force in line with market conditions. Second, the skills gap must be closed by making it a priority to reform the education system—away from rote memorization and towards more applied, job-specific skills—and expanding vocational training programs tied closely to the needs of the market.

Third, policies must address the rapidly evolving technology transforming the labor market. This involves investment in retraining and upskilling programs that allow workers to move from sunset sectors to sunrise sectors. Finally, a radical transformation and rationalization of labor laws can support a healthier labor market that balances workers' protection with the flexibility needed for companies to grow and innovate.

Considered together, these programs can help to turn India's demographic dividend into a real economic boon by ensuring that the growth is accompanied by substantive, inclusive, and sustainable employment.

4. Government Initiatives to Tackle Unemployment

Key Employment Initiatives in India

2005
MGNREGA (Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act)

2015
PMKVY (Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana)

2016
NAPS (National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme)

2016
PMEGP (Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme)

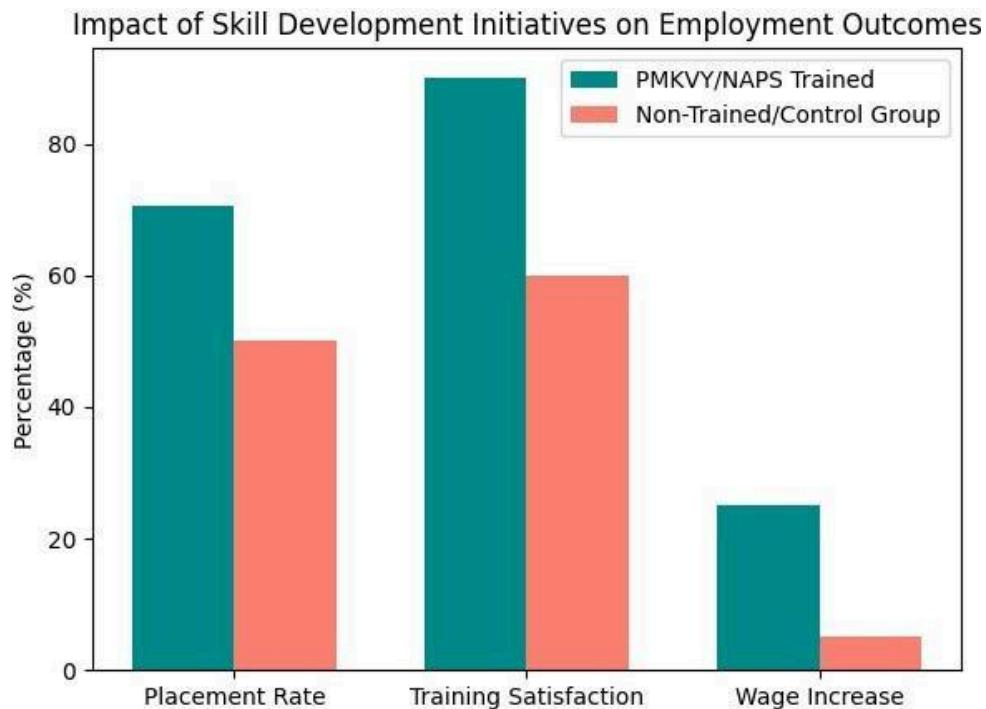
The Indian Government has instituted a wide array of schemes to address the endemic issue of unemployment. These schemes are intended to bridge the gap between economic growth and jobs by imparting industry-specific skills to the workforce, generating direct employment, encouraging entrepreneurship, and enabling educational reforms. The schemes can be classified into four broad categories: Skill Development Programs, Employment Generation Schemes, Entrepreneurship Support, and Educational Reforms.

a. Skill Development Programs

Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY):

The PMKVY is one of the flagship skill development programmes launched by the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship (MSDE). Inaugurated with the vision of providing industry-specific skills to a large segment of Indian youth, PMKVY targets short-term training of two to six months. These initiatives are aimed at

equipping both technical and soft skills necessary for acquiring quality jobs in different industries of the economy (PMKVY Official Website, n.d.). The program also focuses on certification and placement, with a view to matching the trained youth with prospective employers. Challenges, however, still exist in keeping the training curricula updated with changing industry demands.



Data estimates are synthesized from evaluation studies and reports by the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship, NSDC, and the India Employment Report 2024.

(Sources : [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#))

National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme (NAPS):

Besides PMKVY, the National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme (NAPS) was initiated to promote apprenticeship training in India. NAPS offers a financial incentive for employers and apprentices alike, providing partial reimbursement for the stipulated stipend and training fees. By linking on-the-job training with classroom studies, NAPS seeks to mitigate the skills shortage by creating an easier transition from school to work (MSDE, n.d.). NAPS apprenticeship schemes are especially worthwhile in sectors like manufacturing and services, where hands-on

experience plays an extremely important role. However, the take-up of apprenticeships is below desired levels, partly because industry-academia interfaces need to be strengthened and greater awareness needs to be generated among the potential candidates.

b. Employment Generation Schemes

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA):

MGNREGA is arguably one of the best-known social security programs in India. Enacted to tackle rural unemployment and underemployment, the act provides a guarantee of 100 days of wage employment for each financial year to all rural households that are ready to take up unskilled manual work. Although MGNREGA is focused in the rural economy, its safety net function in covering millions of rural workers cannot be overemphasized. The program not only provides support in terms of income but also aids in rural infrastructure development through the generation of assets like roads, ponds, and irrigation systems (MGNREGA Official Website, n.d.). Critics point out that although MGNREGA reduces immediate distress, it does not much contribute to skill development or rural economic transformation in the long run.

Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP):

Supplementing MGNREGA in urban and semi-urban areas, the Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP) works towards self-employment through credit-linked subsidies for the establishment of micro-enterprises in non-farm activities. PMEGP also focuses on traditional artisans as well as budding entrepreneurs among the youth. The initiative serves the purpose of employment generation through the establishment of small units as well as promoting entrepreneurship in manufacturing, services, and retail (MSME, n.d.). Through providing financial assistance and business development services, PMEGP facilitates filling the gap between available economic opportunities and job seekers. The scheme, despite its achievements, encounters challenges like providing sustained business viability and increasing scale of operations in line with the rate of growth of the labor force.

c. Support for Entrepreneurship

Micro Units Development & Refinance Agency Ltd. (MUDRA):

MUDRA is a key element of the government's plan for supporting entrepreneurship, especially among MSMEs. The scheme offers collateral-free loans to non-farm non-corporate small businesses, thus making access to credit easier for young entrepreneurs. Through the provision of customized financial products like 'Shishu', 'Kishore', and 'Tarun' loans, MUDRA is poised to address the various needs of startups at different stages of their growth (MUDRA Official Website, n.d.). Not only does this program promote self-employment, but it also helps formalize the economy as a whole by mainstreaming previously informal businesses. But the success of MUDRA depends on successful outreach and awareness campaigns so that the loans find their way to the needy.

Stand-Up India Scheme:

Apart from MUDRA, Stand-Up India Scheme has been launched to encourage entrepreneurship among the weaker sections of society, including women and Scheduled Castes and Tribes. The scheme allows bank finance of 10 lakh to 1 crore rupees to eligible entrepreneurs for creating sustainable employment opportunities by way of new ventures. By funding startups in high-growth sectors, Stand-Up India aims to empower weaker sections and minimize income inequalities (Stand-Up India Scheme, n.d.). The scheme also focuses on mentorship, capacity building, and post-loan assistance to make new businesses sustainable in the long term. However, the success of this program relies on minimizing bureaucratic barriers and providing timely and sufficient assistance to beneficiaries.

d. Educational Reforms

New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 and Vocational Training:

The NEP 2020 is a paradigm shift in India's educational policy, one that seeks to make education more holistic and adaptable in accordance with the demands of the 21st-century economy. The most notable feature of the policy is the focus on vocational training and skill development at an early level. Including vocational training into regular schoolgoing and college-level education, NEP 2020 aims at imparting learners with job readiness skills to better their

employability (NEP 2020, n.d.). The plan imagines the curriculum having equilibrium between book smarts and live learning, accompanied by provision of avenues for perennial reskilling and upskilling along their professional careers.

Apart from curricular reforms, the NEP recommends the opening of new skill labs and upgradation of existing vocational training centers. These measures aim at bridging the gap between the academia and the industry so that graduates become capable of meeting the changing needs of the job market. Through the encouragement of partnership between industries and educational institutions, NEP also seeks to inculcate innovation and entrepreneurial spirit among students (ResearchGate, 2023). Nevertheless, the rollout of NEP 2020 is challenged by the need to provide uniform quality throughout states and cater to infrastructural imbalances in rural regions.

Integrated Impact and Future Directions

Together, these schemes reflect the multi-faceted approach of the government towards the fight against unemployment. While each scheme addresses one aspect of the problem, their combined impact is crucial in the creation of a sustainable and equitable labor market. Skill upgradation initiatives such as PMKVY and NAPS focus on bridging the skills gap, while employment generation initiatives such as MGNREGA and PMEGP provide direct income support and promote entrepreneurial activity. Parallelly, the support of the sector under MUDRA and entrepreneurship development under the Stand-Up India Scheme also have the potential to transform the informal sector by instilling a culture of self-reliance and entrepreneurship. Finally, education reforms as per the NEP 2020 look forward to revising the syllabus and instilling a workforce for the challenges of the future, including technology disruptions.

Despite these far-reaching efforts, issues remain. The ever-changing pace of technological change and the evolving character of world markets make such efforts continuously need to be rewritten and updated. Coordination among agencies within the government, and between the private and public sectors, are essential to maximize the efficiency of these programs. Additionally, specific measures to bridge regional and gender imbalances need to be tackled on a priority basis so that growth gains are disseminated as widely as possible within various groups in society.

A collaborative policy response integrating skill formation, job creation, entrepreneurship promotion and education overhaul is necessary in the future to address the structural causes of Indian unemployment. Policy initiatives in the future should target innovation in vocational training, develop industry-academia links, and relax labor regulations to transform the labor market into a more dynamic and adaptive one. India can thereby harvest its demographic dividend and create a sustained, inclusive economic growth in this manner.

5. Evaluation of Existing Policies

Government policies to combat unemployment in India have witnessed a dramatic change in the past decade. Policies such as skill development initiatives, direct employment generation programs, promotion of entrepreneurship, and education reforms have all contributed to creating a multi-faceted strategy. Although there are outstanding achievements, there are certain limitations too. This section measures the performance of these initiatives through an examination of their success and failures.

Skill Development Programs

Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY):

PMKVY has played a crucial role in upskilling millions of young Indians and awarding them industry-approved certifications. Short-term courses, intended to provide rapid technical and soft skills, have been the focus of the scheme. Beneficiaries have been able to move successfully into the formal sector with better career opportunities (PMKVY Official Website, n.d.). Nonetheless, some shortcomings still exist. For example, critics believe that the training's quality is quite uneven in different regions. In other instances, the curriculum fails to catch up with changing industry needs, resulting in a persistent skills gap (NEXT IAS, 2024). Moreover, there has been an issue with weak industry connections, that is, even upon certification, most trained young people are unable to find corresponding jobs (ResearchGate, 2023). This gap calls for frequent curriculum revision and increased interaction between training organizations and employers.

National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme (NAPS):

NAPS is a complementary initiative to fill the gap between theoretical training and on-the-job experience through the encouragement of apprenticeships in all industries. The incentive structure of the scheme, which subsidizes part of apprentice allowances and training expenses, has motivated employers and apprentices alike to join the program (MSDE, n.d.). Success stories from manufacturing and IT industries show how on-the-job training has improved the employability of numerous young employees. However, the take-up of apprenticeship places continues to fall short of expectations. Issues like a lack of awareness of the scheme and logistical problems in matching apprentices with appropriate employers have constrained its overall success. Additionally, the long-term career progression effect remains to be fully achieved, which suggests the need for improved post-training support and mentoring schemes.

Employment Generation Schemes

Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA):

MGNREGA has been the corner stone of the policy dealing with rural joblessness. Providing 100 days of wage work in a year, it constitutes a vital means of safety-net protection for an enormous number of rural families. Besides income assurance, the programme has helped increase rural infrastructure-building—upgradation of roads, drinking water facility, and irrigation—the impact of which can permeate the benefits into the neighbourhood economy (MGNREGA Official Website, n.d.). Yet, given MGNREGA's emphasis on unskilled manual labor, while it reduces immediate distress, it hardly contributes to improved long-term employability or generating high-quality employment. Criticism is also aimed at the lack of timely wage payments, leakages in the funds, and poor asset creation quality, all of which cut down the scheme's potential for generating long-term economic change.

Prime Minister's Employment Generation Programme (PMEGP):

PMEGP strives to encourage entrepreneurship through credit-linked subsidies to establish micro-enterprises in non-agricultural industries. The initiative has assisted several would-be entrepreneurs, especially from semi-urban and rural areas, to establish small businesses that create jobs in the local community (MSME, n.d.). Case studies

have established that enterprises initiated under PMEGP can drive economic activity and lead workers gradually towards more organized industries. In spite of all these achievements, PMEGP has a number of challenges. Most of the beneficiaries have poor business sustainability caused by poor market linkages and lack of follow-up support. The bureaucratic procedures in loan processing and disbursement have also resulted in delays and reduced take-off among qualified applicants at times.

Support for Entrepreneurship

Micro Units Development & Refinance Agency Ltd. (MUDRA):

MUDRA has played a central role in increasing access to finance for small and micro businesses. Through offering collateral-free loans under various categories—'Shishu', 'Kishore', and 'Tarun'—MUDRA has facilitated many entrepreneurs to initiate or scale up their businesses. Such financial assistance is important in the process of converting informal businesses into formal, growth-driven businesses (MUDRA Official Website, n.d.). Nevertheless, the effect of MUDRA is not entirely positive. Administrative delays, potential beneficiaries' unfamiliarity, and the small extent of outreach are all recognized challenges. The proportionately small amount of the loan in most situations is insufficient to cover the entirety of the start-up enterprises' capital needs and thus constrains their potential.

Stand-Up India Scheme:

The Stand-Up India Scheme focuses on the marginalized sections like women and individuals from Scheduled Castes and Tribes by offering bank loans in the range of 10 lakh to 1 crore rupees. The scheme focuses on empowering them to begin new ventures and generate employment in their areas (Stand-Up India Scheme, n.d.). Early studies of the scheme indicate that it has succeeded in reaching the intended group, and beneficiaries now enjoy improved economic prosperity and autonomy. However, implementation challenges still abound in terms of delays in the release of loans and procuring necessary collateral-free financing. There is also the need for firmer mentoring and capacity-building support to allow these new firms to survive and develop in the long term.

Educational Reforms

New Education Policy (NEP) 2020 with a Focus on Vocational Training:

The NEP 2020 has revolutionized the Indian education system by implementing vocational training and skill development into the mainstream education curriculum. While emphasizing experiential, practice-based learning combined with theoretical classroom instruction, NEP emphasizes ensuring the education system is better suited to the demands of the current industry (NEP 2020, n.d.). Initial reactions to the policy have been positive, with particular focus on setting up skill laboratories, building industry-academia connections, and modular courses with flexibility to allow learning and retraining on the move. Experience so far with pilots suggests that the student trained in vocational education has improved employability in technological fields as well as a benefit of being ready to enter employment right away after academic studies.

However, operationalization of NEP 2020 is hampered by various obstacles. Educational infrastructure and the allocation of resources have remained a concern for regional disparities. In most rural and semi-urban regions, inadequate availability of vocational training centers with proper facilities and trained instructors curtails the implementation of such reforms. In addition, the shift from rote learning to one that promotes critical thinking and applied skills is gradual, and its full impact might not be observed as a matter of immediate fact. There is also the requirement for ongoing monitoring and assessment to ensure that the curriculum is responsive to cutting-edge industry trends.

Integrated Impact and Case Studies

While separate programs have been individually successful, their cumulative contribution to the Indian labor market is uneven. For instance, the India Employment Report (2024) documented gains in rural employment and augmented youth skill acquisition in some states, but overall high-quality job generation continues to be below desired levels (IDEAs, 2024). Case studies from a southern Indian state showed that training under PMKVY resulted in a 20% improvement in formal sector job placements, whereas, in another state, the same scheme was unable to meet its target because of infrastructural and managerial issues (ResearchGate, 2023).

Equally, evaluation of MGNREGA has shown that the program has not only greatly eased rural distress and helped create rural assets but its potential to shift the labor market through skill creation is limited. By contrast, PMEGP has helped create a number of small enterprises in semi-urban areas, albeit with high startup failure rates following a lack of strong post-loan support.

Entrepreneurship support programs like MUDRA and Stand-Up India also exhibited regional heterogeneity. In big cities, MUDRA has been driving a micro-enterprise explosion, leading to sectoral formalization. Yet in lesser urbanized areas, the reach and effectiveness of such financial services have been comparatively subdued, highlighting the imperative for targeted policy interventions and increased support mechanisms.

Briefly, an analysis of present policies presents an image marked by strong positives coupled with concrete flaws. India's multi-faceted approach—ranging from skill development, employment generation to entrepreneurial promotion, and education reform—has achieved considerable progress against unemployment. Programs like PMKVY and NAPS have successfully cultivated the skill set of vast numbers of young laborers, whereas MGNREGA and PMEGP have provided paradigmatic employment opportunities, particularly in rural and semi-urban areas. Similarly, programs like MUDRA and the Stand-Up India Scheme have been empowering the weaker sections, and NEP 2020 presents a promising framework for integrating vocational training.

Nevertheless, problems remain. Uniformity and quality in training, successful education-industry links, bureaucratic waste and spatial imbalances remain to constrain overall impact. The advances of technology and rigidities in the labor market complicate matters further by rendering the policies an ever-dynamic set requiring continuous updating so as to respond effectively to evolving needs.

To overcome these limitations, what is needed is not only the improvement of policy but also improved coordination among different government departments and more interaction with the private sector. The next step in future strategies needs to be keeping curricula up-to-date, reinforcing industry-academia interactions, streamlining regulatory environments, and ensuring consistent post-training follow-through to realize the full benefit of such

programs. Only by means of such an integrated and adaptive strategy can India aspire to realize its demographic dividend in terms of a sustained driver of inclusive and sustainable economic growth.

6. Lessons from International Models

International experience is precious in the case of countries such as India, where unemployment is a chronic concern. Two good examples—the Singapore SkillsFuture model and Germany's dual system of education—have lessons to teach on upgrading the workforce on a continuous basis and blending vocational education with formal schooling seamlessly. By studying these models, policymakers can learn strategies to harmonize education with the requirements of the industry, close gaps in skills and enhance the dynamism of the labor market.

a. Singapore's SkillsFuture Initiative

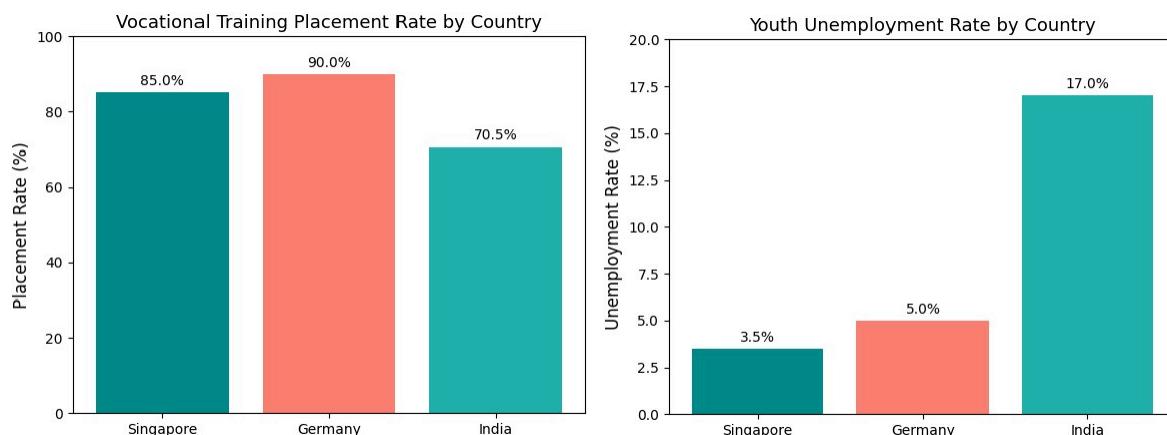
Singapore's SkillsFuture program is generally regarded as a holistic blueprint for lifelong learning and upskilling. Rolled out in 2015, the program is founded on the belief that lifelong learning is crucial in a fast-changing global economy. Its core aim is to enable Singaporeans of all ages to acquire and refresh their skills so that the workforce is agile and competitive in the era of technological disruption (Ministry of Education Singapore, 2020).

An integral part of the program is creating a lifelong learning environment that integrates public training programs, industry collaborations and incentives for self-directed learning. For example, the government offers SkillsFuture Credit to all Singaporeans 25 and older that can be utilized to take approved courses. This credit system not only promotes individuals to invest in their own personal development but also minimizes the cost of accessing further education (Ask Training, n.d.). Additionally, the program focuses on outcome-based training where training courses are created together with industry stakeholders. This is to ensure that the learned skills are specifically related to existing employment market demands and new areas, including digital technologies, healthcare, and advanced manufacturing.

The effect of SkillsFuture has been significant. Latest statistics from the Ministry of Education show that there has been a quantifiable increase in job placement rates and salary growth among participants who have completed SkillsFuture-funded training courses (Ministry of Education Singapore, 2020). For instance, trainees under SkillsFuture-funded schemes indicated improved job performance and wage premium over those who did not

participate in the scheme. These results highlight the importance of ongoing learning in ensuring employability in a changing economy.

However, the initiative is not without difficulty. One is the requirement for regular updating of course curricula to match changing technology. While industry collaboration has assisted in solving this to some degree, continuing modifications are needed to maintain training programs up-to-date. In addition, with the program benefiting all sectors of the workforce, providing equal access to workers from low-income or less urbanised regions is also a constant consideration. Withstand these issues notwithstanding, SkillsFuture's system of lifelong learning coupled with strong industry involvement provides an educational model to nations wanting to close the gap in their country's skills available in the work force.



Data is derived from official SkillsFuture performance reports (Ministry of Manpower, 2023), evaluations of Germany's dual education system (Eurostat, 2023), and reports by NSDC and NITI Aayog as cited in the India Employment Report 2024 and CMIE analyses.

(Sources : [1](#), [2](#), [3](#), [4](#), [5](#))

b. Germany's Dual Education System

Germany's dual system is another worldwide praised model which balances vocational education and formal schooling by incorporating them efficiently. Here, the learners in classrooms get joined by experienced industry professionals as training mentors during workplace training in the actual business environments. Traditionally, the

apprentices attend school for one or two days of every week and work the rest in a company with practical knowledge passed on by seasoned experts (European Training Foundation, 2017).

One of the strongest arguments in favour of the system is the strong connection with industry needs. The companies play a central role in setting the training syllabus so that the apprentices acquire not just theoretical concepts but also immediately applicable practical skills relevant to their occupation. This integration minimizes the gap which often arises between education training and industry demands, hence improving the employability of the graduates. As a result, Germany boasts one of the most developed youth labor markets in the world, and its workforce is highly regarded for technical expertise and adaptability.

Another significant advantage of the dual system is that it is highly flexible. Through academic and vocational education integration, the system allows seamless movement among different levels of schooling and vocational education. This enhances lifelong learning and enables workers to continuously improve their skills as industrial demands shift. Additionally, the system facilitates extensive cooperation among the government, schools, and private sector companies. These alliances ensure that the training programs are not only relevant but also responsive to changes in the economic setting (OECD, 2016).

The effectiveness of Germany's dual system of education can be measured from the performance of its economy. The system has been one of the powerful drivers of the country's robust manufacturing base and overall economic competitiveness. Additionally, the dual system also supports social cohesion by providing clearly defined career progression routes and reducing youth unemployment. Case studies of various German states indicate that successfully graduating apprentices have high levels of permanent employment and can expect comparatively stable incomes not long after graduation.

But the system is not free from problems. One of the significant criticisms is that its success relies heavily on the active participation of industries, which may vary geographically and by sector. To some, small companies or companies in less developed regions may not be in a position to offer apprenticeship opportunities, thus limiting the coverage of the system. Also, applying the dual model to countries with heterogeneous socio-economic backgrounds and education infrastructures requires careful adaptation. Nevertheless, Germany's dual education system has much to

learn from in the intersection of theory and practice-based training to meet the needs of the labor market in effective terms.

Lessons for India

Both Singapore's SkillsFuture programme and Germany's dual education model have lessons that India can learn from in the fight against unemployment. To start with, these models highlight the need for continuous learning and education systems to keep pace with changing technology and economics. In India, where there is a pace of technological changes that is altering the employment market, embracing a similar lifelong learning system could go a long way in filling the skills gap and improving employability. For example, designing financial incentives like SkillsFuture Credit and building public-private partnerships to continuously revise vocational training syllabi could have a major impact on India's workforce.

Secondly, the bringing of formal training in tandem with experiential education, exemplified by the case of Germany's dual system, is absolutely important to see students graduating employable. India's education framework based on centuries-long rote-based learning will need to change track towards the introduction of practical hands-on training as well as face-to-face exposure to the industries. Initiating pilot programmes in dual education within a few selected states and industries can provide an example that will be adopted by scaling similar ventures across the entire country.

Third, both models emphasize the importance of effective government-industry partnership. In Singapore and Germany, the direct participation of the private sector in curriculum development and on-the-job training has been critical to their success. India can learn from such partnerships by encouraging industries to get involved in curriculum development and providing apprenticeships. This not only could improve the quality of vocational training but also could help ensure that training programs continue to keep pace with the rapidly changing needs of today's economy.

Lastly, inclusiveness has to be ensured. Both models emphasize ensuring equal opportunity to all strata of society, including the members of disadvantaged groups. India must give topmost priority to policies that can reduce regional disparities and gender disparities in education and employment. Interventions like special programs among

rural youth and women can be potent in creating a more inclusive labor market and harvesting its potential demographic dividend.

Singapore's and Germany's experience is compelling testimony that the carefully designed education and training system can play a vital role in work outcomes. Singapore's SkillsFuture scheme provides the model of how one needs to have continuous upskilling and lifelong learning in a knowledge economy, while Germany's dual education programme provides the experience that the vocational training can be integrated into the formal school education to equip an industry with flexible and high-skilled labour. The challenge before India is how to apply these lessons in its own socio-economic context. By education reform, building public–private partnerships, and investing in vocational education and lifelong learning schemes, India can move towards reducing the disparity between rapid economic growth and employment generation.

The international models outlined here offer a roadmap for India to revamp its strategy for labor market development. A culture of lifelong learning, enhancing on-the-job training, and extending quality education to all segments of society are the initial steps towards creating a robust labor market. With the right policies and targeted interventions, India can convert its demographic dividend into a sustained source of inclusive and green growth.

7. Recommendations for Future Action

In spite of the series of government programs to tackle unemployment in India, there are some challenges that continue to face it. An overarching strategy going beyond existing policies is required to ensure that growth delivers job-rich and high-quality employment. Below are some recommendations aimed at building industry-academia partnerships, encouraging digital competency and technological skill, labour market flexibility, and entrepreneurship and start-ups.

a. Strengthening Industry-Academia Collaboration

An important measure of narrowing the mismatch of skills is to establish tighter collaboration between education and industry. Indian educational institutions need to engage in close partnership with firms in order to correlate their curricula with actual industry needs. Joint curriculum development will allow students to gain training

which keeps pace with current technological development and market forces (ResearchGate, 2023). Creation of industry advisory boards at colleges and universities would permit ongoing refinements in the curriculum, that way theoretical training can be paired with practical experience in the classroom. Additionally, cooperative education and internships would be increased in size so students acquire on-the-job experience before graduating. By closing the gap between industry and academia, India can greatly improve the employability of its graduates and lower the incidence of overqualification among young job seekers.

b. Promoting Digital Literacy and Technological Skills

Since the world economy is increasingly digital, it is necessary to equip the workforce with strong digital literacy and technological capabilities. India needs to invest in huge digital skills training programs that cross urban and rural geographies. Upscaling initiatives like Digital India, along with vocational training programs aligned with the new technology demands, can get the workforce ready for future jobs. For example, providing subsidies or tax breaks for companies that offer in-house training in new technologies such as artificial intelligence, data analytics, and cybersecurity would help employees keep up with the trends in their field (Ministry of Education Singapore, 2020). Additionally, increasing digital infrastructure access in rural areas is critical. Public-private partnerships can help establish digital learning centers and computer labs in the disadvantaged regions, thus reducing the urban–rural digital divide and enhancing overall employability.

c. Enhancing Labor Market Flexibility

Strict labor legislation has been a major impediment to employment generation in India. For the development of a more dynamic labor market, these legislations must be overhauled to provide greater flexibility while still protecting workers' rights. Simplifying labor laws and reducing bureaucratic hurdles can prompt companies to expand their scale and hire additional employees. To illustrate, easier hiring and termination processes can enable companies to react more quickly to changes in the demand for products. And, by creating greater access to more flexible forms of employment—short-term work, part-time work, and freelance work with adequate social protection—can incorporate a greater share of workers into the formal economy (Reuters, 2025). These reforms must be complemented with strong social security measures to ensure that workers in flexible arrangements are not left vulnerable. By creating a regulatory

environment that balances flexibility and protection, India can encourage employment generation and maintain economic growth.

d. Encouraging Entrepreneurship and Start-ups

Entrepreneurship provides an important avenue to combat unemployment through the generation of new jobs and innovation. In order to facilitate entrepreneurial activities, there is a need for the government to increase finance access, simplify regulatory procedures, and offer solid mentorship initiatives. Programs such as the Micro Units Development & Refinance Agency Ltd. (MUDRA) and the Stand-Up India Scheme have provided the platform for entrepreneurship assistance. Nonetheless, more enhancements are needed to make these schemes reach their optimum level. Streamlining the process of loan application, cutting red tape delays, and enhancing the size of financial support can enable more budding entrepreneurs to start and continue their enterprises (MUDRA Official Website, n.d.; Stand- Up India Scheme, n.d.). Additionally, setting up start-up incubators and accelerators in urban and semi-urban areas can offer invaluable counseling and networking facilities. Such platforms can also provide education in business administration, money matters, and internet marketing, the foundation of new businesses' success in the long term. Encouraging the entrepreneurial spirit in a positive business climate can empower India to realise its potential youth innovation and channelise the resulting employment opportunities to spur growth sectors.

Integrated Strategy for Inclusive Growth

These above recommendations should not be taken in isolation; instead, they should be part of a balanced policy platform addressing the complex phenomenon of Indian unemployment. For instance, improving industry-institutional partnerships could be complemented by encouraging digital literacy initiatives prepared with consultation from major technology firms. Equally, labor market flexibility reforms must be aligned with policies to encourage start- ups to guarantee that jobs are created and maintained sustainably.

Strong policy implementation also depends on strong monitoring and evaluation systems. Underpinning feedback loops from government stakeholders, industry, academia, and civil society can flag gaps and areas of weakness in real-time. Using data-informed approaches and retaining policy design flexibility, India can become more

responsive to the fast-changing economic landscape and can ensure that its demographic dividend is converted into a sustainable driver of inclusive growth.

In short, combating India's unemployment problem needs a dynamic policy and a whole-of-society approach. Industrial-academia collaboration, which needs to be institutionalized, developing digital knowledge and tech skills, labor market flexibility, and entrepreneurship are the key pillars which can transform the current labor market. Implementing these recommendations in an integrated policy will help India bridge the gap between growth in the economy and employment generation and, eventually, unlock the potential of its young and dynamic workforce.

8. Conclusion

India's experience since economic liberalization in 1991 has been of strong GDP growth and vibrant reshaping of its economy. But as this paper has illustrated, such growth has not come in proportionate to employment levels rising. In spite of lofty initiatives such as the National Policy for Skill Development, chronic unemployment remains a major concern—especially amongst youth and among the educated constituency. This paper analyzed the complex reasons behind unemployment in India, assessed the strengths and weaknesses of current government programs, and learned lessons from global models like Singapore's SkillsFuture and Germany's dual education system. Collectively, these analyses present a blueprint for future action to leverage India's demographic dividend for sustainable and inclusive growth.

Behind the issue of unemployment is a reality of jobless growth. While economic metrics like GDP have reached dizzying heights, the labor market has not kept up at an equivalent level. This imbalance manifests in the high levels of youth, even graduates with advanced qualifications, who are underemployed or completely unemployed (International Banker, 2024; WSJ, 2024). Structural issues like an archaic education system, skill mismatch, and rigidities in the labor market further aggravate the condition. Excessive use of rote learning in Indian schools results in graduates having insufficient practical and technical expertise required by contemporary industries (Testbook, 2024). At the same time, accelerated technology and automation decreased the number of conventional jobs, making continuous upgrades in skills increasingly necessary—a need that existing policies have only so far addressed halfway.

Government schemes like the Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY), National Apprenticeship Promotion Scheme (NAPS), and job generation schemes like MGNREGA and PMEGP have been instrumental in easing unemployment. They have effectively delivered millions of training opportunities and short-term work, especially to rural areas (MGNREGA Official Website, n.d.; MSME, n.d.). Also, schemes of financial support such as MUDRA and entrepreneurial schemes such as the Stand-Up India Scheme have created opportunities for self-employment among marginalized communities. These policies have, however, faced serious limitations: inconsistencies in training quality, poor post-training support, and bureaucratic inefficiencies limit their potential (NEXT IAS, 2024; Reuters, 2025). Assessments indicate that though these programs have reduced short-term distress, they have not had a significant impact on long-term, high-quality job creation.

Foreign models have provided lessons to be learned that India can draw upon its environment. Singapore's Skills Future program teaches the value of an ongoing learning system that rewards lifelong upskilling with economic incentives and robust industry connections (Ministry of Education Singapore, 2020). Germany's dual education system, which combines intense classroom instruction with experiential, work-based training, likewise showcases the power of connecting education outcomes to industry requirements (European Training Foundation, 2017). These models highlight the importance of India developing closer collaboration between industry and academia, ensuring that curricula are updated periodically and practical training is integrated into the education system.

In the future, the way to minimize unemployment in India is to embrace an integrated approach. Industry-academia partnership needs to be strengthened so that the skills taught in schools and colleges are aligned with the needs of contemporary industries. This may include setting up advisory boards comprising industry professionals, increasing internship and apprenticeship opportunities, and curriculum alignment with new technologies and market demands. In addition, enhancing digital literacy in urban and rural areas will get the workforce ready for a digital economy, with even traditionally disadvantaged groups being able to leverage technological progress.

Additionally, enhancing labor market flexibility by liberalizing rigid labor laws will help propel the establishment of formal employment. Simplification and shortening the time in hiring and dismissing can encourage

businesses to expand, while flexible labor arrangements with adequate social protection strategies can absorb greater employment levels. Lastly, establishing an entrepreneurial culture by providing greater access to finance, simplified regulatory processes, and robust mentorship initiatives will help people generate new jobs and encourage innovation. These measures, if implemented in a concerted manner, can bring down unemployment dramatically and translate India's demographic dividend into an enduring source of growth.

In sum, though India has recorded impressive economic growth, its unemployment problem underscores the need to cross the halfway point. The imperatives of jobless growth, bridging the skills gap, transforming the education system, and embracing labor market flexibility are critical steps towards making economic growth people-oriented. By learning from the best international practices and embracing targeted reforms, India can create a strong, inclusive labor market that enables sustainable and equitable growth.

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