Abstract

The complex stratification systems in India give rise to a multiplicity of social categories which often obscure the relative status of men and women within the more disadvantaged segments of the population. This study examines the situation of women in scheduled castes and tribes – groups referred to as "weaker sections of people" who are granted special safeguards and concessions under the Indian constitution. Women in these under-privileged groups are doubly disadvantaged by their minority group status and India's patriarchal culture which interact to produce deplorable living conditions. This study uses ethnographic and statistical sources to document the extreme degrees of gender inequality among the scheduled groups, and to show how women in these groups have far more limited access to both educational and employment resources relative to men. The research also suggests that socioeconomic development does not substantially reduce the problems of minority women and that minority men may disproportionately reap the fruits of development.

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Development and the "Doubly Disadvantaged": Gender Inequality in the Schedules Castes and Tribes of India

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DEVELOPMENT AND THE "DOUBLY DISADVANTAGED": GENDER INEQUALITY IN THE SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES OF INDIA

Introduction

Over the last few decades, development in India has served to enhance the opportunities of many upper-class, urban women. These women now have greater access to education and employment, and as a result, are able to participate in the economy on a more equal basis with men (Karlekar 1982; Liddle and Joshi 1986). It is however, misleading to generalize from these privileged women to the larger female population. While a few elite women do reap the fruits of development, the bulk of the female population suffers from impoverishment. Estimates suggest that as many as 80 percent of the women in India live at or below a minimal subsistence level (Mukhopadhyay 1984). The most extreme deprivation exists among women in the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe populations, groups designated as particularly disadvantaged in the Indian Constitution. The interaction between the minority group status of these women and India's patriarchal culture produces deplorable living conditions (Ghandially 1988). These "doubly disadvantaged" women strive not for gender equality, but for their very survival (Mukhopadhyay 1984). The plight of these women is the focus of this paper.

The extent of gender inequality in the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe populations of India is best understood in the context of both history and the larger society. For this reason, the first section of the paper is devoted to a brief description of the changing status of Indian women, followed by a profile of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe populations. Indicators of women's status in numerous scheduled groups are then examined in order to evaluate the extent that gender inequality is present. The final portion of the paper is devoted to an exploration of the relationship between the overall level of development of the scheduled group and women's status relative to men's.

Gender Inequality in India: Past and Present

For more than two centuries writers and researchers have depicted Indian womanhood as a rather grim existence. Yet many accounts suggest that in Dravidian civilization prior to the Aryan invasions the status of women was quite high. These accounts of the Hindus claim that woman's position was equal to or even superior to man's (Duley 1986; Morgan 1984; Sinha 1983). In fact, women were among the composers of the sacred Hindu texts, the Vedas. The development of the agrarian civilization with an emphasis on surplus wealth and private property gradually led to the extreme subjugation of women in Indian society (Manohar 1983; O'Kelley and Carney 1986). The earliest references to women as property are found in texts written in the period 800 to 500 B.C. According to Hindu law books from the second century B.C., the position of women was one of complete dependence on men--on fathers

in childhood, on husbands as adults, and on sons in old age (Sinha 1983).

A statistical profile of women in India reveals much about their status today, and the picture that emerges is a dismal one. A clear indication of women's standing relative to men's is the fact that India is one of the few nations in the world where life expectancy at birth is shorter for females than it is for males. In 1982, life expectancy at birth was 57 years for men and 52 years for women (Center for Monitoring Indian Economy 1982). The lower life expectancy for women is due to systematic discrimination against them. Compared to sons, daughters are far more likely to become malnourished and far less likely to receive adequate health care (Jain 1984; Papanek 1990; Visaria and Visaria 1981).

Another indicator of women's low status relative to men's is the literacy rate. Women are only a little more than half as likely as men to be functionally literate. As of 1985, the literacy rate for women in India was about 33 percent (Sivard 1985; Visaria and Visaria 1981). Similarly, women are a little more than half as likely as men to be enrolled in higher education (World Bank 1988).

Statistics on female employment further reinforce the discrimination faced by women. Women's labor force participation rate is less than half that of men, and their unemployment rate is far higher than that of men (Morgan 1984; Sivard 1985). In 1980, women comprised 32 percent of the labor force. In the same year, 60 percent of the rural unemployed were women. When women are employed, they are far more likely than men to work in the informal sector for low wages and no benefits. Almost 50 percent of the female labor force was classified as unpaid family labor in the 1971 Census (Morgan 1984). The ministry of Labor reports that 80 percent of all urban working women are concentrated in 12 occupational categories such as teachers, nurses, clerks, domestic servants, construction workers and unskilled laborers (Liddle and Joshi 1986). The largest employment category for women in India is agriculture; 79 percent of the employed women work in this category. Unfortunately, current research suggests that the mechanization of agriculture and continued development in India has worsened rather than improved their employment situation (Jain 1984; Karlekar 1982).

These and other equally depressing statistics have not gone unnoticed. There is an active women's movement in India today--and it is now reaching all segments of the female population for membership (Everett 1979; Jain 1984; Liddle and Joshi 1986; Patel 1988). India has taken steps to eliminate gender discrimination in the law, but this more progressive legislation has proved unenforceable in the face of tradition, poverty, and illiteracy (O'Kelley and Carney 1986). Even the Dowry Prohibition Act is disregarded by much of the Hindu population, and violators are

seldom brought to court. Sometimes the practice of dowry in India today leads to a form of extortion in which the husband's family may actually torture a bride to extract more money from her family. Dowry murders have been committed at all levels of Hindu society, and even these extreme cases of legal violation typically evade legal prosecution (Ghandially and Humar 1988; Morgan 1984). The widespread continuation of the practice of dowry is harmful to women, and the practice is one of the reasons for prejudice against daughters and their subsequent ill-treatment in the family of origin.

Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Populations

The Hindu population, comprising much of Indian society, is characterized by a rigid, hierarchical caste system. A caste is composed of individuals who follow certain rules of commensality and connubality. While there are thousands of castes, they can be subsumed under five major divisions--the fourfold varna scheme (ritual orders of the caste system) and those which fall outside this typology, the untouchables or Harijans. The five categories are (1) the Brahmins, the priestly caste; (2) Kshtriyyas, the warrior caste; (3) Vaishyas, the merchant caste; (4) Shudaras, the artisan caste; (5) and those who perform ritual pollution work and are considered "untouchable" (Das 1982; Mukhopadhyay 1984). The jati is another important, but finer, classification scheme for social groups in India. A jati is an endogamous, hereditary group which possesses a common name and common attributes such as a traditional occupation. The position and practices of one's jati influence one's career and define the range of relatives and close companions (Mandelbaum 1970).

In addition to the population encompassed within the caste system, India has a large number of aboriginal tribes. In fact, India has one of the largest tribal populations of any country, representing about seven percent of the total population (Chattopadhyay 1978; Debi 1978). More than 38 million people in some 450 groups are counted as tribals in recent censuses (Debi 1978; Dube 1977; Mandelbaum).

Article 341 of the Indian Constitution designates certain disadvantaged tribal and caste populations as scheduled castes and tribes (Bose, Gupta, and Raychaudhuri 1977; Gallanter 1984). The Constitution directs that "...the state shall promote with special care the education and economic interests of the weaker sections of people, and in particular, of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation" (Constitution of India, Government of India Act 1935). The special safeguards and concessions granted to the scheduled groups include reservations in the legislature proportionate to strength in the population and educational grants and scholarships (Gallanter 1984; Mandelbaum 1970).[1]

The scheduled castes account for approximately 15 percent of the Indian population--about 80 million people (Das 1982; Gallanter 1984). The majority of the scheduled caste population lives in rural areas as agricultural laborers or marginal farmers. Only about 11 percent of scheduled caste members lives in urban areas; they reside most often in slum areas and perform marginal labor. Many researchers suggest that the Constitutional guarantee of protection for the scheduled caste population has done little to improve its members' economic position in Hindu society. Over the last decade, resentment against the special provisions for scheduled groups has become apparent in the larger population (Kumar 1988), so that even violence and brutality against the scheduled castes are fairly common (Souza 1982).

The spectrum of tribal groups ranges from hunter-gatherers who are clearly outside caste society, to settled agricultural groups that are assimilated into caste society in the form of new caste-like jatis (Ghurye 1980; Mandelbaum 1970). Tribal peoples are found from the high valleys near the Himalayas to the hills of Southern India, but the main tribal territories are concentrated in the central region of the hill country. Some tribes are quite small, with populations numbering between a few hundred to a thousand. Other groups are much larger, with millions of members (Census of India 1981; Mandelbaum 1970).

The concept "minority," as used in sociological literature, is a useful tool for describing the situation of scheduled castes and tribes in Indian society, where social subordination and disadvantage are the key elements which distinguish minorities from the dominant group (Vander Zanden 1983). The following definition summarizes the key characteristics of minority groups: "Minorities are any culturally or physically distinctive and self conscious social aggregates, with hereditary membership and a high degree of endogamy, which are subject to political, or economic, or social discrimination by a dominant segment of an environing political society" (Williams 1964:304). All elements of Williams's definition apply to the scheduled groups in India.

While all members of the scheduled groups face disadvantages as a result of their minority status, women in these groups are particularly disadvantaged. For these scheduled group women, caste or tribal disadvantage interacts with women's subordinate status to create "double minority" status. For this reason, statistical profiles of all Indian women often create a distorted image of the situation of these minority women. Unfortunately, scheduled group women in Indian society remain almost invisible in the social science literature (Ghandially 1988), despite the fact that the Indian government publishes special census volumes on both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The limited research available suggests that "double minority" status negatively impacts women by constricting their employment

opportunities and lowering their standard of living. The majority of employed scheduled caste and scheduled tribe women works as agricultural laborers. Recent studies suggest that these women are most often involved in the most difficult jobs in the fields for the lowest wages. Case studies provide detailed descriptions of the arduous and often hazardous tasks commonly performed by such women (Karlekar 1982; Mukhopadhyay 1984; Sundar 1981).

Written accounts suggest that the degree of gender inequality is greater in the scheduled castes than in the scheduled tribes (Mandelbaum 1970; Sinha 1983). The extreme hierarchical structure of caste society results in an emphasis on dominant-subordinate role relationships that extends to gender roles. Women in caste society are more subordinated and dependent on men than are women in the more egalitarian tribal groups. Within the caste scheme itself, women of the lower castes (jatis) are less dependent on men than are women at the higher levels (Sethi 1982). Although there is ample subordination by gender in tribal society, women are reported to exercise a firm hand in family matters and, on occasion, are consulted on important group decision (Debi 1978; Mukhopadhyay 1984; Sinha 1983).

Scheduled Group Data: Sources and Samples

The Indian census, the most comprehensive source of demographic data (Bose, Gupta, Raychaudhuri 1977), includes special tables for both scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Data for these groups may be somewhat less reliable than data for the general population due to difficulties involved in enumerating the scheduled population. The fact that many scheduled tribes and castes are known by several synonyms, and branch into many sub-castes and sub-tribes, serves to greatly complicate the task of enumerating these groups (Burman 1988; Gallanter 1984). Despite these shortcomings, Indian census data on scheduled groups are widely used by social demographers and are generally accepted as reliable enough to be an effective resource of social science research (Burman 1977; Mukerji 1982).

Census data are available for scheduled groups by industrial classification, employment status, marital status, educational level, and religion (for tribes only). These data are published at the district, state, and national level (Census of India 1971, 1981). At the time the present research was conducted, 1981 census volumes were available for only five states. Four of the five were small Himalayan mountain states, which were not likely to be representative of the larger population. The remaining state, Orissa, was chosen for inclusion in this study. Because limited data were available for 1981, the majority of this study is devoted to an analysis of 1971 census data for five major states. The most populous state for which complete data were available was chosen from each of the 1971 Census Tribal Zones (territorial groupings).[2]

The five states chosen--Assam, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, and Uttar Pradesh--are regionally diverse and exhibit varying socio-economic and cultural characteristics. The 1981 data for the state of Orissa and the 1971 data for the five states comprise two separate samples in this study. Each sample is analyzed separately. (See Figure 1 for a map of Indian states.)

The 1971 sample consists of the ten largest scheduled castes and the ten largest scheduled tribes in each of the five states (an exception Uttar Pradesh with only five tribes). The total result is 95 scheduled groups in the 1971 sample. The 1981 sample is comprised of the ten largest scheduled castes and the ten largest scheduled tribes in Orissa, a total of twenty groups. Table 1 displays the group names and populations, which range in size from 1,918 to 10,121,421 members. The percentage of the state's population represented by the selected groups ranges from a low of 9.7 percent for Maharashtra to a high of 28.1 percent for Orissa (Agrawal, Verma, and Gupta 1987; India: A Statistical Outline 1987).

Methodology: Measuring Gender Inequality in the Scheduled Castes and Tribes

Macrostructural theories of gender inequality suggest that women's roles in the economy are a key determinant of their overall status (Blumberg 1984; Chafetz 1984). In contemporary societies, women's access to the formal education system is an important prerequisite to entry into the more rewarding positions in the occupational structure. For this reason, the present analysis examines minority women's representation in both the educational system and the labor market.

In more developed societies, particularly in the elite sectors, women's representation in professional and managerial positions is an apt indicator of their overall status (Almquist 1987; Poston, Almquist, and Shu 1987). In India, where about 76 percent of the population is rural, agriculture is the predominant source of employment (Ambewadikar 1986). Managerial and professional employment opportunities occur primarily in the urban sector, but a focus on these types of occupations in an attempt to gain insight into gender inequality in the labor market would be inappropriate because it would capture information on only a small segment of the female population. Furthermore, such a focus would be inappropriate because even in the urban population very few disadvantaged, minority women will have access to higher status occupations. While such knowledge provides a critical insight to the extremely disadvantaged position of minority women, further research possibilities would be severely constrained if occupations where women's representation is miniscule were examined. The caste distribution among professional and managerial women indicates that scheduled castes are barely visible. Scheduled tribe women are

less likely to be represented in these occupations because they are more concentrated in rural areas (Liddle and Joshi 1986).

A more appropriate focus, when examining labor market gender inequality in India, is on employment in the agricultural sector. The Indian Census divides agricultural workers into two broad categories--cultivators and agricultural laborers. Cultivators own or lease the land they work, while laborers work on another person's land for wages. While there are many kinds of cultivators--from absentee landlords to small farmers who cultivate their own land and supplement their income by working for wages on other people's land--it is generally the case that cultivators have higher status than laborers (Census of India 1971; Gulati 1984; Mukhopadhyay 1984).

In 1971, cultivators comprised about 52 percent of all workers in India, and agricultural laborers comprised about 31 percent. As might be expected, the occupational distribution of men and women in agriculture indicates that women comprise a disproportionate share of the laborers, and men constitute a disproportionate share of the cultivators. Changes over time (1971-1981) show that the proportion of female cultivators to male cultivators has increased. While on the surface this change appears to mark an improvement in women's occupational status in agriculture, it is actually no more than women taking over positions vacated by men. The large scale emigration of men to urban centers to seek better employment opportunities leaves women behind to cultivate the more marginal land holdings (Sethi 1982; Verma and Dixit 1988).

The majority of agricultural laborers in India is drawn from the scheduled castes and tribes (Ambewadikar 1986; Sethi 1982). While the overall proportion of cultivators in the scheduled groups is smaller than that of the larger population, the distribution of occupations by gender is similar. Within the scheduled groups, more men than women are engaged in cultivation (Reddy 1984). A measure of the extent to which scheduled caste and tribe women in agriculture are represented as cultivators is included in this analysis. Higher representation as cultivators will be interpreted as an indicator of higher status.

Another appropriate variable to examine when evaluating the degree of gender inequality in less developed economies is women's presence in the manufacturing sector. Manufacturing occupations are typically associated with higher status than agricultural labor, even for cultivators in cases where the land holding is a rather small and marginal plot. Manufacturing employment often represents "progress" and "high technology" in developing societies. One exception exists, however: household manufacturing. Case studies suggest that home-based production is one of the most exploitative work arrangements in India. The utilization of home workers enables employers to avoid the industrial regulations which govern hours of work, working

conditions, benefits, and wages (Singh 1988). Workers engaged in home production are usually paid on a piece-rate basis, and wages are generally much lower than factory rates. Disadvantaged women in the scheduled castes and tribes provide a willing pool of labor for household enterprise and are disproportionately represented in home production (Karlekar 1982; Mukhopadhyay 1984). Minority women's presence in household manufacturing is also examined in this paper as an indicator of women's disadvantaged position in the labor market.

One of the most controversial indicators of women's status in India is the extent to which they are formally employed, independent of the specific occupational or industrial category (Miller 1981). A number of studies on India suggest that when the economic status of a group improves, women are withdrawn from the labor force (D'Souza 1975; Singh 198). Among the Hindu population in particular, high status groups discourage women from employment outside the home (Bhatty 1984; Khan and Ayesha 1982). Still other researchers claim that employment rates of women decline with an increase in literacy, but that they rise with women's representation in higher education (D'Souza 1975; Standing 1982).

The work participation rates of women in the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes (the most impoverished segments of Indian society) are significantly higher than those of the non-scheduled female population. As of 1971, the employment rate for scheduled caste women was about 18 percent, and the rate for scheduled tribe women was about 21 percent, compared to a work participation rate of less than 12 percent for the non-scheduled female population (Debi 1978; Usha Rao 1983).[3] While minority women's work participation rates are higher than the rates for other women, they are still much lower than those for minority men (Debi 1978).

At the lowest levels of the stratification hierarchy in Indian society, women who work for wages often do so because their husbands' income is insufficient to support the family (D'Souza 1975). In these situations female employment is an indication of low status for the family unit. Scheduled group families who can afford to withdraw women from employment often do so to emulate higher status groups. In such cases the exclusion of women from employment represents a status symbol for the family unit (Singh 1988). While female employment detracts from overall family status, it enhances individual women's status relative to that of men within the family. Evidence suggests that when women perform a productive role for wages, they are less subservient to men. Not only does female employment increase women's economic independence, but it also lowers dowries and decreases the value placed on sons (Bhatty 1986). The extent to which women participate in formal employment is an additional variable included in this study. Higher rates of employment represent enhanced status for women within the family relative to the status of men. For those cases with available data (e.g. the Orissa sample), scheduled caste and

tribe women's shares of marginal employment and unemployment are also examined as indicators of low status.

Development experts often view the expansion of the formal education system to encompass broader segments of the population of continued development in low income countries (Standing 1982). In India, more equality of educational opportunities began to be emphasized in the decades following Independence in 1947. Policies of protective discrimination for the scheduled groups emerged as an effort to promote greater minority group access to education (Kumar 1988). The government of India views basic literacy as well as more advanced educational credentials as the necessary first steps toward the attainment of more rewarding positions in the economy and a higher standard of living for disadvantaged segments of the population (Mitra 1979).

Despite protective legislation, the average levels of educational attainment for the scheduled populations remain quite low. Widespread illiteracy exists among both the scheduled caste and tribe populations, with men in both groups about three times more likely than women to be literate. Country wide, the percentage of scheduled caste men who were functionally literate in 1981 was 31 percent, as compared to 11 percent of the women. In that same year, the percentage of scheduled tribe men who were functionally literate was 25 percent in contrast to only eight percent of scheduled tribe women (Economic Intelligence Service 1987). With basic literacy rates this low, it is not difficult to imagine the discouraging statistics which emerge for formal educational attainment. At all levels of attainment, scheduled group women are under-represented compared to men. Minority women's educational attainment at various levels is also explored in this analysis, along with rates of basic literacy.

Findings: Gender Inequality in Education and Employment

Each of the indicators of minority women's status described above--representation as cultivators and non-household manufacturing employees, employment rate, and various measures of educational attainment--are examined in three forms. First, the percent of scheduled group men and women in each category is presented (Tables 2 and 3). Then minority women's unadjusted share of each category is calculated (Tables 4 and 5). Following Almquist (1987), the variables are then adjusted in order to provide a more accurate indication of the extent of gender inequality in the scheduled groups (Tables 4 and 5). Adjusted share variables are calculated by subtracting women's share of the total force (or other relevant category) from the unadjusted share variable.[4] Positive signs for the adjusted share variables indicate that women are over-represented in the category. Negative signs indicate that women are under-represented. The closer the

adjusted share variables are to zero, the less the gender inequality.

Table 4 displays women's unadjusted and adjusted shared of the education variables for all 115 groups. In only two cases are women over-represented in any of the educational categories--the Gond (ST #52; value = 15.18) of Andhra Pradesh and the Paroja (ST #112; value = 5.26) of Orissa. In both groups, women are over-represented as literates. However, the degree of over-representation is reasonably small: among the Gond, literacy is reported for only one percent of the women and less than one percent of the men; among the Paroja, the figures are 11 percent of the women and 9 percent of the men. Women are also over-represented in the college degree category among the Gond, where the adjusted share value of 27.19 is quite large. But this is deceptive, because only one person in the entire Gond groups has a college degree. Varying degrees of educational inequality exist among the remaining groups. Typically, the higher the level of attainment, the greater the male advantage. For example, the mean adjusted share for the literacy category is -27 whereas the mean adjusted share for the college degree category is -35.

Women's unadjusted and adjusted shares of the various employment categories are presented in Table 5. For all 115 scheduled groups, women are under-represented in employment. Women's adjusted share of employment ranges from -3.04 to -47.1, with the mean value of -22.1. Women are under-represented as cultivators in the majority of the scheduled groups and over-represented in only 8 of the total 115 scheduled groups. Seven of these are tribal groups which have a tradition of somewhat more egalitarian work relations between the sexes. Three of the tribes with a disproportionate share of women as cultivators are located in the state of Assam, where matriliny is relatively common among tribal groups (Debi 1978). Once again, in all the groups in which women are over-represented, the degree of over-representation is minimal (range = .01 to 1.91). This pattern indicates that in groups where women have the highest agricultural employment status, it is only slightly higher than that of men.

The adjusted share data for women in non-household manufacturing employment also reveals a pattern of gender inequality, but the average level of inequality (mean = -7) is somewhat lower than for agricultural employment (see Table 5). Women are under-represented in the majority of groups and over-represented in 19. Once again, the degree of over-representation is relatively minor (usually an adjusted value of less than 5), with one exception. Among the Jatapus of Andhra Pradesh, women's adjusted share value is 90.91. This value becomes less meaningful, however, since less than one percent of the entire group is employed in non-household manufacturing. Eight of the 19 groups with women over-represented in non-household manufacturing are

located in the state of Andhra Pradesh, which has the highest female work participation rate of all states (Reddy 1984).

In the Orissa 1981 sample, women are extremely over represented as marginal workers in all 20 groups (mean = -.26; range = -36 to -4) (See Table 5). The census defines marginal workers as those who have worked any time at all in the preceding year but who have not worked for the major part of the year. Marginal workers are typically under-employed and unable to locate full-time, permanent employment. Among the scheduled groups sampled for Orissa, women represent between 75 and 91 percent of the marginal workers.

For 11 of the scheduled groups in Orissa, women are over-represented among those seeking work (see Table 5). The pattern of the over-representation of women exists primarily for the tribal groups. In the remaining nine minority groups, women are under-represented among those seeking work. The rates of under-representation appear to be slightly higher, on average, than the rates of over-representation. The mean adjusted share for women seeking work is -3; the range for this variable is -26 to 15.

Socioeconomic Development and Gender Inequality in the Scheduled Groups

Development is multi-dimensional process which involves the reorganization and reorientation of economic and social systems to the extent that they facilitate: (1) a higher material standard of living, (2) enhanced self-esteem, and (3) greater personal and social freedoms (Todaro 1989). The first dimension of development is the easiest to measure, and for this reason it is the focus of much social science research. This material aspect of development is commonly operationalized as economic growth, or as an increase in the over amount of surplus resources available in a society (Bornschier, Chase-Dunn, and Rubinson 1980; Evans and Timberlake 1980).

In recent years, various contemporary perspectives on development (e.g., world system perspective and dependency perspective) have focused attention on how this increasing surplus is distributed across the population. Mounting evidence suggests that socioeconomic development often leads to a more unequal distribution of resources as wealth becomes increasingly concentrated in the hands of a small elite class while the majority of the population experiences a decline in standard of living (Bornschier and Ballmer-Cao 1980; Bornschier, Chase-Dunn, and Robinson 1980; Chilicote and Johnson 1983; Evans and Timberlake 1980; Rubinson 1976). Unfortunately, these perspectives on development often do not consider the extent to which socioeconomic development affects the distribution of resources within groups or classes and across the sexes (Ward 1984). We examine this key

distributional issue for the scheduled caste and tribe populations of India. Numerous development indicators for each of the scheduled groups are correlated with women's adjusted share of the educational and employment variables, in order to determine whether higher levels of development have a positive or negative impact on women's status.

The level of socioeconomic development of each of the scheduled groups is measured by the percentage of the population that: (1) is literate, (2) completed primary education, (3) attended secondary school (Matriculation), (4) graduated from secondary school, (5) obtained college degrees in urban areas, (6) is between the ages of birth to 14 and not married, (7) is employed, and (8) resides in urban areas. These standard indicators of human development are widely used measures in the literature on socioeconomic development (Adelman and Morris 1973; Todaro 1989; United National Development Program 1990; World Bank 1988). Each of the measures is taken from the 1971 or 1981 Census of the Population. Moderate to high correlations exists between the various development indicators.

The first five measures of educational attainment indicate that the majority of the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe population has very limited access to education (see Table 6). In the 1971, five-state sample, the average percentage of minority groups who are literate is only 19 percent, and the average percentage who completed primary school is lower still, less than six percent. For the secondary level and beyond, average levels of attainment drop below one percent of the group's population. On the whole, the scheduled castes average slightly higher levels of educational attainment than the scheduled tribes (e.g., mean percent literate: SC 19%, ST 14%, mean percent completing primary school: SC 9%, ST 5%).

The percentage of the population between the ages of birth to 14 who are not married can also be viewed as a proxy for development in India. Child marriage for girls is often viewed as a means of ensuring the purity of the bride. Furthermore, early marriage of young girls to men of the same social status ensures the ritual purity of each caste group (Gupta 1976). Currently, Indian law specifies a minimum age for marriages (21 for males and 17 for females), yet according to the 1971 Census, 14 percent of the girls in rural India between the ages of 10 and 14 were married (Gupta 1976; Mukhopadhyay 1984). The data in Table 6 indicate that the rates of child marriage are much lower for the scheduled groups in the samples (mean = 2 percent in 1971 sample). One possible explanation for the relatively low rates of child marriage in the scheduled groups in this sample is that traditional dowry practice may discourage economically disadvantaged parents from advocating early marriage for their daughters. Rates of child marriage range from a high of 14 percent to a low of less than one percent in this study. Groups with lower rates of child marriage are generally

thought to be higher on a scale of socioeconomic development (Singh 1979).

The percentage of the population which is employed (both male and female), another indicator of socioeconomic development, varies considerably across groups (range = 22 percent to 58 percent; see Table 6). While higher rates of employment are considered to be associated with increased development in many societies, this is not the case for all segments of the Indian population. Among the scheduled groups, higher rates of employment indicate that both men and women must work to support their families. Because Hindu culture favors the exclusion of women from employment, female employment most often occurs in the scheduled groups when the level of development is so low that one earner cannot support the family alone (D'Souza 1975; Singh 1988). Thus, for the purpose of this analysis, higher work participation rates will be interpreted as an indication of lower level socioeconomic development.

The final development measure, that is, the percentage of the population residing in urban areas, is a commonly used indicator of the extent to which the primary economic activity has undergone a shift from agriculture to industry. When the industrial base is sufficient to attract a large portion of the population to urban centers, a country is considered to be more developed. Table 6 shows that in India, the majority of the scheduled caste and tribe population still resides in rural areas (mean = 12 percent for five state sample; x = 7 percent for Orissa sample).

Tables 7 and 8 present the zero-order correlation coefficients between each of the development measures and women's adjusted share of the employment and educational categories for both samples. As might be expected, the literacy and education measures of development have a consistent, positive impact on women's adjusted share of the various educational categories. Thus, women share more equitably in education in those groups that have attained high levels of educational development. On the whole, the correlations are stronger between the educational development indicators and women's adjusted share for the lower levels of educational attainment. At the higher levels of educational attainment, the correlation coefficients are often insignificant, in part owing to the very small numbers of people who attain higher levels of education in India's scheduled groups.

Women in the more educated minority groups do not typically exchange their higher education credentials for improved employment circumstances relative to men outside the agricultural sector (see Tables 7 and 8). The educational development indicators are negatively correlated with both women's adjusted share of employment and women's adjusted share of non-household manufacturing in both samples. While the effect of all levels of groups' educational attainment on these employment variables is negative, it is significant for only the highest and lowest levels

of attainment--literacy and college degree (in the five-state sample). The negative correlation between a group's education level and women's employment (work participation rate and representation in non-household manufacturing) supports the view that the more developed scheduled groups withdraw women from the labor force in an attempt to emulate higher status groups. This pattern suggests that as groups develop, women's employment status declines. In such cases, parents may permit daughters access to higher education, not for its value in the workplace but because it may lead to better marriage.

While higher rates of educational attainment have a negative impact on women's employment status, they have a positive effect on gender equality in agricultural employment (see Tables 7 and 8). In the Orissa sample, educational attainment at every level is positively associated with women's adjusted share of cultivator positions. In the five-state sample, correlation coefficients between the educational variables and women's adjusted share of cultivators prove significant only at the highest level of educational attainment, that is, the college degree.

The positive effect of the groups' level of educational development on women's employment status in agriculture is rather surprising, in that formal education (particularly at the higher levels) bears a much less direct connection to productivity in the agricultural sector than in other employment arenas (where the correlations are negative). One possible interpretation is that among the more educated groups, men are better able to compete for the scarce and valued manufacturing jobs (Verma and Dixit 1988). As they migrate to the urban center to secure manufacturing employment, women are left behind to take over the cultivator roles on family farms. Families that own land cannot afford the "luxury" of excluding women from employment because women are needed to cultivate the land when men migrate to urban areas. While this phenomenon might represent an absolute improvement in women's employment status, it does not indicate a decrease in the level of gender inequality because men are also improving their employment status. Such an interpretation is also consistent with the above-mentioned finding that more educated groups have greater gender inequality with respect to manufacturing employment. Sethi (1982) observes a similar pattern occurring for the female population of India as a whole.

In the Orissa sample, the impact of educational development on women's share of marginal employment and unemployment is consistently negative (see Table 8). Once again, the Orissa sample does not conform to the general pattern, wherein more developed groups curtail women's employment. An optimistic interpretation would suggest that women in more educated groups are better able to compete with men for "main worker" status.[5] If however, men are migrating to cities for employment (as described in the scenario above), a greater share of "main worker" positions for women may

not represent a real improvement in women's status. In such a situation, the already overwhelming workload of women (as marginal workers) must be combined with the traditional work role of the male as cultivator. Thus, men would be entering the higher status manufacturing jobs and passing agricultural employment opportunities to women, but a major effect of that apparent "opening of doors" is a sharp increase in the burden or work on women.

In both samples, women hold a larger share of the total jobs and a smaller share of the educational credentials in groups with higher rates of employment (see Tables 7 and 8). The correlation coefficients among the groups' work participation rates and women's share of employment are the highest obtained in this study. The data also indicate that among groups with higher employment rates, men hold a disproportionate share of the cultivator positions. This suggests that when it is necessary for both men and women to work to support the family, employment is stratified such that men have disproportionate access to more rewarding work roles. Furthermore, because higher rates of work participation for the groups are associated with a lower adjusted share of educational credentials for women, it appears that when it is necessary for both sexes to work to support the family, women are disproportionately more likely to be deprived of access to education.

Data on marginal employment and unemployment in the Orissa 1981 sample also reveal that among groups with higher rates of work participation, women are less likely to be over-represented in marginal employment and unemployment (see Table 8). This finding indicates that when formal employment opportunities are more plentiful for the minority group, women have more proportionate access to those opportunities. This finding does not, however, provide any insight into the types of jobs to which women are gaining access. A meaningful improvement in the employment status of women would require that they gain access, proportionately to men, to higher status jobs. As noted above, this does not appear to be the case for the minority populations surveyed.

As predicted, groups with fewer child marriages exhibit less educational gender inequality (for the five state sample only--see Table 6). In Orissa, however, the more literate groups exhibit higher rates of child marriage. This pattern contradicts the pattern observed in other research (conducted with national samples) wherein higher status groups have higher ages at marriage (Singh 1979). Higher rates of child marriage in the Orissa sample are also associated with an improvement in women's representation as cultivators and non-household manufacturers. An explanation of this somewhat contradictory pattern, which requires an in-depth, ethnographic examination of the marriage practices for the groups surveyed in Orissa, is beyond the scope of this study.

Finally, the overall effect of urbanization on gender equality in education appears to be positive (see Tables 7 and 8). Among more urbanized groups, women have more equal access to educational opportunities. However, the effect of urbanization on women's employment status does not prove significant. This finding also buttresses the view that even when women are able to gain a greater share of the educational credentials, they are unable to exchange those credentials for enhanced employment opportunities.

Conclusions

The multiplicity of social categories in India often serves to obscure the status of women in the most disadvantaged segments of the population. This study focuses specifically on the situation of minority women, and it documents the presence of extreme degrees of gender inequality among the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. Relative to minority men, minority women in India have far more limited access to both educational and employment resources. For these women, the hardships associated with living in a low-income developing nation and the deprivations associated with minority status are compounded by the patriarchal value system.

The findings of this study also suggest that socioeconomic development is not a panacea for the problems of minority women. Scheduled groups considered to be more developed, according to rather standard indicators, often exhibit even greater degrees of gender inequality. This finding provides confirmation for theories of gender stratification (e.g., Chafetz 1984) which hold that men's dominant position in patriarchal cultures enables them to monopolize surplus resources. In accordance with Gerhard Lenski's (1966) second law of distribution, these surplus resources are then distributed on the basis of power. Patriarchy causes a "spiral effect," wherein the possession of advantage leads to even greater advantage when growth and development occur. This study suggests that such a pattern exists in much of the minority, scheduled caste and scheduled tribe populations of India.

This study points to a need for further research to explore the anomalous case of Orissa. The findings from the state of Orissa do not conform to the general pattern described above wherein higher levels of development are associated with greater gender inequality. Future research must go beyond a demographic analysis based on census data, and control for cultural patterns best ascertained via ethnographic research. Such research would represent an important contribution to the literature on the complex relationship between socioeconomic development and gender inequality in India.

Notes

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1. For a detailed discussion of the designation of scheduled castes and tribes and the various compensatory benefits targeted to these groups, see M. Gallanter (1984).

2. Census 1971 Tribal Zones are reported in Debi (1978). The tribal zones specified are North-East India, Sub-Himalayan region, Central and East India, South India, and Western India.

3. These figures seem low because much female labor is not counted in the census data. Women are disproportionately more likely to be marginal workers laboring in the informal sector.

4. The ratio subtracted from the unadjusted share in calculating the adjusted share differs for some variables. For the education variables, the ratio subtracted in the adjustment process is the number of persons in the total population (with the exception of the college degree variable where the ratio subtracted pertains only to the urban population). For the cultivation variable, the ratio subtracted is the number of agricultural employees. For the manufacturing variable, the ratio subtracted is the number of females employed in manufacturing divided by the total number of manufacturing employees. The marginal worker variable, available only for the Orissa sample, is adjusted by the number of female workers divided by the total number of workers. The seeking work variable, also available only for Orissa, is adjusted by the number of females in the population divided by the number of persons in the population.

5. The Indian Census defines main workers as those who have worked for a major part of the year.

Table 1
Scheduled Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST) Populations

Group No. and Name		Type	Population	State	Year
1	Adi Andhra	SC	616,319	Andhra Pradesh	1971
2	Adi Dravida	SC	39,118	Andhra Pradesh	1971
3	Arundhatiya	SC	52,628	Andhra Pradesh	1971
4	Dom Dombara, Paidi or Pano	SC	24,629	Andhra Pradesh	1971
5	Madiga	SC	2,505,948	Andhra Pradesh	1971
6	Mala	SC	2,113,393	Andhra Pradesh	1971
7	Mala Dasu	SC	21,872	Andhra Pradesh	1971
8	Malasale or Netkani	SC	64,775	Andhra Pradesh	1971
9	Manne	SC	50,255	Andhra Pradesh	1971
10	Relli	SC	48,147	Andhra Pradesh	1971
11	Bhuinmali or Mali	SC	22,175	Assam	1971
12	Brittial-Bania or Bania	SC	28,097	Assam	1971
13	Dhupi or Dhobi	SC	20,801	Assam	1971
14	Hira	SC	32,624	Assam	1971
15	Jhalo, Malo, or Jhalo-Malo	SC	32,988	Assam	1971
16	Kaibartta or Jaliya	SC	294,819	Assam	1971
17	Muchi or Rishi	SC	40,786	Assam	1971
18	Namasudra	SC	300,843	Assam	1971
19	Patni	SC	85,910	Assam	1971
20	Sutradhar	SC	32,713	Assam	1971
21	Bhambi, Bhambi or Asadaru	SC	439,503	Maharashtra	1971
22	Chamar, Chamari, or Mochi	SC	116,482	Maharashtra	1971
23	Chambhar	SC	95,849	Maharashtra	1971
24	Holar or Valhar	SC	39,355	Maharashtra	1971
25	Mahar	SC	266,530	Maharashtra	1971
26	Mahar or Mehra	SC	163,391	Maharashtra	1971

Group No. and Name		Type	Population	State	Year
27	Mahar, Taral or Dhegu	SC	641,166	Maharashtra	1971
28	Mang	SC	353,176	Maharashtra	1971
29	Mang or Dankhni	SC	143,056	Maharashtra	1971
30	Mang, Matang, or Minimadig	SC	409,145	Maharashtra	1971
31	Adi Dravida	SC	2,547,166	Tamil Nadu	1971
32	Arunthathiyar	SC	256,709	Tamil Nadu	1971
33	Chakkiliyan	SC	864,833	Tamil Nadu	1971
34	Kudumban	SC	113,888	Tamil Nadu	1971
35	Kuravan or Sidhanar	SC	76,642	Tamil Nadu	1971
36	Madari	SC	98,432	Tamil Nadu	1971
37	Pallan	SC	1,326,745	Tamil Nadu	1971
38	Paraiyan, Parayan or Smaharvar	SC	1,532,482	Tamil Nadu	1971
39	Samban	SC	146,563	Tamil Nadu	1971
40	Valluvan	SC	65,115	Tamil Nadu	1971
41	Balmiki	SC	731,226	Uttar Pradesh	1971
42	Chamar, Dhusia, Jausia or Jatava	SC	10,121,421	Uttar Pradesh	1971
43	Dhanuk	SC	272,970	Uttar Pradesh	1971
44	Dhobi	SC	1,156,243	Uttar Pradesh	1971
45	Dusadh	SC	110,105	Uttar Pradesh	1971
46	Khatik	SC	390,566	Uttar Pradesh	1971
47	Kol	SC	135,617	Uttar Pradesh	1971
48	Kori	SC	909,537	Uttar Pradesh	1971
49	Pasior or Tarmali	SC	2,572,563	Uttar Pradesh	1971
50	Shilpkar	ST	513,719	Andhra Pradesh	1971
51	Bagata	ST	71,657	Andhra Pradesh	1971
52	Gond	ST	157,489	Andhra Pradesh	1971
53	Jatapus	ST	74,310	Andhra Pradesh	1971
54	Konda Choras	ST	101,556	Andhra Pradesh	1971
55	Konda Reddis	ST	427,777	Andhra Pradesh	1971

Group No. and Name		Type	Population	State	Year
56	Koya or Goud with Sub-sects	ST	285,226	Andhra Pradesh	1971
57	Savaras, Kapu Savaras, Maliya Savaras or Khutto Savaras	ST	81,227	Andhra Pradesh	1971
58	Sugalis or Lambadis	ST	132,464	Andhra Pradesh	1971
59	Yenadis	ST	239,403	Andhra Pradesh	1971
60	Yerukulas	ST	162,560	Andhra Pradesh	1971
61	Boro-Borikachari	ST	610,459	Assam	1971
62	Chakma	ST	22,789	Assam	1971
63	Deori	ST	23,080	Assam	1971
64	Dimasa Kachari	ST	39,344	Assam	1971
65	Kachari including Sonwal	ST	198,619	Assam	1971
66	Lalung	ST	95,609	Assam	1971
67	Mikir	ST	177,195	Assam	1971
68	Miri	ST	259,551	Assam	1971
69	Any Mizo tribe	ST	242,689	Assam	1971
70	Rabha	ST	138,630	Assam	1971
71	Andh	ST	67,147	Maharashtra	1971
72	Bhio including Bhil Garasia, and Dholi Bhil	ST	641,302	Maharashtra	1971
73	Gamit, Gamat, Gavit inclugind Maychi	ST	128,831	Maharashtra	1971
74	Kathodi, Katkari including Dhor Kathodi	ST	146,785	Maharashtra	1971
75	Kokna, Kokni, Kukno	ST	264,009	Maharashtra	1971
76	Koli Mahadev or Dongar Koli	ST	339,855	Maharashtra	1971
77	Kili Malhar	ST	99,613	Maharashtra	1971
78	Korku including Bopchi and Mouasi	ST	67,742	Maharashtra	1971

Group No. and Name		Type	Population	State	Year
79	Thakur, Thakar including Ka Thakur	ST	178,805	Maharashtra	1971
80	Varli	ST	293,931	Maharashtra	1971
81	Irular	ST	89,025	Tamil Nadu	1971
82	Kannik Aran or Kanikkar	ST	2,413	Tamil Nadu	1971
83	Kattunayakan	ST	5,042	Tamil Nadu	1971
84	Kurumans	ST	11,270	Tamil Nadu	1971
85	Malasar	ST	2,829	Tamil Nadu	1971
86	Malayali	ST	159,426	Tamil Nadu	1971
87	Palleyan	ST	3,108	Tamil Nadu	1971
88	Paniyan	ST	6,093	Tamil Nadu	1971
89	Pulayan	ST	4,308	Tamil Nadu	1971
90	Sholaga	ST	8,310	Tamil Nadu	1971
91	Bhotia	ST	34,144	Uttar Pradesh	1971
92	Buksa	ST	23,317	Uttar Pradesh	1971
93	Jaunsari	ST	56,699	Uttar Pradesh	1971
94	Raji	ST	1,918	Uttar Pradesh	1971
95	Tharu	ST	67,994	Uttar Pradesh	1971
96	Bauri	SC	336,278	Orissa	1981
97	Chamar, Mochi, Muchi or Satnami	SC	109,576	Orissa	1981
98	Dhoba or Dhobi	SC	418,383	Orissa	1981
99	Dom, Dombo, or Doria Dom	SC	427,078	Orissa	1981
100	Ganda	SC	418,956	Orissa	1981
101	Gokha	SC	116,226	Orissa	1981
102	Haddi, Hadi or Hari	SC	133,625	Orissa	1981
103	Kandra or Kandara	SC	316,367	Orissa	1981
104	Namasudra	SC	76,316	Orissa	1981
105	Pan or Pano	SC	806,514	Orissa	1981
106	Bhottada or Dhotada	SC	247,710	Orissa	1981

Group No. and Name		Type	Population	State	Year
107	Gond or Gondo	ST	602,749	Orissa	1981
108	Khond, Kond, Khandha	ST	989,342	Orissa	1981
109	Kisan	ST	227,992	Orissa	1981
110	Kolha	ST	326,522	Orissa	1981
111	Munda or Munda Lohara	ST	338,931	Orissa	1981
112	Paroja	ST	267,185	Orissa	1981
113	Santal	ST	530,776	Orissa	1981
114	Saora, Savar, Saura or Sahara	ST	370,060	Orissa	1981
115	Shabar or Lodha	ST	329,209	Orissa	1981

Table 2

Percentage of Women and Men in Selected Educational Categories

Group Number	% Literate		% Primary Education		% Matriculation but below Grad.		% Graduation and above		% College Degree (Urban)	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Andhra Pradesh										
1	13	27	7	14	b	2				1
2	5	18	2	8		1				
3	9	19	6	12		1				
4	3	12	1	5						
5	2	10	1	5		1				
6	6	19	3	10		1				1
7	14	41	9	27		3				1
8	1	7		1						
9	1	9		3						
10	7	24	3	13		1				
Assam										
11	16	36	7	14		1				
12	26	50	11	22	1	3				2
13	21	37	9	15		1				
14	15	39	6	16		1				
15	6	23	2	8		1				
16	20	40	9	18	1	2			1	2
17	5	19	2	8						
18	11	31	5	12		1				2
19	22	41	11	20		1				
20	14	38	5	12	1	3				1

Group Number	% Literate		% Primary Education		% Matriculation but below Grad.		% Graduation and above		% College Degree (Urban)	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Mahar-ashtra										
21	22	48	11	28	1	3				
22	16	42	7	23		2				
23	6	29	2	15		1				
24	5	27	2	14		1				
25	5	26	2	13		1				1
26	24	51	13	28	1	6		1		2
27	14	42	7	23		2				1
28	3	18	1	8		1				
29	9	31	3	15						
30	9	33	4	18		1				
Tamil Nadu										
31	14	35	7	79		2				
32	8	23	3	11		1				
33	5	16	2	7						
34	9	32	4	15		1				
35	10	30	4	15		2				
36	4	15	1	5						
37	12	37	5	18		2				
38	11	33	5	17		2				
39	8	31	3	14		1				
40	21	65	11	38	1	4				

Group No.[a]	% Literate		% Primary Education		% Matriculation but below Grad.		% Graduation and above		% College Degree (Urban)	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Uttar Pradesh										
41	4	19	2	8		1				
42	2	18	1	8		2				1
43	4	18	2	8		1				
44	3	18	1	8		2				
45	2	18	1	7		1				
46	4	20	1	9		2				
47	1	7		19						
48	2	17	1	7		1				
49	1	13	1	6		1				1
50	5	27	2	10		1				
Andhra Pradesh										
51	1	12		4						
52	1			1						
53	1	7		2						
54	1	6		2						
55	2	7	1	3						
56	1	6		2						1
57	1	4		1						
58	3	10	2	6						
59	3	8	2	4						
60	5	15	3	9		1				

Group No.a	% Literate		% Primary Education		% Matriculation but below Grad.		% Graduation and above		% College Degree (Urban)	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Assam										
61	11	30	4	13						
62	12	30	1	4	1	3				
63	15	40	6	15		1				1
64	9	27	5	17		2			2	5
65	19	35	9	17		1				
66	11	31	6	17		1				4
67	5	21	3	11		1				2
68	8	29	3	12					1	3
69	54	66	29	45	1	3		1		2
70	13	31	4	13		1				6
Mahar-ashtra										
71	4	23	1	8						
72	3	89	1	7						
73	4	18	2	9						
74	1	5		2						
75	5	23	2	12						
76	6	28	2	14						
77	3	18	1	7						
78	3	17	1	6						
79	3	14	1	5						
80	2	14	1	5						

Group No.a	% Literate		% Primary Education		% Matriculation but below Grad.		% Graduation and above		% College Degree (Urban)	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Tamil Nadu										
81	3	9	1	4						
82	7	16	2	6						
83	11	26	4	13		2				
84	8	25	3	12		1				
85	1	4		1						
86	4	13	2	5						
87	3	8	1	4						
88	4	8	1	4						
89	7	20	2	8						
90	3	8	1	2						
91	17	40	6	13	1	3				1
92	3	14	1	4		1			1	1
93	2	20	1	7		3				1
94	9	33	6	11	1	4		2		3
95	3	20	1	7		1			1	1
Orissa										
96	7	34	2	10		1				
97	12	35	4	13		2				1
98	16	46	6	18		2				2
99	4	22	1	8		1				
100	7	33	2	11		1				
101	10	40	3	14		1				2
102	11	35	3	13		1				

Group[a] No.	% Literate		% Primary Education		% Matriculation but below Grad.		% Graduation and above		% College Degree (Urban)	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
103	14	41	4	15		1				2
104	18	42	7	20		2				2
105	9	36	2	11		1				1
106	1	14		3						
107	6	31	2	11		1				1
108	3	22	1	6						1
109	6	28	2	9		1				1
110	2	15	1	7						
111	8	24	4	11		1				1
112	11	9		2						
113	8	24	2	11		1				2
114	4	25	1	7						
115	4	22	1	7						

Table 3

Percentage of Women and Men Selected Employment Categories

Group No.[a]	% Employed		% Cultivators		% In Non-household Manufacturing		% Marginal Workers[b]		% Seeking Work[c]	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Andhra Pradesh										
1	42	63	1	6	[d]	1				
2	32	59	2	10		1				
3	48	66	1	7	1	3				
4	30	60	3	12		1				
5	42	64	3	13		1				
6	40	62	3	12		1				
7	31	50	1	9		3				
8	26	61	4	29		1				
9	27	64	3	18		1				
10	29	50	1	2		2				
Assam										
11	4	45		18		1				
12	2	48	1	21		2				
13	5	54		17		2				
14	9	49		31	1	1				
15	2	54		20		1				
16	3	49	1	30		1				
17	9	54	1	18		5				
18	1	53		33		2				
19	2	58		32		1				
20	1	48		23		7				

Group No.[a]	% Employed		% Cultivators		% In Non-household Manufacturing		% Marginal Workers[b]		% Seeking Work[c]	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Maharashtra										
21	16	47	3	5	1	11				
22	32	52	3	9	1	8				
23	24	53	2	8		3				
24	22	53	1	6		5				
25	32	53	1	6		1				
26	34	48	6	14	1	3				
27	24	50	4	12		3				
28	34	56	1	4						
29	44	53	1	2	1	1				
30	22	50	1	5	1	5				
Tamil Nadu										
31	20	55	1	13		3				
32	24	60	1	8		6				
33	30	62	1	4		3				
34	33	61	5	19	2	3				
35	22	55	1	8	3	7				
36	35	40		1		2				
37	29	57	4	21		1				
38	26	59	3	15		2				
39	30	62	1	8		1				
40	19	55	2	13		4				

Group No.[a]	% Employed		% Cultivators		% In Non-household Manufacturing		% Marginal Workers[b]		% Seeking Work[c]	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Uttar Pradesh										
41	5	47		8		3				
42	11	53		24		2				
43	4	54	1	23		1				
44	9	52	2	28						
45	22	56	5	16		1				
46	8	50	2	19		2				
47	41	56	2	9						
48	15	57	2	23		2				
49	11	57	3	38		1				
50	33	53	32	38		1				
Andhra Pradesh										
51	22	60	15	52						
52	32	62	12	37						
53	30	66	10	32						
54	32	64	9	32						
55	29	60	13	41						
56	35	62	9	38						
57	30	67	6	25						
58	35	58	3	19		1				
59	41	60		3	1	1				
60	33	58	1	6	2	4				

Group No.[a]	% Employed		% Cultivators		% In Non-household Manufacturing		% Marginal Workers[b]		% Seeking Work[c]	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Assam										
61	2	46	1	37						
62	52	61	52	60						
63	3	39	2	36						
64	14	56	13	52						
65	2	47	1	38						
66	1	49		42						
67	5	49	4	47						
68	2	45	2	42						
69	39	46	37	39						
70	1	46		40						
Mahar-ashtra										
71	34	60	11	31						
72	35	56	2	13		1				
73	31	59	18	43						
74	40	60	3	6		1				
75	30	57	21	46						
76	33	57	16	35		1				
77	36	56	11	25		1				
78	24	54	10	37						
79	36	63	19	28		1				
80	33	58	15	30		1				

Group No.[a]	% Employed		% Cultivators		% In Non-household Manufacturing		% Marginal Workers[b]		% Seeking Work[c]	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Tamil Nadu										
81	27	60	3	9	1	2				
82	8	54	6	41						
83	28	53		5	1	5				
84	18	60	4	35		2				
85	40	65		1						
86	23	65	11	49						
87	39	63	3	9		1				
88	44	59		1						
89	39	62		10						
90	18	55	2	16						
Uttar Pradesh										
91	26	50	15	23		3				
92	19	53	16	43		1				
93	30	65	28	55						
94	13	51	6	21	1	2				
95	14	58	13	50						
Orissa										
96	28	58	2	13		1	9	2		1
97	10	55	1	21	1	5	8	2	1	1
98	13	53	2	22		1	9	1	1	2
99	19	59	3	24		1	14	2	1	1

Group No.[a]	% Employed		% Cultivators		% In Non-household Manufacturing		% Marginal Workers[b]		% Seeking Work[c]	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
100	17	60	2	21	1	2	15	1	1	1
101	3	54	1	30			3	1		1
102	18	50	1	7	1	2	9	2	2	3
103	7	55		17		1	3	1		1
104	4	51	2	41		1	6	10	1	1
105	13	58	2	19		1	10	2	1	1
106	13	63	4	48			21	2	1	
107	15	61	5	40		1	17	2	1	1
108	21	63	8	43			18	2	1	1
109	17	57	5	33	1	3	18	2	1	1
110	25	58	7	31		1	18	2	2	2
111	21	57	3	24	1	4	13	2	2	2
112	22	64	7	41			20	2	1	1
113	26	57	8	35		1	18	2	2	2
114	22	62	5	30		1	17	1	1	1
115	22	60	6	30			15	4	1	1

Table 4

Unadjusted and Adjusted[a] Women's Share of Selected Educational Variables

Group[b] No.	Literates		Primary Education		Matriculation but Below Grad.		Graduation and Above		College Degree (Urban)	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Andhra Pradesh										
1	32.58	-17.04	33.03	-16.59	15.77	-33.85	8.59	-41.03	12.73	-36.73
2	20.83	-28.87	20.81	-28.89	16.40	-33.29	20.00	-29.70	33.33	-16.61
3	30.50	-18.30	32.91	-15.90	8.56	-40.24	11.11	-37.69	0.00	-50.45
4	19.33	-31.62	13.08	-37.88	3.45	-47.51	0.00	-50.96	[c]	
5	13.95	-35.03	20.36	-28.63	11.00	-37.99	6.30	-42.68	8.33	-38.75
6	24.20	-25.17	24.59	-24.78	14.88	-34.49	11.16	-38.21	14.05	-34.80
7	26.99	-24.91	26.24	-25.67	13.25	-38.66	18.75	-33.16	26.67	-32.66
8	10.97	-36.03	8.97	-38.03	3.57	-43.43	0.00	-47.00		
9	12.54	-37.94	10.69	-39.80	4.69	-45.80	0.00	-50.48	0.00	-59.90
10	22.41	-28.20	17.39	-33.22	15.28	-35.32	19.30	-31.31	20.37	-30.67
Assam										
11	28.58	-18.36	28.54	-18.39	16.97	-29.97	0.00	-46.94	0.00	-46.86
12	30.75	-15.79	30.81	-15.73	19.37	-27.17	11.76	-34.78	15.00	-30.12
13	31.32	-13.11	32.15	-12.28	17.90	-26.53	10.00	-34.44	0.00	-40.40
14	27.07	-21.34	27.11	-21.30	14.81	-33.60	0.00	-48.41	0.00	-46.22
15	17.83	-28.54	14.46	-31.91	6.31	-40.06	0.00	-46.37	0.00	-46.52
16	32.59	-16.08	32.76	-15.91	20.42	-28.25	16.60	-32.07	18.36	-29.45
17	18.75	-25.94	17.97	-26.73	2.94	-41.76	0.00	-44.70		
18	25.14	-22.77	25.71	-22.20	22.31	-25.61	14.65	--33.26	14.14	-33.35
19	34.08	-14.80	33.73	-15.16	19.85	-29.04	24.19	-24.69		
20	24.76	-22.59	26.53	-20.82	18.59	-28.76	18.37	-28.99	17.65	-28.97

Group[b] No.	Literates		Primary Education		Matriculation but Below Grad.		Graduation and Above		College Degree (Urban)	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Maharashtra										
21	30.20	-18.45	27.37	-21.28	13.75	-34.90	21.63	-27.02	10.15	-37.05
22	26.95	-21.79	23.73	-25.01	6.63	-42.11	2.27	-46.47	2.82	-45.75
23	16.36	-33.11	13.59	-35.87	3.59	-45.88	2.17	-47.29	0.00	-47.35
24	15.00	-33.70	10.76	-37.95	3.17	-45.53	14.29	-34.42	0.00	-48.33
25	15.36	-33.27	12.06	-36.57	3.69	-44.94	3.01	-45.62	4.55	-42.47
26	30.19	-18.13	30.25	-18.07	19.20	-29.12	12.67	-35.65	13.61	-33.55
27	24.21	-24.60	21.05	-27.76	14.13	-34.68	8.50	-40.32	5.58	-40.89
28	13.11	-35.89	9.32	-39.68	1.63	-47.36	5.26	43.73	3.85	-45.52
29	22.00	-27.73	18.32	-31.41	14.60	-35.13	0.00	-49.73	0.00	-49.46
30	20.70	-28.35	16.65	-32.39	7.21	-41.84	7.73	-41.31	3.06	-45.32
Tamil Nadu										
31	28.31	-21.06	7.87	-41.49	18.23	-31.14	11.13	-38.24	15.22	-33.90
32	24.19	-25.07	21.15	-28.11	13.21	-36.05	6.25	-43.01	10.00	-39.44
33	21.55	-27.95	17.80	-31.71	13.49	-36.02	13.33	-36.17	23.08	-26.89
34	22.91	-27.11	20.75	-29.27	14.94	-35.09	12.50	-37.52	0.00	-49.56
35	25.12	-23.93	22.78	-26.26	16.51	-32.53	3.45	-45.60	8.33	-41.04
36	21.04	-28.52	18.19	-31.37	16.67	-32.89				
37	24.24	-25.74	21.68	-28.30	17.12	-32.86	6.94	-43.04	5.50	-44.18
38	24.16	-25.84	21.75	-28.25	16.83	-33.17	20.35	-29.65	40.00	-9.41
39	21.27	-28.64	18.69	-31.22	11.62	-38.29	30.43	-19.49	0.00	-53.51
40	24.78	-25.43	22.17	-28.04	15.60	-34.61	8.33	-41.88	0.00	-49.60

Group[b] No.	Literates		Primary Education		Matriculation but Below Grad.		Graduation and Above		College Degree (Urban)	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Uttar Pradesh										
41	16.96	-30.25	14.65	-32.56	10.40	-36.81	12.14	-35.07	15.03	-30.62
42	10.29	-36.86	9.71	-37.44	3.57	-43.59	2.83	-44.32	4.70	-40.88
43	15.15	-30.47	13.33	-32.30	5.04	-40.58	4.65	-40.97	13.33	-29.61
44	11.63	-35.62	10.23	-37.02	3.92	-43.33	3.27	-43.98	6.62	-37.91
45	10.43	-37.60	9.20	-38.83	2.82	-45.21	0.00	-48.03	0.00	-41.97
46	13.78	-32.14	12.74	-33.18	4.35	-41.58	1.60	-44.33	2.52	-41.96
47	7.08	-40.22	.79	-46.51	8.55	-38.75	0.00	-47.30	0.00	-46.15
48	11.89	-36.16	10.82	-37.24	4.12	-43.93	3.57	-44.48	4.97	-39.55
49	9.63	-38.29	8.17	-39.75	2.83	-45.09	2.66	-45.26	6.19	-38.98
50	15.18	-34.09	14.45	-34.81	8.17	-41.10	8.04	-41.23	15.79	-29.70
Andhra Pradesh										
51	9.99	-39.13	7.75	-41.36	0.00	-49.11				
52	64.66	15.18	5.46	-44.02	3.15	-46.32	5.26	44.21	100.00	47.19
53	15.61	-33.89	5.43	-44.07	3.57	-45.92	0.00	-49.49		
54	15.02	-35.80	13.45	-37.37	12.50	-38.32	0.00	-50.82		
55	22.75	-28.07	23.91	-26.91	2.50	-48.32	0.00	50.82		
56	17.62	-32.22	17.45	-32.39	7.84	-42.00	0.00	-49.84	0.00	-46.14
57	15.46	-34.13	13.90	-35.69	14.81	-34.78	0.00	-49.60		
58	19.72	-28.87	20.05	-28.55	6.59	-42.01	0.00	-48.60	0.00	-47.69
59	25.48	-23.01	25.78	-22.71	11.97	-36.52	4.35	-44.14	0.00	-48.56
60	24.05	-25.03	22.88	-26.20	13.36	-35.72	12.82	-36.26	5.56	-43.91

Group[b] No.	Literates		Primary Education		Matriculation but Below Grad.		Graduation and Above		College Degree (Urban)	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Assam										
61	26.66	-22.76	21.47	-27.95	11.75	-37.67	6.56	-42.86	28.57	-13.59
62	26.04	-21.24	19.48	-27.79	23.09	-24.19	0.00	-47.28		
63	26.38	-22.05	26.27	-22.17	18.18	-30.25	0.00	-48.44	0.00	-34.80
64	23.53	-23.82	20.05	-27.31	15.28	-32.07	4.29	-43.07	16.67	-19.76
65	33.21	-15.16	34.24	-14.13	19.43	-28.94	8.33	-40.04		
66	25.66	-23.72	26.49	-22.89	3.63	-45.75	0.00	-49.38	0.00	-22.41
67	18.42	-30.59	19.23	-29.78	8.55	-40.46	4.07	-44.94	14.29	-24.18
68	20.39	-28.84	20.60	-28.63	11.03	-38.21	4.17	-45.07	13.33	-10.65
69	45.57	-5.13	39.49	-11.21	17.41	-33.29	9.49	-41.22	14.95	-35.09
70	27.58	-20.85	21.18	-27.24	23.35	-25.08	11.84	-36.58	0.00	-41.41
Mahar-ashtra										
71	14.36	-35.10	8.69	-40.77	0.00	-49.46	0.00	-49.46		
72	3.28	-46.16	11.19	-38.24	7.12	42.31	4.69	-44.75	0.00	-49.93
73	18.69	-32.67	14.46	-36.89	8.51	-42.84	20.00	-31.35	0.00	-45.93
74	11.36	-36.99	9.13	-39.23	11.11	-37.24	0.00	-48.35		
75	18.80	-30.30	14.59	-34.51	8.65	-40.46	9.09	-40.01	12.50	-30.27
76	17.62	-31.47	13.07	-36.02	7.69	-41.40	7.14	-41.94	0.00	-47.54
77	13.82	-36.98	11.40	-39.39	4.55	-46.25	0.00	-50.80	0.00	-48.48
78	14.77	-34.38	10.67	-38.48	9.09	-40.06	0.00	-49.15		
79	17.97	-31.43	10.27	-39.12	13.73	-35.67	0.00	-49.39		
80	9.85	-39.16	9.43	-39.58	4.46	-44.54	40.00	-9.01	0.00	-46.38

Group[b] No.	Literates		Primary Education		Matriculation but Below Grad.		Graduation and Above		College Degree (Urban)	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Tamil Nadu										
81	13.49	-24.97	17.11	-31.33	12.27	-36.17	16.67	-31.77	0.00	-49.85
82	29.31	-17.77	23.81	-23.27	0.00	-47.08				
83	28.51	-20.54	25.12	-23.93	9.62	-39.43				
84	23.61	-24.43	20.23	-27.81	13.68	-34.35	50.00	1.96	100.00	63.35
85	22.37	-24.72	5.00	-42.08	0.00	-47.08				
86	22.85	-26.07	22.11	-26.82	8.17	-40.75	0.00	-48.92		
87	22.58	-24.45	18.67	-28.34	0.00	-47.01				
88	30.81	-20.11	30.00	-20.93	0.00	-50.93				
89	24.25	-23.66	17.54	-30.38	0.00	-47.91				
90	29.13	-20.12	27.97	-21.29	20.00	-29.25				
Uttar Pradesh										
91	27.97	-19.44	30.55	-16.86	21.81	-25.60	14.29	-33.13	17.24	-24.97
92	15.99	-30.64	16.77	-29.86	19.01	-27.62	26.92	-19.71	30.00	-15.03
93	8.88	-36.13	5.65	-39.36	2.56	-42.45	4.46	-40.54	0.00	-47.76
94	30.68	-12.39	29.01	-14.05	19.64	-23.42	0.00	-43.07	0.00	-43.40
95	13.25	-35.49	13.53	-35.21	14.60	-34.15	27.59	-21.16	37.50	-5.23
Orissa										
96	18.28	-31.92	15.68	-34.52	6.47	-43.73	5.56	-44.64	10.00	-39.06
97	24.76	-24.40	22.68	-26.48	10.33	-38.83	7.52	-41.64	16.64	-31.55
98	25.55	-24.31	23.94	-25.92	8.59	-41.27	5.79	-44.07	8.12	-38.73
99	15.42	-34.61	12.35	-37.69	5.45	-44.58	11.97	-38.07	22.58	-27.74
100	17.21	-32.43	14.68	-34.95	6.55	-43.09	6.42	-43.21	4.55	-45.30
101	18.83	-30.09	15.52	-33.40	5.66	-43.26	5.71	-43.21	12.50	-33.83

Group[b] No.	Literates		Primary Education		Matriculation but Below Grad.		Graduation and Above		College Degree (Urban)	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
102	24.35	-26.43	19.89	-30.90	10.53	-40.26	12.66	-38.13	7.69	-41.30
103	24.36	-24.74	21.86	-27.24	9.27	-39.83	7.07	-42.04	9.93	-36.03
104	28.80	-19.72	24.05	-24.46	13.21	-35.31	8.00	-40.52	9.38	-37.97
105	19.27	-30.19	17.34	-32.11	6.92	-42.54	5.06	-44.40	5.71	-42.31
106	9.69	-40.21	7.13	-42.76	7.45	-42.45	0.00	-49.90	0.00	-49.89
107	17.07	-33.44	15.06	-35.46	4.37	-46.14	1.53	-48.98	1.23	-45.66
108	13.59	-37.15	10.76	-39.98	10.17	-40.57	9.21	-41.53	14.56	-33.47
109	17.93	-32.14	20.14	-29.93	11.03	-39.04	14.04	-36.04	8.86	-39.68
110	13.09	-37.12	10.94	-39.27	5.80	-44.41	4.55	-45.67	0.00	-49.49
111	24.87	-24.72	25.01	-24.57	18.24	-31.34	22.17	-27.41	15.17	-33.98
112	56.06	5.26	6.76	-44.05	3.53	-47.28	10.00	-40.80		
113	24.39	-25.45	14.03	-35.81	7.24	-42.60	6.05	-43.79	7.74	-38.88
114	15.04	-35.68	10.58	-40.15	4.58	-46.14	1.61	-49.11	0.00	-48.86
115	14.03	-36.39	8.91	-41.51	5.56	-44.85	2.70	-47.72	0.00	-48.77

[a]Adjusted share = unadjusted share minus % of women in the popoulation.

[b]For Groups 1-95, the data source is the 1971 Census of the Population, Government of India. For Groups 96-115, the data source is the 1981 Census of the Population, Government.

[c]A blank space indicates a case in which the number of members (both women and men) of that group in the given category is zero or near zero.

Table 5

Unadjusted and Adjusted Shares of Selected Employment Variables

Group[a] No.	Employment[b]		Cultivators[c]		Non-Household[d] Manufacturing		Marginal[e] Workers		Seeking Work[f]	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Andhra Pradesh										
1	39.54	-10.08	17.75	-25.54	17.74	.55				
2	34.94	-14.76	16.01	-20.70	4.23	-7.40				
3	40.89	-7.91	8.34	-36.32	18.29	3.23				
4	34.05	-16.91	21.17	-15.21	41.51	13.31				
5	39.06	-9.92	18.90	-23.73	18.57	1.95				
6	38.80	-10.57	20.93	-15.99	34.59	3.84				
7	40.28	-11.63	11.78	-35.06	16.06	4.62				
8	27.60	-19.40	10.65	-18.96	4.95	-1.07				
9	30.16	-20.32	14.76	-18.61	10.78	-.16				
10	36.83	-13.78	21.25	-16.27	13.79	-6.80				
Assam										
11	6.65	-40.28	1.14	-1.44	5.00	-4.92				
12	4.23	-42.32	2.81	-.63	1.35	-2.79				
13	6.69	-37.75	.85	-.46	5.13	-2.16				
14	14.54	-33.87	.63	-.29	36.75	-15.94				
15	3.79	-42.58	.46	-.64	34.55	4.40				
16	4.90	-43.77	2.33	-.21	5.41	-19.01				
17	12.01	-32.69	3.39	-1.74	1.48	-1.68				
18	2.27	-45.64	.74	-.23	4.10	-6.72				
19	3.29	-45.60	1.02	-.32	9.70	-16.83				
20	2.08	-45.27	.94	-1.13	.51	-.31				

Group[a] No.	Employment[b]		Cultivators[c]		Non-Household[d] Manufacturing		Marginal[e] Workers		Seeking Work[f]	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Maharashtra										
21	24.26	-24.39	36.65	-8.16	8.34	1.13				
22	36.69	-12.05	23.38	-25.78	13.92	-4.03				
23	30.65	-18.82	19.86	-23.68	3.16	-.37				
24	27.94	-20.76	14.14	-19.75	2.06	-2.19				
25	36.05	-12.58	18.78	-19.89	10.24	-2.11				
26	39.67	-8.65	28.67	-13.05	30.32	-22.66				
27	31.01	-17.80	22.50	-13.44	5.46	-7.66				
28	36.81	-12.19	19.17	-19.73	19.85	-6.11				
29	45.09	-4.64	28.25	-21.49	30.72	-15.66				
30	29.66	-19.39	16.89	-18.22	10.56	-15.14				
Tamil Nadu										
31	26.43	-22.93	9.55	-40.64	9.55	-1.33				
32	27.89	-21.37	11.02	-20.36	5.74	-.80				
33	32.37	-17.14	14.19	-20.57	8.32	-.17				
34	35.20	-14.83	20.30	-16.10	37.17	.85				
35	28.14	-20.90	10.75	-14.62	29.15	-4.82				
36	46.52	-3.04	20.57	-18.07	11.78	1.73				
37	33.69	-16.29	16.63	-16.82	21.37	-1.98				
38	30.75	-19.25	14.32	-24.91	20.55	-6.09				
39	32.33	-17.58	14.58	-18.24	35.05	-4.60				
40	25.53	-24.68	12.63	-21.35	7.09	.23				

Group[a] No.	Employment[b]		Cultivators[c]		Non-Household[d] Manufacturing		Marginal[e] Workers		Seeking Work[f]	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Uttar Pradesh										
41	9.15	-38.07	3.26	-2.13	4.36	-2.37				
42	15.56	-31.59	1.52	-13.49	4.12	-1.04				
43	5.74	-39.89	1.90	-1.84	5.31	-3.81				
44	12.98	-34.27	6.47	1.76	13.50	-6.31				
45	26.24	-21.79	22.24	-5.19	2.48	-17.21				
46	11.89	-34.03	7.73	-4.79	7.75	-3.63				
47	39.47	-7.83	18.81	-21.56	9.48	-3.75				
48	19.34	-28.71	8.91	-11.94	5.20	-6.39				
49	15.36	-32.55	7.39	-8.33	4.80	-4.17				
50	38.62	-10.65	45.11	1.66	4.96	-3.22				
Andhra Pradesh										
51	26.18	-22.93	22.09	-4.26	0.00	0.00				
52	33.59	-15.89	23.94	-10.80	16.36	-4.19				
53	30.55	-18.94	23.24	-8.16	100.00	90.91				
54	34.01	-16.81	21.91	-12.86	8.51	-9.79				
55	32.88	-17.94	24.40	-8.86	7.69	-3.74				
56	35.70	-14.14	18.67	-18.00	24.81	11.30				
57	30.85	-18.75	19.94	-9.52	34.09	-1.39				
58	36.13	-12.47	13.86	-23.99	37.09	-1.14				
59	38.86	-9.64	12.48	-28.63	32.49	-6.46				
60	35.16	-13.62	14.13	-25.04	35.57	-.20				

Group[a] No.	Employment[b]		Cultivators[c]		Non-Household[d] Manufacturing		Marginal[e] Workers		Seeking Work[f]	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Assam										
61	4.47	-44.95	1.71	-1.49	20.69	-38.93				
62	43.29	-3.99	43.69	.02	[g]					
63	7.14	-41.29	4.83	-.07	0.00	0.00				
64	18.12	-29.24	18.13	-.23	0.00	-73.91				
65	4.31	-44.06	3.10	-.27	8.87	-27.80				
66	2.31	-47.07	1.01	.02	23.81	-38.94				
67	8.17	-40.84	7.75	-.22	16.00	-54.87				
68	5.05	-44.19	4.41	-.03	5.84	-46.45				
69	46.66	-4.04	49.38	.07	14.72	-6.84				
70	2.43	-46.00	-.81	-.64	9.68	-54.85				
Mahar-ashtra										
71	35.73	-13.73	25.43	-10.77	3.23	-3.74				
72	37.48	-11.96	15.10	-23.35	23.45	-6.01				
73	35.99	-15.36	30.56	-5.96	7.29	-34.16				
74	38.39	-9.97	28.46	-11.10	26.36	.02				
75	33.31	-15.79	30.70	-3.22	4.32	-8.57				
76	35.96	-13.13	31.18	-6.23	14.94	-3.61				
77	39.68	-11.12	32.50	-8.56	5.51	-1.99				
78	30.23	-18.92	21.34	-9.12	0.00	-15.79				
79	35.96	-13.43	32.90	-3.72	21.04	-1.45				
80	35.75	-13.25	31.92	-5.05	12.13	-1.75				

Group[a] No.	Employment[b]		Cultivators[c]		Non-Household[d] Manufacturing		Marginal[e] Workers		Seeking Work[f]	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
Tamil Nadu										
81	29.22	-19.22	26.29	-3.44	26.48	.78				
82	11.97	-35.10	11.69	-.38						
83	33.33	-15.71	2.99	-30.24	21.71	-1.97				
84	21.24	-26.80	8.51	-13.14	4.30	-14.08				
85	35.49	-11.60	0.00	-36.55	0.00	0.00				
86	24.91	-24.01	17.70	-6.12	45.00	-9.26				
87	35.62	-11.39	20.65	-12.88	13.64	-7.05				
88	43.45	-7.48	16.33	-28.34	0.00	-4.35				
89	36.98	-10.93	0.00	-20.03						
90	23.95	-25.30	13.11	-8.37	25.00	8.33				
Uttar Pradesh										
91	32.19	-15.22	37.87	1.91	9.42	-35.92				
92	23.64	-23.00	24.20	-.27	10.00	-2.44				
93	27.35	-17.66	29.31	.76	6.56	-2.53				
94	15.89	-27.17	18.05	-.41	20.59	1.14				
95	19.11	-29.63	19.41	.01	15.79	-2.66				
Orissa										
96	32.87	-17.33	12.74	-21.38	27.47	-1.29	85.18	52.31	30.23	-19.96
97	15.20	-33.95	4.90	-12.47	16.43	-2.00	82.99	67.79	38.74	-10.42
98	20.18	-29.69	6.69	-7.87	6.07	-9.07	85.95	65.77	29.15	-20.72
99	24.27	-25.77	10.55	-12.06	25.27	-11.66	88.26	63.99	52.68	2.65
100	22.01	-27.62	7.38	-15.15	20.11	-3.05	90.92	68.91	54.54	4.91
101	5.34	-43.59	1.67	-2.41	18.40	-9.34	75.86	69.52	24.35	-24.58
102	26.65	-24.13	7.01	-11.69	23.46	-22.18	83.59	56.93	39.37	-11.41

Group[a] No.	Employment[b]		Cultivators[c]		Non-Household[d] Manufacturing		Marginal[e] Workers		Seeking Work[f]	
	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
103	10.59	-38.51	2.40	-8.72	7.26	-12.92	75.37	64.78	25.95	-23.15
104	6.20	-42.32	4.60	-1.22	8.48	-2.89	33.91	27.70	40.73	-7.79
105	17.49	-31.97	7.29	-10.04	17.63	-12.17	85.94	68.45	41.27	-8.19
106	17.42	-32.47	8.33	-8.33	32.34	2.32	90.86	73.44	64.77	14.87
107	19.72	-30.79	11.29	-8.26	23.49	-8.76	90.96	71.24	53.42	2.91
108	25.84	-24.90	16.59	-9.07	28.46	-10.07	90.70	64.86	63.44	12.71
109	22.90	-27.17	12.15	-10.76	22.28	-6.34	88.68	65.78	53.35	3.28
110	30.22	-19.99	18.31	-11.41	25.55	-5.02	89.15	58.93	60.76	10.54
111	26.48	-23.10	11.28	-13.38	25.27	-5.90	86.31	59.83	53.35	3.77
112	26.01	-24.80	15.25	-10.16	35.02	1.85	91.19	65.19	48.32	-2.48
113	30.71	-19.13	18.37	-12.80	22.75	-17.74	90.20	59.48	51.13	1.29
114	26.88	-23.84	13.34	-12.90	31.15	-8.08	92.75	65.87	59.15	8.43
115	27.46	-22.96	16.39	-10.55	26.94	-8.31	81.76	54.30	54.12	3.70

[a]For groups 1-95, the data source is the 1971 Census of the Population, Government of India. For groups 96-115, the data source is the 1981 Census of the Population, Government of India.

[b]Adjusted share = unadjusted share minus % of women in the population.

[c]Adjusted share = unadjusted share minus % of women in agricultural employment.

[d]Adjusted share = unadjusted share minus % of women in manufacturing employment.

[e]This variable is available only for groups 96-115. Adjusted share = unadjusted share minus % of women working.

[f]This variable is available only for groups 96-115. Adjusted share = unadjusted share minus % of women in the population.

[g]The number of members (both women and men) of this group in the given category is zero or near zero.

Table 6

Measures of Socioeconomic Development

Group[a] No.	% Literate	% Primary Education	% Matriculation	% Graduation and Above	% College Degree (Urban)	% Child Marriage	% Employed	% Urban
Andhra Pradesh								
1	20	11	1	b		98	52	11
2	11	5				99	45	5
3	14	9				99	58	9
4	8	3				98	45	7
5	6	3				97	53	9
6	13	7	1			97	51	12
7	27	17	1		1	99	40	13
8	4	1				97	45	5
9	5	2				96	45	16
10	15	8	1			99	39	52
Assam								
11	27	11	1			100	25	15
12	39	17	2		1	100	27	17
13	30	13	1			100	32	19
14	27	11	1			100	29	6
15	15	5	1			100	30	13
16	30	14	1		1	100	26	9
17	13	5				100	34	9
18	21	9	1		1	100	28	7
19	32	15	1			100	31	4
20	26	9	2		1	100	26	15

Group[a] No.	% Literate	% Primary Education	% Matriculation	% Graduation and Above	% College Degree (Urban)	% Child Marriage	% Employed	% Urban
Maharashtra								
21	36	20	2			98	32	38
22	29	15	1			98	42	25
23	17	9	1			96	39	9
24	16	8				97	38	15
25	16	8	1			97	43	7
26	38	21	4	1	1	99	42	23
27	28	15	1			98	37	17
28	10	5				96	46	8
29	20	9				98	48	18
30	21	11	1			98	36	26
Tamil Nadu								
31	25	44	1			100	38	22
32	16	7	1			100	42	24
33	11	4				100	46	15
34	21	10	1			100	47	12
35	20	10	1			100	39	26
36	9	3				100	38	19
37	24	12	1			100	43	12
38	22	11	1			100	42	12
39	20	9				100	46	8
40	43	24	3			100	37	19

Group[a] No.	% Literate	% Primary Education	% Matriculation	% Graduation and Above	% College Degree (Urban)	% Child Marriage	% Employed	% Urban
Uttar Pradesh								
41	12	5	1			98	28	28
42	10	5	1			91	33	6
43	12	5	1			98	31	10
44	11	5	1			93	32	9
45	10	4	1			93	39	3
46	13	5	1			96	31	23
47	4	10				94	49	3
48	10	4	1			86	37	11
49	7	3				88	35	3
50	16	6	1			98	44	7
Andra Pradesh								
51	7	2				99	41	
52		1				97	47	2
53	4	1				99	48	
54	3	1				99	47	1
55	4	2				99	44	
56	4	1				99	48	2
57	2	1				99	49	1
58	6	4				99	47	6
59	6	3				99	51	14
60	10	6				98	46	13

Group[a] No.	% Literate	% Primary Education	% Matriculation	% Graduation and Above	% College Degree (Urban)	% Child Marriage	% Employed	% Urban
Assam								
61	21	9				100	24	1
62	21	3	2			100	57	
63	28	11				100	22	1
64	19	11	1		4	100	36	1
65	27	13	1			100	25	2
66	21	12			3	100	25	
67	13	7			1	100	27	1
68	18	8			2	100	24	
69	60	37	2		1	100	42	15
70	22	8			3	100	25	
Maharashtra								
71	13	5				98	47	
72	47	4				99	46	4
73	11	5				100	45	3
74	3	1				98	50	4
75	14	7				98	44	2
76	17	8				97	46	5
77	10	4				99	46	4
78	10	3				99	40	
79	8	3				97	50	1
80	8	3				98	46	4

Group[a] No.	% Literate	% Primary Education	% Matriculation	% Graduation and Above	% College Degree (Urban)	% Child Marriage	% Employed	% Urban
Tamil Nadu								
81	6	2				100	44	8
82	12	4				100	33	100
83	18	9	1			100	41	44
84	17	8	1			100	40	10
85	3	1				100	54	4
86	9	3				100	44	
87	5	2				100	52	
88	6	2				100	51	38
89	14	5				100	51	1
90	6	1				100	37	2
Uttar Pradesh								
91	29	10	2			98	38	23
92	9	3	1		1	99	37	9
93	12	4	2			87	49	3
94	27	8	3	1	2	95	35	69
95	12	4			1	93	37	4
Orissa								
96	20	6				100	43	7
97	24	9	1			100	33	16
98	31	12	1		1	100	33	10
99	13	4				100	39	8
100	20	7				100	39	10
101	25	8	1		1	100	29	4
102	23	8				100	33	25

Group[a] No.	% Literate	% Primary Education	% Matricu-lation	% Graduation and Above	% College Degree (Urban)	% Child Marriage	% Employed	% Urban
103	28	10	1		1	100	31	4
104	30	14	1		1	99	28	7
105	23	7				100	36	5
106	8	2				100	38	2
107	19	6			1	100	37	2
108	12	3			1	100	42	2
109	17	6	1		1	100	37	6
110	9	4				100	42	4
111	16	8	1			100	39	15
112	10	1				99	43	7
113	16	6	1		1	100	42	4
114	14	4				100	42	3
115	13	4				100	41	4

Table 7

Zero Order Correlation Coefficients Between Measure of Socioeconomic Development and Dependent Variables of Women's Status in Five States (groups 1-95)

Measure of Socioeconomic Development	Women's Adjusted Share of: Literates	Primary Education	Matriculation	Graduation and Above	College Degree (Urban)	Employment	Cultivators	Non-household Manufacturing
Literary Rate	.409	.588	.513	.195	n.s.*	-.232	n.s.	-.217
% Primary Education	.424	.413	.405	.176	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
% Matriculation	.351	.457	.529	.196	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
% Graduation and Above	.352	.454	.456	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
% College Degree (Urban)	.190	.281	.306	n.s.	n.s.	-.403	.339	-.598
% Not Child Marriage	.392	.425	.288	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.
% Employed	-.198	-.346	-.346	n.s.	n.s.	.894	-.558	.385
% Urban	.289	.322	.118	.178	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

*n.s. indicates that the correlation coefficient is not significant at the .05 level; all other correlation coefficients are significant at the .05 level.

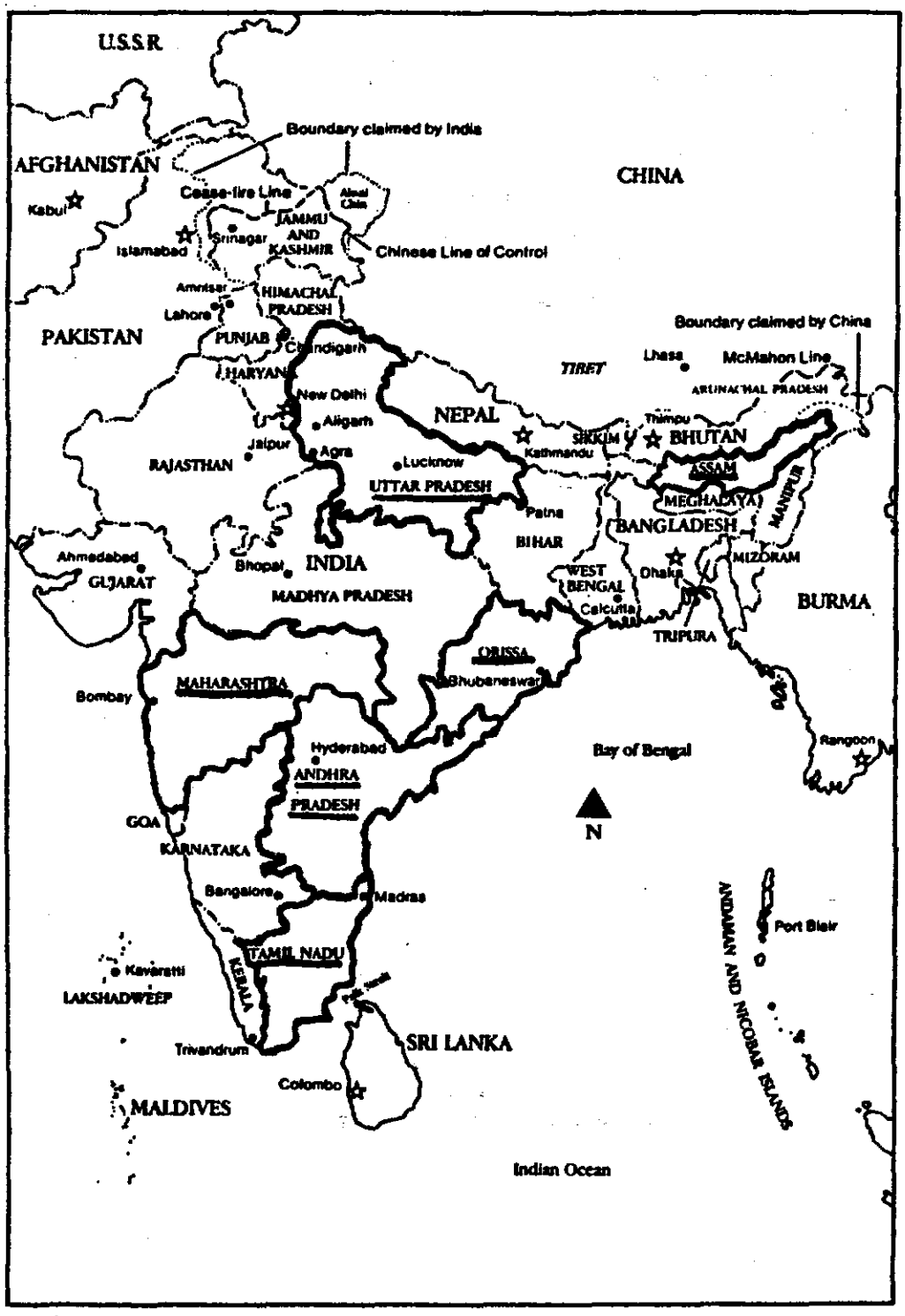
Table 8

Zero Order Correlation Coefficients Between Measures of Socioeconomic Development and Dependent Variables of Women's Status in Orissa (groups 96-115)

Measure of Socioeconomic Development	Women's Adjusted Share of									
	Literates	Primary Education	Matriculation	Graduation and Above	College Degree (Urban)	Employment	Cultivators	Non-household Manufacturing	Marginal Workers	Seeking Work
Literacy Rate	n.s.*	.824	.398	n.s.	.376	-.586	.319	-.268	n.s.	-.810
% Primary Education	n.s.	.898	.574	n.s.	.393	-.551	.372	-.260	-.426	-.669
% Matriculation	n.s.	.891	.634	n.s.	.431	-.511	.392	n.s.	-.413	-.570
% Graduation and Above	n.s.	.840	.589	n.s.	.487	-.5512	.415	n.s.	n.s.	-.613
% College Degree (Urban)	n.s.	.558	.375	n.s.	n.s.	-.520	.541	n.s.	n.s.	-.428
% Not Child Marriage	-.436	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	-.421	-.346	.510	n.s.
% Employed	n.s.	-.715	-.463	n.s.	n.s.	.876	-.679	n.s.	n.s.	.620
% Urban	n.s.	.497	.445	.567	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.	n.s.

*n.s. indicates that the correlation coefficient is not significant at the .05 level; all other correlation coefficients are significant at the .05 level.

Figure 1



India

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