Women’s Work, Social Norms and the Marriage Market

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Diva Dhar (University of Oxford)
Kanika Mahajan (Ashoka University)

NCAER, Seminar

August 30, 2022
Motivation

• International evidence shows that working women marry at a lower rate than unskilled women

• Role of negative social attitudes towards working women? (Bertrand et al. (2016))
  • Higher marriage deficit among skilled women in countries with more conservative gender attitudes
Motivation: India

- One of the lowest female LFP rates in India across the world

Afridi, Arora, Dhar & Mahajan
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One of the lowest female LFP rates in India across the world

Urban India FLFP at 22% (men is at 95%): 1987-2017 despite increase in education
LFP by Education (Urban India): Married Females

Labor market (TUS 2019)

Domestic work (TUS 2019)

Labor market (CPHS 21-22)

Domestic work (CPHS 21-22)
Motivation

• What explains low FLFP?

• Is there a role played by partner selection in marriage markets?
  • Which traits are valued in the marriage market?
Motivation

• What explains low FLFP?

• Is there a role played by partner selection in marriage markets?
  • Which traits are valued in the marriage market?

• Do social norms matter for the above?
• Preferred partner traits:
  • Men typically value physical beauty (Fisman et al., 2006)
  • Women value male income (Fisman et al., 2006; Chiappori et al., 2021)
  • Men do not value women’s intelligence/ambition when it exceeds their own
  • Women look for male partners with higher attributes than their own (e.g. income or height, Chiappori et al. (2021))

• Caste based preferences in the marriage market: (Anukriti & Dasgupta (2017); Banerjee et al. (2013) and Dugar et al. (2012))

• Revealed traits by single women in presence of single men: (Bursztyn, Fujiwara and Pallais (2017))
• Nascent literature on valuation of employment or occupation
  • Neyt et al. (2019) for Belgium: find neither gender uses job status or job prestige to show initial interest (Tinder) but men less likely to start a conversation with unemployed females
  • Dhar (2021) for India: Varies female profiles by employment status, willingness to work post marriage and incomes of female profiles who send interests to randomized male profiles
    • Analyse the responses of men to the above expression of interest
    • Women who signal wanting to work after marriage receive up to 22% less interest from men on a marriage-market matching platform in India
What we do

• Conduct an online experiment on marriage market platform in India
  • Is there a difference in expressed interests by potential male partner by employment status of women?
  • Across employed women is there variation in expression of interest by type of occupation?
  • Social norms - Caste and region
• Working women face a 14.5% lower probability of receiving an interest from male suitors relative to unemployed women
  • Holds across education groups

• Women employed in male dominated or ‘masculine’ occupations are 3.2% less likely to receive an interest viz those in ‘feminine’ occupations

• Higher probability of a woman in feminine job who would like to continue to work post marriage receiving an interest relative to those in a masculine job

• Results are driven by responses in north India (Delhi) and high castes therein
Social Norms and other channels

- Status when a woman is not working - male breadwinner norm
- Norm around household work or home production - primary caregiver
Social Norms and other channels

• Status when a woman is not working - male breadwinner norm
• Norm around household work or home production - primary caregiver
• Working vs not working: Both norms can matter
Social Norms and other channels

- Status when a woman is not working - male breadwinner norm
- Norm around household work or home production - primary caregiver
- Working vs not working: Both norms can matter
- Occupation level
  - Female dominated occupation pay less
  - Female dominated occupations more flexible and less time at work
Social Norms: Axes of variation

- North vs South of India: Dyson and Moore (1983)
- High vs low caste: Status production (Eswaran et al. 2013)
### Gender gap: By Region

Number of hours spent in domestic work (DW) and labor market (LF)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>All Education</th>
<th>At least Schooled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln(DW)</td>
<td>ln(LF)</td>
<td>ln(DW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5.468*** (0.045)</td>
<td>−5.772*** (0.054)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North</td>
<td>−0.535*** (0.059)</td>
<td>−0.013 (0.046)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female × North</td>
<td>0.553*** (0.060)</td>
<td>−0.862*** (0.069)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>−7.264*** (0.338)</td>
<td>−3.028*** (0.464)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>46464</td>
<td>46460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Y</td>
<td>5.223</td>
<td>4.684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Women in north spend 70% more time on DW and 55% less time in labor market
### Gender gap: By Caste

Number of hours spent in domestic work (DW) and labor market (LF)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ln(DW)</td>
<td>ln(LF)</td>
<td>ln(DW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.511***</td>
<td>–6.159***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.057)</td>
<td>(0.064)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female × OBC</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.198***</td>
<td>–0.073</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.070)</td>
<td>(0.079)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female × Other FC</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>–0.351***</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(0.072)</td>
<td>(0.080)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–6.805***</td>
<td>–2.818***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.294)</td>
<td>(0.393)</td>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>63966</td>
<td>64060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Y</td>
<td>5.223</td>
<td>4.684</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Controls: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

Higher caste women spend more time in domestic work and lower time in labor market (significance varies)
### Domestic work by Women

**Time Spent on Domestic Work by Women: By Working Status (CPHS)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>All Education</th>
<th>At least Schooled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>–0.634***</td>
<td>–0.658***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.020)</td>
<td>(0.021)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>1.003***</td>
<td>0.913***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.127)</td>
<td>(0.128)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>106900</td>
<td>106900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Y</td>
<td>5.373</td>
<td>5.373</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Controls**
- State FE: ✓
- District FE: ✓
- Other Controls: ✓

• Working women spend 60%-70% less time on DW
### Domestic work by Women

#### By Working and Occupation Status (CPHS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample</th>
<th>All Education</th>
<th>At least Schooled</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Working</td>
<td>0.493***</td>
<td>0.515***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
<td>(0.019)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Neutral</td>
<td>−0.172***</td>
<td>−0.164***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.034)</td>
<td>(0.034)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Working - Masculine</td>
<td>−0.590***</td>
<td>−0.602***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.086)</td>
<td>(0.085)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.561***</td>
<td>0.438***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.129)</td>
<td>(0.130)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0.618***</td>
<td>0.611***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.030)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>−0.107</td>
<td>−0.136**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.067)</td>
<td>(0.067)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>−0.535***</td>
<td>−0.533***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.191)</td>
<td>(0.193)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>−0.444*</td>
<td>−0.229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.230)</td>
<td>(0.236)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Controls</th>
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<tr>
<td>State FE</td>
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<tr>
<td>District FE</td>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Controls</td>
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<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                                                                 |
| N                    | 106900               | 106900                  |
| Mean Y               | 5.373                | 5.373                   |

- Women working in masculine (male dominated) occupations spend 50%-60% less time on DW viz women working in feminine (female dominated) occupations.
• Create and observe profiles for women and men on a leading matrimonial platform in India

• Elicit responses or ‘interests’ in potential partners on the platforms.

• Varied the females profiles by working status, i.e. a female profile can be either working in the labor market (employed) or not working (unemployed)
Female profile creation

• Within the employed female profiles we allowed the occupations to vary by gender stereotype
  • Occupations - “Feminine” (e.g. primary school teacher), “Neutral” (e.g. data entry operator) and “Masculine” (e.g. machine technician)

• Each employed-occupation female profile indicated whether the female was open to not working after marriage or not

• One unemployed female profile and six female employed profiles (varying by three occupations and two categories of preference to work post marriage)
Female profile creation

- Varied each profile by:
  - Education - Diploma, Bachelors of Arts and Master of Arts.
  - Caste categories - Brahmins (Upper Castes), Other Forward castes (OFC), Scheduled Castes (SC, lower castes)

- 63 females profiles created = $7 \times 3 \times 3$

- Two cities - Delhi (North India) and Bangalore (South India)
Male profile creation

• Repeat the above steps except that do not display an interest in working or not working after marriage

• Total male profiles = 36 profiles
Profile creation

• Mandatory vs optional fields

• Experimental attributes: Employment status, Occupation of those employed, Preference to work post marriage, Education and Caste
  • Pre-specified fields for employment, occupation, caste and education, the preference to work was declared in the field called Describe yourself briefly

• Other fields: we scraped data from the platform to arrive at the average profile on the platform for some of the optional fields
  • Annual Income: Rs. 3-4 Lakhs for employed
  • Family Income: Rs. 5-7.5 Lakhs
  • Never married
  • Sector of employment (Private),
Profile creation

• Other optional fields:
  • Full name (not visible), About you (long-form description including personal qualities, hobbies and education),
  • Age (25), Height (5ft 3”)
  • Smoking/Drinking (No), Languages spoken (Hindi/English for Delhi and Kannada/English for Bangalore)
  • Family description (generic characteristics), Family Type (Nuclear)
  • Number of brothers (1), sisters (0), Family status (Middle class), Family values (Moderate)
  • Mother’s occupation (Housewife), fathers occupation (retired), profile manager (self)
Other experiment details:

- The profiles were uploaded over a period of two and half months (June 12, 2021- August 22, 2021)

- First uploaded for Delhi and then for Bangalore to minimize the time span between profiles in a given city while ensuring sufficient time between new profile creation

- Around 3-4 randomly chosen profiles were uploaded on a daily basis
  - Profile suspension by platform
  - Suspicion from users

- Each profile uploaded for a month; Information collected on interests by men (women) for each female (male) profile
Occupation selection

- Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS 2018-19): share of females across occupation categories by education

- Shortlisted 20 occupations for which there was sufficient mass in the 3 mentioned education categories - Diploma, BA, MA

- Classified the occupations into 3 categories
  - Feminine: female dominated (45% for that occupation workforce)
  - Gender neutral: average female workforce composition (15-35%)
  - Masculine: below average female workforce composition (less than 10%)
Online survey to understand occupational perceptions

• Conducted an online survey among college students

• Survey was administered online to college students across three universities in Delhi-NCR

• Respondents were asked to rate each job (occupation) on a scale from 1 – 5 where one represented typically masculine jobs and 5 represented typically feminine jobs
  • Feminine (Mean Score > 3)
  • Gender neutral (Mean Score between 2 – 3)
  • Masculine (Mean Score < 2)
Occupational perception survey:

Score by Gender

- Bank Cashier
- Bank Manager
- Bank Teller/Clerk
- Barber/Hairdresser
- Beautician
- Cashier
- Civil Engineer
- Data Entry Operator
- Door to Door Salesperson
- Factory Machine Technician
- Factory Floor Supervisor
- Factory Line Supervisor
- Factory Operations Manager
- Kindergarten Teacher
- Marketing Manager
- Primary School Teacher
- Sales Manager
- Senior Secondary School Teacher
- Shop Manager
- Shop Salesperson
- Software Engineer

Female: 
Male: 
Occupational perception survey: Selected occupations

Score by Gender - Selected Occupations

- Bank Manager
- Bank Teller
- Clerk
- Data Entry Operator
- Factory Machine Technician
- Factory Floor Supervisor
- Factory Line Supervisor
- Kindergarten Teacher
- Primary School Teacher
- Senior Sec. School Teacher

Female
Male
Data

• Use data on responses (interests received) by the female profiles
  • Female profiles: 185 expressions of interest on average over a month; Men receive less than 1 interest on average
  • Karmegam (2020) for India in the dating market, 40:1 ratio;
  • U.S. (Fiore et al., 2010) and China (Xia et al., 2014)

• Average proportion of expressions of interest received by female profiles over a month

• Assume that all male profiles who interacted with any of our female profiles in a city were potential male suitors for all the created female profiles in that city.
### Data: Summary Stats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>(9)</th>
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<td>Overall</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>6.24</td>
<td>24.18</td>
<td>375543</td>
<td>5.86</td>
<td>23.50</td>
<td>300006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Working</td>
<td>6.94</td>
<td>25.42</td>
<td>53649</td>
<td>6.68</td>
<td>24.98</td>
<td>42858</td>
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<td>27.08</td>
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<td>23.97</td>
<td>321894</td>
<td>5.73</td>
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<td>Feminine</td>
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<td>24.09</td>
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<td>5.86</td>
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<td>85716</td>
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<td>Masculine</td>
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<td>5.58</td>
<td>22.96</td>
<td>85716</td>
<td>7.65</td>
<td>26.59</td>
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<td>85716</td>
<td>7.88</td>
<td>26.94</td>
<td>21582</td>
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</table>
### Data: Summary stats of engaging male profiles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overall Mean</th>
<th>Overall SD</th>
<th>Delhi Mean</th>
<th>Delhi SD</th>
<th>Bangalore Mean</th>
<th>Bangalore SD</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age (Years)</td>
<td>29.206</td>
<td>3.140</td>
<td>28.975</td>
<td>3.088</td>
<td>30.164</td>
<td>3.177</td>
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<td>Height (Inches)</td>
<td>65.981</td>
<td>3.408</td>
<td>65.962</td>
<td>3.417</td>
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<td><strong>Caste Category</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>0.228</td>
<td>0.419</td>
<td>0.237</td>
<td>0.425</td>
<td>0.191</td>
<td>0.393</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Forward Castes</td>
<td>0.683</td>
<td>0.465</td>
<td>0.676</td>
<td>0.468</td>
<td>0.714</td>
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<td>SC</td>
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<td>0.285</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.283</td>
<td>0.095</td>
<td>0.294</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managed by marriage bureau</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.044</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managed by someone else</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.077</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managed by parent</td>
<td>0.179</td>
<td>0.384</td>
<td>0.191</td>
<td>0.393</td>
<td>0.130</td>
<td>0.336</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managed by relative or friend</td>
<td>0.030</td>
<td>0.171</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>0.173</td>
<td>0.027</td>
<td>0.161</td>
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<tr>
<td>Managed by himself</td>
<td>0.706</td>
<td>0.456</td>
<td>0.687</td>
<td>0.464</td>
<td>0.782</td>
<td>0.413</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managed by sibling</td>
<td>0.077</td>
<td>0.267</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>0.276</td>
<td>0.053</td>
<td>0.224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highest Level of Education</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School/Diploma</td>
<td>0.149</td>
<td>0.356</td>
<td>0.143</td>
<td>0.350</td>
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<td>Bachelors</td>
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<td>0.530</td>
<td>0.499</td>
<td>0.492</td>
<td>0.500</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
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<td>0.440</td>
<td>0.264</td>
<td>0.441</td>
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<td>0.060</td>
<td>0.238</td>
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<td>M.Phil. / PhD</td>
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<td>0.084</td>
<td>0.006</td>
<td>0.080</td>
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<td>0.116</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Data: Intra-caste vs Inter-caste interests

- Brahmin: 68% of the total interests sent by Brahmin men are towards Brahmin female profiles,
- OFC: 72% of total interests by OFC men are towards OFC or Brahmin female profiles
- 71% of total interests by SC men are towards SC females.
- Caveat: caste categories for the male profiles were obtained after fuzzy matching with detailed caste lists provided by the respective states
Estimation Strategy: Specification 1

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Working_i + \beta_2 Education_i + \beta_3 Caste_c + \beta_4 City_s + \beta_5 (Caste_c \times City_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \]  

(1)

- \( Y_{icsj} \): one if female profile \( i \) of caste \( c \) in city \( s \) received an expression of interest from the male profile \( j \)
- \( Working_i \): one if the female profile is indicated to be currently employed on the marriage portal and zero otherwise
- \( Education_i, Caste_c, City_s, (Caste_c \times City_s) \): education, caste, city and caste by city fixed effects of the female profile
- \( X_j \): male profile characteristics, caste category, age, height, profile manager, income, highest level of education attained and whether the reported income of the male profile is less than the corresponding female profile
- \( \beta_1 \): difference (in percentage points) between the expression of interest for females who are not working versus those who are working
Estimation Strategy: Specification 1

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \text{Working}_i + \beta_2 \text{Education}_i + \beta_3 \text{Caste}_c + \beta_4 \text{City}_s \]
\[ + \beta_5 (\text{Caste}_c \times \text{City}_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \quad (1) \]

- \( Y_{icsj} \): one if female profile \( i \) of caste \( c \) in city \( s \) received an expression of interest from the male profile \( j \)
- \( \text{Working}_i \): one if the female profile is indicated to be currently employed on the marriage portal and zero otherwise
- \( \text{Education}_i, \text{Caste}_c, \text{City}_s, (\text{Caste}_c \times \text{City}_s) \): education, caste, city and caste by city fixed effects of the female profile
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- \( \beta_1 \): difference (in percentage points) between the expression of interest for females who are not working versus those who are working
Estimation Strategy: Specification 1

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Working_i + \beta_2 Education_i + \beta_3 Caste_c + \beta_4 City_s + \beta_5 (Caste_c \times City_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \]  

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Estimation Strategy: Specification 1

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 Working_i + \beta_2 Education_i + \beta_3 Caste_c + \beta_4 City_s \]
\[ + \beta_5 (Caste_c \times City_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \]  

- \( Y_{icsj} \): one if female profile \( i \) of caste \( c \) in city \( s \) received an expression of interest from the male profile \( j \)
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- \( \beta_1 \): difference (in percentage points) between the expression of interest for females who are not working versus those who are working
Estimation Strategy: Specification 2

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \delta_1 \text{Masculine}_i + \delta_2 \text{Neutral}_i + \delta_3 \text{Not Working}_i + \]
\[ \beta_2 \text{Education}_i + \beta_3 \text{Caste}_c + \beta_4 \text{City}_s + \beta_5 (\text{Caste}_c \times \text{City}_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \]  

(2)

- **Masculine}_i**: value one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a masculine occupation and zero otherwise
- **Neutral}_i**: one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a gender-neutral occupation and zero otherwise
- \( \delta_1 \): difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in masculine viz in feminine occupations
- \( \delta_2 \): difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in neutral viz in feminine occupations
Estimation Strategy: Specification 2

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \delta_1 \text{Masculine}_i + \delta_2 \text{Neutral}_i + \delta_3 \text{Not Working}_i + \]
\[ \beta_2 \text{Education}_i + \beta_3 \text{Caste}_c + \beta_4 \text{City}_s + \beta_5 (\text{Caste}_c \times \text{City}_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \quad (2) \]

- **Masculine**\(_i\): value one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a masculine occupation and zero otherwise
- **Neutral**\(_i\): one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a gender-neutral occupation and zero otherwise
- \(\delta_1\): difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in masculine viz in feminine occupations
- \(\delta_2\): difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in neutral viz in feminine occupations
Estimation Strategy: Specification 2

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \delta_1 \text{Masculine}_i + \delta_2 \text{Neutral}_i + \delta_3 \text{Not Working}_i + \]
\[ \beta_2 \text{Education}_i + \beta_3 \text{Caste}_c + \beta_4 \text{City}_s + \beta_5 (\text{Caste}_c \times \text{City}_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \quad (2) \]

- **Masculine}_i**: value one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a masculine occupation and zero otherwise
- **Neutral}_i**: one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a gender-neutral occupation and zero otherwise
- **δ₁**: difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in masculine viz in feminine occupations
- **δ₂**: difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in neutral viz in feminine occupations
Estimation Strategy: Specification 2

\[ Y_{icsj} = \beta_0 + \delta_1 \text{Masculine}_i + \delta_2 \text{Neutral}_i + \delta_3 \text{Not Working}_i + \beta_2 \text{Education}_i + \beta_3 \text{Caste}_c + \beta_4 \text{City}_s + \beta_5 (\text{Caste}_c \ast \text{City}_s) + X_j + \epsilon_{icsj} \] (2)

- **Masculine}_i**: value one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a masculine occupation and zero otherwise
- **Neutral}_i**: one if the female profile is indicated to be employed in a gender-neutral occupation and zero otherwise
- \(\delta_1\): difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in masculine viz in feminine occupations
- \(\delta_2\): difference in pp between the probability of interest received by females employed in neutral viz in feminine occupations
## Effect of Work Status on Interests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Overall</th>
<th>Delhi</th>
<th>Bangalore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>-0.009***</td>
<td>-0.010***</td>
<td>-0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.039</td>
<td>0.011</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.032)</td>
<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.092)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>329427</td>
<td>265545</td>
<td>63882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean Y</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Controls

- City FE ✓
- Caste FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- City × Caste FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- Education FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- Male profile controls ✓ ✓ ✓

- An employed female profile receives 14.5% lower interests than unemployed female: Delhi (17%)
### Effect of Work Status on Interests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Controls</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>City FE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste FE</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City × Caste FE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education FE</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male profile controls</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- An employed female profile receives 14.5% lower interests than unemployed female: *Delhi (17%)*
### Effect of Occupation Type on Interests

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Bangalore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>0.008***</td>
<td>0.009***</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Neutral</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.004*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Masculine</td>
<td>-0.002**</td>
<td>-0.003***</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.074</td>
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<td>(0.031)</td>
<td>(0.092)</td>
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<td>63882</td>
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<td>0.078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine=Neutral</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.104</td>
<td>0.316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Controls**

- City FE ✔
- Caste FE ✔
- City × Caste FE ✔
- Education FE ✔
- Male profile controls ✔

- Females employed in ‘masculine’ occupations, **3.2%** less likely to receive an interest viz those in masculine occupations: (Delhi 5.1%)
Effect of Occupation Type on Interests

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<td>Bangalore</td>
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<td>0.009***</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Neutral</td>
<td>-0.000</td>
<td>-0.001</td>
<td>0.004*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Masculine</td>
<td>-0.002**</td>
<td>-0.003***</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>(0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.074</td>
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<td>(0.031)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>329427</td>
<td>265545</td>
<td>63882</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mean Y</td>
<td>0.062</td>
<td>0.059</td>
<td>0.078</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masculine=Neutral</td>
<td>0.057</td>
<td>0.104</td>
<td>0.316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Controls

- City FE ✓
- Caste FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- City × Caste FE ✓
- Education FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- Male profile controls ✓ ✓ ✓

- Females employed in ‘masculine’ occupations, 3.2% less likely to receive an interest viz those in masculine occupations: (Delhi 5.1%)
### Effect of Occupation Type by Work Preference on Interests

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>Bangalore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working - Neutral</td>
<td>0.003***</td>
<td>0.004***</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Working - Masculine</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>0.001</td>
<td>0.004</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work after Marriage</td>
<td>0.007***</td>
<td>0.008***</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral X Work after Marriage</td>
<td>−0.007***</td>
<td>−0.010***</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masculine X Work after Marriage</td>
<td>−0.007***</td>
<td>−0.008***</td>
<td>−0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.004)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
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<td>0.004</td>
<td>0.072</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>(0.092)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.132</td>
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<tr>
<td>Neutral = Neutral X Work after Marriage</td>
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<td>0.000</td>
<td>0.819</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Controls**

- City FE ✓
- Caste FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- City × Caste FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- Education FE ✓ ✓ ✓
- Male profile controls ✓ ✓ ✓

- Decrease in the probability of receiving an expression of interest for women in ‘masculine’ jobs who would like to continue to work after marriage
Robustness

• Fixed effects at the suitor level
  • 13% decreases in probability of receiving an expression of interest for an employed female profile
  • Driven by Delhi: 17%
Social norms

- Results driven by Delhi (North India)
  - Differences in patriarchal and gender norms between North and the South India
- Heterogeneity by female profile: Caste; Education
  - Upper castes in North India: Stringent patriarchal norms
  - Education can mediate effect of norms
## Effect of Work Status on Interests by Caste

### Panel A: Overall

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>Other forward castes</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
<td>$-0.009^{***}$</td>
<td>$-0.010^{***}$</td>
<td>$-0.015^{***}$</td>
<td>$-0.001$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.001)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
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<td>R-squared</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male profile controls</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- High caste groups: female profiles belonging to higher caste groups of Brahmin and OFC receive 15% and 21% lower interests when employed.
Effect of Work Status on Interests by Caste

### Panel B: Delhi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>(2)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Other forward castes</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working</td>
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<td>–0.015***</td>
<td>–0.017***</td>
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<td>88515</td>
<td>88515</td>
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<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
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<td>✓</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- Driven by Delhi
### Effect of Occupation Type on Interests by Caste

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<th></th>
<th>(1)</th>
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<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overall</td>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>OFC</td>
<td>SC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working</td>
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<td>0.009***</td>
<td>0.014***</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.003)</td>
<td>(0.002)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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**Panel A: Overall**

- Education FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- City FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Male profile controls: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓

- OFC group: females employed in ‘masculine’ occupations receive lower interests in comparison to females employed in ‘feminine’ occupations by approximately 7%
## Effect of Work Status on Interests by Education

### Panel A: Overall

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- Caste FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- City FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- City × Caste FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Male profile controls: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
### Effect of Occupation Type on Interests by Education

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Panel A: Overall

Male Education Results

Afridi, Arora, Dhar & Mahajan

August 30, 2022
Discussion/Caveats

- Profile views?
- Matching algorithm?
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Observations: 45925
Mean Y: 0.931
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Afridi, Arora, Dhar & Mahajan August 30, 2022 46 / 47
## Preference for Working women

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Observations: 45925
Mean Y: 0.931

Other Controls

- Women in north spend 70% more time on DW and 55% less time in labor market

Afridi, Arora, Dhar & Mahajan
August 30, 2022
### Preference for Working women

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| Observations            | 45925 |
| Mean Y                  | 0.931 |

*Afridi, Arora, Dhar & Mahajan*  
*August 30, 2022*  
*46 / 47*
Conclusion

• Online experiment to measure partner preferences of men on a digital matching platform in the Indian marriage market

• Female profiles indicated to be currently working receive 14.5% lower interest from male suitors relative to currently not employed female profiles

• Female profiles engaged in ‘masculine’ occupations are 3.2% less likely to receive an interest as compared to female profiles employed in feminine occupations

• Results are driven by responses in Delhi and high castes; occupational results driven by female profiles with lower education levels in Delhi

• Implication: Expectations regarding returns in the marriage market may influence women’s decisions about employment before marriage and the nature of work
### Effect of Work status on Interests by Caste (Male profile)

#### Panel A: Overall

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### Effect of Occupation Type on Interests by Caste (Male profile)

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|                  | Observations | 329427 | 75159 | 225351 | 28917 |
|                  | Mean Y       | 0.062  | 0.058 | 0.065  | 0.053 |
|                  | Masculine=Neutral | 0.057  | 0.548 | 0.208  | 0.032 |

- Education FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Caste FE: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
- Male profile controls: ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
## Effect of Occupation Type on Interests by Caste (Male profile)

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## Effect of Work Status on Interests by Education (Male profile)

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Panel B : Delhi
## Effect of Occupation Type on Interests by Education (Male profile)

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# Effect of Occupation Type on Interests by Education (Male profile)

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• Marriage is universal (98% women married by age 30), what about women who are likely to be looking for a spouse?