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Inter-State Variations in Human Development Differentials among Social Groups in India

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Abstract

This paper examines disparities by social group in educational and economic indicators in India and looks for inter-state variations in these. Data from the 1994 NCAER-HDI survey in rural India reveals that differentials in enrolment persist in most cases even when controlled for parental factors such as education and income indicating current direct effect of social group membership. The degree of disparity in social group differentials in economic indicators also varies across states, however the pattern is different. The regional pattern found in Hindu/Muslim educational disparities is not seen in economic conditions. Overall, the results show that though there are disparities among social groups in India, these are not uniform across states, either in magnitude or in direction, and in a few cases go against common perceptions. The study calls for assessments of social development programmes and movements in various states to see why the disparity has narrowed in some states but not in others.

JEL Classification

I3, I32, I38

Keywords

Education, Income, Social group

1. INTRODUCTION

Human development is often conceptualised at the national or the state level. Various indicators developed for its measurement are useful for cross-national comparisons but rarely give an idea of variations within a country. However, since in India disaggregation to the state level has been possible at least for the major states for which relevant data are available, regional variations have been observed (EPW Research Foundation, 1994; Shariff, 1999). But there are variations within states as well. In addition to spatial variations (rural-urban, inter-district, inter-agro-climatic zones), differentials have been observed across social groups, notably, religion and caste groups.

Segregation by caste was common in economic, social and political activities as well as in settlement. This naturally led to wide inter-caste variations. Most acute were the gaps between the 'Caste Hindus' and the castes that were treated as 'untouchable', now grouped as Scheduled Castes. Various tribes, collectively labelled now as Scheduled Tribes, suffered on account of isolation and non-participation in developmental activities. Though education was valued, only a few selected sections generally pursued formal education. Also some sections were explicitly prohibited from receiving education thereby preventing equality in education. Religion has also been a major factor in social stratification. Though predominantly Hindu, India has large Muslim, Christian and Sikh populations. In addition to theological differences, there are variations in lifestyles and political and historical factors that would have created differentials in education, occupation and other economic conditions among populations belonging to various religions.

Social restrictions on castes and degree of discrimination on account of caste or religion may be attributable, at least in part, to cultural and historical factors and hence could differ from region to region or state to state. Besides, in the multi-tiered structure of governance in India, it is the state government, rather than the central government that has a major responsibility in the social sector. Therefore, the policies and programmes of the state governments are expected to play an important role in human development. The delivery systems as well as the efficiency of programme administration could also vary across states.

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Thus, inter-state variations in both the *level* and the social group *differentials* in human development are plausibly caused by differences in natural resources, cultural and historical factors and state specific policies and programmes. From a policy angle, it is necessary to assess to what extent the inter-state variations in both the level and differentials in human development are caused by differences in programme approaches, delivery systems and overall efficiency. However, to establish a cause-effect relationship between such factors and human development differentials and to measure the quantum of the effect is an onerous task. Such an effort would require trends in differentials and a comprehensive evaluation of policies and programmes in addition to an assessment of development levels and differentials. This paper addresses a more modest objective, to examine the extent and nature of social group differentials in human development in major states of India and to look for a pattern. In that sense, the study is exploratory. The differentials have been obtained from the data collected in the large household survey carried out by the National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) during 1993-1994 in major states of India, called the NCAER-HDI 1994 Survey or simply the 'NCAER Survey'. This paper looks at both educational and economic aspects, but the concentration is on educational indicators. The central place of education in human development is well recognised. Education also acts as an instrument of social change and modernisation and promotes equality of opportunity. Naturally, disparities in education have implications for disparities in other dimensions of human development as well. Moreover, information on educational achievement by age can be profitably utilised to assess recent changes in levels and disparities.

2. DATA AND METHODS

Indicators of human development in India are provided by various agencies. The principal sources of data are the decennial Censuses, the various rounds of the National Sample Survey, the Central Statistical Organisation and official statistics. Indicators have been compiled at the national and state levels and more recently, at the district level (Human Development Reports by the UNDP, UNFPA, various state governments, research organisations like the NCAER, IGIDR, EPW and individual researchers). Some indicators for special groups like the Scheduled Castes and Tribes are also provided. But tabulations and aggregations by religion are rarely available. The 1994 NCAER–HDI Survey provides indicators on various aspects of human development by social groups (Shariff, 1999). The household and individual level data from this survey facilitate the computation of indicators for various social groups for the major states and form the basis of this paper.

The NCAER Survey was designed to estimate key indicators of human development at the state level for large social groups. The survey covered rural areas of 15 major states of India and the North-eastern region including Assam. A multi-stage sampling design was adopted - district, village and household formed the three levels in each state/region. From the 16 regions (15 states and the North-eastern region), 195 districts were selected and from these, 1765 villages were selected. In all, 35_130 households were selected in the sample of which 33_230 were surveyed. The sampling design is quite complex, but the sampling weights have been provided allowing computation of unbiased estimates of various indicators (Shariff, 1999).

The NCAER data provide information on membership of Scheduled Caste or Tribe, but specific castes, whether Scheduled or not, have not been recorded. Thus, three caste categories can be formed: Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribe, and Other Castes. Specific religions have been listed. The sample size for Hindus is large in all the states, for Muslims it is large in many states and for Christians in only some states. But the number of Sikh households is large in only one state sample, that is Punjab (884 households). Buddhist households dominate only in Maharashtra (101 households). Hence, comparisons of Sikhs and Buddhists with other religions are possible in only one state and therefore one cannot look at inter-state variations in these. Besides, the number of households belonging to other identified religions is quite small in all the state samples. Therefore, only three religions are

included in this analysis — Hindu, Muslim, and Christian. Among Hindus, further categorisation comprises — Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Other Castes (OC). Classification of the other caste Hindus into Other Backward Castes (OBCs) and Forward Castes was not available and hence further breakdown of the Hindu Other Castes category was not possible. Non-Hindu Scheduled Castes and Tribes are classified by religion rather than by caste. Only about 10 per cent of Scheduled Castes and Tribes in the survey were reported as non-Hindu. Thus the five social groups identified for the analysis are

1. Hindu-OC (Hindu other than Scheduled Caste or Tribe)
2. Hindu-SC (Hindu Scheduled Caste)
3. Hindu-ST (Hindu Scheduled Tribe)
4. Muslim
5. Christian

Though tabulations are obtained for all the five categories, sample sizes are not sufficiently large in many states for some of these. The largest number of households and persons is found in the Hindu-OC category in almost all the states and hence this is used as the reference category. The Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC comparison is possible in all the 16 states. But Hindu-OC/Hindu-ST, Hindu-OC/Muslim and Hindu-OC/Christian comparisons are not possible in many states. The numbers of households belonging to these groups in each of the 16 states/regions are given in Table A.1 and the numbers of individuals in Table A.2

The household questionnaire of the NCAER Survey obtained information on education and related variables for each member of the household. Specifically, whether the person can read and write with comprehension (literacy), whether was enrolled in school at anytime (ever enrolment), age at enrolment, whether studying at the time of survey (current enrolment), highest grade completed (coded in categories of schooling — below primary, primary, middle, matriculation, etc.). Besides, for persons up to the age of 35 years, additional questions on reasons for non-enrolment, for discontinuation, nature of school institution, school attendance and expenditure on education were asked-if relevant.

The present analysis concentrates on three factors — literacy, level of education and current enrolment. The variables used are:

1. Literacy (whether literate)
2. Middle School completion (whether completed at least middle school)
3. High School completion (whether completed at least high school)
4. Current enrolment (whether currently enrolled in school/college)

All are used as dichotomous variables (Yes/No). The first three look at educational achievement (literacy, middle school and high school) and the last looks at current school enrolment. Proportions who have completed a college degree are very small (the survey covered only rural areas) and hence this level is not considered. For each of the variable, the analysis is carried out by age in order to see if the differentials vary over age and thus indirectly assess whether there is a trend over time. The age groups are

1. Literacy (Four groups in completed years of age: 7-14, 15-24, 25-49, 50+)
2. Middle School Completion (Three groups: 15-24, 25-49, 50+)
3. High School Completion (Two groups: 17-24, 25-49)
4. Current Enrolment (Three groups: 6-10, 11-15, 16-20)

The four groups used for literacy represent children, youth, young adults and older adults respectively. In the case of middle school, the youngest group is not included since many of them will be too young to have completed middle school (8 grades in school). For High School completion, the group 17-24 years is used instead of 15-24 years, because in rural areas, with late entry into schools, many would not normally have completed high school (10 grades in school) by 15 or 16 years of age. Moreover, the proportion of persons in the group 50+ (above 50 years) who have completed high school is very small and hence this group is not used in the case of the high school completion variable. For a similar reason, enrolment beyond age 21 has not been considered. Thus, the analysis is based on 12 indicators of educational achievement/enrolment (four of literacy, three of middle school completion, two of high school completion and three of enrolment). The indicators are computed separately for males and females.

First, the 12 indicators of educational achievement/enrolment are computed for each social group in each state for males and females. Since the variables are dichotomous, the indicators are percentages, computed using sample weights. With the Hindu-OC group as the reference category, percentages for the other groups are compared to the percentage for this group and significant differences noted. For this purpose, logistic regression has been adopted, with the appropriate literacy/education/enrolment variable as dichotomous dependent variable and social group as the categorised explanatory variable.

The NCAER survey also obtained information on a large number of economic variables from each surveyed household. These include income (from various sources),

housing conditions, ownership and possession of land, ownership of productive and non-productive assets, employment, wage rates, etc. Four indicators are used here:

1. Household income (annual, in Rupees)
2. Per capita income (annual, in Rupees)
3. Index of ownership of non-productive assets
4. Land owned (in acres)

The NCAER Survey obtained details of household income from all sources during 1993. An index of ownership of non-productive assets has been computed and provided in the survey data. This is based on the ownership of consumer durables such as bicycle, radio and electric fan (one point each), bio-gas, motor cycle and air-cooler (three points each), television (four points), video-cassette player (five points) and car (ten points); the range is 0 to 31. An index of ownership of productive assets has also been provided by the survey, but this was not used since it is primarily based on agricultural machinery. Some other indicators are also available — income (income per adult, income per consumption unit), landholding (gross cropped area, land cultivated, land irrigated), etc. For certain specific analyses, some of these would be more appropriate than those listed above. However, as this paper is exploratory and seeks to look for pattern of differentials, rather than to identify determinants, only the commonly used indicators have been examined.

Means (weighted) for the four indicators have been obtained for the five social groups (Hindu-OC, Hindu-SC, Hindu-ST, Muslim and Christian) in the 16 states/regions. In each state, the means for the four groups Hindu-SC, Hindu-ST, Muslim and Christian, have been compared to the mean for Hindu-OC, the reference group and significant differences noted.

3. DIFFERENTIALS IN EDUCATIONAL INDICATORS

Instead of presenting the indicators for each social group in each state, the differences between Hindu-OC (reference group) and each of the other groups — Hindu-SC, Hindu-ST, Muslim and Christian are computed and presented in Tables 1 to 7¹. Each table gives differences in all the 12 indicators for each state. Differentials for males and females are given in separate tables (except the Hindu-OC/Christian differences for males and females which are presented in a single table, Table 7). No difference is shown in case the number of observations in a cell was less than 20. Significant differences (different from zero at the 5 per cent level of significance) are shown in bold type. These are obtained on the basis of logistic regressions as described earlier. In all, 408 logistic regressions were required; 12 (12 indicators) x 2 (male and female) x 17 (16 states and the total sample). For the national sample, educational level is the highest for Christians followed by Hindu-OC and is relatively lower for Muslims, Hindu-SC and Hindu-ST. However, the pattern in many states differs from the national pattern. These differences are described separately for each comparison in the following sub-sections.

3.1 Hindu-SC/Hindu-OC Comparison

Tables 1 and 2 give an overview of differences between Scheduled Caste Hindus (Hindu-SC) and non Scheduled Caste/Tribe Hindus (Hindu-OC). For all the indicators, the level is higher among Hindu-OC than Hindu-SC at the national level. Other Caste Hindus have higher literacy, level of education and enrolment than Scheduled Castes, this is true in all the age groups considered and for both males and females. This finding is not unexpected since it is well known that the Scheduled Castes have been deprived of educational (and other) opportunities for generations. For males, the gap in literacy and in current enrolment at younger ages (below 25) is narrower than in literacy at older ages (above 25) indicating that the inequality has narrowed over time. But this is not true in the case of females.

There are notable inter-state variations in the Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC disparity. These can be seen from Tables 1 and 2 where states have been arranged roughly by the pattern and level of disparity. The North-eastern region is conspicuously different from the other states. Differentials in this region are generally small for both males and females and for many indicators, statistically insignificant. Some differences are even negative (SC level higher

than OC) though insignificant. In Kerala, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, the gap is wide for older age groups but narrow for the youngest group. In most of these states and in Maharashtra, differences in current enrolment are also small (an exception is the 16-20 age group in Kerala). This suggests that there were large differences in the past but these have narrowed down over time. In fact, in some indicators for younger ages the SCs do better than Other Castes in a few states. In the other states, differences are generally moderate to large, though some decline in the gap has taken place for males in Karnataka and Orissa. For females, the gap has widened in some states, probably because earlier, the level of education was low among females and has risen faster among Other Castes than Scheduled Castes. This explains why at the national level the gap in literacy has declined for males but not for females.

Broadly, there are three patterns: the North-east with negligible gap, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Kerala having moderate-large gaps in the past with recent decline and the remaining states with moderate-large gaps². Trends in literacy for some states are shown in Figs 1 (a) and (b).

3.2 Hindu-ST/Hindu-OC Comparison

Tables 3 and 4 highlight the differences between Hindu-OC and Hindu-ST in the indicators of education (the states arranged roughly in ascending order of disparity). At the national aggregate, the Scheduled Tribes show a lower level compared to Hindu-OC in all the 12 indicators. The differences are of the same order as the Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC differences.

There are noticeable inter-state variations (indicators for Hindu-ST are shown for only 11 states since the number of Hindu-ST households in the samples for four states — Haryana, Kerala, Punjab and Tamil Nadu, is very small and the proportion of Hindu-ST in the population of Uttar Pradesh is minuscule, .002). The differences are quite small in the North-eastern region and in Himachal Pradesh and modest in Karnataka (for some of the indicators, the Hindu-OC level is lower than the Hindu-ST level). But for the other eight states, the differences are generally moderate to large. Some decline in the gap is seen with age in a few states, but this is not as large as seen in the case of Scheduled Castes.

Overall, two broad patterns are seen — narrower gaps in the North-eastern region, Himachal Pradesh and Karnataka and wider in the other states. States along the tribal belt passing through Central India, beginning from Maharashtra–Gujarat–Rajasthan in the West through Andhra Pradesh–Madhya Pradesh–Bihar to Orissa–West Bengal in the East show large disparities in most of the indicators³. Besides, for females, the gap has widened in a few states. Earlier the level was quite low for Hindu-OC and hence the gap was narrow, but it has widened recently. Figures 2 (a) and (b) show trends in literacy for some states.

3.3 Muslim/Hindu-OC Comparison

Generally, Muslims (both males and females) do not do as well as Hindu-OC with respect to educational achievement and enrolment. The comparative picture for the states is shown in Tables 5 and 6. In three states — Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Punjab, the sample sizes are too small for many of the indicators and in Himachal Pradesh, for some.

However, contrary to the overall picture, Muslim males do better than or at least as well as Hindu-OC males in some states — Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka and Madhya Pradesh (and in the few available indicators in Tamil Nadu). The indicators for Muslim females are also close to the corresponding indicators for Hindu-OC females in these states except Gujarat. In particular, in Andhra Pradesh, Muslims seem to be better off than Hindus, albeit slightly. Kerala is unique in the sense that differences were large in the past (literacy in age group 50+, middle school education in ages 25+) but have narrowed recently (literacy and enrolment at younger ages). Kerala also shows relatively high disparities in high school completion and enrolment in ages 16–20. However, in the Northern and Eastern regions, Muslims appear to be far behind Hindu-OC in educational achievement and in current enrolment.

Three broad regions can be identified: Southern and Western states (except Kerala) with Muslim levels higher or about the same as Hindus, Kerala with high differences in the past and at high school levels and Northern–Central–Eastern states in which Muslims fare very poorly. Madhya Pradesh is closer to the Southern–western pattern than the Northern–Central–Eastern. At the extreme are Punjab, Haryana and the North-eastern region with very high disparities⁴.

Though the female pattern is quite similar to that of males, some difference is seen. First, in the case of females, Hindu/Muslim differences have risen recently in many states, notably Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan. There has been a faster rise in literacy among Hindu-OC females in the recent years than Muslim females. For example, in Rajasthan, female literacy for Hindu-OC in the age groups 50+, 25-49, 15-14 and 7-14 was 4, 14, 29 and 48 per cent respectively, showing a rise of 44 percentage points over the age groups. For Muslim females, the corresponding figures are 0, 2, 10 and 18 per cent respectively, showing a rise of only 18 percentage points. In the North-eastern region, Haryana and Punjab, differences in female literacy and schooling are extremely large, especially at younger ages. Hindu/Muslim differences in some states are shown in Figs 3 (a) and (b).

3.4 Christian/Hindu-OC Comparison

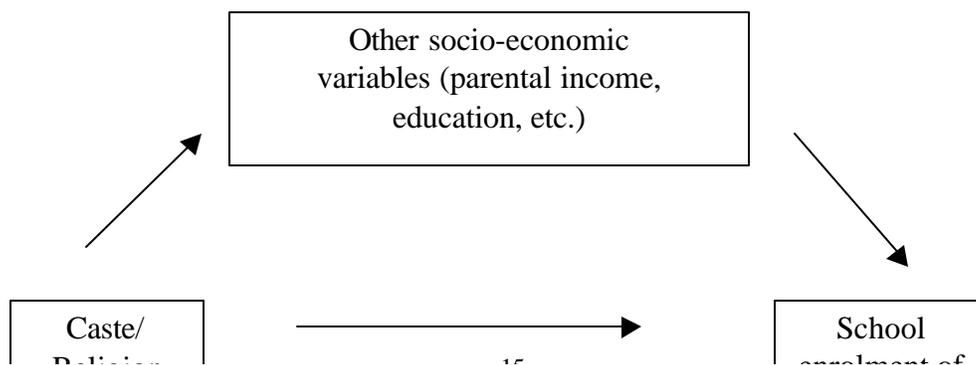
Overall, Christians have a higher level of education and current enrolment than Hindu-OC (Table 7). This is true for both males and females but the difference is greater in case of females than males. Christian women seem to be much better placed than Hindu-OC women. Since the proportion of Christian population is small in many states, the number of Christians in the sample was too small (below 20 persons in various age-sex groups) to obtain reasonably reliable estimates of educational achievement and enrolment in most states. Only in Kerala and the North-eastern region could most of the indicators be computed. Some could be obtained in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, and only a few in Punjab and West Bengal. This makes it difficult to look for a pattern. Yet, some inter-state variations in the differentials are observable and are described below.

In most states for which estimates are available, Christians have a higher level of literacy and education than Hindu-OC. In Kerala, the differences have narrowed down recently (higher gap at older ages and lower at younger ages). A similar pattern could be seen for Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC and Hindu-OC/Muslim differences in the state. Thus, a convergence appears to have taken place in Kerala as reflected in the nearly universal literacy and schooling among the young. In the North-east, Tamil Nadu and Orissa, Christians do better than Hindu-OC in most indicators. In Andhra Pradesh, Christians do better in literacy but not necessarily in schooling.

Though at the national level the indicators for Christians are much higher than for Hindu-OC, in individual states the differences are not so pronounced. The fact that Christian populations are relatively higher in states with overall high level of education, especially in Kerala, has accentuated the Hindu-OC/Christian disparity at the national level.

Are the Observed Differentials by Religion and Caste Contributed by Other Socio-economic Variables?

The comparative picture of educational indicators presented above shows differences by caste and religion. It is possible that there are some other factors associated with caste and religion that influence education. For example, income and parental education are likely to influence children’s education. Hence, children from social groups with low incomes and low education of parents (such as Scheduled Castes and Tribes) are not likely to receive similar level of education as that for children from groups with high incomes and high parental education (such as Hindu-OC). Caste factor cannot hence be taken to be independent of income (a study conducted in villages of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab specifically addressed this issue; see, Agricultural Economic Research Centre, 1971). Besides, certain social groups are more likely to be residing in poorly developed villages with low access to schooling. Thus, some of the observed differences in educational indicators for children between social groups may be attributable to differences in income, parental education and development level of settlement between social groups. This issue is particularly relevant for school enrolment. Of course, the differences in parental education and income may themselves be products of caste-religion effects (due to unequal treatment and opportunities in earlier generations) and in that sense caste-religion could influence children’s education *indirectly* via parental education and income. If there is an effect of caste-religion *after controlling for the effects of factors such as parental education and income*, it could be called a *direct effect*. Schematically, caste-religion could influence children’s education indirectly through parental education, income, etc. and also directly as shown below:



If the differentials are primarily due to the indirect effect, these are attributable to differences in family endowments and are carry-over effects of past disparities. The direct effect is attributable to current effect of caste and religion.

The technique of path analysis provides an ideal way to assess the magnitudes of indirect and direct effects. However, the nature of variables (dichotomous dependent variable and categorised social group variable) makes it difficult to adopt this approach. Hence, instead of trying to measure the magnitudes of the effects, an attempt was made to see if the direct effect persists after statistically controlling for the effects of other variables. Once again, the logistic regression technique was used with dichotomous dependent variables (school enrolment in the three age groups 6–10, 11–15 and 16–20). The socio-economic variables used as controls are, level of education of the head of household, per capita income (log of annual per capita income) and village development index (used as a categorised variable: high, moderate, low).

The results show that educational level of the head of household and per capita income have a significant effect on school enrolment in most of the states (details not presented here). The effect of caste and religion persists even after controlling for other variables in about two thirds of the cases in which such an effect was found without control for other variables. Specifically, for the three enrolment variables, the Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC difference was significant in 67 cases of the age-sex groups for the major states (seen from the figures in bold type in the last three columns of Tables 1 and 2 for the various states) and in 39 of these the direct effect of caste was also significant. The corresponding figures for the Hindu-OC/Hindu-ST difference are 23 of 38 and for the Hindu-OC/Muslim difference, 27 of 39. In other words, in a large number of states, caste and religion seem to have effects net of the effects of other relevant variables used. The disparities in current enrolment cannot thus be blamed solely on past disparities but are attributable, in many cases, at least in part, to current effects of caste or religion as such.

4. DIFFERENTIALS IN ECONOMIC INDICATORS

Instead of the means of the economic indicators for the five social groups, ratios of the means of each social group to the corresponding mean for Hindu-OC (reference category) for each state are presented in Tables 8–11 (the ratio shown is: $100 \times \text{Mean of an indicator for a social group} / \text{Mean of the indicator for Hindu-OC in the state}$). No ratio has been provided for a social group in a state if there were less than 20 households in it. In each table, the states are arranged roughly in descending order of average ratio. Thus states with means higher than Hindu-OC (if any) are followed by states with means close to Hindu-OC and finally by states with means much lower than Hindu-OC. Ratios shown in bold type indicate that the mean for the social group was significantly different from the corresponding mean for Hindu-OC at the 5 per cent level of significance.

The primary interest here is not in inter-state variations in levels of economic indicators, which are well known (high values for Punjab and Haryana, low for Bihar and Orissa) but in variations in social group differentials. At the national level, all indicators are relatively low for Hindu-SC and Hindu-ST (most of the ratios are below 100). The Christian levels are fairly close to Hindu-OC (ratios close to 100) levels except in land ownership. The indicators for Muslims generally fall between those for Hindu-OC and Hindu-SC/ST. Overall, the order is Hindu-OC and Christians at a (relatively) high level, Muslims at the middle level and Hindu SC and ST at a very low level. It is only in land ownership that the order changes, Christians and Muslims do not own much land. Similarly, though both the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have much lower incomes than Hindu-OC, the Scheduled Tribes are less disadvantaged in land ownership than the Scheduled Castes. It must be noted here that quality of land has not been incorporated in the indicator. The picture could possibly be different in that case.

Though all the four economic indicators show low values for Hindu-SC compared to the values for Hindu-OC (Table 8), the pattern of differentials is not uniform across the states. In the North-eastern region the Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC disparity is small. Moderately high disparity is seen in Himachal Pradesh and West Bengal and high in Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Orissa, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Andhra Pradesh. In Punjab, Karnataka, Gujarat, Haryana, Maharashtra and Kerala, the disparity is very high, with SC averages generally below half the size of Hindu-OC averages. The disparity is seen in all the

indicators but is more conspicuous in land ownership. Punjab and Haryana show extremely high disparity, with the average land owned by Hindu-SC households being about a tenth and a sixth respectively of Hindu-OC households. The Scheduled Castes are generally landless workers or own very small pieces of land in most states.

At the national level, the Hindu-ST fare very poorly compared to Hindu-OC in all the indicators, though the disparity is not so large in the case of land ownership (Table 9). But in the North-eastern region, the Hindu-ST are close to the Hindu-OC in income and have higher ownership of land and assets. The overall disparity is small in Bihar and the differences are not significant in Himachal Pradesh and moderately high in Karnataka. However, in Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan the disparity is high and in Gujarat and Maharashtra it is very high.

The Hindu-OC/Muslim ratios are shown in Table 10. In the North-east, Muslims do nearly as well as Hindu-OC and, in fact, own more land on an average. Hardly any disparity is seen in Rajasthan except in land ownership and the differences are generally insignificant in Madhya Pradesh and Kerala. The disparity is moderate in Bihar, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and moderately high in Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Maharashtra and Karnataka. Only in Haryana, Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat and Punjab is the Hindu/Muslim disparity in economic indicators high, the last two states show very high disparity, with means for Muslims generally below half the mean for Hindu-OC. Overall, in a majority of states, Muslims do not fare as well as Hindu-OC but the disparity is moderate.

Christians do as well or better than Hindu-OC in the North-east and in Kerala (Table 11). Disparity is high in Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Punjab and moderate or small in Orissa and Tamil Nadu. There is variation in the pattern across indicators. Christians own more land than Hindus in Kerala on an average. In ownership of assets, the differences are small.

5. MAIN FINDINGS

The NCAER survey shows that in the level of education, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes fare much worse compared to Hindu-OC. Muslims are also at a disadvantage in comparison to Hindu-OC but Christians are better off. The results also show that the magnitude of differences, in some cases even the direction and often the pattern, varies from state to state or region to region. What could be the reasons for such variations?

In respect of the disparity between Scheduled Caste and other Hindus, the levels of literacy, educational achievement and enrolment are lower for Scheduled Castes in almost all the states. But there are differences in the magnitude. In the North-eastern region, the differences are small or negative, in some states the gap is narrow for the younger ages and in other states, the magnitude varies considerably. The North-eastern region is a special case because it includes Assam and other North-eastern states. High gap at older ages, but lower gap at younger ages in Kerala, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu indicates that the disparity was wide in the past, but has narrowed recently. In these states, the gaps at younger ages are narrow in high school education as well.

That Scheduled Castes were treated as untouchables and were deprived of educational opportunities in the traditional society is well known. But the present educational system in India is based on the system introduced during the British period and is not a continuation of the ancient or medieval systems. The modern system was not, at least in principle, based on caste. Yet, the societal bar on Scheduled Castes denied them entry to schools even if schools existed within their villages. Moreover the Scheduled Castes were poor and this too prevented schooling because of labour demands on children's time and inability to spend money on education. Disparity in education between Scheduled Castes and other Hindus is obviously not unexpected. However, over the years, laws have been enacted to eliminate the practice of untouchability and denial of access to public facilities on the basis of caste is explicitly prohibited. Besides, both at the national and the state levels, special facilities, scholarships and reservations have been provided to Scheduled Castes as measures of social justice in order to remove effects of inequalities and the disabilities caused by poverty and social oppression in the past. In addition, there were social movements that brought greater awakening among the Scheduled Castes about their rights and raised their aspirations. One

would therefore expect the narrowing down of the gap between the Scheduled Castes and other population. Yet, this seems to have happened in only a few states.

There have been well-recognised movements of Backward Castes in many states. The pioneering efforts were by Phule in Maharashtra in the middle of the nineteenth century. But though Phule himself made efforts for the education of Scheduled Castes (treated as untouchable then), the movement later came to be identified with non-Brahmin dominant castes rather than Scheduled Castes. The Justice Party in Tamil Nadu was dominated by non-Brahmin upper castes and the Self-respect movement of Periyar identified with backward castes as a whole but not exclusively with Scheduled Castes. In Kerala, educational and social reform movements were dominated by the Nairs and the Ezhavas, not by Scheduled Castes. However, the depressed classes movement in Maharashtra led by Dr. Ambedkar represented the interests of Scheduled Castes. In addition to creating an awakening and organising the population to fight for equality, access to education and other public services, the movement established educational institutions. In the recent years, dalit organisations in various states have been active in educational efforts, organising people to exercise their rights, pressurising the state to provide facilities to Scheduled Castes and also establishing and managing educational institutions. However, there is no evidence that the movements in the states with recent narrow gaps (Kerala, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu) have been more prominent than in other states. It is possible that in these states the public education system was more successful in reaching weaker sections and reducing inequalities but one needs to see if there is any evidence in support of this.

The case of Scheduled Tribes is slightly different. Lack of access to educational facilities and hence deprivation was more on account of spatial isolation rather than untouchability as such. Whereas the Scheduled Castes faced obstacles in gaining admission to schools in their villages, Scheduled Tribes rarely had any school in their settlements. The data collected by the Fifth All-India Educational Survey of 1986 show that access to primary school (whether there is a school within one kilometre of the habitation) was poorer for ST dominated habitations compared to non SC/ST dominated habitations in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa (NCERT, 1992a). For middle schools, access (school within three kilometres) was poorer for ST habitations in most states with large Scheduled Tribe populations (exceptions are Assam, Gujarat and Rajasthan). A similar pattern was observed for access to secondary school (within eight kilometres).

The poverty factor works against the Scheduled Tribes as well. In the recent years, there have been special programmes addressing the needs of Scheduled Tribes and in particular, special schools have been established. Hence one would expect the large disparities in the past to be narrowing down over time. However, this has not been the case in most of the states. The North-eastern region shows small disparities, at both the older and the younger ages (moderate differences are seen in the age group 15-24 especially for women), that is both the past and the recent disparities have been small. The North-east presents a special case, in North-eastern states except Assam most of the population belongs to Scheduled Tribes. Disparities are small in Karnataka and Himachal Pradesh. In recent times some decline is seen in Karnataka as well. In both these states, the proportion of Scheduled Tribes is very small. This means relatively less isolation of Scheduled Tribes, easier access to schools and hence lower disparity. But in the central region of India, which has the largest population of Scheduled Tribes, the disparities have remained high. Apparently the various “Tribal Development” programmes have achieved little success in matters of education.

Differentials by religion fall in a different class. While social restrictions and isolation denied access to educational facilities to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the past, these factors are not relevant in explaining differentials by religion. In fact, religious differentials in education are not as *expected* as caste differentials. The NCAER survey shows that Hindu-OC: Muslim disparities are small and not one-sided in the southern and western states, but wide and in favour of Hindu-OC in the Northern and Eastern states. In Kerala, the differences have narrowed down but in some Northern states widened for females. It needs to be reiterated here that the reference group is Hindu-OC, that is, Hindus excluding the weaker sections, the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Two primary issues that need to be addressed are — why do disparities exist and why is there a regional pattern?

Hindu/Muslim disparities have been observed in the past and discussed in literature (Sherwani, 1979; Ahmad, 1981; Saxena, 1983, Siddiqui, 1984; Hasan, 1997; Nautiyal, 1998). Some of the reasons advanced are the lower tendency of Muslims to pursue academic or white-collar careers because of traditional association with skilled manual work, tendency to send children to religious rather than secular schools, backwardness of the community as such, a sense of insecurity and discrimination.

An analysis of the effect of family background, discussed in Section 3.5, showed that the direct religion effect on school enrolment persists in most cases (27 out of 39) of Hindu-OC/Muslim disparities. Thus, there is a effect beyond that of backwardness of community (specifically, backwardness of family). The practice of sending children to religious rather than secular schools can conceivably make an impact. Children sent only to religious schools may become literate but not attain middle or high school education. If this is the case, Hindu/Muslim differentials in completion of school should be wider in comparison to literacy. This is observed in a few states, notably Kerala, Gujarat and Karnataka. But for states with large Hindu/Muslim disparities (shown in the lower panels of Tables 5 and 6), the gap in literacy is of the same order as the gap in school completion. Thus, in states with wide disparities, either the tendency to go to school, whether religious or secular, is lower among Muslims than Hindus or many of those who go to religious schools do not acquire literacy. Other factors listed above (sense of insecurity, discrimination, lower tendency to pursue white-collar careers) could have caused differentials, singly or jointly. These are difficult to quantify.

But why is the pattern different in the Southern and Western states compared to Northern and Eastern states? Kerala presents a special case. There was very wide gap in the past (as seen for older persons in the survey) but all communities including Muslims have recently reached nearly universal literacy, closing the gap. The other Southern-western states show narrow or moderate gaps even for older persons. Is there less discrimination against or less sense of insecurity among Muslims in this region compared to the Northern-eastern region? Perhaps the answer lies in historical developments. In the past, even in early twentieth century, Hindu/Muslim disparities in education were not large in many provinces. Data collated by Saxena (1983) show that in 1871-72, Muslim enrolment was close to average in the Madras province and above average in Avadh (part of present Uttar Pradesh). By 1931-32, Muslim enrolment had reached close to average in Bombay, Madras, Bengal, Bihar-Orissa and was higher than average in the United Province (present Uttar Pradesh) and Central Provinces, Berar (parts of present Madhya Pradesh and Eastern Maharashtra). It was well below average only in (pre-partition) Punjab and Assam. Thus, the Muslim disadvantage in North India, especially in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, is relatively a recent development. One plausible explanation is the effect of partition. Migration of Muslims was relatively higher from the Northern-Central-Eastern states than the Southern-Western states. Punjab and Haryana were most severely affected by partition but Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal

also lost Muslim migrants. Moreover, migration caused a loss of population of Muslim educated classes. According to Hasan (1997: 289), “the country’s partition and the sheer scale and magnitude of migration to Pakistan from traditional Muslim centres like Delhi, Aligarh, Farrukhabad, Moradabad, Rampur, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Lucknow, and Allahabad contributed to the professional classes being skimmed off”. Ahmad (1981:1461) has argued that “..education is likely to be exploited by those social strata that are oriented to employment in the professions and government services and that this social strata among Muslims has not only been historically quite small but was further reduced in size following partition...”. This deprived the non-migrants of the leadership of educated Muslims and role models at the village level (for an elaboration on this issue, see Saxena, 1983). Hence, aspirations of white-collar employment were not high among Muslims in Northern-Central-Eastern India and consequently, demand for education was low.

The decline in the position of Urdu in post-partition India has also had an impact. Urdu was commonly used in public life in most of North India (by Muslims and also by Hindus and Sikhs) in the past but has lost that status after partition. The number of Urdu schools has declined (Nautiyal, 1998) and Urdu education is no longer considered attractive for employment. Urdu was not such an important language in the Southern-western states and a fall in its status would not have made much impact on the Muslim tendency to go to school in this region.

It has also been recognised that the community efforts in education in many Southern states were greater than in the North. Moreover the Gulf migration might have encouraged Muslims in Kerala to seek school education (Hasan, 1997). Besides, the Muslim trading community has contributed to economic development in Western India and opened avenues for white-collar employment. Such state or region specific developments could also explain the inter-state or regional variations in Hindu/Muslim disparities. These are conjectures and investigations into these aspects, with historical data, are required.

In respect of Christian/Hindu disparity, it is plausible that educational activities of Christian missions have contributed to the relatively better position of the Christian population. However, Christian mission schools are open to non-Christians and in many such schools, the majority enrolment is non-Christian. Besides, the Government School system has existed along with the mission schools. During the British period, when the present school

system developed, the Government persisted with secular government schools rather than withdrawing in favour of mission schools in spite of such demands (Naik and Nurullah, 1974). Thus, the efforts of missionary schools would not be a major factor in the advantage that Christians enjoy. Moreover, the disaggregated analysis at the state level shows that the Christian/Hindu difference at the national level is partly explained by the relatively higher proportion of Christians in states with overall high literacy. Within states, the Christian advantage is quite modest.

How do disparities in economic conditions compare to those in education? Table 12 presents a comparative view. States are arranged by the degree of disparity in educational and economic indicators separately for each of the Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC, Hindu-OC/Hindu-ST, and Hindu-OC/Muslim comparisons. Since the measurement of disparity in educational indicators is based on percentage point difference, the overall disparity in educational indicators is obtained as the average percentage point difference in the 24 indicators (12 indicators for males and 12 for females). The disparity in economic indicators is measured in terms of ratios and hence the overall disparity is computed as 1 minus the average of the four ratios.

In the case of the Hindu-OC/Hindu-ST comparison, the ranking of states by disparity in education is fairly similar to that by disparity in economic indicators. However, there are notable departures in the case of the Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC comparison. Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu show moderate disparity in education but high in economic conditions. A scan of the ratios for individual variables (Table 8) shows that though the Scheduled Castes generally own less land than the Hindu-OC in all states, the inequalities in the states listed above are extremely high. The importance of the ownership of land in the rural economy is well known. The regional pattern of Hindu/Muslim disparities in education (low disparity in the Southern-Western states and high in the Northern-Central-Eastern states) is not seen in economic indicators. Once again, land ownership seems to be an important factor responsible for this divergence. In the Southern and Western states, educational differences were found to be small between Hindus and Muslims, but in these states, Muslims own much less land than Hindus do on an average (as can be seen from the last column of Table 10). On the other hand, in the North-east, Muslims own more land than Hindus on an average and economic disparity is low in this region though educational disparity is high. In Punjab, Muslims are severely disadvantaged both in educational and

economic terms. But the share of Muslim population in Punjab is quite low with a near total out-migration (or transfer) of population at the time of partition. The Hindu/Christian disparities in economic conditions are similar to those in education, with minor variations. Tamil Nadu shows low educational but high economic disparities. Overall, there is a lack of concordance between the regional pattern of Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC and Hindu-OC/Muslim disparities in education and economic conditions and a probable reason for this is the distribution of landholding. Land ownership pattern does not change much over time and hence one will have to look at historical factors to identify the causes for the variations in the inter-social group differences in landholding. It is known that in Kerala many landholding communities accepted Christianity and Islam (Miller, 1976). On the other hand, in Punjab, most Muslim cultivators migrated to Pakistan. There is a need to see which groups accepted Islam or Christianity in other regions, whether migration has been community specific and whether government policies influenced land ownership of communities in the past. There is considerable literature on land reforms in India and it could be seen if these have varied across states, especially in raising the size of holdings of Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

To sum up, social groups in India differ considerably in educational achievement and economic conditions. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes fare poorly compared to non Scheduled Caste/Tribe Hindus. Muslims also do not do as well as non Scheduled Caste/Tribe Hindus. But there are notable regional variations in the disparities. In some states, notably Kerala, Gujarat, Himachal Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, the gap in literacy between Scheduled Castes and other Hindus has declined recently, either due to government efforts or otherwise. But in many states the gap has been very wide and continues as such even in current enrolment. The special schemes for the advancement have apparently not made much impact in these states. The Scheduled Tribes are not in a disadvantageous position in the North-east and in states like Karnataka and Himachal Pradesh with small Scheduled Tribe populations. But in the Central Indian tribal belt, in which most of the Scheduled Tribe population lives, their position is very poor *vis à vis* non-tribal population. Muslims in the Southern-Western states show educational development comparable to Hindus, but in the Northern-eastern region Muslims are educationally backward. Moreover, for women, the relative position has slipped further in the recent past mainly because Hindu women have shown a much faster advance than Muslim women have. However, the regional pattern of Hindu/Muslim disparities in education is not visible in economic indicators.

Causes of some of the disparities, especially between Scheduled Castes/Tribes and others are well recognised. But factors behind regional variations need to be identified. This requires studies on educational systems and on special programmes for weaker sections and minorities in various states. Similarly, the causes of educational backwardness Muslims in Northern-Central-Eastern India need to be investigated. A comparison of the experience of Southern-Western states to that of the Northern states could provide some answers. This calls for research into political and social developments with a historical perspective. Some evidence and clues are available but a systematic investigation is warranted. On the basis of the present study, it can only be said that though there are disparities among social groups in India, these are not uniform across states — in magnitude, in direction and trends and in a few cases go against common perceptions.

ENDNOTES

1. The discussion on disparities in educational indicators in this paper is based on percentage point difference (gap) between Hindu-OC (the reference group) and other groups. In the case of gender disparity, such a measure (male indicator – female indicator) is called the ‘gender gap’. But there are other ways of measuring disparity. Often the ‘gender ratio’ (female indicator/male indicator) is also used. But both the gap and the ratio measures are influenced by the level of development of the reference group. The gap is generally narrow at low level of development, wide at middle level of development and again narrow at high level. On the other hand, the ratio generally rises with the level of development. Hence, one would have to see if the pattern of gaps (percentage for Hindu-OC – percentage for other group) observed is independent of the level for the reference group Hindu-OC. To this end, the gaps were plotted against the Hindu-OC level for the various indicators. These revealed that the observed patterns did not seem to depend on the level of literacy/achievement as such except in Kerala.

An alternate measure of disparity suggested (Kulkarni and Krishnamoorthy, 1992) when comparing proportions is

$$\gamma = \ln(p_i) / \ln(p_{\text{ref}})$$

where p_i = proportion in group i
 p_{ref} = proportion in reference group

This is based on the relationship: $p_i = (p_{\text{ref}})^\gamma$. The γ index works well as long as the proportions are not too close to 0 or 1 (in such cases values of logarithms become close to $-\infty$ or 0). Hence, the disparities (Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC/Hindu-ST/Muslim/Christian) were also computed using this index. It was found that the order of states in terms of the average value of this index (for the 12 indicators) did not differ much from the order arrived at on the basis of average gap. Thus, the use of this index yields essentially the same pattern as the average gap.

2. The Fifth All-India Educational Survey, carried out during 1986, provides tabulations of enrolment for Scheduled Castes and Tribes (NCERT, 1992b). These suggest that at the primary school level, the enrolment among SC is not much different than the average (and hence Hindu-OC) in almost all the major states except Bihar (the ratio of SC percentage in enrolment to SC percentage in population, given in Table 175 of the NCERT report, is used for this purpose). This pattern is different from the one in the NCAER Survey that showed notable disparities in enrolment in ages 6-10 in many states. A probable reason for this is that the NCAER survey gives age-specific enrolment whereas the NCERT survey gives enrolment in school grades. At the middle school level, there is disparity in Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Karnataka and Himachal Pradesh. At the high school and higher secondary level, large disparity is seen in most states except Kerala, Gujarat, Assam, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. There is a fair degree of correspondence between the NCAER and the NCERT survey patterns in enrolment except at the primary level.

3. According to the Fifth All-India Educational Survey, the enrolment level among the Scheduled Tribes is moderately lower than the average at the primary school level in most states (NCERT, 1992b, Table 176). At the middle school level, the disparity is large in most states except Assam and Bihar and very large in Orissa, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh.
4. The broad pattern of Hindu/Muslim disparities, obtained from another recent survey — the National Family Health Survey, 1992–93, is similar to that observed here (see Nautiyal, 1998, for a compilation of NFHS data on educational disparities). Some recent studies by Ahmad (1993, 1994, 1995 and 1996) have provided age-sex-specific literacy rates for Hindus and Muslims, but these have covered urban areas. A large number of other studies have also looked at Hindu/Muslim educational differences, but many of these have covered single towns or localities and sample sizes have often been very small.

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TABLE 1
Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC Differences in Indicators of Education
(Male)

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
Small Differences												
NE	12	4	10	-7	1	10	-7	7	12	17	-13	16
Moderate-large differences in the past, declined recently												
GJ	2	-2	7	28	4	11	18	2	6	10	3	-3
HP	7	3	6	18	7	9	13	13	13	8	6	8
AP	2	8	20	19	6	15	14	2	11	13	9	2
TN	4	23	34	30	12	27	14	8	21	-5	4	2
KL	2	1	9	41	2	25	42	8	29	6	12	20
Moderate-large differences, no clear trend (in order of average difference)												
MH	18	4	17	24	8	18	15	14	9	1	10	6
WB	11	11	18	11	16	22	14	10	20	12	7	19
RJ	14	11	18	17	17	17	13	19	16	14	9	14
HR	14	14	15	15	16	18	14	18	21	17	18	12
MP	22	15	27	23	15	23	13	10	17	17	20	14
OR	10	7	22	29	15	25	16	23	25	12	16	19
KN	15	13	29	28	12	30	26	12	25	15	15	6
UP	16	21	29	25	23	30	22	29	29	15	14	18
PN	13	28	24	24	24	24	23	30	28	19	23	22
BH	21	29	33	28	31	34	26	33	29	25	14	22
All	14	15	24	23	17	24	18	18	21	15	12	14

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Hindu-SC).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 2
Hindu-OC/Hindu-SC Differences in Indicators of Education
(Female)

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
Small Differences												
NE	6	9	3	10	6	0	1	2	16	4	3	5
Moderate-large differences in the past, declined or negative recently												
GJ	-12	-4	21	12	9	14	4	16	6	-16	11	13
HP	6	9	14	4	9	15	1	6	7	10	14	13
AP	2	11	23	11	12	14	4	12	7	- 1	12	6
TN	4	21	32	14	18	23	7	16	14	14	0	9
KL	4	3	12	39	8	18	34	15	17	0	4	25
Moderate-large differences, no clear trend (in order of average difference)												
RJ	24	22	10	4	19	7	1	11	3	20	22	5
MP	23	20	16	6	19	13	2	13	7	19	21	6
HR	20	20	19	6	19	16	5	15	10	23	16	1
MH	22	22	22	5	23	17	0	19	7	11	22	5
KN	17	19	23	10	18	21	8	12	13	14	26	8
WB	6	22	14	14	33	23	9	24	16	7	14	10
BH	24	31	20	4	31	15	5	23	11	26	14	16
OR	20	25	27	11	30	19	3	26	11	20	28	9
UP	26	33	18	7	32	17	6	27	10	24	22	10
PN	29	35	31	13	39	29	13	37	18	27	40	30
All	17	21	19	9	23	16	5	20	10	16	16	9

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Hindu-SC).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 3
Hindu-OC/Hindu-ST Differences in Indicators of Education
(Male)

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
Small differences												
HP			5	13		2	-2		-2			
NE	-4	15	0	12	9	-3	3	12	2	-1	-13	10
Large differences in the past, declined recently												
KN	5	7	18	20	7	20	20	9	20	6	-1	3
Moderate-large differences (in order of average difference)												
BH	21	16	27	15	16	28	12	6	26	14	27	18
AP	4		25	32		19	16	26	17			
MP	23	20	32	25	19	29	18	15	21	18	23	10
MH	15	19	33	20	26	38	12	30	25	14	13	23
WB	30	7	10		34	20			27	28		
RJ	24	27	32	21	39	28	14	34	25	23	25	17
GJ	25	24	34	34	32	42	31	23	28	26	16	11
OR	29	34	41	41	38	36	20	37	29	40	20	22
All	18	19	23	23	22	24	16	21	21	16	17	14

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Hindu-ST).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

Blank indicates that there were less than 20 observations in the age-sex group of one of the social categories.

TABLE 4
Hindu-OC/Hindu-ST Differences in Indicators of Education
(Female)

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
Small differences												
HP	17		3			-1	0		5			
KN	10	7	11	4	5	11	3	8	8	9	10	5
Small differences except in ages 15-24												
NE	-7	25	-2	16	23	-6	6	26	5	-6	-9	13
Moderate-large differences (in order of average difference)												
RJ	27	23	13	4	20	9	1	11	5	20	20	7
MP	23	23	17	5	19	13	3	16	7	22	21	6
BH	19	26	22	5	25	16	5	21	13	21	20	21
MH	28	40	30	10	39	21	3	26	9	15	29	6
AP		29	30		21	19			12			
GJ	23	35	32	16	35	26	5	31	13	19	28	17
WB	27	6	36		26	36		28	24	25		
OR	44	48	37	15	41	23	4	36	13	43	41	12
All	22	25	18	11	24	14	5	22	9	17	21	10

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Hindu-ST).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

Blank indicates that there were less than 20 observations in the age-sex group of one of the social categories.

TABLE 5
Hindu-OC/Muslim Differences in Indicators of Education
(Male)

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
Muslim levels higher than or close to Hindu OC (Southern-Western states)												
TN			- 15			- 31			- 40			
AP	- 4	- 15	- 15	- 3	-21	- 18	- 12	- 8	- 4	2	- 5	- 5
MH	13	- 7	9	- 10	4	13	- 11	13	14	0	9	
GJ	0	- 1	4	3	14	19	1	19	12	6	- 2	15
KN	- 2	8	4	10	10	5	14	20	10	- 3	4	15
MP	4	2	0	14	4	0	16	13	14	7	10	15
Large differences in the past, small recently												
KL	- 1	2	3	27	4	21	37	11	29	1	- 2	14
Muslim levels lower than Hindu-OC (Central-Northern-Eastern states) (in order of average difference)												
BH	12	9	20	0	10	21	1	10	18	12	18	10
HP	12	14	13		12	16			22			
WB	22	16	18	8	26	25	11	20	25	22	20	21
RJ	19	12	28	24	17	27	17	30	26	27	3	17
UP	29	24	23	17	30	26	14	37	29	23	31	24
NE	28	36	27	34	36	28	32	35	26	29	13	37
HR	23	21	40	17	29	43	19	39	36	38	46	38
PN			39			36			34			
All	18	13	14	9	17	16	7	20	16	17	18	15

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Muslims).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

Blank indicates that there were less than 20 observations in the age-sex group of one of the social categories.

TABLE 6
Hindu-OC/Muslim Differences in Indicators of Education
(Female)

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
Muslim level higher than or close to Hindu OC												
AP	1	-16	6	9	-12	3		-13	4	-12	0	-2
TN			-10			-6			20			
KN	2	2	-3	1	1	-1	0	9	6	1	11	4
MH	-5	16	5	-1	16	6	-2	19	7	1	-9	11
Large differences in the past, small recently												
KL	2	0	8	30	4	29	27	21	36	2	0	30
Muslim levels lower than Hindu-OC and recent rise in differences (in order of average difference)												
MP	18	-3	7	4	3	3	3	12	5	9	14	7
BH	13	11	8	-4	14	6	-2	14	6	13	12	13
GJ	19	23	7	4	26	13	0	15	1	26	23	20
RJ	30	19	12	4	17	10	1	11	5	28	40	5
HP	24	8	22		13	19			10			
UP	25	28	8	5	29	10	5	25	8	19	24	11
WB	14	24	18	7	36	20	10	30	16	17	19	21
HR	62	49	25	6	45	20	5	27	12	61	66	12
PN			39			38			24			
NE	42	59	33	16	60	27	9	49	22	35	29	37
All	16	13	6	3	15	7	3	16	6	14	12	10

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Muslims).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

Blank indicates that there were less than 20 observations in the age-sex group of one of the social categories.

TABLE 7
Hindu-OC/Christian Differences in Indicators of Education

S T A T E	Per cent Literate				Per cent completed Middle School			Per cent completed High School		Per cent enrolled in school/college		
	Age Group				Age Group			Age Group		Age Group		
	7-14	15- 24	25- 49	50+	15- 24	25- 49	50+	17- 24	25- 49	6-10	11- 15	16- 20
MALE												
OR	-2	-5	-7		-16	-5			-13			
NE	8	-5	-7	14	-11	-13	3	3	-16	6	-18	
KL	0	1	-1	-5	2	-2	-2	2	0	0	0	-21
TN	-7	9	-1	3	-7	-7	8		-5	-9		
AP	-4	-4	-7	13	-2	0	17		10			
All	-8	-8	-17	-19	-11	-17	-12	-11	-14	-7	-11	-8
FEMALE												
TN	-9	-15	-11	-2	-17	-19	0	-19	-23		-21	
KL	0	0	-2	-19	-2	-7	-24	-7	-9	-5	-4	-16
NE	13	1	-20	-19	-3	-28	-1	0	-21	-7	1	
OR	-7	4	24		-1	9			5			
AP	-25	-11	-4		20	2		16	2			
All	-24	-26	-36	-42	-23	-37	-31	-28	-33	-19	-23	-24

Notes:

The differences are in percentage points (Percentage for Hindu-OC – Percentage for Christians).

Figures in bold type indicate that the difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

Blank indicates that there were less than 20 observations in the age-sex group of one of the social categories.

TABLE 8
Hindu-SC/Hindu-OC Ratios of Economic Indicators
(States arranged in descending order of average ratio)

State/ Region	100 x (Mean for Hindu-SC households / Mean for Hindu-OC households) of			
	HH Income (Rs per year)	Per Capita Income (Rs per year)	Non-Productive Asset Index	Land Owned (Acres)
NE	88	86	88	89
HP	76	81	66	60
WB	78	82	65	54
MP	65	73	59	51
RJ	62	68	54	49
OR	62	75	47	36
TN	65	66	66	22
UP	54	65	56	35
BH	60	66	49	33
AP	65	66	45	29
PN	58	58	71	10
KN	52	54	44	42
GJ	52	53	64	20
HR	50	61	62	16
MH	46	54	47	31
KL	57	56	26	20
All	59	64	55	35

Notes:

The ratios are obtained from weighted means for households in the social category and state.
Figures in bold type indicate that the difference in the means is significant at the 5 per cent level.

TABLE 9
Hindu-ST/Hindu-OC Ratios of Economic Indicators
(States arranged in descending order of average ratio)

State/ Region	100 x (Mean for Hindu-ST households / Mean for Hindu-OC households) of			
	HH Income (Rs. per year)	Per Capita Income (Rs. per year)	Non-Productive Asset Index	Land Owned (Acres)
NE	91	89	153	224
BH	84	97	43	130
HP	96	93	73	61
KN	73	78	58	60
MP	59	67	42	68
OR	56	71	29	72
WB	52	56	79	36
AP	59	59	32	66
RJ	61	76	39	32
GJ	61	55	38	44
MH	52	57	32	56
All	66	68	59	81

Notes:

The ratios are obtained from weighted means for households in the social category and state.
Figures in bold type indicate that the difference in the means is significant at the 5 per cent level.
Ratios are not shown for states with less than 20 Hindu-ST households in the sample.

TABLE 10
Muslim/Hindu-OC Ratios of Economic Indicators
 (States arranged in descending order of average ratio)

State/ Region	100 x (Mean for Muslim households / Mean for Hindu-OC households) of			
	HH Income (Rs per year)	Per Capita Income (Rs per year)	Non-Productive Asset Index	Land Owned (Acres)
NE	95	95	83	269
RJ	112	122	101	72
MP	88	88	101	84
KL	103	80	84	87
BH	83	85	83	75
HP	72	72	69	111
UP	76	83	80	66
TN	101	89	73	37
WB	83	76	56	82
MH	72	85	89	48
KN	74	62	88	49
HR	61	55	43	80
AP	58	47	113	20
GJ	59	58	70	43
PN	34	36	59	1
All	77	72	76	56

Notes:

The ratios are obtained from weighted means for households in the social category and state. Figures in bold type indicate that the difference in the means is significant at the 5 per cent level. Ratios are not shown for states with less than 20 Muslim households in the sample.

TABLE 11
Christian/Hindu-OC Disparities in Economic Indicators
 (States arranged in descending order of average ratio)

State/ Region	100 x (Mean for Christian households / Mean for Hindu-OC households) of			
	HH Income (Rs per year)	Per Capita Income (Rs Per year)	Non-Productive Asset Index	Land Owned (Acres)
NE	130	152	248	57
KL	120	118	95	156
OR	104	101	82	93
TN	88	70	102	57
WB	94	104	55	39
AP	68	69	39	44
PN	44	39	63	3
All	97	110	122	31

Notes:

The ratios are obtained from weighted means for households in the social category and state. Figures in bold type indicate that the difference in the means is significant at the 5 per cent level. Ratios are not shown for states with less than 20 Christian households in the sample.

TABLE 12
States Arranged According to Disparity in Educational and Economic Indicators

Disparity	Hindu OC/SC Disparity		Hindu OC/ST Disparity		Hindu OC/Muslim Disparity	
	Educ.	Econ.	Educ.	Econ.	Educ.	Econ.
Negative	-	-	-	NE	TN AP	NE RJ
Small	-	NE	HP	BH	MH	MP KL
Moderate	NE GJ HP AP	-	NE KN	HP	KN MP	BH HP UP
Moderately High	MH RJ TN	HP WB	-	KN	BH GJ KL	TN WB MH KN
High	HR, WB KL, MP KN, OR	MP, RJ OR, TN UP, BH AP	MP BH RJ	MP, OR WB, AP RJ	HP RJ WB	HR AP
Very High	UP BH PN	PN, KN GJ, HR MH, KL	AP, MH WB, GJ OR	GJ MH	UP NE HR PN	GJ PN

Notes:

1. The rankings are obtained on the basis of values given in Tables 1–10.
2. The categorisation of disparity in educational indicators, based on the average percentage point difference for the 12 indicators each for males and females, is: Negative: <0; Small: 0–less than 5.0, Moderate: 5–less than 10, Moderately High: 10–less than 15, High: 15–less than 20, Very High: 20 or more.
3. The categorisation of disparity in economic indicators, based on the value “[1.0 – average of the ratios for the four indicators]”, is:
Negative: < 0.0; Small: 0.0–less than 0.125, Moderate: 0.125–less than 0.25, Moderately High: 0.25–less than 0.375, High: 0.375–less than 0.5, Very High: 0.5 or more.
4. Negative disparity indicates that the average level for Hindu-OC is lower than that for the social group being compared; in other disparity categories, the level for Hindu-OC is higher.

APPENDIX

TABLE A.1
Number of Households in the Sample by State and Social Group

State	Social Group						Total
	Hindu OC	Hindu SC	Hindu ST	Muslim	Christian	Other Relig.	
Andhra Pradesh AP	1308	574	57	95	55	11	2100
Bihar BH	829	490	283	408	13	132	2155
Gujarat GJ	892	211	377	114	9	3	1606
Haryana HR	1043	541	7	95	3	33	1722
Himachal Pradesh HP	810	336	36	31	0	12	1225
Karnataka KN	1402	445	310	342	16	8	2523
Kerala KL	577	159	6	316	415	1	1474
Maharashtra MH	1822	309	366	71	6	191	2765
Madhya Pradesh MP	2094	828	1119	95	15	11	4162
Orissa OR	1063	340	505	16	44	3	1971
Punjab PN	228	134	0	27	30	884	1303
Rajasthan RJ	1038	575	271	91	1	8	1984
Tamil Nadu TN	828	527	6	21	73	1	1456
Uttar Pradesh UP	1990	1154	74	808	1	9	4036
West Bengal WB	487	484	49	461	21	13	1515
North-eastern states NE	348	131	304	248	198	4	1233
INDIA	16759	7238	3770	3239	900	1324	33230

Notes:

1. The frequencies are unweighted.
2. ST: Scheduled Tribes; SC: Scheduled Castes; OC: Other than Scheduled Castes and Tribes.
3. The category "Other" includes other religions, Sikh in Punjab (884), Buddhist in Maharashtra (101) and other religions.
4. Non Hindu Scheduled Castes (705) and Scheduled Tribes (450) are shown under the respective religions.

TABLE A.2
Number of Individuals in the Sample by State and Social Group

State	Social Group						Total
	Hindu OC	Hindu SC	Hindu ST	Muslim	Christian	Other Relig.	
Andhra Pradesh	6583	2840	266	564	238	49	10540
Bihar	5311	2824	1614	2470	65	689	12973
Gujarat	5065	1109	2297	720	42	6	9239
Haryana	6900	3244	51	673	17	193	11078
Himachal Pradesh	4822	1867	216	200	0	74	7179
Karnataka	8510	2438	1720	2184	86	63	15001
Kerala	2964	826	45	2134	2071	5	8045
Maharashtra	10214	1633	2025	442	35	974	15323
Madhya Pradesh	13182	4725	6399	626	83	68	25083
Orissa	6576	1817	2571	131	251	8	11354
Punjab	1376	787	0	151	175	5494	7983
Rajasthan	7122	3346	1419	620	5	46	12558
Tamil Nadu	4005	2473	26	105	376	5	6990
Uttar Pradesh	13310	6575	472	5016	5	58	25436
West Bengal	2849	2758	283	2869	102	66	8927
North-eastern states	1974	728	1715	1397	933	17	6764
INDIA	100763	39990	21119	20302	4484	7815	194473

Notes:

1. The frequencies are unweighted.
2. ST: Scheduled Tribes; SC: Scheduled Castes; OC: Other than Scheduled Castes and Tribes.
3. The category "Other" includes other religions, mostly Sikh in Punjab (5494), Buddhist in Maharashtra (488) and other religions.
4. Non Hindu Scheduled Castes and Tribes are shown under the respective religions.
5. The frequencies are for persons regardless of age and sex; the numbers in specific age-sex categories are naturally much smaller.

FIGURES

Fig. 1(a) Trends in Hindu-OC/SC Differences in Literacy (Male)

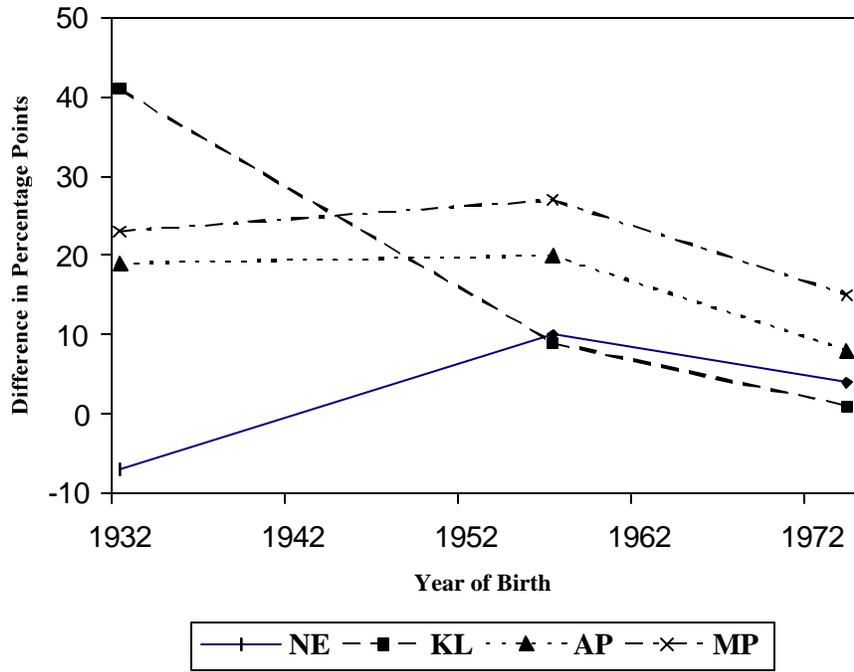


Fig. 1(b) Trends in Hindu-OC/SC Differences in Literacy (Female)

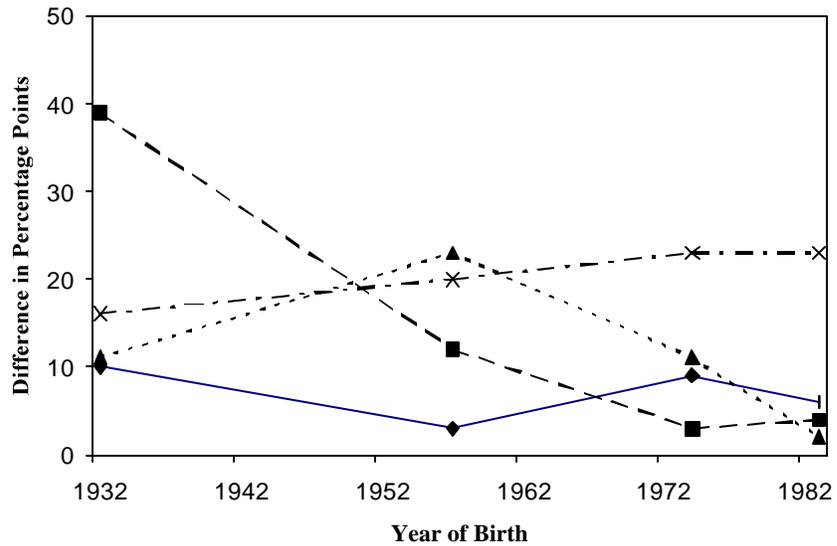


Fig. 2(a) Trends in Hindu-OC/ST Differences in Literacy (Male)

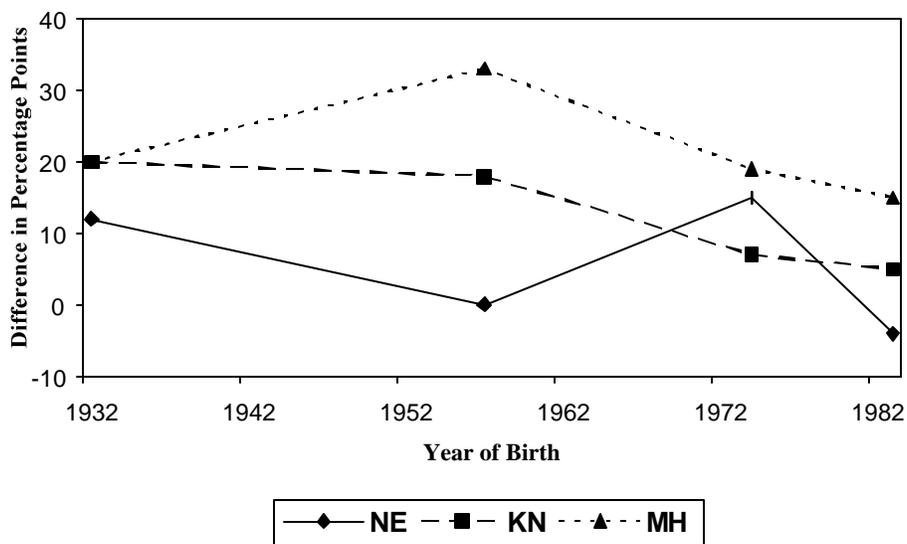


Fig. 2(b) Trends in Hindu-OC/ST Differences in Literacy (Female)

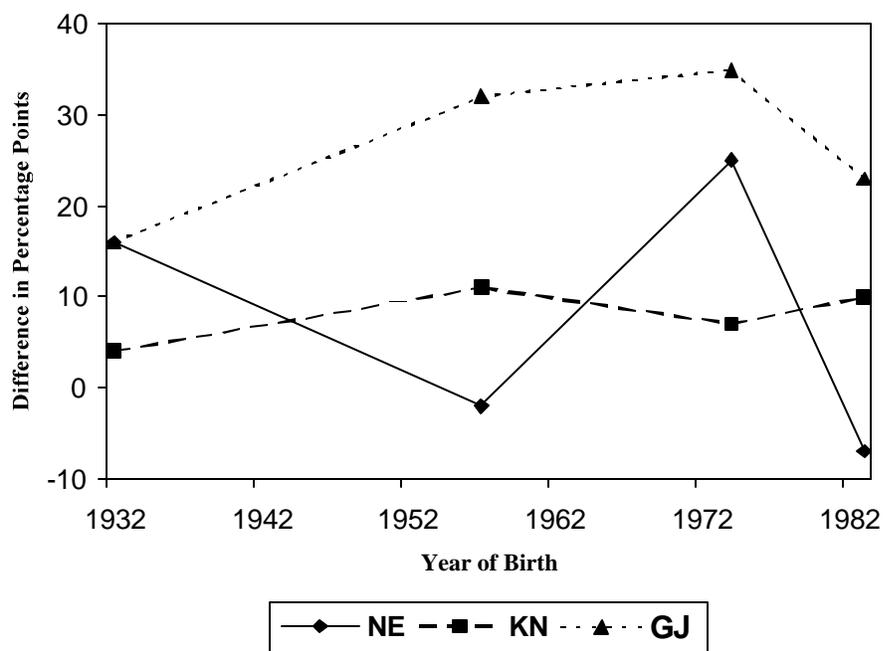


Fig. 3(a) Trends in Hindu-OC/Muslim Differences in Literacy (Male)

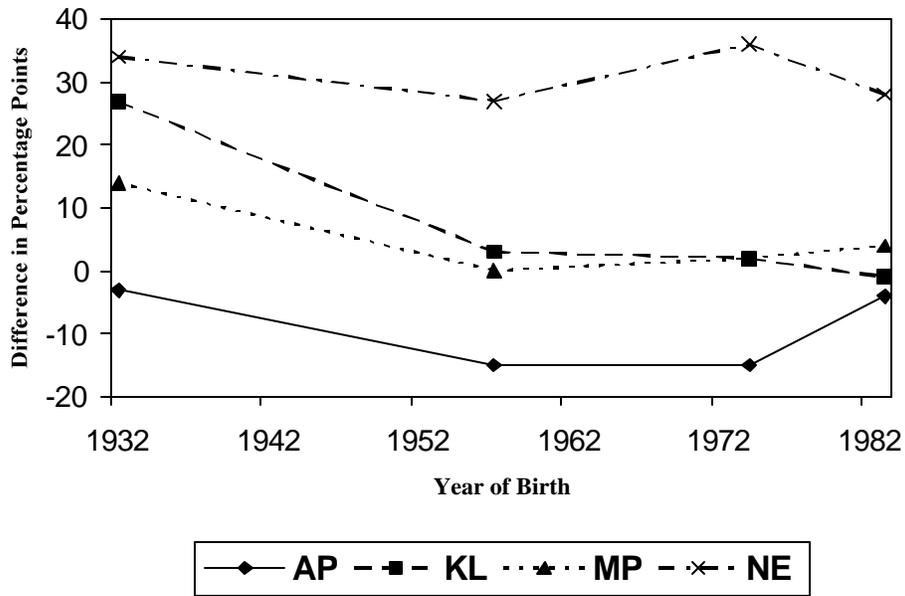


Fig. 3(b) Trends in Hindu-OC/Muslim Differences in Literacy (Female)

