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WAGE INEQUALITIES IN INDIA

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ABSTRACT

One of the important determinants of poverty in both absolute and relative terms is the level and growth of wages in an economy. It is particularly so in a country like India where the wealth inequality is so skewed that a majority of population have to engage in whatever work that comes by, or they can generate, to eke out a living. This has led to a situation where 52 per cent of the work force is engaged in self and the remaining 48 per cent in wage work.

However, given the dual nature of the economy one cannot speak of a single wage system in India. It is segmented by two labour markets; one is the market for casual labour and the other is the market for regular labour. Then there is a distinct difference between rural and urban labour markets.

If wage disparity is taken as a form of inequality then one needs to understand the disparity in wages as between the four types of labour markets. However there are other dimensions within these four labour markets giving rise to further disparities as between gender and education. Not much work or analysis is devoted to another differentiating factor in wage inequality and that is social group identity.

This paper examines this dimension of inequality since our earlier work on poverty and deprivation suggest that social inequality seems to overwhelm all other inequalities in a whole range of indicators. The period of analysis is between 1993 and 2012. The findings suggest that overall wage inequality increased during the first decade (1993-2005) of economic reforms and declined somewhat during the next decade (2004-2012). More detailed work shows that the decline is mostly in the bottom half of the wage worker population. But the sheen of this silver lining has been completely wiped out by the persistence of very low wages. What we have found is a 'long tail of wage inequality' among the 160 groups of workers (based on labour status, place of residence, gender, education and social group identity) ranging from Rs.46 to 120 that are well below the recommended national minimum wage of Rs.122 (in 2011-12). This non-statutory national minimum wage itself is pitifully low for a country that increased in its national income 3.3 times in real terms between 1993 and 2012 with an annual growth rate of 6.6. Indeed, there is hardly any trace of 'trickle down'.

Key Words: Casual work, regular work, labour status, wage inequality, wage discrimination, wage disparity.

JEL Classification: J3, J31

By way of introduction

One of the important determinants of poverty in both absolute and relative terms is the level and growth of wages in an economy. It is particularly so in a country like India where the wealth inequality is so skewed that a majority of population have to engage in whatever work that comes by, or they can generate, to eke out a living. This has led to a situation where 52 per cent of the work force is engaged in self-employment and the remaining 48 per cent in wage work. This is largely due to the persistence of small and marginal farmers in the agricultural sector of the economy that still account for close to half the working population. If we take only the non-agricultural sector, then the share of wage workers comes to somewhat less than two thirds or 62 per cent of the total workforce.

However given the dual nature of the economy, one cannot speak of a single wage system in India. It is segmented by two labour markets; one is the market for casual labour and the other is the market for regular labour. Then there is a distinct difference between rural and urban labour markets. In each of these markets, it is further segmented by the market for women workers and the market for men workers. Therefore there is a need to examine wage inequality in terms these eight groups. To appreciate the level of wages as well as inequality in wages, it is important to keep in mind the structure of employment in this eight-group framework. It is abundantly clear from Table 1 that the wage labour market is highly loaded in favour of men both in urban and rural areas. Women who constituted 30 per cent of wage workers in 1993-94 have declined to just about 25 per cent two decades later. A small but welcome

increase in the share of women in regular work (from 4.61 per cent to 7.58 per cent), where the wages are much higher than those in casual work, continues to be well below that of men in regular work whose share increased from 25.6 to 31 per cent.

In this paper, the data on wages are taken from the 50th and 68th Rounds of the National Sample Survey (NSS). The wages are reported as weekly wages according to Current Daily Status for both regular and casual wage workers. The daily wage rate is calculated by dividing the weekly earnings from the main work by the number of days worked in a week. The NSS Reports give details of the definition of wages and its calculation¹.

When we speak of wage inequality, there are two dimensions that need to be kept in mind. One is the disparity between categories with identifiable characteristics. When the characteristics are not related to the requirements of work, then they take form of discrimination as in the case of gender and/or social identity. Other kinds of disparities may simply be due to location such as rural and urban that often leads to the

1 “Wages and salary earnings: Information on wage and salary earnings was collected separately for each of the wage/salaried work recorded for a person in a day. Here, earnings referred to the wage/salary income (and not total earnings taking into consideration of all other activities done) received/receivable for the wage/salaried work done during the reference week by a wage/salaried employee and casual labourer. The wage/salary received or receivable may be in cash or kind or partly in cash and partly in kind. While recording the earnings following conventions were followed: i) The wages in kind were evaluated at the current retail price; ii) Bonus and perquisites such as free accommodation, reimbursement of expenditure for medical treatment, free telephones, etc. evaluated at the cost of the employer or at retail prices and duly apportioned for the reference week were also included in earnings; and iii) Amount receivable as ‘overtime’ for the additional work done beyond normal working time was excluded. It may be noted that in the survey, at most two activities could be recorded for a person in a day. Therefore, it is possible that a person might have carried out two or more wage/salaried activities in a day, but only one activity or two activities at the most, depending upon the time spent on those activities, was recorded. In that case, the wage/salary income only from that activity (s) was collected and recorded separately, and not the total income of the person from all the activities done for the entire day” (NSSO 2014: 23).

phenomenon of labour migration when wages in the urban labour market are higher than in rural areas. The other dimension of wage inequality is the disparity in wages within a group say, casual workers. Therefore when we speak of disparities they refer to inter-group as well as intra-group inequality. When these two are combined we get a more complex picture of inequality. The Indian reality is one such complex interplay of inter-group and intra-group inequality.

Table 1: Composition of wage labour in India

Labour Status	Workers (in Million)		Distribution of workers as % of total wage workers	
	1993-94	2011-12	1993-94	2011-12
Rural Male, Regular	15.90	23.01	9.50	10.22
Urban Male, Regular	27.03	46.91	16.14	20.84
Rural Male, Casual	62.80	82.60	37.51	36.70
Urban Male, Casual	10.29	16.56	6.14	7.36
<i>Total Male workers</i>	<i>116.02</i>	<i>169.08</i>	<i>69.29</i>	<i>75.12</i>
Rural Female, Regular	2.75	5.40	1.64	2.40
Urban Female, Regular	4.97	11.66	2.97	5.18
Rural Female, Casual	39.34	35.03	23.50	15.56
Urban Female, Casual	4.35	3.91	2.60	1.74
<i>Total Female workers</i>	<i>51.41</i>	<i>56.00</i>	<i>30.71</i>	<i>24.88</i>
Total Wage workers	167.43	225.08	100.00	100.00
(Total wage workers as % of total workers)			(44.74)	(47.75)
Self-employed workers	202.49	246.27	(55.26)	(52.25)
Total work force	369.92	471.35	(100.00)	(100.00)

Source: Computed from unit level data from NSS 50th and 68th Rounds.
Workers as per Usual Principal and Subsidiary Statuses (UPSS).

Two powerful factors that influence both inter-group and intra-group inequality are social identity and gender. We shall bring them into focus in this paper. These inherited characteristics often influence the labour market outcomes such as in wages and/or quality of employment directly or, more often, indirectly. Our period of analysis here is 1993 to 2012, i.e. almost two decades since the initiation of neoliberal economic policies in the country.

Gender-based Wage Disparities and their Association with Discrimination

A number of studies have examined the nature and dimensions of the gender-based disparities in wages in India in terms of the disadvantages experienced by women workers in relation to men workers (see, e.g., Rustagi 2005; Duraisamy and Duraisamy 1999 and 2014; Kingdon and Unni 1997; and Mukherjee and Majumdar 2011). The sum and substance of these studies tell us that labour markets in India are characterised by gender-based disparities in wages irrespective of labour status, region, sector or occupation. Despite some decline over time (see, e.g. Karan and Sakthivel 2008) disparity continues, more so in rural areas than urban areas. But then gender understood as women's position viz-a-viz men is mediated by both economic factors (class) as well as by social group identity.

Wage Discrimination due to Social Identity

Wage disparity due to social identity is often referred to, incorrectly in our view, caste discrimination. If caste is taken as a metaphor for social identity in a hierarchical system, then this is acceptable. For example, the groups of population included under a Schedule in the Constitution known as "Scheduled Tribes" do not belong to the caste system but they represent a collection of tribes who have been marginalized in the economy and society over a long period of time. There is another group of population included in another schedule of the Indian Constitution called "Scheduled Castes". These are a

collection of people belonging to a multitude of ‘castes’ who got relegated to the bottom of the Indian society working as agrestic slaves and treated as ‘untouchables’. Despite being part of the larger society and economy, they found themselves as the most disadvantaged in the social (and economic) hierarchy in the Hindu system. However, the hierarchical characteristic of the Hindu system also spread to other religions in India. Then there are at least two social groups who find themselves in an intermediate position as between this socially most disadvantaged and the socially advantaged sections. Two identifiable groups are the Muslims and a collection of intermediate caste groups in the Hindu system officially classified as ‘Other Backward Castes’ (OBC) who may be referred to as socially less advantaged. Those who do not belong to these four social groups may be classified as Others, for purposes of analysis of data, as the socially advantaged. It is this classification that we had adopted in earlier studies (e.g. see, Kannan 2014) and the same is deployed here too.

There is now an emerging literature on disparity and discrimination in the labour market based on social identity, especially the ‘caste group’ (see, e.g. Madheswaran and Attewell 2007. The discrimination is not merely confined to wages but to access to education as well as jobs (see, e.g., Thorat and Attewell 2007; Deshpande and Newman 2007; Jodhka and Newman 2007) that in turn results in wage disparity. However, wage disparity also exists even when a homogenous group such as ‘educated regular workers’ is examined confirming that there also exists wage discrimination (see, e.g., Chakravarty and Somanathan 2008).

There are also disparities based on characteristics that are often related to the requirements of work such as differences in skill, occupation, general education, economic sector and so on. They belong to a different class of characteristics from that of location, gender and social identity. While our main focus is on the latter, we shall see the influence of some of the acquired characteristics such as education in the creation of wage inequality.

A Summary Picture of Wage Disparities

We show here in Table 2 the empirical evidence of wage disparity for the workers in the country as a whole in five different dimensions. These are (a) labour status, (b) gender, (c) location, (d) social identity, and (e) education. When these are taken in isolation, education emerges as the most powerful differentiator of wages in the Indian labour market followed by labour status; that is to say whether one is a casual or regular worker. Next comes the disparity due to social identity in regular work.

But it is quite understandable that this disparity is almost absent when it comes to casual work. Market for casual labour has a low labour status since it is the last resort of the least skilled/educated. Further, there is social stigma for certain kinds of work where the socially advantaged or even the intermediate categories of socially less advantaged groups do not seek work. The social dimension in India's dualistic economy has now come to be recognised as an important issue. While earlier work focused on the position of the two bottom groups viz. ST and SC, the reports of the National Commission on Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS) brought out that the hierarchical social structure is also reflected in several parameters of labour market characteristics including the type of employment, education and wage structure (see NCEUS 2008). But the social hierarchy is strongly reflected in regular work. This is quite understandable in the Indian context. As we shall see later the wage disparity in terms of social groups is not a straightforward association but largely mediated by educational attainments.

But the underlying link between casual work and low wages seems to be education which gets further compounded by low social status. The high incidence of casual work among the wage workers in rural areas brings out the locational dimension but that is more of a supply-side problem given the predominance of small-scale agriculture and related activities which have largely seasonal demand.

Table 2: Five main types of wage disparity

Category	1993-94	2004-05	2011-12
	Labour Status (CW as a percentage of RW)		
Urban Male	42	37	39
Rural Male	41	38	47
Urban Female	30	30	30
Rural Female	44	41	51
All wage labour	30	30	35
Category	Gender (Wages of Women as % of Men)		
Urban Regular	79	75	78
Rural Regular	59	59	62
Urban Casual	57	59	60
Rural Casual	64	62	68
Category	Location (Rural wages as % of Urban wages)		
Regular Male	65	72	66
Regular Female	49	57	53
Casual Male	63	74	79
Casual Female	71	78	89
Category	Social Identity (Wage as % of SAG i.e. Others)		
Regular work			
OBC		62	63
Muslim		58	50
SC		55	55
ST		65	66
Casual Work			
OBC		95	100
Muslim		102	101
SC		91	95
ST		75	77

Table 2 Contd....

Category	1993-94	2004-05	2011-12
	Education (Wages as % of Graduates and above)		
Primary and below	20	17	21
Middle school	35	26	27
Secondary	58	50	43
Annual growth in wages and GDP			
Wages (all workers)	2.80	5.30	3.77
GDP	4.27	6.71	5.22

Note: Real wages and GDP at 2004-05 prices. RW means Regular work; CW means Casual work and SAG means Socially Advantaged Group (Other than ST, SC, Muslim and OBC).

Source: Same as in Table 1.

On the face of it, gender does not emerge as strong a differentiator as labour status, education and social identity in wages as well as in quality of employment. Usually, women workers are disadvantaged. As we shall see later the disadvantage of being a woman in the labour market is strongly associated with education which in turn is associated with poverty that is, more often than not, linked to low social identity status (see Kannan 2014) as a summation of historically accumulated socio-economic disadvantages.

Education has indeed emerged as a strong differentiator in wages. What is interesting is that this differentiating power seems to have been further strengthened over the period of our analysis. Indeed in an increasingly market driven economy with the state widening and deepening neoliberal economic policies, ignoring distributional consequences, higher education has come to acquire an increasing premium over the less educated. This explains the increasing demand for education from all sections of the society despite the slow pace of increase in employment. In fact, there have been long periods of 'jobless growth' in such crucial sectors as manufacturing (see, e.g. Kannan and Raveendran 2007 reproduced in Kannan 2014).

Measuring Wage Inequalities

As mentioned earlier, inequality could be within a given group or across groups. Further, the wage differentiating factors (e.g. as shown in Table 2) do not obviously work in isolation. It is the combination of various factors that produce a continuum of wage inequality. For instance, a combination of belonging to a socially advantaged group with higher education and working in an urban area with regular employment produces a powerful outcome of very high wages. At the other end of the spectrum is a combination of belonging to a socially most disadvantaged group of women with very low education and working in a rural area as casual workers that could lead to an outcome of lowest wages.

Indian economy after the economic reforms of 1980s and 1990's witnessed higher growth rates in GDP than the previous period but in an unequal manner. Empirical work has therefore concluded that this has led to a situation of increased income inequality after 1990's (see, e.g., Acharya and Marjit 2000; Deaton and Dreze, 2002; Cain, Hasan, Magsombol and Tandon 2010). That this trend has continued to the present has now been confirmed by recent studies (World Inequality Lab 2018). That the increase in income/consumption inequality has been accompanied by an increase in social inequality has also been documented (Kannan 2014). Overall wage inequality also increased after 1980s and 1990s (Dutta 2005; Kijma 2006; Abraham, 2007; Sarkar and Mehta 2010; and Mehta and Hasan 2012). Increasing wage inequality has not been uniform across different types of employment or labour status. Wage inequality among casual workers both in rural and urban areas has consistently decreased from 1983 to 2004-05 (Sarkar and Mehta 2010; and Abraham, 2007). Wage inequality among regular workers has increased (Dutta 2005) both in rural and urban areas (Sarkar and Mehta 2010).

Recent work on wage inequality by Rodgers and Soundararajan (2016) has covered a longer period, from 1983 to 2011-12, show a zig-

zag pattern. First, wage inequality in the sense of average wages for all workers decreased during the decade before liberalization (1983 to 1993-94), then it increased during the first decade of liberalization (1993-94 to 2004-05) but declined again during 2004-05 to 2011-12. In general rural wage inequality has been declining not just during the last period but since 1983; however, the urban wage inequality has been showing a secular increase. The authors suggest that this could be a sign of growing integration of rural-urban labour markets. We would agree with this with the proviso that it is more discernible for the casual labour market and more for male workers.

What is clear from the studies is that an overall decline or increase in wage inequality is insufficient to explain the ground reality since the labour market is segmented along labour status (casual vs regular), location (rural vs urban) and gender (male vs female). Detailed work covering the period since economic liberalization since the early 1990s to 2011-12 (the last year for which economy-wide data of employment and unemployment are available) was carried out for both all India and the states (see Papola and Kannan 2017). The main results on wage inequality that brings out a highly differentiated picture are summarized and discussed here.

We first highlight the intra-group inequality, i.e. the distribution of wages in the eight groups that make up the Indian labour market as given in Table 3. The results for two important measures are reported here. First is the Inter-quantile Dispersion Ratio that shows the disparity between the wages of the top ten percent (D9) and the bottom ten percent (D1) of workers. The second measure, also given in the same Table, is the Gini coefficient – widely used by economists – that takes into account the entire range of distribution by comparing the distribution of wage earnings with the uniform distribution that represents equality.

The trends in wage inequality using inter-quantile dispersion ratio show that for all workers the inequality between D9/D1 has shown some

decrease without interruption. This means that the average wage in the top decile was 10.3 times higher (i.e. 1030 per cent) than the average wage in the lowest decile in 1993-94 but has now declined to 9 times. But this average picture of a decrease in inequality is not very useful when we recognise the importance of the sub-groups. In fact, there has been an increase in wage inequality for five groups out of the eight. The increase is highest among urban women in regular work followed by rural women in regular work, urban men in regular work, rural men in regular work and urban women in casual work. What is emerging is a situation of further wage polarization for women in regular work in a situation of highest initial-period wage inequality. Think of educated young women in the emerging new economy (e.g. ICT, finance and media) jobs and their 'regular worker' counterparts of low educated, women from poorer households working as domestic servants. Or take the case of educated women in rural areas working in regular jobs such as in schools, hospitals and local government institutions as opposed to their counterparts working as domestic servants or in agro-processing workshops. The decline in wage inequality is in the three casual labour markets for men in rural areas and women in both rural and urban areas. There is no doubt that there is perhaps a tightening of the market for casual labour with increasing enrolment of young women in education, and some decrease in poverty for sections of the poor thereby enabling them to keep out of some of the most humiliating and undignified and/or very low paid manual work (e.g. scavenging and agricultural field work).

The results in terms of Gini coefficients differ from the earlier one somewhat. For all workers there is hardly any change in inequality for the whole period. But it was interrupted by a rise in inequality during the first period. When the constituent worker categories are examined one can see that inequality increased for the four categories of regular workers for the whole period in which rural workers registered a small decline during the second period. In contrast, all four categories of

casual workers registered a decline in wage inequality with a sharper decline for rural female casual workers. This is consistent with the results of the earlier measure of Inter-quantile Dispersion Ratio (D9/D1).

Table 3: Wage Inequality

Category	Inter-quantile range (90-10)			Gini coefficient		
	1993-94	2004-05	2011-12	1993-94	2004-05	2011-12
Rural Regular Male	7.49	9.00	8.33	0.39	0.46	0.44
Rural Regular Female	11.26	14.96	14.29	0.48	0.54	0.52
Rural Casual Male	3.33	2.89	2.86	0.27	0.25	0.24
Rural Casual Female	2.92	2.75	2.67	0.25	0.23	0.21
Urban Regular Male	7.34	8.57	9.13	0.38	0.46	0.47
Urban Regular Female	13.33	18.67	17.33	0.45	0.54	0.54
Urban Casual Male	3.90	3.13	3.00	0.28	0.27	0.27
Urban Casual Female	3.60	3.50	4.00	0.30	0.29	0.29
All wage workers	10.31	9.13	9.00	0.48	0.50	0.48

Source: Same as in Table 1.

Decomposition of Wage Inequality

We mentioned earlier that inequality may be viewed as within-group and between-group inequality. In order to understand the contribution of these two different dimensions, it is necessary to decompose wage inequality to 'within' and 'between' group inequality components. Theil Index is a measure that is often used in such exercises. The first task was to decide on the number of categories within the universe of wage workers in the country. If we recognise only the basic labour market groups based on location, gender and employment type we would get only eight groups. To this, we added education (four levels) and social group identity (five groups as mentioned earlier).

This gave us 160 groups of workers who can be identified by their location (rural or urban), gender (male or female), employment type (casual or regular worker), educational attainments (primary or below, middle school, secondary and graduates and above) and social group (ST, SC, Muslim, OBC or Others).

The results show that within-group inequality explained 46.78 per cent of inequality in 2004-05 while it increased to 54.42 per cent in 2011-12. That means the between-group inequality as given by the 160 grouping explained 53.22 per cent of the wage inequality in 2004-05 but got reduced to 45.59 per cent in 2011-12. While the group characteristics are important what the results convey is also a process of differentiation within groups. Exercises by taking different combination of group characteristics showed the important role of education. But in the Indian context education is a prized capability and the threshold level of education keeps increasing as the competition for decent jobs and wages are getting intensified. Earlier studies tell us about a hierarchical association between asset and income (or consumption) social group identity that gets extended to educational opportunity. This results in differential access to quality of employment as shown in Table 5 and results ultimately in wage inequality.

Table 4: Inequality Decomposition (Theil)

Group specification 4: Location, gender, labour status, social group and educational levels		
Description	2004-05	2011-12
Overall wage inequality	0.445	0.438
Within Group inequality	0.208	0.238
Contribution (%)	46.78	54.42
Between group inequality	0.237	0.200
Contribution (%)	53.22	45.59

Source: Same as in Table 1.

Table 5: A close Association between Access to Education, Quality of Employment and Share of Wage Income in National Income, 2011-12

Social Group	Percentage of educated workers (Secondary & above)	Percentage of Regular workers in Non-Agricultural Organized Sector	Labour status among all wage workers		Wage income as a percent of per household GDP
			Regular (%)	Casual (%)	
Others	66.4	63.5	82.6	17.4	58.3
OBC	41.9	37.7	56.8	43.2	30.2
Muslim	25.4	23.4	48.9	51.1	25.6
SC	27.8	26.3	42.5	57.5	25.4
ST	27.0	28.0	37.9	62.1	24.3
Total	41.6	39.0	37.4	62.6	28.1

Source: Same as in Table 1.

Identifying ‘the long tail of wage inequality’

This leads us to a more careful and nuanced understanding of the link between social group identity and education in the eight labour groups that we started with. This we do by examining the average daily wages of the 160 groups that we have identified. This is given in the Appendix Table 1, and it warrants a careful scrutiny. The advantage of this detailed grouping and the resultant grouped data in terms of average daily wages is that it recognises the differentiation within each social-cum-educational group by their gender, location and labour status. For example, it would show the wages of woman regular workers from the socially advantaged group of ‘Others’ with high education residing in urban areas as well as women workers from an ST or SC group with low education residing in rural areas working as casual workers. This exercise is easier to understand the wage inequality in a more direct way by lay persons than the numbers produced through statistical exercises, however

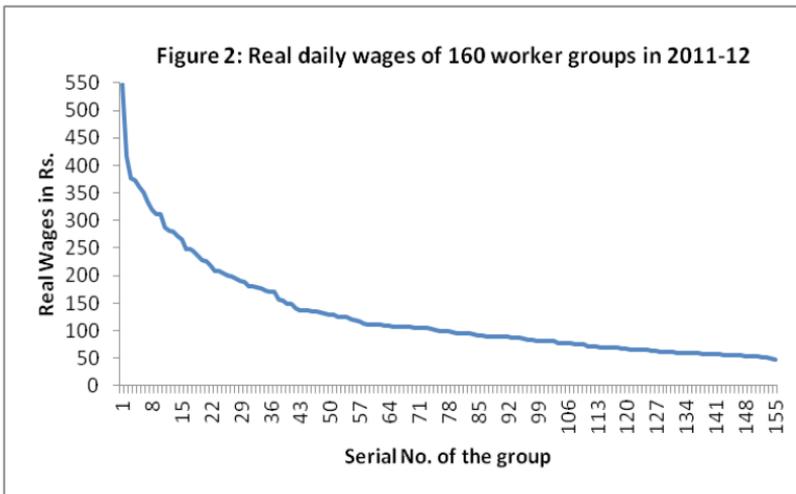
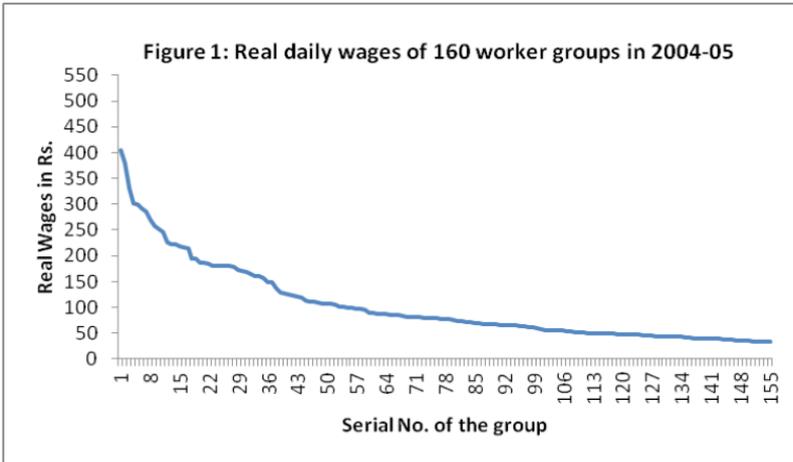
important, such as the Inter-quantile Dispersion Ratios or the Gini coefficient. In sum, this picture of inequality helps to identify the groups that are most disadvantaged, less disadvantaged and most advantaged in the Indian labour markets. Of course, some more pertinent characteristics can be added such as age as a proxy for experience, but we did not find it of significance.

In Appendix Table 1 we report the daily real wage rates (adjusted for inflation at 2004-05 prices) in a descending order. It shows that urban regular male workers from the socially advantaged group (Others) having graduate and above level of education have the highest average wages at 548 rupees a day in 2011-12 and the lowest paid is the two groups of women belonging to SC in rural areas, mostly in regular employment with low education² (though a small segment has at least a graduate level). They have an average wage daily wage of Rs. 46-47. That gives a ratio of 11.7 meaning that the highest paid in this grouping received a wage equivalent to 11.7 times (or 1170 per cent) the wages of the lowest paid in 2011-12. Two diagrams (Figures 1 and 2) depicting this range of wages in the Indian labour market is instructive to note.

The long tail is quite evident for both the years. In 2004-05 one could identify a tail with a daily average wage of Rs.30 to 65³ consisting of 66 groups of workers. In 2011-12 there has no doubt been some improvement, but the earlier range of wage is replaced by 33 groups. Women in casual employment with low education dominate this group; among social groups, those from ST and SC background also have a disproportionate representation followed by Muslim and OBC.

2 We ignore the bottom two groups present in the list, i.e. Muslim women in urban casual work with a secondary level of education and the same group of ST women since their share in total employment is almost nil suggesting there were only a few outliers in the sample.

3 Rs.66 was the national minimum wage recommended for that year by the Government of India.



Low access to education among socially disadvantaged groups with ST and SC at the bottom lead to low quality of employment (casual as opposed to regular) resulting in low wages and wage incomes. This follows a hierarchical pattern in wage income as seen in Table 5. It is therefore quite important to examine the outcome in terms of income from wages to understand the complex linkages. We therefore move from wages to wage income of households.

Wage Income as a Share of Household Income

The importance of looking at wages lies in its impact on income especially for an overwhelming share of families who have nothing but their labour power to eke out a living. To calculate wage income of a household we need to know the average number of workers per household, its composition in terms of casual and regular status, the wage rates for these two groups and the number of days of work in a given year. The wage income may then be calculated using the following formula:

$$Y_w = [(R_n \times R_d \times R_w) + (C_n \times C_d \times C_w)]$$

Where Y_w stands for the annual wage income of a household;

R_n stands for the average number of regular workers in a household;

R_d stands for the number of paid days in a year;

R_w stands for the money wage rate in the given year.

Similarly, C_n , C_d and C_w stand for the above variables for casual workers.

In order to find out the proportions of regular and casual workers in a wage labour household, we first identified such households as 'Regular wage households' and 'Casual wage households' by using the majority criterion i.e. if more than 50 per cent of the working members are in the regular category such a household was classified as 'Regular wage household'. Then the proportions of regular and casual wage workers were recorded to calculate R_n and C_n . R_w and C_w were calculated from the wage data. For employment, we assumed that regular wage workers were being paid on a monthly basis including holidays and therefore it was taken as 365. For casual workers, we assumed an average work-day of five per week or 260 days per year. This is somewhat less than full employment days and excludes days not paid since they are 'casual' in labour status.

The wage incomes for the urban and rural households for the two labour status groups are presented in Table 6. Of course, these are average incomes for the respective groups and therefore would not show the wage income of highly paid employees such as professionals and managers and administrators. Per household GDP is calculated by multiplying per capita income in 2011-12 with that of the household size⁴.

So, we can say that wage earners, particularly the casual workers, are highly disadvantageously placed vis-à-vis those depending on non-wage income, in both rural and urban areas, but more particularly in rural areas. Take the situation in 2011-12. Given the fact that wage incomes of rural and urban casual worker households are less than one-fifth and 30 per cent respectively, they are quite vulnerable to economic shocks and would find it difficult to achieve and sustain a life of dignity without poverty let alone a decent standard of living. Even for rural regular labour households wage income is only two-fifths of per household GDP. Increasing casualization and informalisation of employment despite the continuing relatively high growth of national income is likely to increase further the inequality between wage earners and other groups. Even the advantaged group of urban regular labour households gets only a little less than two-thirds of per household GDP. However, it is this class who may have significant non-wage incomes within the class of wage earners.

Overall the situation has worsened since wage income as a share of per household GDP has declined for every type of wage labour households. The decline has been the highest for rural casual households followed by urban casual households.

4 For 1993-94 the household size is taken as 5.5 (as per Population Census of 1991) and for 2011-12 as 4.9 (as per Population Census of 2011).

Table 6: Wage Income of households in 1993-94 and 2011-12

HHs	Year	Wage income (Rs.)	Wage income as % of household GDP
Urban regular	1993-94	35139	69.7
	2011-12	213494	62.4
Urban casual	1993-94	32476	64.4
	2011-12	102264	29.9
Rural regular	1993-94	24798	49.2
	2011-12	137634	40.2
Rural casual	1993-94	26141	51.8
	2011-12	63955	18.7
Total wage workers	1993-94	18707	37.1
	2011-12	96113	28.1
Per house hold income (Rs.)	1993-94	50,435*	
	2011-12	342089**	

Note: * Calculated as per capita income (1993-94) by household size (9170 x 5.5). **calculated as per capita income (2011-12) by household size (69814x4.9). Source: Computed from unit level data from NSS xx and 68th Rounds. Per household GDP (income) figures are calculated from per capita income reported in Economic Surveys of the Government of India for the respective years.

We know that the incidence of casual work is highest among the socially most disadvantaged groups of SC and ST. In other words, quality of employment is inversely related to the social hierarchy, and the links could be many such as barriers to education especially of higher quality, family legacy, social network and social discrimination. This will then reflect on differential wage income and its share in per

household national income. By using the appropriate values for R_n , C_n , R_w and C_w and assuming the same level of employment as used in the earlier table, we present the wage income and its share as a percent of per household GDP for the five social groups in Table 7. The result bring out that at the bottom three social groups viz., ST, SC and Muslim, share a similar level of income that is considerably less than half that of the socially advantaged group of Others in 2011-12. The OBC group, an intermediate group, has a wage income that is around 52 per cent of the Others.

Table 7: Wage income (Rs) and its share as percentage of per household GDP by Social Group

Social Group	1993-94		2011-12	
	Rs.	%	Rs.	%
Others only			199440	58.3
Others+OBC*	27,648	54.8	139261	40.7
OBC			103148	30.2
Muslim	21,526	44.7	87622	25.6
SC	13,634	27.0	86759	25.4
ST	13,620	27.0	83,106	24.3

Note: Data source same as earlier tables. * Data for 1993-94 do not permit separation of households/persons by their OBC group status.

The fact that wage income as a share of per household GDP has declined sharply for all groups since 1993-94 is another pointer to rising social inequality in the country since the proportion of non-wage income is likely to be more significant among the higher wage income groups such as Others and OBCs because they also have a higher share of those with assets. Once again the context of an increase in real wage and wage income and a small decline in overall wage inequality co-existing within a larger context of heightening economic inequality across the major social groups needs be emphasized.

Another interesting comparison is of wage income, with the official poverty line income. Poverty line based on NSSO data for 2011-12 following Tendulkar methodology was fixed at Rs.816 per capita per monthly consumption expenditure in rural and Rs.1000 in urban areas. With the average household size of 4.9 and 4.5 in rural and urban areas respectively, a rural household must have an income of more than Rs. 3,999 and urban household Rs. 4,500 per month to just be on the poverty line. On an annual basis, their respective incomes needed to be Rs. 47,968 in rural and Rs. 54,000 in urban areas. Thus households of regular wage/salary earners, on an average, are well above the poverty line both in rural and urban areas, but household incomes of casual workers, especially those in the rural areas are not very far above the poverty line income. And with the increasing casualization and vulnerability of such employment, many of them may find it difficult to sustain their income levels and may even slip below the poverty line. However what are given here is the average and not the distribution of income by using the abysmally low official poverty line. It is estimated that 36 percent of the casual workers, though only 9 percent of the regular workers, were poor in 2011-12 as against an overall poverty incidence of 25 percent, using Tendulkar methodology. Such a situation points to the existence of a hard core of working poor in the Indian economy and society.

But the reality of poverty is not just between those who are above or below the poverty line although that gives a rough indication of the extreme nature of deprivation in the country. Using the official poverty line, the NCEUS (2008) reported that there is a clustering of households just above the poverty line such that those who have two times the official poverty line should be termed as 'vulnerable'. If we go by this expanded notion of 'poor and vulnerable' the income required would be Rs. 95,936 and Rs. 108,000 respectively for rural and urban households. If this is applied, neither rural nor urban casual labour households are in a position to overcome their economic vulnerability. As a group, only regular worker households would pass this test. This

underlines the status of casual workers as the most poor and vulnerable in the Indian society. From a social point of view, the three bottom group categories of ST, SC and Muslim will also not pass this test. What it brings out is the vulnerable nature of casual labour households whose incidence is higher among the socially disadvantaged sections.

Inter-State Variations

The above picture for the country as a whole conceals significant variations across the states in levels of wages, its growth, as well as disparity as between different groups. Limitations of space do not permit a detailed analysis of inter-state variations, but it is important to flag some of the main findings⁵. Smaller states (each accounting for less than 0.5 per cent of the total population), especially in the North-East have, in general, higher levels of wages for both regular and casual workers as well as men and women than most of the larger states. Taking the larger states (see Table 8) we find that most states with high economic growth do not show a correspondingly high growth in wages in any of the four labour markets. In fact, the performance of some of them point to strong discrimination against women in regular work as well as both men and women in casual work. Gujarat is a telling example where the growth in wages was the least in regular work for both men and women (and one of the lowest in the casual labour market for both men and women) despite an impressive and second highest growth in per capita income during the period of our analysis. While the BJP-ruled Gujarat and CPI-M ruled Tripura represent a worst-case scenario in the disjunction between the growth in wages and overall economic growth, there are many other states with such disjunction to varying degrees. These are Himachal Pradesh, a high wage state and West Bengal, a low wage state. A scenario of high aggregate income growth, low level and growth of wages is certainly a worst case scenario - as in Gujarat, Maharashtra, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh – as far as the livelihood security of the vast mass of labouring poor in the country.

5. For a detailed analysis of the inter-state variations see, Papola and Kannan 2017.

Table 8: Wage Level, Per Capita Income Growth and Growth in Wages, 1993-94 to 2011-12

State	Rank in Wage Level		Growth in PCSI	Growth in Wages			
	Male Casual	Female Casual		Male Regular	Female Regular	Male Casual	Female Casual
Tripura	11	7	6.42	2.04	1.38	2.28	3.61
Gujarat	18	12	6.22	1.41	1.31	2.42	2.71
Tamil Nadu	4	9	6.15	3.27	3.35	4.52	4.23
Delhi	2	15	5.98	4.11	3.84	2.55	-2.71
Kerala	1	2	5.93	3.39	2.75	4.58	3.56
AP*	8	8	5.76	3.54	2.51	5.09	4.96
HP	7	5	5.75	2.24	0.94	2.58	0.60
UP*	14	14	5.74	3.00	2.36	2.98	3.08
Karnataka	9	13	5.71	2.46	3.88	4.67	4.16
WBengal	17	11	5.34	2.71	2.44	2.45	2.87
Maharashtra	13	17	5.14	3.35	3.24	3.64	4.42
Rajasthan	10	6	5.11	2.50	1.64	3.14	3.15
Haryana	6	3	5.04	5.51	6.01	2.94	4.30
Odisha	16	18	4.48	2.30	3.16	4.68	4.42
MP*	19	16	3.73	2.80	2.72	2.99	3.53
Bihar*	15	19	3.63	3.39	1.11	4.58	3.42
Punjab	5	4	3.50	2.05	1.35	2.06	1.14
J and K	3	1	3.27	3.28	2.19	3.18	7.70
Assam	12	10	2.64	3.99	3.73	2.61	2.20

Note: PCSI=Per capita state income. Source: Same as Table 6 except column 4 (Economic Survey, Govt of India, for the relevant years).

The other major issue that needs to be flagged is the gender disparity. Here again there are sharp variations for the two markets, regular and casual work. The main points are highlighted below.

Market for regular work: In 1993-93, two states were found to have reverse gender disparity, i.e. female wages being higher than male wages. These were Delhi and Punjab. But they lost out by 2011-12. Delhi retained this position even in 2011-12, but Punjab showed a reversal although women's wage rate was at 98 per cent of men's wage rate. In 2011-12 Haryana and Manipur reported women's wage rate at 94 per cent of their male counterparts. Meghalaya, Rajasthan, Sikkim, and Goa reported women's wages constituting between 80 to 90 per cent of men's wages. Mizoram, Nagaland, Jammu and Kashmir, Tripura, Kerala, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Odisha and Karnataka reported women's wages at 70 to 80 per cent of male wages. All others were less than 60 per cent with Bihar, Assam and West Bengal showing the highest disparity at 58-59 per cent.

Market for casual work: In general wage disparity in casual work is expected to be low because most, if not all, of the workers are engaged in manual work, more in rural than in urban areas, with low levels of education and mostly belonging to the disadvantaged social groups. However, gender disparity that reflects discrimination seems to be somewhat stronger than in the market for regular work. In 1993-94 Jammu and Kashmir had the highest disparity with female wages at 47 per cent of male wages; however, in 2011-12, it not only equalized but overtook male wages at 106 per cent, an interesting development that calls for detailed enquiry. Sikkim with 74 per cent in 1993-94 also exceeded male wages at 115 per cent by 2011-12. If we focus on the 2011-12 scenario, there was no state where female wages were between 90 to 100 per cent. Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Manipur, West Bengal and Haryana reported female wages between 80 to 90 per cent but in the range of 81-84. Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Assam, Odisha, Tripura, Rajasthan, Mizoram, Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh and Goa reported between 70 to 80 per cent. Bihar, Meghalaya, Andhra Pradesh (undivided), and Maharashtra reported between 60 to 70 per cent while Tamil Nadu and Karnataka reported between 50 to 60 per cent. The worst scenarios were in Delhi with 35 per cent and Kerala with 47 per cent.

These disparities need to be examined along with levels of wages. For example, Gujarat shows a low disparity with women in casual work receiving 84 per cent of men's wages. But the level of wage is Rs.57 (as against 68 for men) in 2011-12 (at 2004-05 prices) compared to the Kerala women's wage of 93 (as against 196 for men). That means the average wage of a female casual labourer in Gujarat was just 61 per cent of the wages of their counterparts in Kerala. What it conveys is the co-existence of high inequality with high wages in Kerala and a 'gender equality of poverty' with such starvation wages as in Gujarat.

Conclusion

Overall wage inequality increased during the first decade of economic reforms and declined somewhat during the next decade. More detailed work shows that the decline is mostly in the bottom half of the wage worker population. But the sheen of this silver lining has been completely wiped out by the persistence of very low wages. As shown in Figures 1 and 2, a 'long tail of wage inequality' among the 160 groups of workers ranging from Rs.46 to 120 that are well below the recommended national minimum wage of Rs.122 (in 2011-12) that in itself is pitifully low for a country that increased in its national income 3.3 times in real terms between 1993 and 2012 with an annual growth rate of 6.6. Indeed, there is hardly any trace of 'trickle down'.

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Appendix Table 1
Daily Wages of Workers by Location, Labour Status, Gender, Social Group and
Education: Real Wages in Rs at 2004-05 Constant Prices

S1 No	Group	2004-05		S1 No	Group	2011-12	
		Emp (%)	Wage			Emp (%)	Wage
1	UR Male_Others_GD	3.01	405	1	UR Male_Others_GD	3.77	548
2	UR Male_ST_GD	0.09	380	2	UR Female_Others_GD	1.21	416
3	RR Male_Others_GD	0.83	331	3	UR Male_OBC_GD	2.15	377
4	UR Male_OBC_GD	1.11	301	4	UR Male_Muslim_GD	0.33	373
5	UR Male_Muslim_GD	0.25	300	5	UR Male_ST_GD	0.26	361
6	UR Female_Others_GD	0.99	291	6	UR Male_SC_GD	0.65	352
7	UR Male_SC_GD	0.33	286	7	RR Male_Others_GD	1.00	333
8	UR Female_ST_GD	0.03	269	8	RR Male_ST_GD	0.16	320
9	Rural RM_ST_GD	0.11	257	9	RR Male_Muslim_GD	0.16	312
10	UR Male_ST_SE	0.20	252	10	UR Female_ST_GD	0.06	312
11	Rural RM_Muslim_GD	0.11	247	11	RR Male_OBC_GD	0.84	287
12	Rural RM_SC_GD	0.26	227	12	RR Male_SC_GD	0.34	282
13	UR Female_OBC_GD	0.29	222	13	UR Female_SC_GD	0.17	279
14	UR Female_Muslim_SE	0.05	222	14	UR Female_OBC_GD	0.61	272
15	RR Male_OBC_GD	0.62	219	15	UR Male_ST_SE	0.32	265
16	UR Male_Others_SE	2.88	217	16	UR Male_Others_SE	2.70	248
17	UR Female_SC_GD	0.06	214	17	UR Female_ST_SE	0.05	248
18	RR Male_Muslim_SE	0.25	194	18	RR Female_ST_GD	0.03	244
19	UR Female_Muslim_GD	0.06	194	19	UR Female_Muslim_GD	0.10	236
20	UR Female_ST_SE	0.03	186	20	RR Male_ST_SE	0.23	228
21	UR Female_Others_SE	0.54	186	21	RR Female_Others_GD	0.27	226
22	UR Male_SC_SE	0.73	185	22	UR Female_Others_SE	0.38	219
23	RR Male_ST_SE	0.21	181	23	UR Male_SC_SE	1.12	209
24	RR Male_Others_SE	1.33	180	24	RR Female_Muslim_GD	0.04	208
25	RR Female_ST_GD	0.02	180	25	RR Female_SC_GD	0.07	205
26	RR Female_Others_GD	0.19	180	26	RR Male_Others_SE	1.44	201
27	UR Male_OBC_SE	1.90	180	27	UR Male_OBC_SE	2.36	198
28	UR Male_Muslim_SE	0.49	179	28	RR Female_OBC_GD	0.27	194
29	RR Female_Muslim_GD	0.02	172	29	RR Male_SC_SE	0.67	190
30	RR Male_SC_SE	0.61	170	30	UR Male_Muslim_SE	0.62	189
31	UR Female_SC_SE	0.15	168	31	RR Male_OBC_SE	1.61	180

Sl No	Group	2004-05		Sl No	Group	2011-12	
		Emp (%)	Wage			Emp (%)	Wage
32	RR Female_OBC_GD	0.13	165	32	RR Female_ST_SE	0.08	180
33	RR Female_ST_SE	0.05	160	33	UR Female_SC_SE	0.19	179
34	RR Female_SC_GD	0.04	160	34	UR Female_Muslim_SE	0.06	176
35	RR Male_OBC_SE	1.45	156	35	RR Male_Muslim_SE	0.45	172
36	UR Female_OBC_SE	0.29	149	36	UR Male_ST_MD	0.13	171
37	UR Male_ST_MD	0.10	148	37	UC Female_Muslim_GD	0.00	171
38	RR Female_Others_SE	0.30	137	38	UR Female_OBC_SE	0.38	157
39	UR Male_Others_MD	1.16	129	39	UC Female_Others_GD	0.01	154
40	UC Female_Others_GD	0.00	127	40	UR Male_Others_MD	0.98	149
41	UC Male_Others_GD	0.01	124	41	UR Male_SC_MD	0.64	148
42	RR Male_Others_MD	0.53	122	42	UR Male_OBC_MD	1.08	140
43	Urban CM Male_ST_GD	0.00	120	43	UR Male_ST_LE	0.16	137
44	UR Male_SC_MD	0.69	118	44	UC Male_Others_GD	0.02	137
45	Rural RF_OBC_SE	0.34	114	45	UR Male_SC_LE	0.75	136
46	UR Male_SC_LE	1.12	111	46	RR Female_Muslim_SE	0.09	135
47	UR Male_Others_LE	1.12	111	47	RR Female_Others_SE	0.24	135
48	UR Male_OBC_MD	1.13	110	48	UR Male_Others_LE	1.01	132
49	Rural RM_ST_MD	0.13	108	49	RR Male_Others_MD	0.51	131
50	Rural RM_Muslim_MD	0.21	108	50	UR Male_OBC_LE	1.34	129
51	Rural RM_OBC_MD	0.92	107	51	UR Male_Muslim_MD	0.41	129
52	Rural RF_Muslim_SE	0.05	105	52	RR Male_OBC_MD	0.89	124
53	UR Male_ST_LE	0.16	102	53	RR Female_OBC_SE	0.28	124
54	UR Male_Muslim_MD	0.42	101	54	UC Male_OBC_SE	0.48	124
55	Rural RF_SC_SE	0.10	100	55	RR Male_ST_MD	0.16	120
56	UR Male_OBC_LE	1.38	100	56	UC Male_Others_MD	0.25	118
57	Rural RM_SC_MD	0.48	98	57	UC Male_OBC_MD	0.59	117
58	Rural RM_Others_LE	0.67	98	58	UC Male_OBC_GD	0.05	114
59	Urban CM_OBC_GD	0.02	95	59	RR Male_Others_LE	0.44	112
60	UR Male_Muslim_LE	0.84	90	60	UC Male_SC_MD	0.43	112
61	Urban RF_Muslim_MD	0.02	89	61	RC Male_Muslim_MD	0.63	111
62	Urban CM_OBC_SE	0.30	88	62	UC Male_SC_SE	0.25	111
63	Urban CM_Others_SE	0.16	88	63	UC Male_OBC_LE	1.33	110
64	Urban CF_ST_SE	0.01	88	64	UC Male_Muslim_MD	0.26	110
65	Urban CM_Muslim_SE	0.08	86	65	RC Others_GD	0.03	108

Sl No	Group	2004-05		Sl No	Group	2011-12	
		Emp (%)	Wage			Emp (%)	Wage
66	Urban CM_OBC_MD	0.59	85	66	UC Male_Muslim_SE	0.14	108
67	Urban CM_Muslim_GD	0.01	85	67	UC Male_Others_SE	0.16	108
68	Urban CM_Others_MD	0.29	83	68	RR Male_SC_MD	0.46	107
69	Rural RM_OBC_LE	1.40	82	69	RR Male_Muslim_MD	0.23	107
70	Urban RF_ST_MD	0.01	82	70	RR Male_SC_LE	0.75	106
71	Urban RF_Others_MD	0.12	81	71	UR Male_Muslim_LE	0.97	106
72	Urban CM_Others_LE	0.54	81	72	RR Male_OBC_LE	1.01	105
73	Rural RM_SC_LE	1.00	80	73	UC Male_ST_MD	0.07	105
74	Rural CM_Muslim_MD	0.43	80	74	UC ST_GD	0.00	103
75	Urban RF_SC_MD	0.08	80	75	RR ST_LE	0.22	101
76	RC Female_OBC_GD	0.00	79	76	RC Male_Muslim_SE	0.32	100
77	Urban CM_SC_MD	0.34	78	77	UR Female_Others_MD	0.11	100
78	Rural RM_ST_LE	0.37	77	78	UC Male_SC_LE	1.03	99
79	Rural RM_Muslim_LE	0.42	77	79	RC Male_Others_MD	0.73	98
80	Urban CM_OBC_LE	1.36	76	80	RC Male_OBC_SE	1.94	96
81	Urban CM_Muslim_MD	0.19	74	81	RC Male_OBC_GD	0.13	96
82	Rural CM_Others_SE	0.36	73	82	RC Male_OBC_MD	2.40	95
83	Urban CM_SC_LE	1.16	72	83	UC Male_Others_LE	0.41	95
84	Urban CM_SC_SE	0.17	72	84	UC Male_SC_GD	0.02	93
85	Rural CM_Muslim_GD	0.01	70	85	UC Male_Muslim_LE	1.01	92
86	Urban CM_ST_MD	0.03	69	86	UC Male_ST_SE	0.04	91
87	Rural CM_OBC_MD	2.04	68	87	RR Female_SC_SE	0.16	90
88	UC Female_ST_GD	0.00	68	88	RC Male_SC_SE	1.24	90
89	Rural CM_Muslim_SE	0.13	67	89	RC Male_Muslim_GD	0.01	90
90	Urban CM_Muslim_LE	0.81	67	90	RC Male_Others_SE	0.68	90
91	Rural RF_ST_MD	0.04	66	91	UC Male_ST_LE	0.25	90
92	Urban CM_SC_GD	0.01	66	92	UC Male_Muslim_GD	0.01	90
93	Rural CM_OBC_GD	0.06	65	93	RC Male_ST_GD	0.03	88
94	Rural CM_Others_MD	0.78	65	94	RC Male_SC_GD	0.07	88
95	Urban RF_SC_LE	0.59	65	95	RR Male_Muslim_LE	0.51	87
96	Rural CM_OBC_SE	0.86	64	96	RC Male_SC_MD	2.13	86
97	Urban CM_ST_LE	0.20	64	97	RC Male_OBC_LE	8.43	84
98	Rural CM_SC_MD	1.94	61	98	UR Female_Muslim_MD	0.04	84
99	Rural CM_SC_SE	0.79	61	99	RC Male_SC_LE	8.49	82

Sl No	Group	2004-05		Sl No	Group	2011-12	
		Emp (%)	Wage			Emp (%)	Wage
100	Rural CM_SC_GD	0.04	59	100	RC Male_Others_LE	2.00	82
101	Urban RF_Others_LE	0.35	57	101	RC Male_Muslim_LE	3.53	81
102	Rural RF_Others_MD	0.07	56	102	UR Female_SC_LE	0.53	81
103	Rural CM_OBC_LE	9.07	56	103	UC Female_SC_GD	0.00	81
104	Rural CM_Muslim_LE	3.20	56	104	RC Female_Others_GD	0.00	78
105	Rural CM_Others_LE	2.30	56	105	UC Female_OBC_GD	0.00	78
106	UC Female _OBC_SE	0.01	56	106	UR Female_ST_MD	0.01	77
107	Rural CM_SC_LE	9.77	54	107	UC Female_Muslim_MD	0.01	77
108	Urban RF_OBC_MD	0.15	54	108	RR Female_SC_MD	0.07	76
109	Urban RF_ST_LE	0.08	51	109	UR Female_OBC_MD	0.17	75
110	Urban CM_ST_SE	0.02	51	110	UC Female_OBC_MD	0.07	75
111	UC Female_ Muslim_LE	0.11	51	111	RR Female_Muslim_MD	0.03	72
112	Rural CM_Others_GD	0.02	50	112	RC Male_ST_SE	0.35	71
113	RC Female _Muslim_GD	0.00	50	113	UR Female_OBC_LE	0.52	71
114	RC Female _Others_GD	0.00	50	114	RC Female_ST_GD	0.00	70
115	Rural RF_Muslim_MD	0.02	49	115	UR Female_Others_LE	0.32	70
116	UC Female _SC_MD	0.03	49	116	UC Female_SC_MD	0.02	70
117	UC Female _OBC_MD	0.08	49	117	RC Male_ST_MD	0.66	69
118	Urban CF_Others_MD	0.03	49	118	RC Female_Muslim_SE	0.03	69
119	Rural RF_ST_LE	0.16	48	119	RC Male_ST_LE	3.27	67
120	Rural CM_ST_SE	0.15	48	120	RC Female_SC_MD	0.32	67
121	RC Female _ST_SE	0.01	48	121	UR Female_ST_LE	0.06	66
122	Rural RF_Others_LE	0.15	47	122	UR Female_SC_MD	0.14	66
123	Rural CM_ST_MD	0.49	47	123	UC Female_SC_LE	0.28	66
124	Rural CM_ST_GD	0.01	47	124	UC Female_OBC_LE	0.48	66
125	Rural CM_ST_LE	4.00	46	125	UC Female_Others_SE	0.03	66
126	Rural CF_Muslim_MD	0.03	45	126	RC Female_OBC_MD	0.49	64
127	UC Female_SC_LE	0.46	45	127	RC Female_Muslim_MD	0.04	64
128	Rural RF_OBC_MD	0.12	44	128	RC Female_OBC_SE	0.33	62
129	Urban R_Muslim_LE	0.13	44	129	RC Female_OBC_GD	0.00	62
130	UC Female _OBC_LE	0.57	44	130	UC Female_ST_LE	0.12	61
131	UC Female_Others_LE	0.18	44	131	UC Female_OBC_SE	0.05	61
132	UC Female_Others_SE	0.01	44	132	RR Female_ST_MD	0.05	60

Sl No	Group	2004-05		Sl No	Group	2011-12	
		Emp (%)	Wage			Emp (%)	Wage
133	Rural RF_SC_MD	0.07	43	133	UC Female_ST_MD	0.01	60
134	Urban RF_OBC_LE	0.51	43	134	RR Female_OBC_LE	0.36	59
135	UC Female_ST_LE	0.14	42	135	RC Female_ST_SE	0.03	59
136	RC Female_Others_SE	0.05	41	136	UC Female_SC_SE	0.02	59
137	RC Female_SC_LE	0.36	40	137	UC Female_Others_LE	0.12	59
138	RC Female_Muslim_LE	0.04	40	138	RC Female_SC_LE	3.54	58
139	RC Female_ST_GD	0.00	40	139	RC Female_OBC_LE	3.99	58
140	RC Female_SC_MD	0.32	40	140	RR Female_OBC_MD	0.18	57
141	RC Female_Muslim_SE	0.00	40	141	RC Female_Others_MD	0.13	57
142	RC Female_Others_MD	0.11	40	142	UR Female_Muslim_LE	0.16	57
143	UC Female_OBC_GD	0.00	40	143	RC Female_SC_SE	0.20	56
144	UC Female_SC_SE	0.01	38	144	RC Female_Others_LE	0.81	56
145	Rural RF_OBC_LE	0.48	37	145	RC Female_Others_SE	0.06	56
146	Rural CF_Muslim_LE	0.71	37	146	RR Female_ST_LE	0.12	55
147	Rural CF_SC_LE	5.43	36	147	RC Female_ST_MD	0.15	55
148	Rural CF_ST_MD	0.13	35	148	RC Female_ST_LE	1.89	54
149	Rural CF_OBC_LE	5.73	35	149	RR Female_Muslim_LE	0.10	53
150	Rural CF_Others_LE	1.35	35	150	RR Female_Others_MD	0.09	53
151	Rural CF_ST_LE	2.72	34	151	UC Female_Others_MD	0.03	53
152	Rural CaF_SC_SE	0.12	34	152	RC Female_Muslim_LE	0.66	52
153	Rural CF_OBC_MD	0.41	34	153	UC Female_Muslim_LE	0.14	52
154	Rural CF_OBC_SE	0.13	33	154	RR Female_Others_LE	0.12	49
155	Urban CF_Muslim_SE	0.00	33	155	RR Female_SC_LE	0.26	47
156	Urban CF_ST_MD	0.01	31	156	RC Female_SC_GD	0.01	46
157	Rural CF_SC_GD	0.00	30	157	UC Female_ST_SE	0.00	41
158	UC Female_SC_GD	0.00	30	158	UC Female_Muslim_SE	0.00	41
159	UC Female_Muslim_MD	0.02	26	159	RC Female_Muslim_GD	na	na
160	UC Female_Muslim_GD	na	na	160	UC Female_ST_GD	na	na
	Total	100	98		Total	100	142

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