

Bridging the Gap: Trends in Inequality in Education among Women in India – Story of Last Three Decades (1992-2021)

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1. Introduction

Emphasis on educational inequality is important for several reasons. Within the framework of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), SDG 4 underscores the significance of quality education, particularly focusing on enhancing educational outcomes. Additionally, SDG 5 emphasizes gender equality, while SDG 10 targets the reduction of inequalities. These goals underscore the necessity of addressing the gender and socioeconomic gaps in educational access and resources. However, despite these global initiatives, India continues to struggle with socioeconomic and geographic inequalities in education (Choudhary et al. 2019; Choudhary and Singh, 2019; Mitra et al., 2023). A considerable proportion of women remain excluded from educational institutions, hindering the progress towards gender equity (SDG 5) and quality education (SDG 4) (Mitra et al., 2023). The Indian Constitution guarantees free and compulsory education for all children aged 6 to 14 as a fundamental right and several policy initiatives such as universalisation of education and reservation policies were implemented, considering India's diverse and complex societal texture. Despite a rise in school enrolment post 2000s, more than one third population remained deprived of access to education, based on disparities stemming from class, caste and gender (Dreze and Sen, 2013; Kundu, 2014). India's societal stratification has triggered many scholarships on examining between group educational inequalities. Borooah and Iyer (2005) and Asadullah et. al., (2014) studied religion-based disparities in educational attainment between Hindus and Muslims in India, Agarwal (2014) examined the education inequality by rural-urban divide whereas, Desai and Kulkarni (2008), Thorat et al., (2023) studied caste-based disparities in education. While gender-based inequality in educational attainment has also been a focus area of many studies (Choudhary and Roy, 2009; Angeles et al., 2021; Biswas and Kundu, 2023; Priya et al., 2023), there remains a dearth of research on intra-group or within group inequality in education, specifically *among/within* women. In simpler terms, how education varies among women of different backgrounds has hardly been studied. Women face double disadvantage in education,

particularly when intersecting with social disadvantages such as belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, minority religious group or rural areas. Therefore, this study (the first one perhaps) aims to investigate inequalities in education among Indian women, in both urban and rural settings across India's different geographical regions.

2. Data and Research Methods

This study uses data from multiple rounds (1992-93, 1998-99, 2005-06, 2015-16 and 2019-21) of the National Family Health Survey (NFHS), which is a nationally representative (covers 99% of India's population), repeated cross-sectional, micro-unit recorded household survey in representative samples of households throughout India (Pathak and Singh, 2011; IIPS, 2022) and is considered reliable in terms of sample size, survey design, coverage as well as socioeconomic-demographic variables of interest (e.g., caste, religion, gender, urban-rural residence, wealth status) (Singh, 2012). Our study targets women who are above 14 years of age and who were not enrolled in any school or college at the time of the survey. These women were further categorized based on social factors such as caste, religion, and location (rural/urban). Caste has been divided into three sub-groups for analytical purposes: 'Other' (also known as 'General') 'Other Backward Castes' (OBC), and 'Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes' (SC/ST). Similarly, religion has been grouped into three categories: 'Hindu' (the majority in India), 'Muslim', and 'Others'. The states have been categorised into six geographical regions (based on NFHS categorisation) namely- North, Central, East, North-East, West and South.

We used the Gini Index (GI) for both within-group (interpersonal/vertical) inequalities (for example, inequality in education within the Muslim women) and between-group inequalities (for example, inequality in education years between Hindu, Muslim and 'Other' religion women). Following an analytical approach similar to Singh et al. (2015a), to calculate the between-group or horizontal component of inequality in education among women using Gini index, the mean education year values are assigned to all the women falling in the same sub-group. When Gini coefficient is calculated on such a distribution, it captures the between group component or specific group-based inequality in education among women. Thus, the Gini coefficient not only provides an assessment of inequality in education years within women across various factors such as geographical regions, castes, religions, and locations, but also between them.

3. Preliminary Results and Discussion

Table 1 illustrates the percentage distribution of females and their schooling (I - no formal schooling; II – up to primary; III – up to secondary; IV - higher secondary and above) in India across different social strata and regions from NFHS 1 to NFHS 4 rounds (1992-93, 1998–99, 2005–06, 2015–16 and 2019–21). Though, the enrolment in schools has increased (proportion of no formal schooling has decreased) from 1998 to 2021, a substantial proportion of women remain without any formal education in India. Also, from those who enrol in school, a very small fraction goes on to complete higher levels of education. The SC/ST and Muslim women (followed by the OBC women) continue to constitute the highest proportion of women who do not have any formal schooling, showing a concerning situation for women from these communities in India. While the progress is evident over time with a clear trend towards higher educational levels among women, significant regional disparities in education levels are also observed. Females belonging to the Western and Southern regions tend to have higher levels of education compared to the Eastern regions. Females falling in younger age groups (15-25, 26-35) generally have higher levels of education compared to older age groups (36-49). The gap in educational attainment between younger and older generations of women is more pronounced in rural areas. Urban regions overall provide favourable conditions for higher education levels among females which can be likely due to factors such as better infrastructure, accessibility to schools, and economic opportunities in the urban environment.

Table 1: Schooling outcomes of (percentage of) Indian women by social and regional factors based on NFHS (1992-2021)

Social Groups	I	II	III	IV
<i>NFHS - 1</i>	61.55	16.33	18.51	3.61
<i>Caste</i>				
Other	56.27	18.02	21.35	2.3
OBC				
SC/ST	81.49	9.95	7.75	0.81
<i>Religion</i>				
Hindu	62.41	15.72	18.23	3.64
Muslim	65.49	18.62	14.22	1.67
Other	49.11	18.09	26.09	6.7
<i>Location</i>				
Rural	70.79	15.36	12.79	1.06
Urban	35.42	19.07	34.67	10.84
<i>Region</i>				
North	65.22	13.14	17.16	4.48
Central	74.59	10.43	11.74	3.24
East	66.36	15.21	15.43	3.42

North East	52.98	22.49	20.74	4.21
West	49.08	19.6	26.68	5.6
South	50.49	22.22	23.81	2.45
NFHS - 2	53.44	16.9	21.77	7.89
Caste				
Other	40.47	18.53	27.86	13.15
OBC	55.41	17.32	21.48	5.79
SC/ST	70.3	13.99	13.08	2.63
Religion				
Hindu	54.33	16.43	21.41	7.83
Muslim	56.59	19.7	19.5	4.2
Other	33.81	17.55	31.86	16.78
Location				
Rural	62.1	17.05	17.44	3.41
Urban	29.04	16.48	33.98	20.5
Region				
North	56.58	13.38	20.12	9.92
Central	65.63	14.96	12.29	7.12
East	60.45	16.12	19.04	4.39
North East	45.95	20.31	27.45	6.28
West	40.2	18.67	30.06	11.09
South	43	19.62	28.29	9.08
NFHS - 3	40.6	14.7	37.41	7.3
Caste				
Other	26.11	14.75	46.53	12.62
OBC	43.88	14.83	35.64	5.65
SC/ST	54.18	14.46	28.41	2.95
Religion				
Hindu	40.5	14.6	37.34	7.56
Muslim	47.9	15.71	33	3.39
Other	24.99	13.74	48.58	12.69
Location				
Rural	49.7	15.91	31.54	2.85
Urban	21.96	12.23	49.41	16.4
Region				
North	42.88	12.29	35.55	9.27
Central	52.34	13.96	27.84	5.86
East	48.35	15.98	31.42	4.24
North East	28.42	18.42	46.72	6.44
West	26.38	13.63	50.35	9.64
South	30.76	15.68	44.27	9.29
NFHS - 4	27.46	12.47	47.31	12.76
Caste				
Other	16.27	11.16	52.43	20.14
OBC	28.4	12.24	47.09	12.27
SC/ST	35.66	13.81	42.81	7.72

<i>Religion</i>				
Hindu	27.51	12.09	47.13	13.27
Muslim	31.24	15.07	46.23	7.46
Other	17.52	11.53	52.5	18.46
<i>Location</i>				
Rural	33.77	13.76	44.99	7.48
Urban	15.55	10.03	51.69	22.73
<i>Region</i>				
North	27.74	11.43	45.53	15.29
Central	34.34	13.23	40.61	11.82
East	33.98	14.12	45.06	6.83
North East	20.19	14.67	56.94	8.2
West	17.29	12.42	55.8	14.49
South	21.36	10.37	50.67	17.6
<i>NFHS - 5</i>	22.43	11.73	50.18	15.65
<i>Caste</i>				
Other	13.62	9.95	52.69	23.74
OBC	22.64	11.24	50.41	15.7
SC/ST	29.05	13.38	47.16	10.4
<i>Religion</i>				
Hindu	22.36	11.45	49.82	16.36
Muslim	25.69	13.91	51.25	9.14
Other	15.03	10.35	53.09	21.53
<i>Location</i>				
Rural	27.17	13.06	49.31	10.46
Urban	12.6	8.96	52	26.44
<i>Region</i>				
North	22.14	11.09	48	18.77
Central	27.13	12.15	45.89	14.83
East	27.79	13.5	49.38	9.33
North East	16.28	14.15	59.94	9.63
West	14.7	10.66	56.56	18.08
South	17.4	9.98	51.66	20.95

Note: Education stands for years of schooling; where: I – No formal schooling; II- Completed up to primary school (or 5th standard); III- Completed up to secondary school (matric or 10th standard); IV- Higher secondary and above

Source: Authors' computations based on NFHS data (1992-2021)

Table 2 shows mean years of education for females belonging to different social backgrounds in our study period. The overall trend confirms an improvement in education years of women from 1992 to 2021 however, the same disadvantage is observed here as it least for the SC/ST women, followed by OBC women. At the religion front, Muslim women have been consistently attaining lower education years both nationally as well as regionally. While Southern and

Western regions fare relatively better in terms of women's education, the regions of Central and East (comprising of states which are socio-economically-demographically most disadvantaged states of India (Hashmi and Singh, 2023, Pathak and Singh, 2011, Singh et al. 2013) systematically perform poorly when it comes to education of women in India. The increase in mean years of education for women at the national and regional levels, particularly in West and South India, signifies positive development, however, disparities persist, with women belonging to rural areas lagging behind those in the urban areas much more substantially.

Table 2: Mean years of education of women by social and regional factors, NFHS (1992-2021)

Social Groups	All India	North	Central	East	North		
					East	West	South
<i>NFHS - 1</i>		3.09	2.25	2.64	4.38	4.12	3.78
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	3.6	3.87	2.73	2.98	4.78	4.54	4.21
OBC							
SC/ST	1.3	1.23	0.67	1.16	3.47	2.05	1.69
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	3.08	3.02	2.24	2.81	4.89	4.11	3.47
Muslim	2.63	1.45	1.82	1.61	3.31	3.55	4.39
Other	4.34	4	6.95	2.8	3.33	4.61	4.71
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	2.15	1.93	1.39	1.88	3.84	2.86	2.75
Urban	5.95	5.96	5.52	5.78	7.32	6.05	6.14
<i>NFHS - 2</i>		3.7	2.57	2.71	3.77	4.6	4.33
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	4.85	5.14	3.99	4.46	3.64	5.49	5.94
OBC	3.19	2.42	1.94	1.99	5.65	4.61	4.27
SC/ST	1.89	1.6	1.18	1.28	3.36	2.95	2.5
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	3.46	3.64	2.59	2.9	4.16	4.49	4.04
Muslim	2.84	1.65	2.03	1.66	2.34	4.64	4.96
Other	5.7	5.6	6.02	3	4.45	5.85	6.8
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	2.49	2.21	1.67	2.1	3.26	3.25	3.39
Urban	6.38	6.82	5.83	6	7.06	6.5	6.57
<i>NFHS - 3</i>		5.27	4.02	3.97	5.76	6.46	6.07
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	6.8	7.49	3.45	5.59	5.49	7.64	7.47
OBC	4.64	3.5	6.86	3.31	6.92	6.15	6.05
SC/ST	3.48	3.27	2.59	2.41	5.51	4.83	4.65
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	5.1	5.25	4.12	4.27	6.42	6.45	5.81

Muslim	4.01	3.34	2.94	2.62	3.97	6.24	6.59
Other	7	7.02	9.21	4.02	5.36	7.01	8.39
Location							
Rural	3.83	3.8	3.06	3.05	5.1	4.93	4.89
Urban	7.59	7.92	6.72	7.07	8.2	8.11	7.85
NFHS - 4		7.22	6.16	5.66	6.95	7.81	7.98
Caste							
Other	8.54	9.46	8.64	7.34	7.16	8.68	9.39
OBC	6.79	6.51	5.94	5.39	7.16	7.69	8.22
SC/ST	5.63	5.72	4.94	4.48	7.09	6.7	6.69
Religion							
Hindu	6.93	7.28	6.34	5.8	7.42	7.8	7.82
Muslim	5.96	5.54	4.94	5.08	5.6	7.19	8.32
Other	8.32	8.55	10	5.46	7.3	8.74	9.37
Location							
Rural	5.82	6.13	5.35	4.99	6.35	6.64	6.8
Urban	8.86	8.93	8.33	7.98	9.29	9.07	9.41
NFHS - 5		8.01	7.15	6.49	7.48	8.44	8.62
Caste							
Other	9.13	9.87	9.06	7.92	9.87	8.35	9.59
OBC	7.65	7.33	7.07	6.48	7.33	7.67	8.33
SC/ST	6.51	6.76	6.16	5.34	6.76	7.66	7.21
Religion							
Hindu	7.69	8.08	7.35	6.62	8.08	7.91	8.42
Muslim	6.68	6.67	5.68	5.99	6.67	6.2	7.8
Other	8.89	8.91	9	5.97	8.91	8.01	9.91
Location							
Rural	6.72	7.1	6.53	5.84	7.1	6.96	7.28
Urban	9.47	9.63	8.96	8.66	9.63	9.59	9.82

Source: Authors' computations based on NFHS data (1992-2021)

Table 3 presents the estimates of within-group inequalities (based on Gini Index) in education among women in India across the different socio-religious groups and regions. It can be observed that at the all-India level, the overall inequality in education has declined during 1992 to 2021. Regionally, Central and Eastern regions of India show relatively higher levels of inequality compared to other regions, whereas, Southern and Northern regions show consistently (relatively) lower inequality in education among women. SC/ST women (within them) show marginally higher levels of inequality compared to the non-SC/ST caste groups, nationally as well as regionally (except North East). In case of religion, nationally, highest inequality in education can be observed within the Muslim women and lowest within females belonging to 'Other' religious group. Regionally as well, Muslim women face highest

inequality within them except for Southern and Western regions, where Hindu women face higher disparity in education. As Table 3 presents within-group (for example, within SC/ST, within Muslim, within rural etc.) inequalities in education among women in India; we also need to understand how educational attainment varies between the groups or, in other words, how inequality in education is between the caste groups, between the religious groups, between rural-urban, between regions etc. Such an analysis will not only complement the analyses presented so far but will also give a complete and comprehensive picture of inequality in education among women in India.

Table 3: Within group inequalities in education (based on Gini index) among Indian women (and regions) based on NFHS (1992-2021)

Social Groups	North	Central	East	North East	West	South	All India
<i>NFHS - 1</i>	0.29	0.32	0.33	0.46	0.3	0.27	0.31
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.28	0.32	0.32	0.47	0.29	0.27	0.3
OBC							
SC/ST	0.34	0.27	0.45	0.41	0.36	0.28	0.35
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.3	0.31	0.32	0.44	0.3	0.27	0.31
Muslim	0.4	0.43	0.4	0.6	0.27	0.26	0.36
Other	0.24	0.21	0.28	0.34	0.29	0.18	0.26
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.31	0.33	0.34	0.49	0.32	0.27	0.33
Urban	0.24	0.27	0.28	0.34	0.27	0.25	0.27
<i>NFHS - 2</i>	0.24	0.28	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.23	0.25	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.24	0.25
OBC	0.23	0.28	0.25	0.22	0.25	0.26	0.26

SC/ST	0.23	0.29	0.27	0.26	0.28	0.27	0.27
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.24	0.28	0.26	0.25	0.26	0.26	0.26
Muslim	0.27	0.26	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.24	0.26
Other	0.22	0.24	0.21	0.27	0.25	0.24	0.24
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.22	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26
Urban	0.21	0.25	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.24
NFHS - 3	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.23	0.22	0.23
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.2	0.22	0.25	0.25	0.21	0.22	0.23
OBC	0.22	0.23	0.24	0.21	0.22	0.23	0.23
SC/ST	0.22	0.23	0.26	0.24	0.22	0.23	0.24
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.22	0.22	0.24	0.23
Muslim	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.24	0.21	0.21	0.23
Other	0.2	0.21	0.22	0.25	0.21	0.21	0.22
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.21	0.23	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.24	0.23
Urban	0.2	0.23	0.22	0.2	0.2	0.21	0.21
NFHS - 4	0.2	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.2	0.21
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.18	0.2	0.21	0.21	0.2	0.18	0.2
OBC	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.19	0.21	0.2	0.21
SC/ST	0.2	0.22	0.23	0.21	0.22	0.2	0.22

<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.2	0.21	0.21	0.2	0.21	0.2	0.21
Muslim	0.21	0.23	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.18	0.21
Other	0.19	0.19	0.22	0.22	0.2	0.19	0.2
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.2	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.2	0.21
Urban	0.19	0.21	0.21	0.19	0.2	0.19	0.2
NFHS - 5	0.2	0.2	0.21	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.18	0.19	0.21	0.19	0.19	0.19	0.19
OBC	0.21	0.2	0.2	0.19	0.2	0.19	0.2
SC/ST	0.2	0.21	0.22	0.2	0.21	0.21	0.21
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.2	0.2	0.21	0.19	0.2	0.2	0.2
Muslim	0.2	0.22	0.21	0.2	0.19	0.17	0.2
Other	18	0.2	0.2	0.21	0.19	0.19	0.2
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.2	0.2	0.21	0.2	0.21	0.2	0.21
Urban	0.19	0.2	0.2	19	0.19	0.18	0.19

Table 4: Between group inequalities in education (based on Gini index) among Indian women, based on NFHS (1992-2021)

Social Groups	All India	North	Central	East	North		
					East	West	South
NFHS - 1							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.21	0.24	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.16	0.09
Caste	0.09	0.16	0.15	0.2	0.06	0.09	0.15
Religion	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.07	0.02	0.06
Region	0.14						
NFHS - 2							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.2	0.25	0.27	0.19	0.09	0.16	0.14
Caste	0.17	0.2	0.25	0.29	0.02	0.14	0.13
Religion	0.05	0.09	0.04	0.07	0.1	0.02	0.05
Region	0.14						
NFHS - 3							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.13	0.12	0.2	0.17	0.08	0.1	0.1
Caste	0.1	0.14	0.2	0.18	0.01	0.07	0.08
Religion	0.35	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.02	0.03
Region	0.09						
NFHS - 4							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.06
Caste	0.07	0.09	0.1	0.11	0.02	0.06	0.04
Religion	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.01	0.02
Region	0.07						
NFHS - 5							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.07	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.05	0.07	0.07
Caste	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.03	0.06	0.04
Religion	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.02
Region	0.06						

Source: Authors' computations based on NFHS data (1992-2021)

Table 4 gives us insights on between-group disparity in education within Indian females where, it is observed that the highest between group inequality in education among women is due to the location, i.e., rural-urban divide in India. The least is religion-based inequality in education of females across all the years of study. The between-group inequalities in all the cases (at the all-India level as well as for the regions separately, except North-East) have increased slightly from 1992-93 to 1998-99 and then have significantly reduced across all the social groups. A detailed look at the regions separately reveals that location-based and caste-based inequality in education of females are consistently relatively higher in the Central and Eastern regions whereas, religion-based disparity is comparatively higher in North-Eastern region of India.

A detailed analyses based on age cohorts of females (see Appendix) gives us an in-depth understanding of how education trends have changed for Indian women belonging to different age groups and how disparity in education persists within and between these age groups. It shows that educational levels increase with age, particularly for women in the 36-49 age group. The Gini values tend to increase with age. This might suggest that as women get older, educational inequalities within their respective social groups rise higher. However, further analysis would be needed to understand the underlying reasons for this trend. For initial overview, tables with Gini values across different age cohorts have been added in the Appendix.

Due to the complex interaction of factors such as income disparities, caste differentials, regional disparities and, diverse religious groups, ensuring educational equality presents a significant challenge in India (Ghosh, 2024). While existing scholarly literature has highlighted the significant impact of socio-economic/regional factors on disparities in educational achievement and performance, there remains a gap in understanding the specific dynamics of educational inequality *among/within* Indian women from diverse backgrounds. Therefore, given the importance of understanding the inequality in education among women, this study (the first one to do so) comprehensively investigates inequalities in education among Indian women, in both urban and rural settings at the all-India level as well as separately for the different geographical regions of India.

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Appendix

Table 5: Mean years of education of women by social and regional factors, NFHS (1992-2021), across age cohorts

<i>Age (15-25)</i>	All India	North	Central	East	North East	West	South
NFHS 1							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	3.64	3.86	2.97	3.01	5.16	4.6	4.08
OBC							
SC/ST	1.67	1.54	0.97	1.52	4.07	2.76	1.74
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	3.11	3.02	2.49	2.86	5.28	4.22	3.28
Muslim	3.04	1.94	1.97	1.96	3.9	4	5.18
Other	4.81	4.24	5.71	2.58	4.81	5	6.23
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	2.49	2.3	1.84	2.28	4.52	3.43	2.82
Urban	5.75	5.81	5.67	5.15	6.9	5.78	6.01
NFHS 2							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	4.88	4.98	3.97	4.55	3.57	5.83	6.09
OBC	3.65	2.97	2.47	2.48	6.52	5.58	4.88
SC/ST	2.37	2.15	1.64	1.67	4.16	3.5	3.25
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	3.7	3.66	2.79	3.07	4.57	5.04	4.52
Muslim	3.43	1.98	2.62	2.26	2.91	5.06	6.1
Other	5.54	5.91	5.2	3.08	4.89	6.05	5.96
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	3.04	2.8	2.21	2.55	3.83	4.21	4.07
Urban	6.43	6.53	5.8	5.93	6.45	6.65	6.87
NFHS 3							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	7.77	8.68	7.73	6.36	6.1	8.89	8.65
OBC	6.02	5.08	4.99	4.38	8.02	7.65	7.77
SC/ST	4.9	4.72	4.15	3.44	6.4	6.48	6.53
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	6.37	6.5	5.6	5.15	7.06	7.88	7.46
Muslim	5.17	4.64	3.92	3.76	5.21	7.59	8.1
Other	8.06	8.37	10.2	4.59	6.37	8.45	9.42
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	5.22	5.37	4.59	4.06	6.03	6.73	6.63
Urban	8.61	8.78	7.74	7.85	8.61	9.17	9.22
NFHS 4							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	9.9	10.78	9.84	7.48	8.09	10.14	11.27
OBC	8.91	8.61	8.3	8.73	8.37	9.56	10.76
SC/ST	7.88	7.96	7.48	6.48	8.5	8.64	9.58
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	8.99	9.21	8.63	7.66	8.58	9.53	10.49
Muslim	7.62	7.26	6.67	6.91	7.29	8.83	10.2
Other	9.78	10.24	10.52	7.34	8.56	10.43	10.89
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	8.16	8.43	7.92	7.06	7.85	8.81	9.85
Urban	10.18	10.13	9.5	9.17	9.81	10.28	11.29
NFHS 5							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	10.52	11.14	10.23	9.49	9.27	11.13	11.63
OBC	9.81	9.61	9.41	8.77	8.84	10.11	11.45
SC/ST	8.86	9.13	8.63	7.74	9.09	9.3	10.5

Religion							
Hindu	9.78	10.03	9.57	8.71	9.15	10.2	11.21
Muslim	8.54	8.61	7.55	8.18	8.13	9.47	10.83
Other	10.42	10.65	10.26	7.9	9.18	11.5	11.41
Location							
Rural	9.13	9.49	9	8.2	8.54	9.51	10.74
Urban	10.81	10.75	10.29	10	10.31	11.03	11.8
Age (26-35)							
NFHS 1							
Caste							
Other	4.06	4.27	2.96	3.36	4.87	5.18	4.81
OBC							
SC/ST	1.33	1.29	0.54	1.03	3.04	1.97	1.85
Religion							
Hindu	3.46	3.3	2.42	3.15	4.79	4.68	4.04
Muslim	2.6	1.66	1.86	1.34	3.01	3.67	4.49
Other	5.79	4.55	7.38	5.18	4.2	6.01	7.58
Location							
Rural	2.3	2.09	1.3	1.94	3.66	3.24	3.14
Urban	6.56	6.27	6.08	6.61	7.74	6.76	6.8
NFHS 2							
Caste							
Other	5.2	5.47	4.44	4.8	3.94	5.61	6.46
OBC	3.38	2.48	1.94	2.05	5.82	4.49	4.66
SC/ST	1.89	1.56	1.01	1.23	3.32	3.25	2.53
Religion							
Hindu	3.64	3.76	2.76	3.09	4.3	4.58	4.32
Muslim	2.95	1.89	2.07	1.59	2.26	4.71	5.33
Other	6.16	5.99	6.73	3.05	4.77	6.04	7.82
Location							
Rural	2.53	2.2	1.6	2.15	3.3	3.26	3.55
Urban	6.82	7.12	6.48	6.42	7.63	6.73	7.09
NFHS 3							
Caste							
Other	6.63	7.47	6.63	5.4	5.38	7.38	7.28
OBC	4.21	2.66	2.7	2.95	6.76	5.81	5.76
SC/ST	2.92	2.72	1.8	1.95	5.31	4.3	3.95
Religion							
Hindu	4.76	4.97	3.5	4.05	6.41	6.09	5.441
Muslim	3.41	2.84	2.19	1.82	3.31	5.78	6.18
Other	6.73	6.63	8.47	3.59	5.27	6.83	8.47
Location							
Rural	3.28	3.24	2.21	2.61	4.95	4.32	4.38
Urban	7.56	7.97	6.64	7.13	8.15	7.96	7.79
NFHS 4							
Caste							
Other	8.74	6.34	8.79	7.25	7.37	8.81	9.87
OBC	6.52	9.88	5.24	4.54	7.18	7.69	8.4
SC/ST	5.26	5.35	4.05	3.84	7.22	6.76	6.59
Religion							
Hindu	6.76	7.24	5.78	5.3	7.58	7.9	7.99
Muslim	5.54	5.34	4.15	4.3	5.23	6.95	8.29
Other	8.53	9.03	10.4	4.77	7.42	9.06	9.54
Location							
Rural	5.33	5.81	4.39	4.24	6.32	6.6	6.62
Urban	9.18	9.28	8.54	8.09	9.69	9.3	9.91
NFHS 5							
Caste							
Other	9.57	10.6	9.47	7.93	8.52	10.03	10.31
OBC	7.81	7.48	7.05	5.84	7.93	8.65	9.58
SC/ST	6.48	6.67	5.97	4.77	7.93	7.41	8.13
Reliaigion							

Hindu	7.89	8.37	7.42	6.24	8.12	8.8	9.18
Muslim	6.52	6.69	5.31	5.33	5.91	7.88	9.19
Other	9.32	9.57	9	5.9	8.39	10.31	10.27
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	6.67	7.2	6.32	5.21	7.01	7.58	8.14
Urban	9.97	10.19	9.44	8.85	10.08	10.15	10.76
Age (36-49)							
NFHS 1							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	3.09	3.39	2.17	2.52	4.28	3.81	3.68
OBC							
SC/ST	1.02	0.74	0.39	0.79	3.36	1.29	1.45
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	2.62	2.66	1.73	2.34	4.66	3.42	3.04
Muslim	2.09	0.57	1.61	1.4	2.73	2.78	3.27
Other	4.31	3.22	6.18	2.92	2.84	3.98	6.17
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	1.54	1.26	0.86	1.25	3.28	1.77	2.28
Urban	5.44	5.7	4.85	5.39	7.19	5.59	5.47
NFHS 2							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	4.66	5.47	1.94	4.8	3.94	5.61	6.46
OBC	6.46	2.48	4.44	2.05	5.82	4.49	4.66
SC/ST	2.53	1.56	1.01	1.23	3.32	3.25	2.53
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	4.32	3.76	2.76	3.09	4.3	4.58	4.32
Muslim	5.33	1.89	2.07	1.59	2.26	4.71	5.33
Other	7.82	5.99	6.73	3.05	4.77	6.04	7.82
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	3.55	2.2	1.6	2.15	3.3	3.26	3.55
Urban	7.09	7.12	6.48	6.42	7.63	6.73	7.09
NFHS 3							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	5.61	5.9	5.67	4.65	4.56	6.15	6.4
OBC	2.92	1.73	1.53	1.79	5.44	4.33	4.16
SC/ST	1.72	1.26	0.81	1.15	4.11	2.83	2.53
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	3.55	3.59	2.29	3.13	5.42	4.81	4.11
Muslim	2.45	1.55	1.68	1.23	2.11	4.1	4.59
Other	5.92	5.54	8.75	3.58	3.68	5.39	7.32
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	2.18	1.82	1.3	1.77	3.61	2.86	3.2
Urban	6.2	6.66	5.15	5.94	7.67	6.77	6.2
NFHS 4							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	6.84	7.56	6.84	5.7	5.86	5.67	5.68
OBC	4.3	3.62	2.78	3.05	5.74	6.98	7.58
SC/ST	2.89	2.75	1.67	2.21	5.21	4.16	3.55
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	4.55	4.73	3.4	3.84	5.99	5.83	5.15
Muslim	3.61	2.72	2.24	2.46	3.3	4.97	6.15
Other	6.57	6.35	9.1	3.22	5.61	6.59	8.03
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	3.12	3.16	2.11	2.71	4.43	4.06	3.9
Urban	7.07	7.08	6.38	6.43	8.41	7.57	7.27
NFHS 5							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	5.04	8	7.2	6.19	7.29	7.82	7.92
OBC	7.39	4.2	3.6	3.72	6.24	6.39	6.44
SC/ST	3.58	3.61	2.46	2.67	5.85	4.83	4.39
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	5.19	5.44	4.12	4.4	6.5	6.44	5.86

Muslim	4.11	3.65	2.68	2.91	3.62	5.66	6.69
Other	7.19	6.84	7.69	3.63	6.31	8.26	8.23
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	3.82	3.93	2.92	3.14	5.04	4.78	4.73
Urban	7.74	7.93	6.83	7.07	8.51	8.42	8.02

Source: Authors' computations based on NFHS data (1992-2021)

Table 6: Within group inequalities in education (Gini) among Indian women based on NFHS (1992-2021), across age cohorts

<i>Age (15-25)</i>	<i>North</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>East</i>	<i>NE</i>	<i>West</i>	<i>South</i>	<i>All India</i>
<i>NFHS 1</i>	0.27	0.31	0.32	0.48	0.26	0.23	0.29
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.27	0.32	0.3	0.51	0.24	0.23	0.28
OBC							
SC/ST	0.28	0.24	0.47	0.39	0.35	0.23	0.33
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.28	0.31	0.32	0.47	0.26	0.24	0.29
Muslim	0.36	0.34	0.34	0.59	0.22	0.22	0.31
Other	0.21	0.19	0.22	0.21	0.27	0.15	0.23
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.28	0.32	0.33	0.51	0.28	0.24	0.31
Urban	0.24	0.27	0.28	0.35	0.22	0.21	0.25
<i>NFHS 2</i>	0.22	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.24
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.21	0.25	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.23	0.23
OBC	0.22	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.22	0.21	0.23
SC/ST	0.21	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.22	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.24
Muslim	0.26	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.24	0.19	0.24
Other	0.2	0.26	0.19	0.23	0.23	0.25	0.23
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.21	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.24
Urban	0.21	0.23	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.22
<i>NFHS 3</i>	0.2	0.21	0.22	0.2	0.18	0.19	0.21
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.17	0.2	0.22	0.22	0.17	0.18	0.2
OBC	0.21	0.21	0.21	0.17	0.18	0.19	0.2
SC/ST	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.2	0.19	0.2	0.21
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.2	0.21	0.22	0.19	0.18	0.19	0.2
Muslim	0.2	0.23	0.23	0.22	0.18	0.17	0.21
Other	0.17	0.16	0.2	0.22	0.17	0.17	0.19
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.19	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.19	0.2	0.21
Urban	0.19	0.2	0.19	0.17	0.17	0.17	0.18

NFHS 4	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.17
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.15	0.17	0.18	0.18	0.16	0.14	0.17
OBC	0.18	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.17
SC/ST	0.18	0.18	0.19	0.17	0.18	0.15	0.18
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.17	0.18	0.17	0.16	0.17	0.15	0.17
Muslim	0.19	0.22	0.19	0.17	0.16	0.14	0.19
Other	0.16	0.17	0.19	0.18	0.15	0.15	0.17
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.17	0.17	0.15	0.17
Urban	0.16	0.18	0.17	0.15	0.17	0.14	0.16
NFHS 5	0.16	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.13	0.16
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.14	0.13	0.15
OBC	0.17	0.16	0.15	0.17	0.15	0.13	0.16
SC/ST	0.16	0.17	0.17	0.16	0.16	0.14	0.16
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.13	0.16
Muslim	0.17	0.19	0.16	0.15	0.14	0.12	0.17
Other	0.14	0.15	0.17	0.17	0.13	0.13	0.15
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.13	0.16
Urban	0.15	0.16	0.16	0.15	0.14	0.12	0.15
Age (26-35)							
NFHS 1	0.29	0.3	0.32	0.41	0.32	0.27	0.31
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.28	0.3	0.31	0.42	0.32	0.27	0.3
OBC							
SC/ST	0.34	0.32	0.43	0.34	0.41	0.3	0.37
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.3	0.29	0.32	0.38	0.33	0.28	0.31
Muslim	0.4	0.42	0.35	0.59	0.3	0.25	0.35
Other	0.24	0.15	0.33	0.46	0.32	0.19	0.28
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.31	0.32	0.33	0.43	0.37	0.28	0.33
Urban	0.24	0.24	0.26	0.32	0.28	0.24	0.26
NFHS 2	0.24	0.29	0.27	0.26	0.27	0.26	0.27
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.25	0.3	0.26	0.21	0.25	0.26	0.26
OBC	0.22	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.26	0.23	0.25
SC/ST	0.23	0.32	0.27	0.28	0.28	0.29	0.28
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.24	0.29	0.27	0.25	0.27	0.26	0.27
Muslim	0.27	0.27	0.28	0.26	0.24	0.23	0.26
Other	0.22	0.22	0.19	0.27	0.26	0.22	0.24
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.22	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.27

Urban	0.21	0.24	0.25	0.22	0.24	0.23	0.24
NFHS 3	0.23	0.27	0.27	0.26	0.24	0.25	0.25
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.22	0.23	0.26	0.27	0.22	0.23	0.24
OBC	0.24	0.26	0.26	0.22	0.25	0.26	0.26
SC/ST	0.24	0.27	0.29	0.26	0.24	0.25	0.26
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.24	0.27	0.27	0.25	0.23	0.26	0.25
Muslim	0.24	0.27	0.28	0.26	0.23	0.2	0.25
Other	0.21	0.21	0.23	0.27	0.24	0.22	0.23
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.22	0.25	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.26	0.25
Urban	0.21	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.21	0.23	0.23
NFHS 4	0.22	0.25	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.23
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.19	0.21	0.23	0.2	0.21	0.19	0.22
OBC	0.23	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.23
SC/ST	0.22	0.26	0.26	0.23	0.23	0.22	0.24
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.22	0.25	0.24	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.23
Muslim	0.23	0.26	0.26	0.23	0.22	0.19	0.24
Other	0.19	0.19	0.24	0.24	0.2	0.2	0.21
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.22	0.24	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.22	0.23
Urban	0.2	0.22	0.22	0.2	0.21	0.19	0.21
NFHS 5	0.22	0.23	0.24	0.22	0.21	0.2	0.23
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.19	0.2	0.23	0.21	0.2	0.19	0.21
OBC	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.2	0.21	0.2	0.22
SC/ST	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.22	0.23	0.22	0.24
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.22	0.23	0.24	0.2	0.21	0.21	0.22
Muslim	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.23	0.21	0.18	0.23
Other	0.2	0.22	0.22	0.23	0.2	0.2	0.21
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.22	0.22	0.21	0.23
Urban	0.2	0.21	0.22	0.2	0.2	0.18	0.2
Age (36-49)							
NFHS 1	0.3	0.34	0.34	0.48	0.32	0.29	0.33
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.29	0.34	0.34	0.46	0.32	0.33	0.32
OBC							
SC/ST	0.38	0.31	0.4	0.52	0.3	0.29	0.38
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.47	0.32	0.29	0.32
Muslim	0.3	0.55	0.56	0.66	0.33	0.32	0.45
Other	0.24	0.26	0.26	0.24	0.26	0.21	0.26

<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.34	0.34	0.35	0.51	0.32	0.3	0.35
Urban	0.26	0.3	0.3	0.36	0.29	0.26	0.29
NFHS 2							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.23	0.3	0.26	0.24	0.26	0.27	0.27
OBC	0.24	0.26	0.29	0.3	0.28	0.26	0.27
SC/ST	0.26	0.32	0.28	0.29	0.3	0.27	0.29
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.25	0.29	0.29	0.27	0.29	0.27	0.28
Muslim	0.29	0.27	0.26	0.29	0.26	0.27	0.28
Other	0.23	0.25	0.24	0.3	0.24	0.24	0.25
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.23	0.26	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.27	0.27
Urban	0.22	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
NFHS 3							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.24	0.23	0.28	0.28	0.24	0.25	0.26
OBC	0.26	0.26	0.29	0.26	0.27	0.27	0.27
SC/ST	0.25	0.28	0.31	0.28	0.29	0.3	0.3
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.26	0.26	0.29	0.26	0.26	0.27	0.27
Muslim	0.26	0.27	0.3	0.22	0.26	0.25	0.28
Other	0.22	0.2	0.25	0.31	0.26	0.24	0.25
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.23	0.25	0.29	0.28	0.26	0.27	0.27
Urban	0.22	0.24	0.25	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.25
NFHS 4							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.21	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.24	0.21	0.23
OBC	0.24	0.26	0.25	0.22	0.24	0.23	0.24
SC/ST	0.23	0.28	0.28	0.26	0.27	0.25	0.26
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.24	0.26	0.26	0.23	0.25	0.24	0.25
Muslim	0.24	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.25	0.2	0.24
Other	0.2	0.2	0.28	0.26	0.25	0.21	0.23
<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.22	0.25	0.26	0.25	0.25	0.24	0.25
Urban	0.21	0.24	0.23	0.21	0.23	0.22	0.23
NFHS 5							
<i>Caste</i>							
Other	0.21	0.22	0.24	0.21	0.23	0.22	0.23
OBC	0.23	0.25	0.25	0.21	0.23	0.23	0.24
SC/ST	0.24	0.26	0.28	0.23	0.26	0.26	0.26
<i>Religion</i>							
Hindu	0.24	0.25	0.26	0.22	0.24	0.24	0.25
Muslim	0.23	0.26	0.27	0.25	0.22	0.2	0.24
Other	0.21	0.23	0.23	0.24	0.23	0.22	0.23

<i>Location</i>							
Rural	0.22	0.24	0.26	0.23	0.24	0.25	0.25
Urban	0.21	0.23	0.23	0.2	0.21	0.22	0.22

Source: Authors' computations based on NFHS data (1992-2021)

Table 7: Between group inequalities in education (Gini) among Indian women, based on NFHS (1992-2021), across age cohorts

<i>Age (15-25)</i>	All India	North	Central	East	North East	West	South
<i>NFHS I</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.15	0.17	0.2	0.1	0.05	0.11	0.13
Caste	0.08	0.14	0.14	0.08	0.03	0.07	0.1
Religion	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.08
Region	0.13						
<i>NFHS II</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.14	0.16	0.16	0.11	0.04	0.11	0.1
Caste	0.12	0.15	0.19	0.24	0.03	0.11	0.1
Religion	0.03	0.08	0.15	0.05	0.11	0.02	0.04
Region	0.14						
<i>NFHS III</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.09	0.07	0.12	0.12	0.05	0.06	0.06
Caste	0.07	0.1	0.12	0.12	0.01	0.04	0.04
Religion	0.02	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.05	0.01	0.02
Region	0.08						
<i>NFHS IV</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.02
Caste	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.02
Religion	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.005
Region	0.06						
<i>NFHS V</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.02
Caste	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.01
Religion	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0
Region	0.05						
<i>Age (26-35)</i>							
<i>NFHS I</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.21	0.23	0.35	0.23	0.11	0.16	0.14
Caste	0.09	0.15	0.16	0.11	0.06	0.09	0.08
Religion	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.09	0.04	0.05
Region	0.14						
<i>NFHS II</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.22	0.25	0.31	0.21	0.11	0.15	0.15
Caste	0.17	0.21	0.28	0.31	0.03	0.14	0.13
Religion	0.05	0.09	0.05	0.07	0.1	0.03	0.05
Region	0.14						
<i>NFHS III</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.16	0.15	0.28	0.21	0.09	0.12	0.11
Caste	0.12	0.18	0.26	0.22	0.01	0.08	0.1
Religion	0.04	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.09	0.03	0.03
Region	0.1						
<i>NFHS IV</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.12	0.09	0.15	0.14	0.07	0.08	0.06
Caste	0.09	0.12	0.14	0.15	0.03	0.06	0.04
Religion	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.05	0.01	0.02
Region	0.1						
<i>NFHS V</i>							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.09	0.06	0.09	0.11	0.06	0.07	0.07
Caste	0.06	0.09	0.09	0.12	0.04	0.06	0.04
Religion	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.01

Region	0.08						
Age (36-49)							
NFHS I							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.27	0.33	0.41	0.3	0.17	0.22	0.16
Caste	0.1	0.19	0.16	0.1	0.09	0.11	0.08
Religion	0.05	0.04	0.05	0.07	0.09	0.02	0.06
Region	0.15						
NFHS II							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.27	0.33	0.39	0.29	0.15	0.22	0.18
Caste	0.21	0.24	0.31	0.33	0.05	0.19	0.17
Religion	0.07	0.1	0.07	0.09	0.1	0.03	0.06
Region	0.15						
NFHS III							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.22	0.25	0.37	0.28	0.15	0.16	0.14
Caste	0.17	0.24	0.38	0.27	0.04	0.12	0.14
Religion	0.05	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.1	0.03	0.05
Region	0.1						
NFHS IV							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.18	0.18	0.25	0.19	0.11	0.15	0.12
Caste	0.14	0.19	0.26	0.23	0.05	0.1	0.1
Religion	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.05	0.09	0.02	0.05
Region	0.12						
NFHS V							
Location (Rural/Urban)	0.16	0.14	0.2	0.18	0.09	0.14	0.14
Caste	0.12	0.15	0.2	0.2	0.07	0.11	0.09
Religion	0.03	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.08	0.02	0.05
Region	0.1						

Source: Authors' computations based on NFHS data (1992-2021)