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Who Gets Good Jobs?

Exploring the Nature of Competition and Social Exclusion in India

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These results are based on India Human Development Survey, 2004-05. This survey was jointly organized by researchers at University of Maryland and the National Council of Applied Economic Research. The data collection was funded by grants R01HD041455 and R01HD046166 from the National Institutes of Health to University of Maryland. Part of the sample represents a resurvey of households initially conducted in the course of India Human Development Survey 1993-94 conducted by NCAER.

Data collection was completed in November 2005 and the data are still being validated. These results are based on preliminary data and may change once final data are available.

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, discourse about the Indian middle class has caught the public's imagination. However, two different stories are simultaneously being told. According to one, the high rate of economic growth has affected all sections of society resulting in a large number of people moving from poverty into the middle class. The second, however, focuses on the elitist nature of this growth suggesting that the Indian middle class has become increasingly insular with its perks reserved for the privileged sections of society. This paper focuses on whether economic growth has opened opportunities for all or whether higher paying occupations are restricted to a privileged few. Utilizing a new, comprehensive national survey of 41,500 households, the India Human Development Survey 2005 (IHDS), we show that in this situation, personal resources above and beyond human capital are of great help to jobseekers. In particular, social and cultural capital critically affect job outcomes.

Introduction

In recent years, the discourse about the Indian middle class—by some accounts the largest in the world—has caught the public’s imagination. However, two different stories are simultaneously being told. According to one story, the high rate of economic growth over the past decade has resulted in a large number of people moving from poverty into the middle class. This broad-based economic boom has affected all sections of society and resulted in a growing market. It is expected that this growing market will increase opportunities for domestic and foreign companies, thereby augmenting the virtuous cycle of growth . The second story, however, focuses on the elitist nature of this growth and suggests that the Indian middle class has become increasingly insular, with the perks of middle-class existence reserved for the privileged sections of society

A focus on the decline in poverty tells one side of the story. This paper will focus on the other side of the story, whether economic growth has opened up opportunities for all or whether higher paying occupations are restricted to a privileged few. Our past research documents two phenomena:

(1) White-collar and some blue-collar occupations in the public sector have recorded large income growth – fuelled by a variety of forces including increasing incomes in the private sector, Table 1 documents the income increases associated with the implementation of the Fifth Pay Commission Report in the government sector and the decline in personal income tax rates (Desai 2007);

(2) On the other hand, as Table 2 indicates, the occupational distribution has not undergone a vast change even as education levels have been increasing resulting in increased competition for the better paying jobs.

These observations suggest that access to well paying jobs forms the crucial point of change for the Indian stratification system in recent years. Past research has suggested that in an era of economic expansion when middle class jobs are growing, the role of social origins in shaping economic life chances declines while achieved characteristics such as education and human capital play an increasingly important role (Hout 1988). However, the changes in India involve increasing incomes for certain positions without a substantial growth in those jobs. Hence, a focus on who gets these jobs provides an interesting window into the ongoing transformation of the Indian society.

This paper focuses on how Indian workers negotiate these hurdles. We argue that in this situation, personal resources above and beyond human capital are of great help to jobseekers. In particular, social and cultural capital critically affect job outcomes. The analysis takes advantage of a new, comprehensive national survey of 41,500 households, the India Human Development Survey 2005 (IHDS). Job outcomes are ordered on a continuum from self employment/casual work to regular salaried employment and from there to white collar and professional work. The IHDS provides multiple measures of human, social, and cultural capital.

Indian Employment Context

India remains overwhelmingly rural (73%) even in the 21st century. Consequently, agricultural work dominates the Indian economic panorama. However, with land fragmentation and legislated land ceilings, most farms are five acres or less, and many farmers engage in both own account farming and daily wage labor. In urban areas, many Indian households work in petty business or trade. Regular salaried jobs remain the dream of most Indian workers given the uncertainty of finding adequate work on a daily

basis. The difference in incomes for those in permanent jobs and those in daily work is striking. A daily laborer earns Rs. 30-80 per day depending upon the nature of the work and is lucky to find 150 days of work per year; a salaried janitor in government service earns Rs. 4000 per month. In 1999-2000, 53% of the Indian workers were self employed in agriculture or business, 33% were casual wage labourers and only 13% had a regular salaried job. Table 3 indicates the distribution of employment for males aged 25-50 and confirms our argument that these work categories underlie major differences in household income.

Theoretical Framework

Much of the literature on employment suggests that in a competitive market, employers look for education, skill levels and intelligence in selecting the most qualified candidate. Consequently, education and other aspects of human capital are seen as the primary factors determining individuals' access to jobs.

While this human capital perspective is an excellent working hypothesis, it is of little help in dealing with situations where the supply of qualified workers far outstrips available jobs or where jobs requires relatively few skills but are extremely desirable due to a high relative salary level such as a guard in a government building or a postal worker. Finding a white collar or professional position is even more challenging. With a rapid rise in the number of people attending post-secondary schools, many people with college degrees are looking for a position with relatively few vacancies.

Consequently, while a skill shortage exists at the very upper end such as software engineers, at a more general level, there is a surplus of candidates with similar levels of investment in human capital looking for work. In these situations especially, social

contacts and impressive cultural expertise can make the difference between getting scarce formal sector employment and having to rely on more casual labour or self-employment.

Human Capital:

While the focus of this paper is on the impact of social and cultural capital in shaping access to jobs, it is important to control for human capital. Investment in knowledge and skills through education at the primary, secondary, and higher levels becomes a primary mechanism for increasing one's own human capital. In addition to schooling, human capital from investments in job skills and ability level are assumed to be determinate of job performance and are seen as markers of competence by employers. In the Indian context a variety of dimensions of human capital are relevant. These include:

- Literacy
- Years of schooling
- Performance in high school and college
- Course of study
- Computer skills
- English speaking skills

While English language skills are also an important marker of cultural capital in an increasingly Western-oriented society, we interpret individuals' English abilities conservatively here for their instrumental value at work rather than their status value in society.

Social Capital:

While human capital is a property of the individual and has direct bearing on job performance, social capital is produced in interaction with others and often is the hallmark of a social group rather than an individual (Putnam 2000). Social capital is constituted through interactions with individuals and institutions. Although social capital

has several dimensions (Lin, 2001; Sobel 2002, Portes, 1998), for our purposes it is the connectivity offered by social capital that is most relevant.

Scholars studying social capital have differentiated between two dimensions of social capital: one focuses on close bonds between people connected by kinship or community ties – often called bonding capital; the other focuses on weaker bonds between members of diverse communities – often called bridging capital (Granovetter 1973). In studying access to jobs, these two types of capital serve different functions. The bridging capital increases the ability of individuals to explore diverse options by increasing their knowledge of job markets and helps them develop skills to negotiate complex bureaucracies. In contrast, the bonding capital allows them to exploit reciprocal ties where they are recipients of largess from employers who expect actual or potential benefits from close alliances with the employee and his/her closely tied network.

In this paper we focus on the following dimensions of social capital:

- Bridging capital – diversity of network ties -- is measured by the membership of the household in a variety of organizations and associations including caste organizations, festival committees, women's associations, self help groups, trade unions etc.
- Bonding capital – strength of network ties -- is measured by households marital alliance with well off households, education and occupation of other household members and alliance with political powerful individuals who are members of local governing bodies.

Cultural Capital:

Cultural capital, a term popularized by Bourdieu (1977, 1986), refers to the symbolic capital acquired in mastering the dominant styles of thinking, interaction, dress, and literature; cultural capital subtly signals an individual's membership in elite social groups. These claims to high culture are often rewarded in job interviews because often the interviewers are members of a similar cultural class and consciously or unconsciously

feel more comfortable around people from the same class. In addition to this gate keeping function, cultural capital may also signal characteristics associated with superior job performance.

In survey research, cultural capital has been difficult to measure, but Indian historiography suggests that elite Indian culture has increasingly come to support its claims to modernity through distancing itself from certain “backward” traditions as well as actively seeking connections with a wider world of arts and literature through developing English skills. We recognize that there are many dimensions of cultural capital; claims to modernity refer to only a small segment of cultural capital. However, given our focus on access to modern occupations, we argue that this form of cultural capital is likely to be particularly important. We index individuals’ access to this cultural capital by focusing on the following markers:

- Whether women in the household refrain from purdah or ghunghat
- English knowledge of other household members, controlling for respondent’s own English skills
- Regular reading of newspapers by male and female household members

Data

The data for this analysis are drawn from India Human Development Survey 2005 (IHDS). The IHDS was organized by researchers from the University of Maryland and the National Council of Applied Economic Research, New Delhi. A pair of one male and one female interviewers administered two questionnaires in 13 local languages in face-to-face interviews with a national sample of 41,554 households. The respondents included a knowledgeable person regarding the household economic situation (typically but not always the male head of the household) and an ever married woman aged 15-49. The interview modules included questions on household economic activity, income,

consumption expenditure, social networks, education, gender relations, health and fertility.

IHDS collected work and employment information on all individuals within a household, including which family members were involved in household farm labor or household nonfarm business, as well as descriptions for any wage or salary work and whether that work was casual or permanent. Based on those descriptions, wage and salaried work was subsequently coded into different occupational groups using the National Occupational Classification (1968). Using this data, we collapsed workers into three hierarchical categories—those who held white collar or professional jobs, those who held regular salaried non white collar jobs, and those employed in agriculture, business, or casual wage work. About 86 percent of our final sample is employed in agriculture, business or casual wage work, 10% has regular salaried non white collar jobs, and a little over 3 percent has white collar or professional jobs.

The sample for this analysis consists of males age 25-50. We have restricted our analysis to males since women's employment is governed by more complex processes including both job availability and the household decision to allow formal labor force participation. Appropriate models for this process would need to be more nuanced than our present focus on labor opportunities. Thus, the sample for this analysis consists of 34,260 males aged 25-50 who were employed in the year preceding the survey. About 9% of the 25-50 year old males were excluded since they were not employed in the preceding year. Had we chosen to include women, this restriction would have omitted 52% of the age range, resulting in a high level of sample selectivity.

Preliminary Results

Table 4 presents basic statistics for each human capital, social capital, and cultural capital variable. Regarding the measures of human capital for the sample as a whole, approximately 75% are literate, and 76% have attended school. The mean number of years of schooling completed for the sample is between six and seven, and 12% have attended college or technical school. Considering English proficiency, 23% have some basic level of English skills whereas 5% are fluent. Four percent are reported as having some computer skills.

Table 5 shows that the more privileged groups have better access to the best jobs. Brahmins have the most advantages for obtaining both regular salaried positions as well as the more scarce white collar and professional positions. Nearly one-third of Brahmin males aged 25-50 hold regular salaried jobs (21.4%) or white collar and professional jobs (11.4%). Each group lower in the caste hierarchy is less advantaged in obtaining the better positions. Muslims are especially disadvantaged in obtaining salaried positions. Other minority religions, however, do quite well; their success is outdone only by Brahmins.

Upper caste privileges in obtaining salaried positions are explained at least in part by their advantages in human, social, and cultural capital. One of the objectives of our analysis will be to investigate how each of these advantages mediates the relationship between the caste and religion in which the respondent was born and the job he was able to obtain as an adult.

Tables 6, 7, and 8 present simple crosstabs of each of the independent variables with the occupational outcome. Each variable demonstrates moderate to strong zero-order associations with occupational position.

Table 6 presents crosstabs of the respondent's job type by each measure of human capital. As is to be expected, higher levels of investment in human capital and higher levels of achievement are consistently associated with better access to regular salaried positions as well as the white collar and professional jobs. Those who are literate and those who have ever attended school are four-and-a-half times more likely to hold regular salaried jobs and ten times more likely to hold white collar or professional jobs than are those who are not literate or who have never attended school. Of those who completed 15+ years of schooling, 46% hold regular salaried or white collar jobs as compared to 23% of those with 10 to 14 years of school completed.

While holding successively higher degrees increases the chances of finding salaried and professional work, performance on secondary board exams and achievement in college also provide additional advantages for having access to good jobs. Those with some English abilities, and particularly those who are fluent in English, have a greater advantage for getting the best jobs, as do those with computer skills.

Table 7 reports crosstabs of job type by social capital measures. These results suggest the importance of both bonding and bridging forms of social capital for having access to salaried jobs. Regarding bonding capital, the chances of holding a salaried or white collar job are greatest when the head of household's father also held a white collar or professional position (40.1%) and the least when the head's father was an unskilled laborer (8.5%). Having more well-educated family members also increases the likelihood of holding a salaried or white collar position.

Bridging social capital is also associated with access to good jobs. Our measures show that respondents in households with a medical, educational, or government social network tie are more likely to hold a regular salaried or a white collar position.

Respondents with all three types of ties are at an even greater advantage of holding a salaried or white collar job (24.9%) than those with only one type of network tie (17%), particularly if these network ties are also family members.

Our preliminary analysis suggests the total number of household memberships in organizations and associations does not provide a benefit in getting access to scarce jobs, and neither does having someone close to the family as a panchayat official. However, regression models will be better suited for assessing the existence of any relationship.

Crosstabs between job type and measures of cultural capital are in Table 8. Respondents with higher levels of cultural capital are consistently more likely to hold regular salaried or white collar and professional jobs. Though only 3.4% of the respondents have a female in their household who is fluent in English, 49.1% of these respondents hold regular salaried or white collar jobs. Additionally, respondents in households that do not practice purdah are more likely to hold these scarce jobs. And while having anyone in the household who reads a newspaper regularly is related to holding a better job, the relationship is more pronounced for respondents who have a woman in the household who reads the newspaper on a regular basis. Together, these results support our proposition that possessing cultural capital is advantageous for securing employment in scarce jobs under tight competition.

All variables are themselves inter-correlated so the multivariate models will be the principal test of the relative importance of the different types of capital. Indeed, multi-collinearities may be an issue the analysis will have to resolve. Because the three outcome positions represent an ordinal continuum, the main results will be a stepwise ordinal logit, beginning with social position (caste and religion), adding human capital,

and then social and cultural capital. Controls for state, rural/urban residence, and age will be included at each step (see the crosstabs in Table 9).

Conclusion

Middle-class positions in India have become increasingly lucrative and there has been a steady rise in the number of people with the educational credentials to qualify for those positions. Unfortunately, there has not been an equivalent rise in the number of middle-class positions themselves, so competition for these positions has escalated. In these circumstances, the role of social contacts and cultural background may play an important role in allocating the scarce positions. Since social and cultural capital may be especially linked to positions in traditional caste and religious hierarchies, we expect that those traditional hierarchies will remain important in obtaining privileged job outcomes. The preliminary results presented here show the importance of social and cultural capital as resources for obtaining the best jobs in a job market where increasing numbers possess greater amounts of human capital. The results of this research with new Indian data should help us understand how human capital, social capital, and cultural capital interact to determine occupational outcomes in the emerging Indian economy.

Table 1: Changes in Median Expenditure for various Occupational Groups
(in 1999-2000 constant Rs.)

Primary Occupation of the Household	1983	1987- 1988	1994- 1994	1999- 2000	Change 1983 - 2000
Upper Professional	3558	4020	4194	4881	1323
Lower Professional	2538	2750	2997	3356	818
Manager & Govt. Official	4824	5030	5684	6450	1626
Proprietor - Working	3570	3393	3549	3871	301
Clerical	2968	3078	3204	3884	916
Teacher	3190	3333	3354	3759	569
Merchant	2240	2350	2442	2864	624
Salesman	1794	1883	2082	2420	626
Service Workers	1722	1824	1950	2450	728
Small Farmer (<= 5 acre land)	1794	1875	1985	2320	526
Large Farmer (> 5 acre land)	2716	2800	2808	3282	566
Planter, Poultry	2040	2226	2384	2864	824
Agricultural Labor	1176	1280	1351	1616	440
Fisherman, Forestry worker	1616	1785	1792	2010	394
Machine Operator	2272	2335	2440	2840	568
Artisan	1896	1980	2070	2388	492
Transport Worker	2128	2110	2225	2604	476
Laborer	1662	1656	1810	2136	474
No Occupation-Retiree, Unempl.	862	1027	1098	1500	638
Occupation Missing	1452	1459	1032	2575	1123
					0
All India	1774	1841	1952	2265	491

* Source: National Sample Survey 38th, 43rd, 50th and 55th Rounds.

In 1999-2000 U.S.\$ 1=43.5 Rs.

Source: Desai 2007. Estimates from National Sample Survey Rounds 38, 43, 50, 55

**Table 2: Distribution of Primary Occupation
for Individuals aged 30-50, 1983-2000**

	Males				Total
	1983.0	1987-88	1993-94	1999-2000	
White Collar/Professional	10.2	10.1	10.5	9.1	9.9
Merchant, Sales, Businessman	8.1	9.2	10.2	10.5	9.6
Skilled Labor	16.3	16.3	16.8	15.4	16.1
Farmer	33.6	31.4	29.5	28.8	30.6
Unskilled Labor	29.1	30.1	30.6	32.9	30.9
Out of labor force, Unemployed, Beggar, Prostitute, No occup.	2.8	2.9	2.4	3.3	2.9
Total	75796	83441	75988	81922	317147
	Females				Total
	1983.0	1987-88	1993-94	1999-2000	
Professional/clerical	1.5	1.9	2.1	2.0	1.9
Merchant, Sales, Businessman	1.6	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.7
Skilled Labor	3.8	3.6	3.4	3.5	3.6
Farmer	16.6	15.5	14.2	13.9	14.9
Unskilled Labor	16.6	16.0	16.2	18.5	17.0
Out of labor force, Unemployed, Beggar, Prostitute, No occup.	60.0	61.2	62.3	60.5	61.0
Total	72243	79387	71934	78457	302021

* Source: Desai and Das, 2003 (from National Sample Survey)

Table 3: Employment Distribution and per capita household expenditure**Males aged 25-50**

	Percent of Sample	Per Capita Annual Household Expenditures
Not employed	8.78	11732
Farming, Business, Casual work	78.68	8679
Regular salaried work	9.51	14746
White collar/professional	3.04	20819

Source: IHDS, 2005

Table 4. Summary Statistics for Main Independent Variables

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>Human Capital</i>					
Literate	34204	0.75	0.43	0	1
Attended school	34114	0.76	0.43	0	1
Standards completed	34130	6.58	4.92	0	15
Division in secondary board exam	10718	2.01	0.63	1	3
Course of study after 10th/11th class	7359	2.05	0.83	1	5
Attended college or vocational school	34245	0.12	0.33	0	1
Highest degree	3812	1.43	1.11	0	5
Division in college	2949	1.86	0.62	1	3
Computer knowledge	34260	0.05	0.21	0	1
Know some English	34260	0.23	0.42	0	1
Fluent in English	34260	0.04	0.21	0	1
<i>Social Capital</i>					
Head of household's father's occupation	34260	2.25	1.13	0	4
Economic status of wife's natal family	29424	1.09	0.52	0	2
Husband's brothers' highest years of ed	28983	7.09	5.23	0	15
Husband's sisters' highest years of ed	28045	3.87	4.76	0	15
Medical contact	33964	0.32	0.47	0	1
Education contact	33910	0.41	0.49	0	1
Government contact	33784	0.34	0.47	0	1
Total number of network contacts	33683	1.07	1.14	0	3
Related to medical contact	33965	0.05	0.22	0	1
Related to education contact	33911	0.10	0.30	0	1
Related to government contact	33779	0.12	0.32	0	1
Official in panchayat	34118	0.13	0.38	0	2
Total # group/organization memberships	34221	0.71	1.16	0	9
<i>Cultural Capital</i>					
Anyone else in hh speaks any English	34260	0.30	0.46	0	1
Anyone else in hh fluent in English	34260	0.05	0.23	0	1
Any women in hh speak any English	34260	0.20	0.40	0	1
Any women in hh fluent in English	34260	0.03	0.18	0	1
Any men read newspaper regularly	33771	0.73	0.79	0	2
Any women read newspaper regularly	33481	0.38	0.67	0	2
Any women practice purdah or ghunghat	30764	0.57	0.50	0	1

Table 5. EMPLOYMENT TYPE BY SOCIAL GROUP MEMBERSHIP

	Percent of Sample	Farming/ Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	Total
Brahmin	5.1	67.5	21.1	11.4	100
High caste Hindu	16.5	81.0	14.0	5.0	100
OBC	34.8	87.9	9.5	2.7	100
Dalit	21.7	88.5	9.6	1.9	100
Adivasi	7.8	89.3	9.2	1.5	100
Muslim	11.4	89.3	8.4	2.4	100
Christian, Sikh, Jain	2.7	76.5	14.2	9.3	100

Table 6. EMPLOYMENT TYPE BY HUMAN CAPITAL VARIABLES

	Percent of Sample	Farming/ Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	Total
All Respondents					
<i>Literacy</i>					
No	25.4	96.6	3.0	0.4	100
Yes	74.7	82.1	13.5	4.4	100
<i>Attended School</i>					
No	24.6	96.7	2.9	0.4	100
Yes	75.4	82.2	13.5	4.4	100
<i>Years Completed</i>					
0 yrs	25.3	96.6	2.9	0.4	100
1-4 yrs	9.9	94.0	5.4	0.6	100
5-9 yrs	33.0	90.1	8.6	1.2	100
10-14 yrs	21.9	77.1	18.1	4.8	100
15 yrs	10.0	54.4	27.8	17.8	100
<i>Some Computer Knowledge</i>					
No	95.2	88.0	9.8	2.2	100
Yes	4.8	42.7	31.1	26.3	100
<i>Some English Abilities</i>					
No	76.3	91.8	7.0	1.2	100
Yes	23.7	66.5	23.1	10.4	100
<i>Fluent in English</i>					
No	95.4	87.7	9.8	2.4	100
Yes	4.6	45.8	31.2	23.0	100
Respondents with 10+ standards completed					
<i>Division on Secondary Board Exam</i>					
First Division	19.6	52.9	26.5	20.7	100
Second Division	60.2	71.7	21.4	7.0	100
Third Division	20.1	77.3	17.5	5.2	100
<i>Post-Secondary Subject</i>					
Science	22.7	55.7	23.5	20.9	100
Arts	56.4	71.0	22.0	7.0	100
Commerce	16.0	60.7	25.5	13.8	100
Vocational	2.9	56.8	26.4	16.9	100
Others	2.1	57.9	24.2	17.9	100
<i>Attended College or Technical School</i>					
No	35.6	72.2	21.9	5.9	100
College	55.8	59.0	26.3	14.7	100
Technical	8.6	49.6	25.1	25.2	100

Table 6 cont'd. EMPLOYMENT TYPE BY HUMAN CAPITAL VARIABLES

	Percent of Sample	Farming/ Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	Total
Respondents who attended college/technical school					
<i>Highest Degree/Diploma</i>					
None	13.2	72.3	21.0	6.7	100
Bachelors	56.3	59.8	25.8	14.5	100
Master's	16.1	45.1	35.4	19.6	100
Professional	7.1	28.8	22.1	49.1	100
Vocational	5.1	46.5	33.0	20.5	100
Others	2.4	54.2	30.3	15.6	100
<i>Degree Class/Division</i>					
First Division	27.5	37.9	30.9	31.1	100
Second Division	58.8	57.9	26.9	15.2	100
Third Division	13.7	67.7	22.3	10.0	100

Table 7. EMPLOYMENT TYPE BY SOCIAL CAPITAL VARIABLES

	Percent of Sample	Farming/			Total
		Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	
<i>Head's Father's Occupation</i>					
Missing occ	8.1	86.7	10.5	2.7	100
Laborer	23.8	91.5	7.0	1.5	100
Skilled labor	11.7	77.4	18.4	4.2	100
Farmer,Business, Merchant	49.0	88.8	8.4	2.8	100
White collar/professional	7.5	59.9	27.4	12.7	100
<i>Eligible Woman's natal family's economic status</i>					
natal worse off	9.2	88.1	9.8	2.1	100
natal same as husband	72.1	86.2	10.4	3.3	100
natal better off	18.7	83.3	13.1	3.5	100
<i>Husband's brothers' highest years education</i>					
0.0	26.9	91.3	6.6	2.0	100
1-4	4.8	93.8	4.5	1.7	100
5-9	27.5	90.4	8.1	1.5	100
10-14	27.3	82.6	14.2	3.2	100
15	13.5	69.1	20.7	10.1	100
<i>Husband's sisters' highest years education</i>					
0.0	52.8	90.8	7.4	1.8	100
1-4	5.2	89.2	8.4	2.4	100
5-9	23.4	84.0	13.1	2.9	100
10-14	13.7	75.9	18.3	5.8	100
15	4.9	61.8	23.1	15.1	100
<i>Medical Social Network Contact</i>					
No	67.6	88.2	9.6	2.2	100
Yes	32.4	80.8	13.4	5.8	100
<i>Schools Social Network Contact</i>					
No	59.8	89.0	8.7	2.3	100
Yes	40.2	80.9	14.1	5.0	100
<i>Government Social Network Contact</i>					
No	65.9	91.5	6.5	2.0	100
Yes	34.1	74.6	19.4	6.1	100
<i>Total Social Network Contacts</i>					
0	44.7	92.6	5.8	1.6	100
1	21.8	83.0	13.8	3.2	100
2	15.8	82.2	13.9	3.9	100
3	17.7	75.1	17.3	7.6	100
<i>Total Contacts who are Family Members</i>					
0	80.8	89.5	8.1	2.5	100
1	13.5	72.0	22.2	5.8	100
2	4.2	67.0	23.8	9.2	100
3	1.5	60.5	23.3	16.1	100

Table 7 cont'd. EMPLOYMENT TYPE BY SOCIAL CAPITAL VARIABLES

	Percent of Sample	Farming/ Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	Total
<i>Official in Panchayat</i>					
Nobody close to family	88.9	85.4	11.1	3.5	100
Somebody close to family	9.6	89.0	8.3	2.6	100
Someone in the household	1.5	89.0	7.5	3.5	100
<i># Memberships in Organizations</i>					
0	61.9	85.9	10.7	3.3	100
1	18.7	85.8	10.8	3.5	100
2	11.5	85.0	11.5	3.4	100
3 or more	7.9	85.8	10.5	3.7	100

Table 8. EMPLOYMENT TYPE BY CULTURAL CAPITAL VARIABLES

	Percent of Sample	Farming/ Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	Total
<i>Anyone else in household has English abilities</i>					
No	70.4	91.1	7.4	1.5	100
Yes	29.6	73.2	19.0	7.9	100
<i>Anyone else in household is fluent in English</i>					
No	94.6	87.3	10.0	2.6	100
Yes	5.4	58.5	24.6	17.0	100
<i>Any women in household have English abilities</i>					
No	79.5	90.2	8.1	1.8	100
Yes	20.5	68.7	21.5	9.8	100
<i>Any women in household are fluent in English</i>					
No	96.6	87.0	10.3	2.7	100
Yes	3.4	50.9	27.0	22.1	100
<i>Women in household practice purdah/ghunghat</i>					
No	44.2	82.2	13.2	4.6	100
Yes	55.8	88.5	9.2	2.3	100
<i>Any men in household read the newspaper</i>					
No	49.0	94.9	4.3	0.8	100
Sometimes	29.2	84.8	12.2	2.9	100
Regularly	21.8	66.4	23.7	9.9	100
<i>Any women in household read the newspaper</i>					
No	72.2	91.8	6.8	1.4	100
Sometimes	16.4	76.9	17.8	5.3	100
Regularly	11.3	59.6	27.2	13.2	100

Table 9. Employment type by State, Urban/Rural Residence, and Age

	Percent of Sample	Farming/ Business/ Casual	Regular Salaried	White Collar/ Professional	Total
<i>State</i>					
Jammu & Kashmir	1.2	70.6	25.2	4.3	100
Himachal Pradesh	0.7	80.5	15.1	4.4	100
Uttaranchal	1.4	85.2	9.3	5.5	100
Punjab	2.5	76.4	18.5	5.2	100
Haryana	2.0	83.1	12.6	4.3	100
Delhi	1.6	59.7	31.0	9.3	100
Uttar Pradesh	11.1	91.5	6.2	2.3	100
Bihar	5.8	95.2	2.8	2.0	100
Jharkhand	3.9	86.0	12.1	1.9	100
Rajasthan	5.1	89.1	8.3	2.6	100
Chhattisgarh	3.2	87.1	9.9	3.1	100
Madhya Pradesh	5.7	91.6	6.5	1.9	100
Northeast	1.1	61.8	29.4	8.9	100
Assam	2.4	80.6	14.1	5.4	100
West Bengal	8.6	85.0	12.5	2.6	100
Orissa	4.1	90.3	7.3	2.4	100
Gujarat	5.4	78.9	18.0	3.2	100
Maharashtra, Goa	10.9	83.3	13.5	3.3	100
Andhra Pradesh	8.4	91.2	6.1	2.8	100
Karnataka	5.8	86.9	8.6	4.6	100
Kerala	3.3	83.2	10.7	6.1	100
Tamil Nadu	5.9	80.6	14.0	5.5	100
<i>Rural or Urban Residence</i>					
Rural	70.7	92.2	6.4	1.4	100
Urban	29.3	70.4	21.5	8.1	100
<i>Age Group</i>					
25-29	21.1	91.0	6.5	2.4	100
30-34	20.0	88.0	8.8	3.3	100
35-39	19.6	85.7	10.6	3.7	100
40-44	17.2	82.4	14.1	3.5	100
45-50	22.1	81.5	14.4	4.1	100

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