CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Nature has created man and woman equal, but in the present day world the woman has been relegated to the second position. Her role in society is inferior to that of the man. She lacks a strong individual identity and merely lives around as an appendage of man, be it the father, husband or son. The dominance of man in every sphere of life is not a phenomenon specific to a region, but is universally observed.

Do we have any natural, inherent biological differences that justify this male dominance, or, has this sexual inequality arisen out of artificial man-made situations?

1.1 SEXUAL INEQUALITY

Men and women have been naturally endowed with the same mental capacities. Scientific research has also proved that women exhibit identical IQ levels as men. Biologically, of course, the two groups are structured differently in order to sustain procreation. But this biological distinction in no way deters a woman from functioning just as efficiently as the man. Child-bearing, being as it is the exclusive function of the woman, consumes only a few months of her life, and with modern medicine, fertility is well under her control. As for child-rearing, it does not need the mother alone as much as it needs the act of mothering as most sociological studies have confirmed. A study on Mexican parents proved that fathers were more playful and companionable with their children than mothers were, and mothers were more nurturant only in terms of providing immediate physical needs (Bronstein, 1984). Therefore the two main functions associated with women, child bearing and rearing, do not make it inevitable for the women to ordain the domestic role.
Some anthropologists and sociologists ascribe the male dominance to genetic factors and explain that they are built physically stronger and hence gain their superiority. This explanation holds no ground, in the machine controlled world of today, where physical strength has hardly any role to play. The bio-genetic theory has been further challenged by the fact that the physical and hormonal variations 'within' each sex is substantially large that one cannot attribute dominance of the male sex to genetic factors (Walum, 1977).

Alternatively, the theory that the sexual inequality existing today is the result of various artificial barriers and constraints against women in our society, offers a more credible explanation. The biological differences between the sexes has been unduly exploited and an 'ideal' division of labour has been assigned, whereby the man works outside in the labour market and the woman looks after the home. Women's lack of power and prestige is but a natural consequence of this division of labour. Man's work is paid for, whereas the domestic work of women is not economically rewarded and is not considered as any 'real' work at all. Moreover confining women to household work alone, is gross injustice to her as it greatly under utilizes her talents and time. Under the present conditions with an average family of only slightly more than two children and reasonable amenities, an average housewife can be considered to be employed full-time on tasks which are necessary for home-making only during less than one-third of her normal adult life (Myrdal and Klein, 1968).

The sex roles that women have assumed has been the result of accumulated injustices meted out to her. The discrimination in every phase of her life has been briefly described below.
1.2 DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE FEMALE SEX

1.2.1 Discrimination at birth

Discrimination against the female starts right from the foetus. Of late in India there has been a brazen commercialisation of amniocentesis which has become synonymous with female infanticide. The birth of a male child is greeted with congratulations whereas that of a female is not so much a happy occasion. Female children are most often considered a liability and have for some time faced a smaller chance of survival. The declining sex ratio stands testimony to this depressing trend. The new sex preselection methods that modern technology offers as a refined substitute against the crude infanticide is gaining vogue in many affluent couples. This has dangerous implications for the future of the female species and in totality for the whole mankind itself.

1.2.2 Discrimination at home

The girl is merely a transitory member of the household on whom investments of any kind are considered unnecessary in many a conservative society. Her education, nutrition and even medical care do not receive any priority. This is more often the case in low income families where a decision has to be made on allocating the limited resources among male and female children. In many households we still find the best and most nutritious food served to the male members and the leftovers served to the females. The boy may be sent to a good quality, probably English medium school whereas the girl may be sent to a substandard school.

The mental make-up of the child is formed quite early at home. A child learns appropriate sex-typed behaviour through imitation of adult models. Boys are encouraged to copy their fathers; girls, their mothers. The boy is encouraged to spend all his time on
studies, various other extracurricular activities and during his free time learn his father's trade. The girl, on the other hand, should find time to help in the household tasks because it is believed that ultimately she will be the home-maker. Thus a child is born, taught a language, reared in a family - along the way receiving the same messages which define for him or her how to act, how to feel and what to believe.

The traditional family has distinct roles for the man and woman: the man, the breadwinner and the woman, the breadmaker. The woman is assigned the prime responsibility of maintaining the house and caring for the children. This arrangement would have been optimal decades back but it no longer is in the face of changing lifestyles and increasing industrialisation. Women have started entering the labour market and are contributing substantially to the family income. Still, families stubbornly adhere to the traditional division of labour, with most often the husband playing assistant rather than partners in homemaking. Consequently women end up with a double load of work, market and nonmarket work, and with her status still remaining ambiguous.

1.2.3 Discrimination at School

In the poorer sections of the society, the girls are often retained at home to help in the household work or to look after younger siblings. Most parents who educate their girls, want them to get only as much education as will give them the utmost advantage in the marriage market. Colleges and universities provide respectable waiting places for girls who wish to get married. As is the custom in our society that the girls ought not to be more highly educated than their husbands, we find that the level of education which a girl receives is directly related to the general level of male education in a particular caste or community (Srinivas, 1976). Therefore the main motive behind educating girls is to help her maintain her family efficiently and to educate her children and is not really seen as a tool to equip women for the possibility of her entrance into gainful employment.
The Indian school system is still segregated, with many schools run exclusively for the girls. A major issue in the field of women's education is with regard to the need for differentiation of curricula to suit the special needs of the sexes. A progressive school of thought however holds the view that there is no need for sex based differentiation of curricula. The Education Commission (1964-66), the Durgabai Deshmukh Committee on Women's Education (1959), the Committee on Differentiation of Curricula for the education of boys and girls (1969) and the Committee on the Status of Women in India (1975) have advocated identical education for the men and women. However, the University Education Commission (1948-49) and the NCERT (the National Council of Educational Research and Training) in its document called 'The curriculum for the ten year school' have expressed themselves in favour of differentiation of curricula.

We have schools offering quite different academic and vocational subjects which are considered to be 'useful' for the girls. Home science, interior decoration, nursing, nursery training, catering and tailoring are the popular vocational courses offered to the girls. Physical training, scouts, technical training, and extracurricular activities cater to the boys. In the co-educational schools, the situation is not any better, for they do not encourage healthy intermingling of the boys and girls in the various activities. The debate, on which system of education is more effective for women's development still remains unresolved.

Studies in the industrialised world have demonstrated that teachers too behave very differently towards boys and girls in the classroom. Girls are rewarded for being quite, docile and neat in their work; boys are rewarded for getting the right answer (Hindu, 1985). The messages from the teachers, the sexist languages in school books blend in smoothly with the messages from parents and the media till it enforces the traditional sexist image of the girls.
1.2.4 Discrimination at work

After completing formal education, it is taken for granted that the man seeks work in the labour market; but for the woman in the Indian society, to go for work or not, is still a decision to be made. If she decides to work, it is mainly to support the family income and for some unmarried women it is to gain enough money to pay off a heavy dowry.

In the process of choosing a job the woman faces many limitations purely on account of her sex status. Walum (1977) observes that women continue to structure their employment opportunities and social activities around their fears of rape. They remain prisoners by night, at home 'where they belong'. The threat of rape and the knowledge of how it will be processed in the court are effective deterrents to female freedom of movement. The married woman faces further restraint on her mobility since she has to move along with her husband to his workspot.

A working woman’s dual burden of maintaining a home and a career restricts the quantity of paid work she is able to do. Moreover her role as a homemaker has also come to define the nature of paid work that she is offered. Women’s jobs are more often an extension of household tasks, for instance jobs such as teaching and nursing.

Women tend to be employed in lower paid occupations than men. Apart from this, even within the same occupational group large differences in earnings between the men and women is observed. This is due to vertical segregation, wherein women are employed at different levels within occupations - for instance, in medicine, men are doctors while women are nurses; in education, men are professors and women elementary school teachers; and in sales, men are wholesale representatives and women retail sales clerks (Blau and Ferber, 1986).
In the labour market, the woman faces discrimination mainly at the hands of the employer and fellow employees. The employers for various reasons, discriminate against women by paying them lower wages even when they are just as equally qualified and productive as the men. The fellow employees may openly discriminate by refusing to work under female bosses, and also through other subtle forms like sexual harassment at the workplace.

1.3 WOMEN IN INDIA IN THE YEAR 1981

The present study deals with women in India in the year 1981, hence it is imperative that a general picture of their status as of 1981 is drawn out here.

The position of women in India can be traced to the strong tradition-bound and religious nature of the Indian society. Hinduism which is the religion of the majority in India presents quite a complex image of women. Over the ages, the spiritually rich religion has been watered down to a mere ritualistic oriented one. The Hindu traditions on the one hand reveres her and raises her to the pedestal of a goddess; on the other it evaluates her in terms of cash and sovereigns as a market commodity. Pre-independent India upheld traditions like ‘sati’, widow exclusion and female infanticide; even in modern India in the name of Hindu revivalism there are attempts to glorify such oppressive traditions. The ‘pativrata’ Sita image is still held as the loftiest ideal for the Indian woman. The actual subordination of women is also apparent in the language structure. ‘Men invariably refer to their wives in the singular, a grammatical form used for social inferiors, while wives refrain from speaking their husband’s names and refer to them in the respectful, anonymous plural’ (Omvedt, 1986). Films, television, and pulp literature also have a powerful influence on the Indian culture. Their negative portrayal of women further perpetuates the standard stereotype of the weak, wailing sex who always needs the male shoulder to lean upon.
In both rural and urban India, boys and men are consciously treated better than girls or women. India has a sex ratio which has been deteriorating throughout this century. The 1981 census records a sex ratio that still continues to favour men: for every 1000 men there are 933 women (Appendix Table 1A.1). The state-wise figures reveal that the culturally more conservative states, where the status of women is very low, have the worst sex ratio figures (Appendix Table 1A.2). While the southern states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka are all above the 950 margin, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat are just above the national average of 933 and Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, and Rajasthan are all below the national figure. Kerala is the only state having a sex ratio favouring women. Punjab, has the highest per capita income in the country (Appendix Table 1A.3), yet historically, the Jats have one of the most imbalanced sex ratio in the country. This may indicate that the imbalance is not so much due to economic backwardness as much as to social and cultural factors. The state-wise figures also suggest that the southern states have a far more humane and enlightened attitude towards women while the north and west are still wallowing in obscurantism.

The literacy rate is a key indicator of the educational status of a society and this indicator gives a rather poor figure of 24.8 percent for the Indian women as of 1981. In other words, even as late as 1981, three-fourths of the Indian women were illiterate. The female literacy rate is at its highest at 65.73 for the state of Kerala and at a low of 11.42 for the state of Rajasthan. Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Jammu & Kashmir also belong to the lower rungs in female literacy level (Appendix Table 1A.4).

There is a clear disparity in the enrollment rates of boys and girls at all levels and the gap widens at the higher education levels. In 1981, the girls’ enrollment in the primary stage (Classes I-V) was 64 percent while the enrollment was nearly full in the case of boys. At the middle school level, the enrollment rates were 29 percent for the
girls and 54 percent for the boys. At the high school level 15 percent of the girls continued their studies as against 34 percent of boys (Appendix Table 1A.5). The increase in enrollment ratios over the decades is neutralized by large scale drop out of girls at different stages of education. The wastage is more in the early years of schooling between Classes I - III. In 1981-82 there were 55.5 percent girls dropping out as against 47 percent boys (Appendix Table 1A.6). Females educated upto graduate level and above as a percentage of the female population is as low as 1 percent and much less in some states.

The qualitative dimensions of female education are also not very promising. The professional and job oriented courses are dominated by the men; women are heavily distributed in the more general subjects like arts and science. More than three-fourths of the women are enrolled in the faculties of arts and science and less than one percent of them are in professional subjects such as Engineering, Technology, Agriculture and Veterinary Science (Appendix Table 1A.7).

While women account for nearly half of the population as per the 1981 census, their work participation is only 14 percent. A significantly large percentage of them (46 percent) are engaged as agricultural labourers (Appendix Table 1A.8). Among women workers a major bulk of them are in the unorganized sector, where the benefits of the organised sector are not available. Their work is usually strenuous, unskilled, monotonous and seasonal in character. They are usually not backed by any trade unions and hence lack a strong bargaining power vis-a-vis the employer or co-workers. In the 1980s, the percentage of women to total membership in the registered trade unions was only around 7 percent (Govt. of India, 1990).

The Constitution of India enacted in 1950 is committed to sexual equality before the law (as under Article 14). More specifically, Article 16 bans any discrimination in the
matter of appointments in public employments based upon sex. In 1976, the Government of India promulgated the Equal Remuneration Act (ERA); as per the Act, the employer is obliged to pay equal remuneration to men and women workers for the same work or work of a similar nature. It also provides for no discrimination on the ground of sex at the time of recruiting. Constitutional guarantees and governmental legislation formulated to protect women remained only in writing as they could not be effectively implemented. For instance, the ERA did not provide for any machinery to decide whether a work is of similar nature or not. Labour laws demand that the state provide creches for the worker’s children and this very often is not given any serious consideration and the few creches that exist are so ill-equipped that they do not serve their purpose.

There is a definite gender bias in our legislation which is an offshoot of our patriarchal system. In the entire Constitution, women are referred to only six times and of these six occasions, in five they are clubbed together with men and children. Marriage laws are so designed as to perpetuate the economic dependence of the wife on her husband. There has also been no attempt to give the wife a legal right to a share of her husband’s earnings in recognition of her services as houseworker and nurse, to modify that dependence. In the event of divorce or separation the unemployed wife remains the most affected. The issues of succession, marriage, divorce are regulated in a different manner for the different communities. The Indian subcontinent is inhabited by people practicing various religions including Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrains, Jains, Buddhists, Sikhs and many others. The ‘secularism’ of India demands that it respect the ‘personal laws’ of these different communities which has resulted in unequal status among women in the different religious groups. A uniform civil code is often emphasised as an instrument to remove such legalised inequity.
In the political arena, the presence of women is only peripheral. The women’s right to vote was obtained in the year 1950. The parliamentary seats occupied by the women has been a meagre 4.3 percent in 1975 and 8.3 percent in 1987 (World Bank, 1989). The fact that India has had a dynamic woman Prime Minister in Indira Gandhi has apparently not been much of an inspiration for the women to entertain political aspirations. The Government, in its effort to bring women to the political front, has provided for one-third reservation for women in the Panchayati Raj institutions (by the 73rd Constitutional amendment).

Only as late as the last decade (1980s) the government has recognized women as a disadvantaged group in need of positive affirmative action. The Sixth Plan (1980-85) for the first time included a chapter on women and development in its plan document. The plan emphasized economic independence for women, access to health care and family planning services. The sexist bias however creeps in at the implementation stage retarding the government’s efforts. An obvious example is the lopsided health policies of the government which focus on women as reproductive agents rather than as individuals in need of health care. As a result the sterilisation campaign has become a women’s programme, with nearly 90 percent of the sterilisation being performed through tubectomy of the women (NIPPCD, 1988).

To conclude, the girl or women in India is deprived from the very beginning—before birth, that is from foeticide to infanticide, from lack of health care and nutrition to illiteracy, from early marriage and too many pregnancies to rape and dowry deaths. It is a long hard struggle for the Indian woman to eventually emerge as a strong individual with an identity of her own.
1.4 RESEARCHER'S INTEREST IN THE AREA

1.4.1 Formulation of the problem

Discrimination against women is a major block in the path to women's development and has wide-ranging implications for the efficiency of the economy. The prevailing situation is so much taken as the natural order of things that it has caused no wonder and hence no serious scientific inquiry. Men have no alternative to work (market work), and are considered asocial if they refuse to do so, however, this same ethical rule has not been widely applied to women.

It is time now to reconsider the 'ideal' roles of men and women in the brave new world of gender equality, and to identify the major obstacles in its way. In this context, the researcher takes interest in studying discrimination against women. As seen earlier, discrimination manifests in different forms and it is beyond the capacity of the researcher to study each one of them; hence she restricts the study to discrimination of women in the labour market and more specifically to discrimination by the employer through earnings differences.

In other words, if it is assumed that a female is lucky enough to escape infanticide and survive, is fortunate enough to gain education and be mentally attuned to a career, on entering the labour market, how much of discrimination does she face at the hands of the employer with respect to an equally qualified man? The researcher has chosen to study the sex based earnings differences among the scientific and technical (S&T) labour force of India. The availability of large scale data which has not yet been utilized effectively has prompted the researcher to study this particular segment of the population.
Throughout the study it is assumed that there are no innate material differences between the sexes that inevitably justify the observed gender differentials. This assumption is quite valid in the context of modern production that is successively characterized by more capital intensive techniques.

1.4.2 Objectives of the study

In this modern era, where the Constitution itself guarantees equality of the sexes, the main objective of this study is to investigate whether the pay in the S&T labour market is unfairly conditioned by sex. Women’s development is intrinsically linked with the socio-cultural and economic heterogeneity of India. Keeping this in mind, the study adopts a disaggregated and area specific approach so that meaningful results can be achieved.

The primary objective of the study attempts to quantitatively estimate the extent of labour market discrimination against the women S&T personnel in India. The discriminatory earnings difference is first identified and further differentiated into discriminatory earnings difference within the same job (wage discrimination) and earnings difference due to discriminatory access to occupations (job discrimination).

In this process an attempt is also made to draw out an aggregate picture of the S&T women in the labour market: their educational pattern, the occupational distribution and the degree of occupational sex segregation, and the structure of pay. Factors that affect their labour supply, earnings and occupational attainment will also be analysed.
1.4.3 The value of the study

It is well documented that the economic participation of women leads to the enhancement of her status in the family and society. Economic participation, besides extending her role and exposing her to outside life, also qualitatively changes her own self-perception and lends her self-confidence.

The unequal remuneration of women, however, reduces their sense of ‘career’ and contributes to the lack of continuity of their work. It also reduces their incentive to acquire education and training. Discrimination cases have started the growth of civil rights movements and of remedial government legislation in the industrialised countries. Despite its relevance for the growing economies, very little research has progressed in this direction. Research in the area of sex discrimination is almost negligible in India and proper appreciation of the intricacies involved is much needed to formulate viable policies.

Although we have a large stock of scientific and technical manpower we are not able to achieve the best results as our S&T is bogged down in our unhealthy environment of bureaucratisation. An indepth study of the range and extent of availability of S&T manpower and their utilization thus becomes very necessary in the formulation of economic development planning. It would help in assessing the strength of scientists and technologists of our country and also in identifying the problem areas that weaken our S&T base.

The empirical analysis of the present study is based on 1981 data, but its policy implications are also relevant to the present, as the pay structure has not conceivably changed over the decade. The present data analysis can also be readily applied to the 1991 data and the results of the present study will serve as an appropriate benchmark for comparison.
1.5 DATA BASE

1.5.1 Source

The Department of Science and Technology, Government of India, has conducted periodical surveys of degree holders and technical personnel (DHTP) in the year 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991. The present study is based on the data collected in the DHTP survey of 1981. The data was processed and computerised by 1985 and was made available to the users in the form of computer tapes. As there is a long time lag between data collection and its availability to the public, the present study had to do with the 1981 data base as the most recent one.

The 1981 DHTP survey was conducted along with the population census. As a complete enumeration in all the states of India was not considered feasible, a 20 percent sample survey was conducted in twelve states and complete enumeration in the others. Due to some disturbances during the period, no DHTP survey could be conducted in the state of Assam.

The questionnaire was framed on the basis of suggestions made by major data user organisations viz., the Planning Commission, the University Grant Commission and the Department of Science and Technology and the Institute of Applied Manpower Research. The questionnaires were handed over to the respondents by the census enumerators themselves. The respondents had the option of sending the completed forms by the prepaid postal system, or handing over to the census enumerators when they came again on their revisional round. Among the schedules received, a total of 708635 pertained to the scientific and technical manpower.
1.5.2 Sampling method

For the twelve states where a 20 percent sample was drawn, the systematic sampling method was adopted. Sampling units were basically the census blocks containing an average of 650 persons. One block out of five was chosen by the sampling process.

A fairly large level of non-response, to the order of 40 to 50 percent has been held as a major drawback of this data, but this is typical of any large scale survey. If it were proved that the non-respondents' characteristics were different from the respondents then there is a case of strong non-response bias, but there was no such exercise made in this regard and it is best assumed that the data forms a fairly random sample.

1.5.3 Variables

The questionnaire (given in the appendix) draws out vital information on various human capital variables such as the education levels attained (from graduation onwards), subjects studied, class obtained, course duration and university of study. A detailed job history of the respondent is made available right from the first job to the present, with information on the year of joining the job, nature of work, sector of employment, training received, salary at entry and last drawn, and year of leaving. The duration of present unemployment is also enquired. Foreign visit details regarding study, training and employment are also noted. Apart from this, the questionnaire asks for information on the respondent's age, sex, home state, marital status and employment status. For the first time in such a survey, the categorisation of scheduled caste and tribes was included in the questionnaire.
1.5.4 Methodology

A descriptive analysis, using simple frequency distributions, is attempted to give a picture of the educational attainment pattern and the labour market structure of the S&T women. This is then contrasted with that of the men. The all-India figures are considered for this analysis.

The level of occupational sex segregation is calculated using the Duncan index and the Karmal and Machlachlan index. These indices are calculated at the all-India level and separately for each state of India to look for any regional disparities. The level of occupational sex segregation was also estimated for the public and private sectors. An organisation-wise segregation index was also computed for the all-India figures.

An estimation of the extent of labour market discrimination against the S&T women, was attempted in the four southern states of India, each taken separately. The single equation method was first tried, where the sex is taken as a dummy variable. Next, separate earnings function (Mincercian type) are fitted to the male and female sample with the dependent variable being the natural logarithm of the earnings and the explanatory variables being the education level or type attained, class obtained, foreign training acquired, on-the-job training duration, years of work with the previous employers and years of work with the current employer. The earnings differentials are then decomposed and the individual contribution of each of the explanatory variables attributable to endowment differences and differential market treatment is then evaluated. To account for possible sample selectivity bias, a selectivity controlled earnings regression is also run; the method adopted is the Heckman two-step estimation procedure involving firstly the estimation of a probit function of labour force participation and secondly using the inverse Mill’s ratio derived from it as an additional regressor in the earnings function.
To incorporate the effect of differential occupational attainment on the earnings difference, the detailed decomposition method followed by Brown, Moon and Zoloth is adopted in this study. The method essentially involves the multinominal logit estimation of occupational choice of men to obtain a predicted occupational distribution of women on the assumption that they faced the same occupational structure as the men. The predicted proportions are then employed in the total decomposition of the earnings difference into that due to differential pay structure within the same occupation and that due to differential occupational structure. The state of Kerala is used for this detailed decomposition analysis.

1.5.5 Data limitations

Although the questionnaire is rich in providing information on the respondents’ educational qualifications and job history, it misses out on certain vital information which are needed in a study of this kind.

Labour market earnings have a price and quantity dimension in that they are a contribution of wage times hours employed. Thus earnings can also arise due to being employed for a small number of hours and, or having low hourly earnings. The data does not give any information on the hours of work (market work) which is very important for labour supply studies of this kind. As the earnings are not adjusted for hours of work there may be an overestimation of the earnings gap. Moreover the salary figure is recorded in hundreds thereby greatly reducing the variance of this variable.

As the study deals with women, her family role plays a very important part in an analysis of labour force participation and earnings. The present data however does not reveal any information on the family of the individual such as income and education level
of the husband, presence of children and their age levels, and the number of extra adults in the households and the household income. The degree of unionisation among the women is highly relevant in this study; unfortunately, no union membership question was asked in the survey.

As the data collection was conducted with a major view to assess the extent and availability of S&T manpower and their utilization, it has left little scope for an in-depth econometric analysis.

With the data at hand, its available information, and making the best of its wide coverage, the study proceeds to analyse the earnings differentials among the sexes. The results should be evaluated bearing the data limitations in mind.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows:

The second chapter attempts a brief review of the economic theories that explain labour market discrimination. The main causes for discrimination are identified as taste (Becker-Arrow), uncertainty (Phelps) and social customs (Akerlof). The effects of discrimination on the economy are then discussed. A summary of empirical studies on sex discrimination is also presented here.

The third chapter gives a descriptive analysis of the data supported with tables. Differences in the educational attainment and labour market features of the S&T women personnel relative to the men are highlighted here.
The fourth chapter analyses the earnings differential between the women and men S&T personnel of the four southern states of Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Karnataka. The methodology is first explained in detail and then applied to the data. The individual contribution of the variables towards explaining the earnings difference in terms of its endowment and discrimination components is then evaluated. The results are further corrected for selectivity bias.

The fifth chapter introduces occupation variables to explain the earnings differential. The degree of occupational sex segregation is computed at the aggregate (national) level and separately for each state. A detailed decomposition of the earnings difference to differentiate between its wage discrimination and job discrimination components is attempted here.

The concluding chapter summarizes the main findings of the study and explores its policy implications. The limitations of the study and possible areas for future research are also discussed here.