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Horizontal inequality, COVID-19, and lockdown readiness

Evidence from India

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Abstract: A growing body of research shows that COVID-19 both reflects and exacerbates existing inequalities. However, there are significant gaps in this research area with respect to 'horizontal' or group-based inequalities in Global South countries. Lack of group-disaggregated data often contributes. In this paper, we use available data to explore how horizontal inequality in India may influence COVID-19's impact through the differential impact of lockdown policies across caste and religious groups, as well as across states and urban–rural areas. In so doing, we build upon Egger et al. (2020)'s lockdown readiness index. India, the second most populous country in the world, is a relevant case for such analysis, not only because it has pronounced horizontal inequality, but also because it adopted an especially stringent lockdown policy. Our analysis illustrates stark differences in lockdown readiness across groups, which in turn could exacerbate existing horizontal inequalities.

Key words: horizontal inequality, ethnic inequality, caste, India, COVID-19, coronavirus, lockdown

JEL classification: I14, I18, J15, Z13

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1 Introduction

A growing body of research explores the relationship between COVID-19 and inequality; rather than being a great equalizer as some early discussion suggested, it is now clear that the pandemic both reflects and exacerbates existing inequalities in multiple ways, across and within countries. As one commentator put it, 'we may be in this together, but that doesn't mean we are in this equally'.¹ Across countries, the socioeconomic costs of the pandemic are estimated as particularly stark for developing countries (Valensisi 2020). Within countries, pandemic impact is shown to reflect multiple forms of inequality, in income, assets, employment, access to health care, living situations, access to social protection, and so on (Adams-Prassl et al. 2020; Gentilini et al. 2020). Research also has shown differential impact along gender lines and for particular vulnerable groups, such as informal workers.

One important dimension of this relationship that has been less explored than others—especially in Global South countries—is how 'horizontal' inequalities, or inequalities between social groups, particularly those defined in ethnic, racial, communal, or culturally-defined terms, come into play. In many countries, such horizontal inequalities are economically, socially, and politically salient, and inequalities in income, assets, employment, etc. are closely linked (Brown and Langer 2010; Cederman et al. 2011; Stewart 2005). Studies in selected countries—mainly in the Global North—show evidence of the relevance of horizontal inequality to COVID-19 impact. For instance, ethnic minority populations in the United States (US) and United Kingdom (UK) have been disproportionately affected in health and socio-economic terms (APM Research Lab 2020; Eligon et al. 2020; Gold et al. 2020; White and Nafilyan 2020). In the US, APM Research Lab (2020) found that the mortality rate for African Americans and Latinos is 3.2 times higher than that for White Americans. In the UK, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) found that males of Black ethnic background had a death rate 4.7 times higher than those of White ethnic background. In many countries, particularly in the Global South, direct analysis of the relationship between horizontal inequality and COVID-19 is severely hampered by the lack of publicly available group-disaggregated data on health impacts in particular.²

In this working paper, we use available data to focus on how horizontal inequality may influence COVID-19's socio-economic impact through the differential impact lockdown policies may have on different groups, in one country, India. We consider variation along several different dimensions, in particular caste and religion, as well as across states. We also consider variation between urban and rural populations. In so doing, we build on an important framework developed in cross-country research on COVID-19 and apply it to within-country consideration. As the emerging research literature explores, one significant channel through which the pandemic influences poverty outcomes is via lockdown, adopted at least for some months in 2020 by most countries in the world (Hale et al. 2020). Inequalities influence the impact of lockdown; in countries where a large share of the population cannot work from home, do not have sufficient savings to cushion loss of wage income, and so on, research suggests, the costs of lockdown for welfare can be extreme (Egger et al. 2020; Brown et al. 2020). To consider likely impact of lockdown across countries in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), Egger et al. (2020) propose a new multidimensional index of 'lockdown readiness' and apply it to 30 countries using data from the Afrobarometer surveys. Their analysis suggests that, across these 30 African countries, just 6.8 per cent of households (and 12.2 per cent in urban areas) are fully lockdown ready.

¹ https://www.ifs.org.uk/inequality/expert-comment/we-may-be-in-this-together-but-that-doesnt-mean-we-are-in-this-equally (accessed November 2020).

 $^{^2}$ It is worth being clear that our view is not that such data should be necessarily compiled and made public in order for such analysis to be conducted; in some contexts, there are good political reasons for caution, and the financial costs and practicalities of compiling such data also require consideration (Canelas and Gisselquist 2019).

This note describes core findings from our application of a modified version of this index to India. Our analysis is based on the most recent India Human Development Survey (2011–12), which is useful for our purposes because it is the only publicly available source with nationally-representative caste and sub-caste data for India. The main contribution of our analysis is to illustrate how horizontal inequalities in multiple dimensions—across caste and religious groups, as well as across Indian states—translate into variation in lockdown readiness, which in turn may exacerbate such horizontal inequalities. The differences across groups are stark especially in terms of caste where those in the 'general' category are more than twice as likely as those in 'scheduled caste/scheduled tribe' (SC/ST) category to be fully or partially lockdown ready. Notable variation is also shown between urban and rural populations, and across states and religious groups

Given the number of years that have elapsed since the IHDS was conducted, we note that care should be taken in consideration of any specific figures, especially given substantial growth in access to water, sanitation, electricity, and mobile phone access in India over the last decade. Nevertheless, our analysis suggests that at the national level, only 15.4 per cent of households according to these data were lock-down ready (6.1 per cent in rural areas and 32.9 per cent in urban areas). Looking only at the simple numbers, this appears to suggests that, in 2020, a significantly greater share of households in India may have been lockdown ready than in sub-Saharan Africa; however, we caution against such interpretations given that the data used in our analysis and Egger et al. (2020)'s are not comparable, and that we employ a modified version of their index.

India is an important case for such analysis not only because it is the second most populous country in the world, but also because it has pronounced horizontal inequality (Borooah 2005; Deshpande 2001; Zacharias and Vakulabharanam 2011) and because it adopted one of the most stringent lockdown policies in the world. India's lockdown began on 25th of March 2020 with a notice period of 3.5 hours. It limited the movement of 1.3 billion people—including approximately 100 million migrant labourers (Jigeesh 2020)—for an initial period of 21 days, which later was extended until 30th of May. The lockdown scored a 100 (out of 100) in the Oxford COVID-19 Government Response Tracker (OxCGRT) for lockdown stringency (Hale et al. 2020).

Horizontal inequalities in India can be considered along multiple dimensions. The caste system is believed to be more than 3000 years old; the eighteenth-century philologist Sir William Jones assigns the Manusmriti, the ancient legal text behind the creation of four Varnas (caste), to the period of around 1250 BC (Hunter 2013).³ Beside caste fragmentation, religion is another source of division or marginalization, and Hindu-Muslim inequalities have persisted throughout the twentieth century in India (Basant and Shariff 2010). Horizontal inequalities among Indian states are also apparent (Vanneman and Dubey 2013). Despite the importance of caste and religion, a challenge with direct analysis of this topic in India, as in many countries, is the lack of data.

2 Lockdown readiness index and data

To estimate the level of lockdown readiness across SSA countries, Egger et al. (2020) construct a simple multidimensional lockdown readiness index. They define lockdown readiness as the ability of house-holds to stay at home and steer clear of public spaces without irreparable damage to their health and welfare. They consider five minimum components to to be ready for a lockdown—namely that, within the households, the family has access to: (1) clean drinking water; (2) basic sanitation; (3) a source of reliable energy; (4) a means of communication or information (e.g. a cell phone); and (5) a form of employment with sufficient income not to go out without cash on a frequent basis. When all the five

³ Readers interested in detailed evolution of the Indian caste system can turn to the work by Deshpande (2000).

constraints are met, the household is classified as fully ready for a lockdown scenario. When at least the first three constraints are met, the household is classified as partially ready for lockdown. To estimate the index across African countries, Egger et al. (2020) use harmonized data from the most recent round of the Afrobarometer surveys (Afrobarometer Data 2019), which cover 37,696 people in 30 countries. In practice then, the index, as estimated using the Afrobarometer surveys, is based on responses on (1) access to safe drinking water; (2) access to basic sanitation; (3) access to electricity; (4) access to a mobile or other phone; and (5) whether the respondent has 'always' or 'many times' gone without cash income, even if currently employed.

Our modified version of the lockdown readiness index employs the same basic structure, but is operationalized differently, in particular in terms of the fifth component. This is due in part to the fact that we employ a different survey in our analysis, the India Human Development Survey (IHDS), which not only includes different questions but also, in our view, allows for closer consideration of several of the core components than does the Afrobarometer survey. With regard to the fifth criterion, cash income, we aimed to more closely capture whether income might continue to be received in the event of a lockdown than is possible with the Afrobarometer. We aimed to consider both non-employment sources of income such as pensions or rents that would be received even without leaving the home during a lockdown, and whether the employment situation was such that the employee could continue to earn income during a lockdown, e.g. by working from home or being in formal employment that might offer some provisions for temporary lay-offs. Further details are provided below.

2.1 Data

Our analysis relies on the IHDS, a nationally representative survey of households across India with rounds in 2004–05 and 2011–12.⁴ The IHDS is a collaborative project from the University of Maryland, the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER), Indiana University, and the University of Michigan. In the first round, 41,554 households were surveyed. In the second round, 42,152 households were surveyed and 85 per cent of the households from the first round were resurveyed. The households lost to attrition in urban and rural blocks of north-eastern states were physically verified by NCAER monitors and replacement households were randomly selected in the same neighbourhood to refresh the sample which led to 2,134 new households included in the second round of IHDS.

For our purposes, the core advantage of this source (Desai and Vanneman 2015) over other data sets such as the National Sample Service (NSS) is that it is the only publicly available data set on India which has jati (caste) and sub-jati (sub caste) information.⁵ It also contains detailed information on household occupation, water, sanitation, energy, communication devices, and other areas.

In order to analyse the data for our purposes, individual and household information was merged and dummy variables were created for relevant aggregated caste groups ('general', OBC, and SC/ST) and religious groups (Hindu, Muslim, other). We considered multiple questions in development of the modified lockdown readiness index following the basic approach outlined above. For instance, with regard to the third lockdownability criterion, energy, we considered a core issue to be whether the household has access to a source of energy, principally for cooking, that allows the members to stay at home without going out daily or weekly into public spaces to gather fuel. For simplicity in the analysis below, we use the following five constructed variables, which are largely similar to the original index's five core components: (1) is there safe water available within the home or compound, rather than outside? (based on 'wa2a'); (2) does the household have a toilet (flush toilet, semi-flush or septic tank latrine, or tradi-

⁴ A third round, IHDS 3, is ongoing and is slated for release in 2023.

⁵ The Socio Economic and Caste Census (SECC) 2011 contains detailed record of jati and sub-jati but the micro data is not publicly available.

tional pit latrine), rather than no facility (or open fields)? (based on 'sa4'); (3) does the household have electricity? (based on 'fu1', 'fu14a1', 'fu14b1', 'fu14c1', and 'fu14d1'); (4) does anyone in the household have a mobile phone? (based on 'mm10'); (5) is the primary means of household support either a pension or rents, or salaried employment? (based on 'id14' [salaried and pension people]).

3 Findings

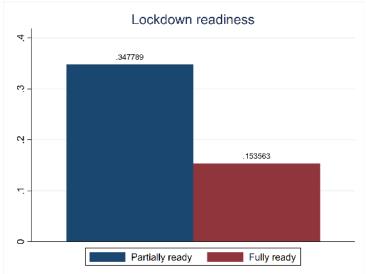
3.1 All India

To estimate the level of lockdown readiness across India, we draw on the IHDS round two, which covers 42,152 households across 34 states and union territories. Part (a) of Table 1 presents the summary statistics, part (b) comprises of the means of five variables that encompass the lockdown readiness index, differentiating the rural and urban level. Around 67.5 per cent of the households have electricity but only 55.5 per cent have access to sanitation and only 52.6 per cent have access to clean water. A significantly smaller proportion of the households have access to all the basic services simultaneously (partial readiness). The share of households that are partially ready is just 34.8 per cent in total. The per cent of households partially ready between the rural and the urban is quite stark, 20.5 per cent in the rural areas in comparison to 61.7 per cent in the urban areas. Most of the households (80.1 per cent) have access to a mobile phone or a telephone. However, only 28 per cent report to have stable source of income and is not cash constrained. This is a major constraint which leads, on average, to only 15.4 per cent of the households fully ready for a lockdown situation. This constraint is magnified even more at the rural level, where only 6.1 per cent are fully ready in comparison to 32.9 per cent in the urban areas.

	All		Ru	ıral	Urban	
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	29.822	20.363	29.310	20.632	30.818	19.791
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.503	0.500	1.498	0.500
Years of education	5.320	4.883	4.538	4.545	6.842	5.153
Household size	5.964	2.804	6.060	2.872	5.777	2.656
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.526	0.499	0.429	0.495	0.711	0.453
Access to sanitation	0.555	0.497	0.408	0.491	0.833	0.373
Access to energy	0.675	0.468	0.553	0.497	0.907	0.290
Access to phone	0.801	0.399	0.744	0.437	0.909	0.287
Not cash constrained	0.280	0.449	0.174	0.379	0.479	0.500
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.154	0.361	0.061	0.239	0.329	0.470
Partially ready	0.348	0.476	0.205	0.404	0.617	0.486
Ν	42152		27579		14573	

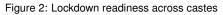
Table 1: Entire sample

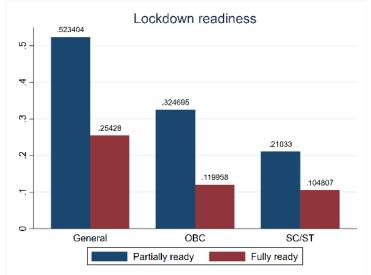
Figure 1: Lockdown readiness in India



Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

3.2 Across caste





Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

From Table 2 we see that between different castes, those households classified as 'general caste' had significantly better access to clean water (67.7 per cent) in comparison to those classified as 'other backward class' (OBC; 50.9 per cent) and 'schedule castes/schedule tribes' (SC/ST; 40.7 per cent). In terms of other basic services, such as access to sanitation and electricity, those in the OBC and SC/ST categories have significantly lower access in comparison to those in the general caste category. This in turn leads to an even lower proportion of those in the OBC and SC/ST categories to be partially ready for a lockdown scenario, as shown in Figure 2. Only 32.5 per cent of those in the OBC category and 21 per cent in the SC/ST category are partially ready in comparison to 52.3 per cent in the general caste category. Even significantly lower percentages of OBCs (12 per cent) and SC/STs (10.5 per cent) are fully ready for a lockdown situation in comparison to 25.4 per cent of those in the general caste category, due to lack of steady source of income.

Table 2: Caste

	General		O	BC	SC	/ST
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	31.793	20.767	29.568	20.445	28.241	19.703
Sex	1.499	0.500	1.502	0.500	1.502	0.500
Years of education	6.660	5.150	5.082	4.745	4.365	4.524
Household size	5.941	2.887	6.121	2.977	5.783	2.454
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.677	0.468	0.509	0.500	0.407	0.491
Access to sanitation	0.744	0.436	0.531	0.499	0.400	0.490
Access to energy	0.810	0.392	0.690	0.463	0.524	0.499
Access to phone	0.882	0.322	0.812	0.390	0.705	0.456
Not cash constrained	0.391	0.488	0.238	0.426	0.233	0.423
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.254	0.435	0.120	0.325	0.105	0.306
Partially ready	0.523	0.499	0.325	0.468	0.210	0.408
Ν	11857		17056		12585	

Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

3.3 Across religion

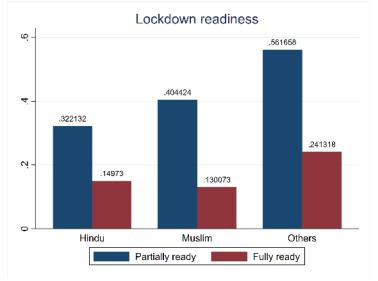
From Table 3 we see that, between those of different religions, those classified as Hindu represent a majority of the sample and have significantly lower average access to clean water (49.9 per cent) in comparison to those classified as Muslim (60.9 per cent) or members of 'other' religious groups (71.3 per cent). In terms of other basic services, such as access to sanitation and access to electricity, households classified as Muslim and other religious groups have significantly higher access in comparison to Hindu households. Figure 3 shows that 32.2 per cent of Hindu and 40.4 per cent of Muslim households are partially ready in comparison to 56.2 per cent of the other religious group households. Only 15 per cent of Hindu households, 13 per cent of Muslim households, and 24.1 per cent of the other religious group households are fully ready for a lockdown situation, in large part due to their lack of a steady source of income.

Table 3: Across religion

	Hir	ndu	Mu	slim	Oth	ners
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	30.226	20.454	26.376	19.313	32.109	20.590
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.502	0.500	1.497	0.500
Years of education	5.407	4.909	4.295	4.508	6.419	4.970
Household size	5.841	2.726	6.908	3.228	5.497	2.341
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.499	0.500	0.609	0.488	0.713	0.452
Access to sanitation	0.514	0.500	0.702	0.457	0.790	0.407
Access to energy	0.663	0.473	0.697	0.460	0.787	0.410
Access to phone	0.796	0.403	0.816	0.388	0.833	0.373
Not cash constrained	0.279	0.449	0.238	0.426	0.359	0.480
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.150	0.357	0.130	0.336	0.241	0.428
Partially ready	0.322	0.467	0.404	0.491	0.562	0.496
N	34402		4928		2822	

Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

Figure 3: Lockdown readiness across religion

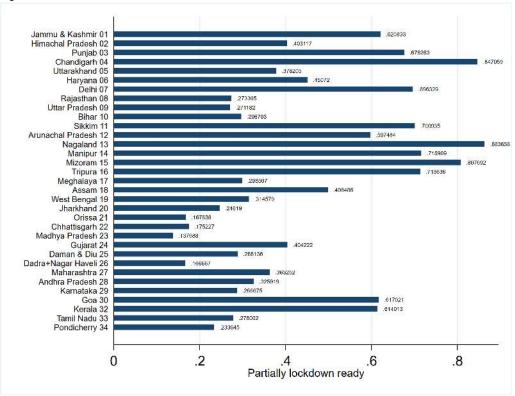


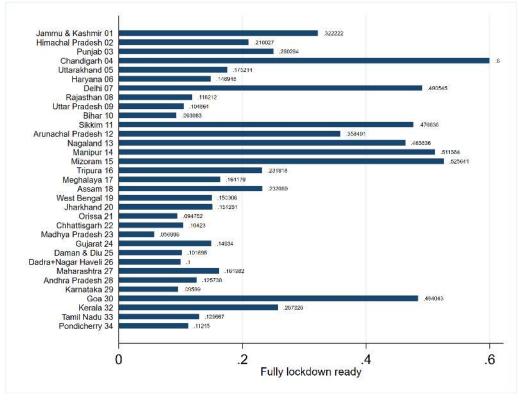
Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

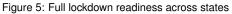
3.4 Across states

At the state level, Figure 4 shows that more than 50 per cent of the sample in 13 states and union territories are partially ready for a lockdown scenario. In the north-eastern state of Nagaland, around 86.3 per cent of the sample is partially ready. By contrast, in the state of Madhya Pradesh, only 13.7 per cent of households are even partially ready for a lockdown scenario. As shown in Figure 5, these numbers drop significantly when we consider 'fully' ready scenarios. In the union territory Chandigarh, 60 per cent of households are fully ready for a lockdown, and it is not surprising to see that the state of Madhya Pradesh is least ready with just 5.6 per cent of households fully ready for a lockdown scenario. Figures A1 and A2 in the Appendix highlight the stark variation in partial readiness and full readiness for a lockdown scenario across states.

Figure 4: Partial lockdown readiness across states







Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

Egger et al. (2020) find a positive correlation between gross domestic product (GDP) per capita and lockdown readiness in 30 sub-Saharan countries. We find similar positive correlation across Indian states. Figures 6 and 7 plot the correlation between per capita gross state domestic product (GSDP) measured in log US dollars in the horizontal axis and lockdown readiness, partial and full, respectively, in the vertical axis. Looking first at partial lockdown readiness (Figure 6), it is not surprising that a significant portion of richer states and union territories are partially ready for a lockdown scenario. However, less well-off states in terms of GSDP, such as the north-eastern states of Nagaland, Manipur, Tripura, and Mizoram, are equally or more prepared partially for a lockdown scenario. Figure 7, which looks into the correlation between full readiness for a lockdown situation and GSDP, shows an even steeper correlation. Some states are notable exceptions here: for instance, as the figure shows, less well-off states in terms of GSDP, such as the north-eastern states of Nagaland, Manipur, are equally fully prepared for a lockdown scenario in comparison to more well-off states and union-territories, such as Chandigarh, Delhi, Sikkim, and Goa.

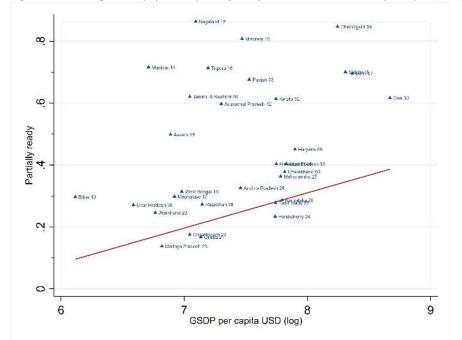


Figure 6: Percentage of the population partially ready for lockdown and GSDP per capita (US\$)

Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015), MoSPI data (MoSPI 2020), and exchange rate from the World Bank (World Bank n.d.).

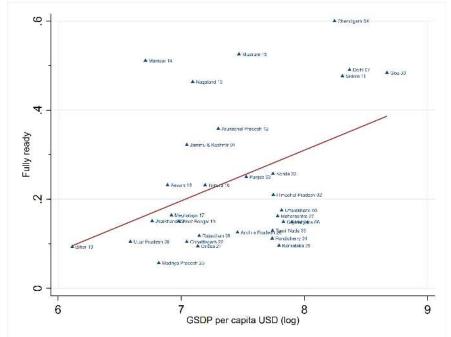


Figure 7: Percentage of the population fully ready for lockdown and GSDP per capita (US\$)

Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015), MoSPI data (MoSPI 2020), and exchange rate from the World Bank (World Bank n.d.).

4 Conclusion

A growing body of research suggests that COVID-19 both reflects and exacerbates existing inequalities. One important dimension of this relationship that has been less explored than others—especially in Global South countries—relates to 'horizontal' inequalities, which are, in many countries, both pronounced and economically, socially, and politically salient. A core challenge in doing further work in this area, particularly in Global South countries, is the lack of data that can be used to study this relationship directly. This is precisely the case in India where group-disaggregated data on COVID-19 infection and deaths has not been made publicly available.

In this paper, we explore what can be gleaned from available data about the likely differential impact of a core COVID-19 response policy—lockdown—on key groups in India. We focus on core caste and religious divisions, as well as comparison across states and urban–rural populations. India is a particularly important case for such analysis, not only because it is the second most populous country in the world and one with pronounced horizontal inequality, but also because it adopted one of the most stringent lockdown policies. The main contribution of our analysis is to illustrate how horizontal inequalities in multiple dimensions—across caste and religious groups, as well as across Indian states translate into variation in lockdown readiness. A lack of lockdown readiness during a stringent lockdown such as that imposed in India implies severe hardships with potentially long-running consequences for households.

There are multiple areas for future work. One core issue that we do not consider in this analysis is the potential impact of government COVID-relief efforts in alleviating the 'cash income' criterion of the lockdown readiness index. The Indian government, for instance, has aimed to provide a safety net of 100 days of employment to rural households, channeling support through the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS), with an almost doubled budget. Our analysis shows that a lack of 'cash income' is a significant factor in preventing many households from being lockdown ready, thus in general such programmes can be expected to support greater lockdown readiness. However, our analysis also underscores that when India's lockdown was imposed, the rural poor were not the only ones not lockdown ready. There were vast numbers of people—in urban as well as rural areas—who were not in a position to respect the lockdown without severe hardship.

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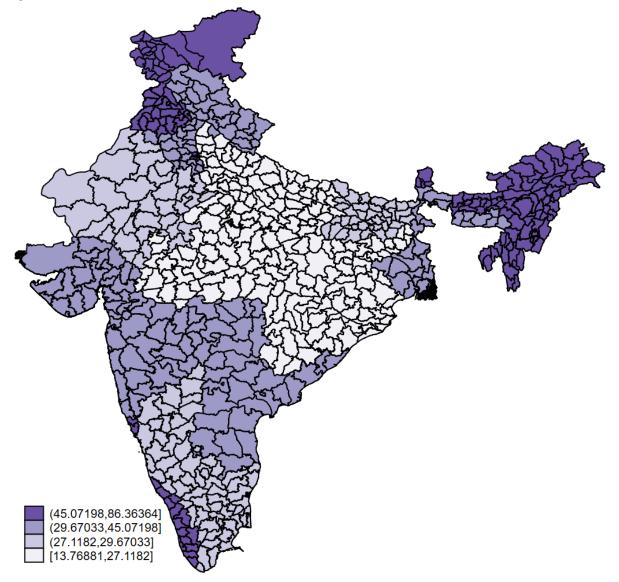
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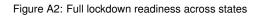
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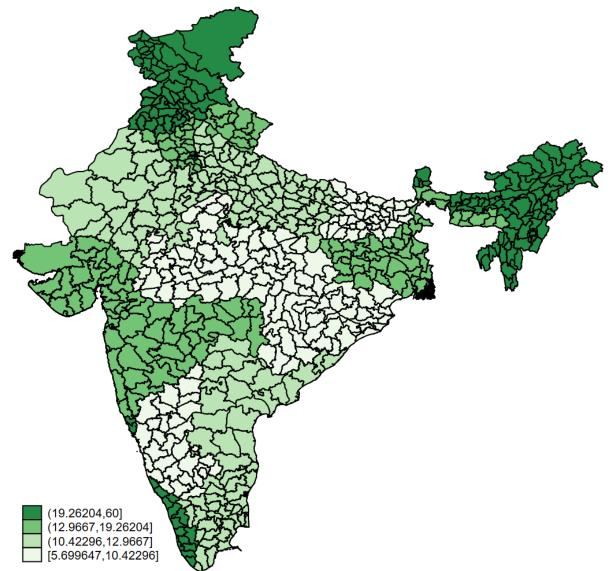
Appendix

Graphs

Figure A1: Partial lockdown readiness across states







Tables

Table A1: Brahmin

	All		Ru	ıral	Urt	ban
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	29.822	20.363	31.134	21.158	32.707	20.179
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.502	0.500	1.496	0.500
Years of education	5.320	4.883	5.596	4.813	8.133	5.237
Household size	5.964	2.804	6.183	3.059	5.607	2.594
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.677	0.468	0.576	0.494	0.807	0.395
Access to sanitation	0.744	0.436	0.611	0.488	0.916	0.277
Access to energy	0.810	0.392	0.695	0.460	0.959	0.199
Access to phone	0.882	0.322	0.838	0.369	0.940	0.238
Not cash constrained	0.391	0.488	0.255	0.436	0.567	0.495
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.254	0.435	0.115	0.319	0.434	0.496
Partially ready	0.523	0.499	0.352	0.478	0.745	0.436
Ν	11857		6683		5174	

Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

Table A2: OBC

	All		Ru	ural	Urb	oan
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	29.822	20.363	29.242	20.743	30.186	19.853
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.503	0.500	1.499	0.500
Years of education	5.320	4.883	4.454	4.485	6.274	4.992
Household size	5.964	2.804	6.204	3.052	5.963	2.823
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.509	0.500	0.413	0.492	0.687	0.464
Access to sanitation	0.531	0.499	0.375	0.484	0.822	0.382
Access to energy	0.690	0.463	0.578	0.494	0.898	0.303
Access to phone	0.812	0.390	0.763	0.426	0.905	0.293
Not cash constrained	0.238	0.426	0.148	0.355	0.406	0.491
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.120	0.325	0.044	0.204	0.262	0.440
Partially ready	0.325	0.468	0.188	0.391	0.580	0.494
N	17056		11103		5953	

Table A3: SC/ST

	All		Ru	ıral	Urt	oan
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	29.822	20.363	27.985	19.992	29.002	18.800
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.503	0.500	1.499	0.500
Years of education	5.320	4.883	3.840	4.248	5.926	4.939
Household size	5.964	2.804	5.804	2.464	5.719	2.425
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.407	0.491	0.341	0.474	0.604	0.489
Access to sanitation	0.400	0.490	0.296	0.456	0.712	0.453
Access to energy	0.524	0.499	0.418	0.493	0.838	0.368
Access to phone	0.705	0.456	0.651	0.477	0.868	0.339
Not cash constrained	0.233	0.423	0.149	0.356	0.486	0.500
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.105	0.306	0.042	0.201	0.292	0.455
Partially ready	0.210	0.408	0.119	0.324	0.482	0.500
N	12585		9427		3158	

Source: authors' calculations based on IHDS data (Desai and Vanneman 2015).

Table A4: Hindu

	All		Rı	ıral	Urb	ban
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	29.822	20.363	29.634	20.711	31.488	19.838
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.504	0.500	1.496	0.500
Years of education	5.320	4.883	4.590	4.557	7.146	5.172
Household size	5.964	2.804	5.975	2.824	5.555	2.482
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.499	0.500	0.396	0.489	0.708	0.455
Access to sanitation	0.514	0.500	0.364	0.481	0.819	0.385
Access to energy	0.663	0.473	0.543	0.498	0.907	0.291
Access to phone	0.796	0.403	0.739	0.439	0.912	0.284
Not cash constrained	0.279	0.449	0.167	0.373	0.508	0.500
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.150	0.357	0.053	0.224	0.347	0.476
Partially ready	0.322	0.467	0.178	0.383	0.614	0.487
Ν	34402		23061		11341	

Table A5: Muslim

	All		Ru	ıral	Urt	ban
	mean	sd	mean	sd	mean	sd
Descriptive statistics						
Age	29.822	20.363	25.680	19.571	27.189	18.975
Sex	1.501	0.500	1.503	0.500	1.502	0.500
Years of education	5.320	4.883	3.597	4.202	5.111	4.712
Household size	5.964	2.804	6.928	3.258	6.884	3.192
Lockdown readiness 'inputs'						
Access to clean water	0.609	0.488	0.537	0.499	0.693	0.461
Access to sanitation	0.702	0.457	0.563	0.496	0.865	0.342
Access to energy	0.697	0.460	0.529	0.499	0.893	0.309
Access to phone	0.816	0.388	0.755	0.430	0.886	0.317
Not cash constrained	0.238	0.426	0.179	0.383	0.306	0.461
Lockdown readiness						
Full ready	0.130	0.336	0.069	0.253	0.202	0.401
Partially ready	0.404	0.491	0.253	0.435	0.582	0.493
Ν	4928		2657		2271	