

Trend Analysis of Female Labor Force Participation in the Post-Covid Period with Sub-Regional Evidences from East and West Pune

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Abstract: *In spite of centuries of female's contribution in ruling kingdoms, expanding trade, fighting wars, and influencing societies, modern India continues to experience prolonged gender inequalities even after having progressive economic policies, reforms, rising educational level, rapid economic growth and development. To understand the underlying reason behind such persistent gender issue, the study attempts to analyze all-India level Periodic Labor Force Survey (2017-2024) using time-series analysis and examine on-the-ground reality of female's residing and working in Pune's East-West urban zones such as Aundh-Baner, Kharadi, and Hinjewadi area using non-parametric Chi-square test by employing mixed-method approach and both primary and secondary tools of data collection. Primary data has been collected using a structured Google form questionnaire using probability sampling technique; while secondary data is taken from PLFS. The findings reveal minor growth among urban-rural women in national trend analysis with marriage and number of children as the two main underlying reasons behind low female participation at sub-regional level. The paper suggests the need for broader, sub-regional level, localized research for better and more comprehensive understanding of low female's participation rate in labor market by future researchers. It also recommends the need of institutional support to recognize female's dual contributions in both domestic and economic spheres of life.*

Keywords: Female Labor, Urban Pune, Gender Economics, Empowerment, Chi-square Test

1. Introduction

Over the decades, various structural reforms, progressive governance, and effective policy implementations has led to massive economic transformations in the Indian economy enabling the country to emerge as the fourth-largest global economy in terms of GDP growth rate of US \$ 3.91 trillion in 2024 (1). The country also surpassed China in terms of population by becoming the world's second most populous country with estimated population of approx. 1.43 billion people in 2023. The country's population now is expected to reach approximately 1.7 billion by 2064, according to United Nations, (2) projections presenting both an opportunity and challenges in the labor market. This growing working age population will not only lead to economic productivity and innovation but also massive unemployment and under-utilization of human resource, if adequate employment opportunities are not created. Kapsos et al., (3) in his paper further highlights the dark reality of Indian job market, emphasizing on an economic growth that does not guarantee an increase in workforce participation, especially among women. In this context, to find whether India's economic growth is gender inclusive, a study on Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP) becomes increasingly important and debatable.

Within India, Maharashtra, one of India's most industrial and economically advanced state has been chosen as the scope

area of the study to present on-the ground reality of Pune. With the state population 12.87 crores, Maharashtra itself contributes around 12.92% share to India's GDP with overall literacy rate of 87.3% (4-6). Over the time the state has experienced a significant interdistrict migration, with Mumbai and Pune as the major destination, having strong educational and IT base since 2000. Constraining the study to present on-the ground reality of Pune, the paper focuses on three major IT and industrial hubs; Aundh-Baner, Hinjewadi and Kharadi area¹, attracting both male and female migrants for its employment opportunities, infrastructure, connectivity, and accessibility leading to high surge in labor force participation rate.

Being in the top 5 preferred destination by working females in India, this legacy is largely shaped by women like Savitribai Phule, Pandita Ramabai, Iravati Karve, Vidhya Bal, Sai Paranjpe and many other women scholars who has created a distinct and liberal progressive work culture and atmosphere in Pune. While Hinjewadi and Kharadi is known for its IT and industrial sectors with large corporate offices and skilled workforce; Aundh-Baner, represents a mixed sector location having start-ups, co-working spaces, retail sector, and educational institutions. After 2005, these areas have witnessed rapid expansion of large IT parks and services

¹ The Covid-19 pandemic worsened the situation of females in these areas. Many working female's lost jobs or voluntarily left the workforce because of pay-cuts, bulk layoffs, lockdowns and increased domestic responsibilities. However, post-covid, a rise in

remote work, hybrid jobs, online entrepreneurship and gig- freelance work opened new opportunities and corridors for them.

industries,² creating more employment opportunities for women compared to traditional sectors, making East-West Pune an ideal location to study female participation rate (Maharashtra Population Census, 2025; Pune Population Census, 2025).

The study incorporates theoretical frameworks of various economists such as Becker's Theory of Human Capital (1964) and Household Specialization³, Sen's Capability Approach (1999), Neoclassical Labor Supply Theory, and U-Shaped Hypothesis of Female Labor Supply to understand ground level realities of gendered roles in the Indian society (Daniel E. Saros, 2000, Goldin, 1994, Pollak, 2003).

Research Objectives

- 1) Analyze national-level trends analysis of FLFP rate using 7 years Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS) data from 2017 to 2024.
- 2) Identify the underlying reasons for low workforce participation of female residing and working in East and West zones of Pune using non-parametric Chi-square test.

2. Review of Literature

In an economy, labor force generally refers to individual who are either employed or unemployed but actively seeking work. However, not all individual who are working is included within this definition (12).⁴ Studies indicates that female's participation in the labor market is influenced by a wide range of socio-economic and demographic factors such as economic growth, social and cultural norms, educational attainment, fertility rates, marital status, occupation type, access to childcare facilities and the extend of shared domestic responsibilities within the households. To understand this (Ministry of Labour and Employment, (13) suggests that rising household incomes and overall economic growth do not actually translate into higher female labor force participation rate instead, these factors often lead to high gender disparities in employment, earning and access to opportunities. To examine this paradox, several studies have tested Goldin U-shaped hypotheses⁵, suggesting a non-linear relationship between economic development and female labor force participation (FLFP) (11). However, this U-shaped pattern holds true only in some developed economies. In many developing countries like India, especially in urban Pune, female participation rate due to industrialization and urbanization generally tends to decline due to various demographic factors, which this study tends to examine using regional-level analysis.

Domestic services and unpaid care work

Data on non-monetary contributions such as domestic and caregiving work, measured in terms of skills, efforts and time spend (as a % of 24-hour day), are rarely published or included in official statistics (Bhattacharyya & Haldar, 2020; World Bank Group, 2023). This exclusion is largely because such work is culturally viewed as the natural responsibility of women within Indian households. Deshpande,⁽¹⁵⁾ in her study mentions, how this burden of unpaid household chores intensified during first covid-19 lockdown, when domestic helpers were unable to come for help and support. Conversely, H. Gupta, (16) in an exploratory study on 167 part-time domestic workers in Pune (during covid pandemic), documents the precarious condition faced by working females engaged in domestic services, out of their economic compulsion and family pressure rather than their own choice. Since, most of these working poor lacked skilled beyond these household services, they had to limit themselves with such low-paying work. Covid-19 conditions, further worsened the conditions, leading to job loss. As a result, Ghosh, (17) argues for the recognition of unpaid and low paying household labor work, often undervalued due to its invisible nature, leading to lower wages and disrespect and gender segregation in the labor market.

Education level and occupational constraints

Generally, moderately educated women experience dual constraints in the labor market in terms of acquired education qualification and availability of the job roles. This mismatch negatively impacts bargaining power of women, leading to withdrawal from the workforce (18,19). Various studies also indicates that recruiters are reluctant to hire female candidates anticipating career breaks due to maternity leaves, childcare and household responsibilities. This mindset among recruiters further leads to gender discrimination in terms of job search, hiring and promotion process. To find the gender difference in the workplace Johri et al., (20) conducted a study across 400 employees working in IT, manufacturing and service sectors in Pune based on 3 parameters such as recruitment, salary and compensation and project allocation, and found disparities in terms of pay scale, training and promotion opportunities.

In many societies, female's participation in the labor force depends on the rate of return to education and skills, where families make investment decision by comparing expected wage returns with associated costs⁶ (Bradshaw et al., 2022; Lincove, 2008). In many Indian homes girl's education is also viewed as a financial burden, unless their education translates directly into employment or tangible economic returns. In India, gender discrimination begins from birth, even before female enters the work force. As a result, Bhalla & Kaur, (23)

² IT Parks such as Rajiv Gandhi Infotech Park in Hinjewadi and EON IT Park in Kharadi. Aundh-Baner offers major residential and commercial zone that supports nearby IT clusters.

³ Gary Becker's view on household specialization is based on comparative advantage, where men are engaged in paid work and women take up house-based work. However, as women education and potential earning increases, the opportunity cost of staying out of labor force (paid work) rises. This perspective is seen later in this paper, where modern urban families are rapidly shifting towards dual-earner model in Aundh-Baner, Hinjewadi and Kharadi area of Pune, Maharashtra.

⁴ Unpaid workers, homemakers, and students are often excluded and not reflected in national income accounting.

⁵ Goldin U-shaped hypotheses, suggests that in the early stage of economic development, women's participation is high due to economic necessity, it then declines as household income rise and restrictive social norms confines women's engagement in paid work. Finally, it increases again with higher education levels, urbanization and expansion of service sector.

⁶ such as tuition fee or institution fees, time invested in education, and opportunity cost of unpaid household work

constructed an Adjusted Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) measure that includes both work and schooling to better capture female's participation level.

Studies by (Chatterjee et al., 2018; Chaudhary Ruchika, 2014; Kar, 2025; Lincove, 2008b). highlights how improvement in educational attainment and living standards of women leads to small family size, that in turn, increases the possibility of more female representation in the workforce, further indicating why educated women generally tends to invest more on their children's education, leading to long-term intergenerational gains from female education and rational family planning. Prabhu Meghan, (27) in cross-country study involving 100,000 participants across 29 countries, also finds that daughters of these working mothers are 1.21 times more likely to be employed, 1.29 times more likely to hold supervisory positions, work 44 minutes longer per week, and earn higher annual incomes as compared to daughters of stay-at-home mothers.

Household income effect on participation rate

Bhattacharyya & Haldar, (28) suggests that there exists no relationship between income and female labor force participation (FLFP) rate as female's participation in the workforce generally rises up to a certain income level thereafter declines once households achieve financial stability. This pattern suggest that income effect dominates the substitution effect.

Patriarchy, motherhood and socio-cultural norms

Societal norms play an important role in shaping female's labor force participation. Mukhopadhyay, (29) emphasis that South Asian countries such as India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Sri Lanka form a pre-dominantly patriarchal and agrarian regions, where many women are engaged in agriculture and informal activities. In such countries, women often prefer to remain close to their husbands and households due to social stigma and fear of separation, supporting anti-U feminization hypothesis (28). This social stigma is extremely evident in patriarchal system, where girls are married off at young age and moved to their husband's home, where they are subordinate to both men and elder women of the family. In such patriarchal homes, gender division, also known as occupational segregation is witnessed, where men are treated as the breadwinner of the family and women role is restricted to child-bearing and domestic chores. After pregnancy, this gender segregation takes the form of widely known "Motherhood" or "Motherhood penalty" (V. Gupta, 2023; Lincove, 2008). Bhalla & Kaur, (23) calculates this loss of human capital by quantifying the economic cost of motherhood in terms of loss of wages and career gap. For example; if a woman with 6 years of education and 30 years of work experience, takes a career break of 2 years, she'll experience a wage gap of 6.3% due to decline in work experience from 12 years to 10 years.

Aim, Scope and Methodology of the study

Aim: The paper aims to analyze post-covid trend of female labor force participation in India using national level trend

analysis of Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS 2017-2024) data and examines the prominent reasons behind low female representation using regional analysis of East and west zones of Pune, to find whether India's post-pandemic economic growth is gender inclusive or not.

Scope and Methodology: The paper employs mixed-method approach, incorporating both national level and sub-regional-level analysis to examine the employment status of female using both primary and secondary method of data collection. Primary data was collected using a structured Google form questionnaire using probability sampling techniques to capture on-the-ground realities of urban females residing or working in Aundh-Baner, Hinjewadi, and Kharadi areas of Pune. This data has been analyzed using non-parametric Chi-square test analysis, while secondary data has been taken from the Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS) to analyze employment trends during pre-and post-Covid periods (from 2017-2018 to 2023-2024) (31).

National-level analysis of Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS 2017-2024)

The data for National level trend analysis has been gathered from Ministry of Statistics and Program Implementation website based on (i) Labor force participation rate in usual status for different age groups, (ii) education level, and (iii) unemployment rate among the educated women (32).

(i) Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) in usual status for different age groups.

PLFS data shows that between 2017-18 and 2023-24, Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP) among women aged 15 years and above doubled in rural India, rising from 24.6% to 47.6% while in urban India participation increased modestly from 20.4% to 28%, widening the urban-rural women gap from 23.3% in 2017-18 to 41.7 % in 2023-24. In rural area, women participation is majorly in self-employment, unpaid work and government supported rural employment schemes such as MNREGA. However, in urban area growth is relatively slow due to limited formal sector job creation, socio-cultural constraints and lack of flexible and safe working conditions and opportunities⁷.

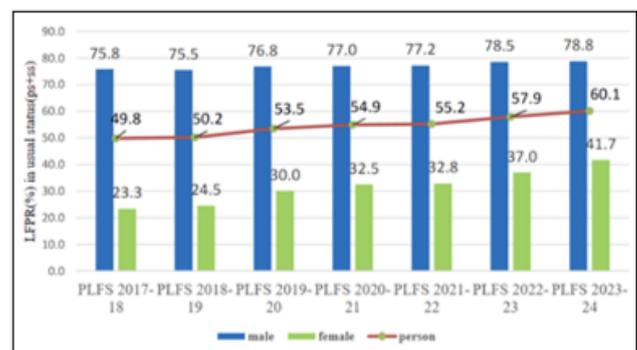


Figure 1: Trend in Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR%) by gender (persons aged 15 years and above) from PLFS 2017-18 to 2023-24, showing a steady rise in overall and female participation. Source: (32)

⁷ V. Gupta (33) and Mitra & Tripathi, (34) presents similar case in their studies, where FLFP in India tends to be higher in rural areas as compared to urban areas as participation in rural areas is majorly

disguised and necessity-driven rather than empowerment. In urban areas participation generally declines due to the adverse effect of rapid urbanization and absence of job market to absorb labor force.

(figure 1) clearly shows the pre- and post-covid trend, where participation rate has increased considerably from 23.3% to 30% in pre-pandemic period (2017-2020), during the covid period (2020-2022) growth was relatively slow (32.5% in 2020-21 to 32.8% in 2022), however, after the epidemic significant growth can be witnessed (41.7% in 2023-24). This might be due to expansion of mechanization and digitalization, which has created more employment opportunities in both the regions.

(ii) Education level specific WPR in usual status (ps+ss) for women age 15 years and above

The cluster bar graph presents the data of women’s education level that qualify them to participate in the workforce.

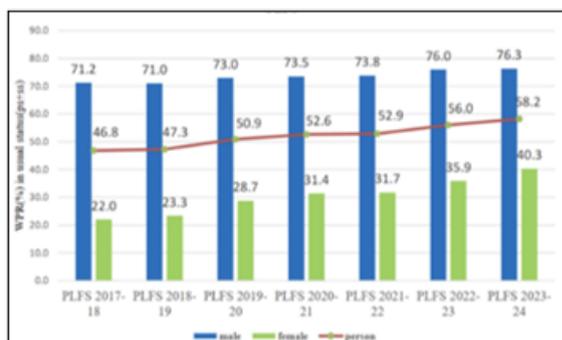


Figure 2: Trend in Worker Population Ratio (WPR%) by gender (persons aged 15 years and above) from PLFS 2017–18 to 2023–24, indicating a steady post-COVID rise in both overall and female workforce participation. Source: (32)

The data presents education-employment paradox, where women’s participation in workforce has increased from 22% in 2017-18 to 40.3% in 2023-24, representing a considerable improvement of 18.3% in employment level of urban-rural women. Among this increase, the impact of education level is huge among rural women, increasing their participation rate from 23.7% in 2017 to 46.5% in 2024 (just double), while in urban areas participation rate increased only 9% i.e., from 18.2% in 2017-18 to 26% in 2023-24. During Covid-19 period (2020-22), (figure 2) growth among rural women was stagnant (35.8%) while, it was steady and limited among urban women (31.4 in 2020-21 to 31.7 in 2021-22). However, post-covid it has also experienced a surge in both the regions (40.7% in 2022-23 to 46.5% in 2023-24 in rural area and 35.9% in 2022-23 to 40.3% in 2023-24), reflecting slow but consistent progress of India towards gender inclusive growth, encouraging more women participation in the workforce.

(iii) Unemployment rate among the educated (Secondary and above)

The data reveals a consistent decline in unemployment rates among both urban and rural women, suggesting an expansion of job opportunities in the labor market of the economy. As per the collected data, overall unemployment rate has fallen from 6.0 % in 2017-18 to 3.2% in 2023-24, indicating 3% reduction. Among this decline (figure 3), female

unemployment rate has decreased from 5.6% in 2017-18 to 3.2% in 2023-24 in urban area and 3.8% to 2.1% in rural.

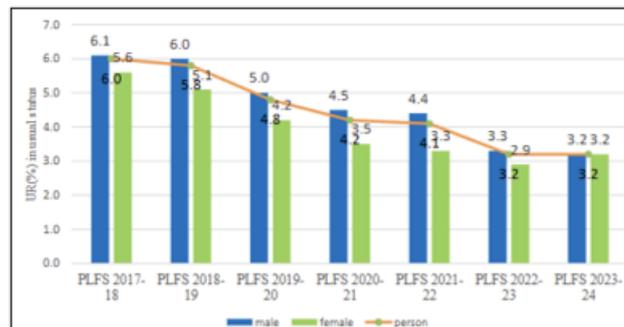


Figure 3: Trend in Unemployment Rate (UR%) by gender for persons aged 15 years and above from PLFS 2017–18 to 2023–24, showing a consistent decline in unemployment for both males and females, reaching the lowest rate of 3.2% in 2023–24. Source: (32)

As presented in (figure 1), an increase observed in urban and rural labor force participation rates, unemployment rate has fallen as result of this rise. Although the fall in unemployment rate is relatively small in both the regions, the underlying reasons behind it, is already outlined in review of literature of the paper.

The national level trend from 2017-18 to 2023-2024 presents dual reality of India’s economic progress, where on one hand, India has made a substantial progress in terms of female labor force participation rate and its corresponding decline in unemployment rate and on the other side, the dark reality of low-paying, insecure and informal jobs. The covid-19 period (2020-22) was the transformation point that led to an increase in employment trend and education levels of the women. As economy recovered, post-2021, many women also experienced a shift in the job market roles due to digitalization. However, we cannot undermine the impact of this progress at the regional level as it led to regional disparities and digital divide. Thus, it is hard to call Indian economic growth as gender inclusive⁸ based on the observed trend analysis, however India is working towards becoming gender inclusive aligning its vision to be Viksit Bharat@2047.

Regional-level analysis of ground-level data from east and west zones of Pune

In the previous section, Marco-level analysis of Periodic Labor Force Survey (PLFS 2017-2024), already showed a regional gap in terms of labor force participation, education levels, and other socio-economic factors among rural and urban women. In this section, the primary data collected using a structured questionnaire presents similar analysis at micro-level. The dataset includes 101 responses collected using Google Form using non-probability sampling technique from women working and residing in Pune’s Aundh-Baner, Hinjewadi and Kharadi Areas. Since the dataset is categorical in nature, it is analyzed using Chi-square test of independence in Microsoft Excel, where responses are first converted into

⁸ Most developing economies presents a paradoxical situation, where women, the productive segment of the labor market, participation declines, despite economic growth and education levels (18). By comparing two fastest growing economies, Mukhopadhyay, (29) also reveals that despite higher GDP growth in South Asia (SA),

women participation remains lowest; 25.1% in 2019 as compared to 58.4% for Latin America & the Caribbean (LAC), acknowledging the fact that economic growth does not necessarily guarantee gender inclusive labor outcomes.

numerical form using Pivot-table and analyzed at significance level (alpha) of 0.05, to check whether there exists statistically significant association between female employment status and selected socio-economic variables or not.

To address the objective of the study and evaluate the statistical significance of each of these underlying factors, 6 hypotheses are formulated to understand their impact on employment status of women:

- H₀= Education Qualification, Vocational Training, Marital Status, Unpaid work limitation, Number of children, and

Participation in household decision-making has *no significant association* with Employment Status

- H₁ = Education Qualification, Vocational Training, Marital Status, Unpaid work limitation, Number of children, and Participation in household decision-making has a *significant association* with Employment Status

The decision rule is as follows:

- If p-value > 0.05, reject null hypotheses (there is a significant association between the variables) and
- If p-value < 0.05, fails to reject the null hypotheses (there is a no significant association between the variables)

Table 4: Author Calculated Chi-square test based on selected socio-economic variables from the primary survey conducted in Pune, Maharashtra

Variable	Chi-square Test		Result
	X ² Value	p-value	
Education Qualification	16.54541423	0.346757225	Not significant
Vocational Training	17.36576228	0.000594289	Not Significant
Marital Status	48.28810396	1.8491E-10	Significant
Number of children	35.38213017	5.10086E-05	Significant
Unpaid work	25.66179025	0.000257364	Not Significant
Participation in household financial decision-making	9.689893015	0.021394709	Not Significant

The main objective of conducting this survey was to understand why urban women with sufficient education and skills remain underrepresented in the workforce. Based on the Chi-square analysis, 2 out of 6 socio-economic variables; marital status (p-value=**1.8491E-10**), and number of children⁹ (p-value= **5.10086E-05**) are the major factors that significantly affect female employment status. This indicates that marriage and family responsibilities are the primary determinant that influences women workforce participation in Pune’s Aundh-Baner, Hinjewadi and Kharadi areas. Kar, (24) calls this ‘parking lot hypothesis’ in her studies suggesting that higher education for many women serves merely as a temporary engagement before marriage rather than a pathway to continued employment. In contrast, education qualification (p-value = **0.346757225**), vocational training (p-value = **0.000594289**), unpaid work limitation (p-value = **0.000257364**) and participation of women in household financial decision-making (p-value = **0.021394709**) has no statistically significant effect on employment status. This represents the socio-economic profile of the respondents as many women in these areas belong to middle and upper-

middle income households, who generally take domestic helper support to overcome the problem of unpaid care work, which gives them greater flexibility to manage paid work ¹⁰.

Around 61.4% of respondents also belongs from 25+ age group in the dataset, who reported to voluntarily exit from labor force due to family obligations, health issues or personal choices rather than skill or education constraints.¹¹ As a result, no such association of vocational training, education qualification and participation in financial decision-making exist with employment status in the test. Apart from voluntarily exit, several unemployed women and homemakers reported family restriction, marriage, motherhood, household responsibilities¹² and enrollment in higher education as the underlying factors for leaving paid job and around 59.3% of employed women reported to experience workplace discrimination in terms of unequal pay, promotion biases, workload and harassment, which often leads to job discontinuation in the future.¹³

⁹ After pregnancy presence of children, particularly toddlers or more than two children, further reduces likelihood of women’s participation in the labor force due to lack of childcare facilities and ingrained Indian traditional norms or expectations. This is widely known as “Motherhood penalty” (V. Gupta, 2023; Lincove, 2008).

¹⁰ Bhattacharyya & Haldar, (28) and World Bank Group, (14) a large segment of women employed as domestic workers or household helpers, particularly within middle- and upper-income households effectively reduce the domestic workload of skilled and educated women, thereby enabling the latter to engage more actively in formal employment and professional careers.

¹¹ Chatterjee et al.,(25) , Chattopadhyay & Chowdhury, (35)and Klasen (36) suggests that as women attain higher education or equivalent and become eligible for better wages and white-collar

jobs, many of these women coming from relatively well-off families experiences a choice between labor and leisure. Thus, a considerable proportion of educated women opt to remain outside the labor force, leading to a withdrawal of significant percentage of qualified women, thus causing underutilization of skilled female capital.

¹² Deshpande, (15) based on her study conducted on the first wave of Covid 19 acknowledges that women spend more time on domestic chores and unpaid work, which ultimately reduces their leisure and social time. This unpaid domestic work burden also affects their ability to engage in paid employment.

¹³ This decline is also witnessed by various researchers in their studies (Chatterjee et al., 2018; Chattopadhyay & Chowdhury, 2022; Chaudhary Ruchika, 2014; Goldin, 1994; Gündüz-Hoşgör & Smits, 2008; V. Gupta, 2023; Kar, 2025; Mukhopadhyay, 2023) et al..

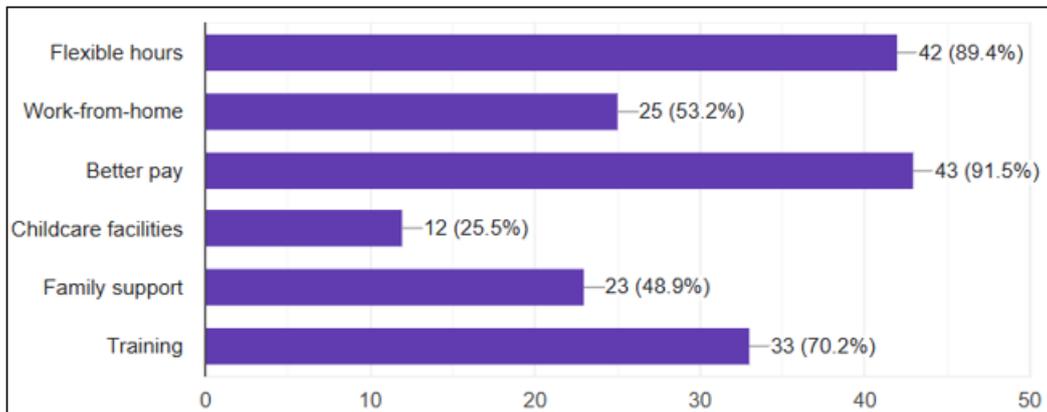


Figure 4: Factors Encouraging Women to Rejoin the Workforce (Google Form Survey, Pune)

The survey also gathered data from the unemployed women and homemakers on the factors that would encourage these women to join labor-force again (presented in figure 4). Overall, the primary analysis presents both barriers and motivations that encourages and discourages women participation in the labor market.

3. Limitations of the study

The paper attempts to present both national-level and sub-regional-level analysis of Female Labor Force Participation (FLFP), however there are 6 major limitations that limits the scope of the study.

- 1) The primary survey is restricted to sub-regional east and west zones of Pune, representing only a section of female workforce.
- 2) Sample size of the study is relatively small (101 respondents), which fails to capture the diversity of women residing and working across different socio-economic backgrounds in the scope areas.
- 3) The limited time period for primary data collection constrains the generalizability of the study findings.
- 4) The study employed probability sampling technique such as purposive and convenience sampling within each scope area, leading to higher responses from employed women and less from unemployed women.
- 5) Area-based response bias was also observed, with greater women participation from economically well-off backgrounds than underprivileged or low-income groups.
- 6) Religion, caste and community norms which also significantly affects female representation in the workplace was excluded from the study.

4. Conclusion

From ancient times, female contributions have played an important role in shaping and developing economies. Despite such significant contributions the idea of women empowerment is often confused with feminism and continues to be criticized and debated. In the year 2025, India officially surpassed Japan and became the world's fourth largest economy. To understand whether this economic growth is advantageous to all, this study undertakes dual-level framework that captures all-India level trend analysis of female labor force participation of 7 years using PLFS data, sourced from MoSPI website with localized sub-regional

evidences from East and West Pune to identify the factors that causes low female's participation rate. However, due to time constraints, the scope of the study is limited, restricting the generalizability of the research findings. Nevertheless, the findings indicates that India's economic growth post-covid period has not been achieved as the result of equitable inclusion of female's in the labor force as there is only a slight progress that can be witnessed in trend analysis of working females, with marriage and number of children as the underlying structural, social and household-level barriers that constrains the female representation in the workforce at the sub-regional localized areas of Pune, suggesting the need for addressing these gender issues if India aims to achieve gender-inclusive growth with its vision of Viksit Bharat@2047. The study also comes up with a prominent research gap: "Are we truly sovereign after globalization and is our system adequately prepared to empower women to stand for themselves? Therefore, the paper calls for good and supportive gender mainstreaming budgeting, respectful gender justice laws that does not disrespect any gender, and policies that takes into consideration both mental well-being and physical health of women along with independence and freedom from external control. It also argues that gender does not exist in isolation rather intersect across various social and economic dimensions. Finally, it recognizes the role played by domestic workers in supporting other women, working in IT firms, businesses, institutions etc., for carrying their societal burden so that they can build their professional careers.

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