



# Rural Vs. Urban: A Comparative Study of Female Labour Force Participation in India

Prof. M.K Agarwal<sup>1</sup>, Shweta Yadav<sup>2</sup>

University of Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

## ABSTRACT

This paper explores how women's participation in the labour force has shifted over the years in rural and urban India, focusing on the period from 2017 to 2023. Using data from the Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS), the study looks at key labour market indicators—like labour force participation, work participation, and unemployment rates—to understand how and where women are working, and what challenges they continue to face. The results show a noticeable increase in rural women joining the workforce, mostly through self-employment, which reflects both opportunity and compulsion. Urban women, despite better education and infrastructure, continue to struggle with access to stable jobs and face higher unemployment. The situation in Uttar Pradesh paints a particularly concerning picture, with a steep decline in women's participation and increasing dependence on low-paying, traditional sectors like agriculture. These patterns suggest that while more women are participating in the economy, especially in rural areas, the quality and stability of their work remains a major concern. The study highlights the urgent need for policies that focus not just on increasing participation, but on creating meaningful, secure, and diverse employment opportunities for women across both rural and urban India.

*Keywords:* LFPR, Rural, Urban, Unemployment Rate, Labour Force

## 1.INTRODUCTION

The labour force serves as a critical element of economic growth, as it drives the utilisation of all other resources. The Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) measures the percentage of a nation's working-age population actively engaged in the labour market through employment or job-seeking. India's large young workforce presents significant potential for economic development.

<sup>1</sup> Professor, Department of Economics, Email- mk.agarwal.lu@gmail.com, Phone No.- 8960066555

<sup>2</sup> Research Scholar, Department of Economics, Email- shwetayad610@gmail.com, Phone No.- 7703084578

Historically, women's labour has been undervalued, as noted by Gilman (1898), who emphasised how patriarchal structures diminish women's economic agency, reducing their labour to a mere extension of domestic roles. This systemic devaluation persists today, with women globally performing 75% of unpaid work, perpetuating an "invisible economy" that traps their contributions. Women's labour force participation is shaped by complex interactions between household dynamics and societal norms, often overlooked in policy frameworks (Sher Verick, ILO). Gender bias and cultural expectations further restrict women's entry or retention in the workforce, a pattern documented across decades (Desai & Jain, 1994; Prillaman et al., 2017). Claudia Goldin (1986) underscores that such inequities are deeply entrenched, not merely contemporary issues.

Economic conditions also play a key role in how women in high-unemployment regions are less likely to seek jobs than those in areas with lower unemployment, reflecting a "discouraged worker effect" tied to economic cycles (Bičáková, 2016; Dagsvik et al., 2013). This phenomenon often disproportionately impacts women, who are frequently secondary earners (Benati, 2001). Paradoxically, female LFPR may rise during crises, as households rely on women's labor to mitigate financial instability. For instance, rural Indian women's participation increases during agrarian distress but declines with economic improvement (Bhalotra & Aponte, 2012). Similarly, limited savings or credit access can push women into the labor force to buffer income uncertainty (Attanasio, 2005).

Globally, gender disparities persist, women earn roughly 77% of men's wages for equivalent work and face higher rates of vulnerable employment. Marriage and parenthood exacerbate this gap, though it narrows in wealthier nations. These trends highlight the interplay of structural inequities and economic conditions in shaping women's labour outcomes.

In India, female participation has increased significantly over the years. Although lower than the world average, it is steadily improving. This rise in female employment is intrinsically linked to female empowerment, with economic growth playing a crucial role. Structural improvements, such as declining fertility rates and expanded educational opportunities for women, have driven the upward trend in India's female labour force participation rate (LFPR). Periodic Labour Force Survey Report 2022-23, released by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme indicates that the Female LFPR has improved by 4.2 percentage points, reaching 37.0% in 2023.

Although India has experienced rapid urbanization and economic development, a significant gap remains between rural and urban regions in terms of women's workforce participation. In rural regions, women often face obstacles such as limited access to education, healthcare, and viable employment opportunities. Traditional gender roles in these areas further restrict their engagement in paid work. In contrast, while urban women generally enjoy greater access to education and formal employment, they still face barriers such as work-life balance, childcare responsibilities, and workplace discrimination.

## 2. LITREATURE REVIEW

Female labor force participation in India has undergone complex transformations shaped by intersecting socio-economic, cultural, and structural factors. Over recent decades, rural areas have witnessed a stark decline in women's workforce engagement. Dubey, Olsen, and Sen (2017) document a steady drop in rural female participation between 1983 and 2011, with the sharpest decline occurring between 2004 and 2011. This trend disproportionately affected marginalized groups—illiterate, unmarried women from poor Dalit and Adivasi households—and was not confined to specific regions but reflected nationwide patterns. Notably, caregiving responsibilities were not a primary driver of withdrawal, pointing instead to systemic issues like shrinking agricultural opportunities and the absence of viable alternatives. Bhattacharya and Goyal (2017) corroborate this, showing rural women's paid work often emerges as a distress response during economic crises, constrained by unsafe conditions and restrictive gender norms that limit access to secure jobs, land, and infrastructure.

Caste remains a critical determinant of labor outcomes. Datta, Endow, and Mehta (2020) reveal that upper-caste women exhibit the lowest participation rates, with engagement rising progressively among OBC, SC, and ST groups. While education narrows urban caste gaps, disparities persist in job quality: SC/ST women are more likely to secure public-sector roles but face precarious contracts and lower wages. These findings underscore that education alone cannot dismantle caste-based hierarchies in labor markets.

Urban India presents a paradoxical scenario. Despite economic growth, female participation has stagnated. Klasen and Pieters (2015) attribute this to rising male incomes reducing household reliance on women's earnings (the income effect), alongside societal stigma that discourages educated women from joining sectors like construction and low-skilled services—areas driving job growth. Similarly, Mamgain and Khan (2022) note that rural women with limited education withdrew from the workforce as household incomes rose, reflecting entrenched gender roles. The intersection of caste and education further complicates participation: for instance, educated upper-caste women often face heightened social pressure to prioritize domestic roles over employment.

Educational attainment reveals a U-shaped relationship with workforce engagement. Pieters and Klasen (2011) find that poorly educated women enter informal work out of necessity, while highly educated women benefit from skill-intensive sectors. However, those with secondary education often exit the labor force due to mismatched aspirations and limited "suitable" opportunities—a pattern observed globally (Mammen and Paxson, 2000; Goldin, 1994). Singh and Meher (2024) highlight this divergence: between 1987 and 2017–18, India lost 44.5 million female workers, with participation plunging from 29% to 17.5%. Jobless growth, slow non-agricultural expansion, and persistent barriers like safety concerns and caste discrimination exacerbated this decline.

Policy initiatives like “Beti Bachao Beti Padhao” and “Start-up India” mark progress but remain insufficient. Education, while a short-term deterrent (44% of women left work for studies between 2004–05 and 2009–10), is crucial for long-term skilling and re-entry. Mazumdar and Neetha (2011) emphasize that systemic reforms—affordable childcare, safe transportation, and caste-sensitive job creation—are vital to translate education into equitable employment.

The literature collectively underscores that India’s declining female labor force participation is not merely an economic issue but a reflection of deep-seated patriarchal norms, caste hierarchies, and uneven sectoral growth. Addressing this requires dismantling gendered perceptions of work, expanding high-quality jobs in education-aligned sectors, and fostering an ecosystem where women’s economic agency is normalized across social strata. Without such structural shifts, macroeconomic growth will continue to exclude half its potential workforce, perpetuating cycles of inequality.

### **3. RESEARCH GAP**

Despite the extensive research on female labor force participation in India, there remains a notable gap in understanding the nuanced dynamics of female labor force participation in rural versus urban areas. Previous studies have often provided a broad overview without delving into the specific, recent changes affecting rural women. This study aims to address this gap by focusing exclusively on rural women, thereby offering a more comprehensive comparative analysis with urban female labor force participation. By examining these distinctions, this research seeks to contribute valuable insights into the evolving landscape of female labor force participation across different settings in India.

### **4. OBJECTIVE OF THIS STUDY**

The objective of this research paper is to compare and analyse the trends in female labour force participation in rural and urban areas of India, with a special focus on Uttar Pradesh, over the period from 2017 to 2023. The study aims to examine disparities in Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), Work Participation Rate (WPR), and Unemployment Rate (UR) between rural and urban women, while also exploring the structural shifts in the quality and sectoral composition of female employment.

By assessing data across different employment categories—self-employment, regular salaried work, and casual labour—the paper investigates the evolving nature of female labour engagement and identifies the underlying economic, social, and policy-driven factors contributing to these trends. Particular emphasis is placed on understanding the reasons behind the rising rural female participation despite informality, and the simultaneous decline in female LFPR in both rural and urban Uttar Pradesh.

## 5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

**1. Understanding Regional Disparities:** The study provides a detailed comparison of female labour force participation in rural and urban India, highlighting the distinct employment patterns and challenges women face in these regions.

**2. Insight into Informal Employment:** It sheds light on the high participation of rural women in informal sectors, where work is often low-paying, unstable, and lacks social security, emphasizing the need for improved economic security.

**3. Urban Employment Barriers:** The research highlights the structural and socio-economic barriers that urban women face in accessing formal employment, despite better education, and the persistently high unemployment rates in urban areas.

**4. Policy Implications:** The findings offer valuable insights for policymakers to create targeted interventions that address the specific needs of rural and urban women, such as formalizing rural jobs and increasing job opportunities in urban areas.

**5. Promoting Gender Equality:** By identifying the key factors that contribute to the gender gap in labour force participation, the study contributes to the broader goal of achieving gender equality and economic empowerment for women in India.

**6. Data-Driven Approach:** The study's use of data from the Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) provides a robust, evidence-based analysis, which can inform future policy and academic research on women's labour participation.

**7. Tailored Policy Recommendations:** The research emphasizes the importance of region-specific policies, addressing the unique socio-economic challenges faced by women in rural and urban settings, thereby fostering a more inclusive labour market.

## 6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research uses secondary data collected from the Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) reports for the years 2017 to 2023. It is a quantitative study focusing on comparing female labour force participation in rural and urban areas of India. The main variables analysed include Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), Work Population Rate (WPR), and Unemployment Rate (UR). The data is categorized by age groups and covers both rural and urban sectors.

## 7.RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### 7.1. Labour Market Indicators of Women in Rural and Urban India :

Table 1: Percentage distribution of women workers in usual status (PS+SS) by Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), Work Participation Rate (WPR), and Unemployment Rate (UR) in rural and urban India

			LFPR	WPR	UR
PLFS	2017-18	Rural	18.2	17.5	3.8
		Urban	15.9	14.2	10.8
	2018-19	Rural	19.7	19.0	3.5
		Urban	16.1	14.5	9.9
	2019-20	Rural	24.7	24.0	2.6
		Urban	18.5	16.8	8.9
	2020-21	Rural	27.7	27.1	2.1
		Urban	18.6	17.0	8.6
	2021-22	Rural	27.2	26.6	2.1
		Urban	18.8	17.3	7.9
	2022-23	Rural	30.5	30.0	1.8
		Urban	20.2	18.7	7.5
	2023-24	Rural	35.5	34.8	2.1
		Urban	22.3	20.7	7.1

Source: Annual PLFS Reports, MoSPI, Various Rounds

A closer look at the data in Table 1 reveals a remarkably steady improvement in rural women's participation in the labour market over the past seven years. Starting from a low of 18.2 percent in 2017–18, the Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) among rural women has gradually climbed to 35.5 percent by 2023–24. This jump is not insignificant—it points to a slow but consistent shift in rural women stepping into economic roles, perhaps driven by a combination of necessity, rising awareness, and targeted interventions like self-employment schemes and livelihood missions.

Work Participation Rate (WPR) follows a similar trend. From 17.5 percent in 2017–18 to 34.8 percent in 2023–24, rural women are not only expressing a willingness to work but are increasingly being engaged in work opportunities. What stands out here is the narrowing gap between LFPR and WPR in rural areas, which indicates that a larger proportion of women who want to work are actually able to find work—this reflects positively on employment availability, even if much of it might still be informal.

On the urban front, the rise in LFPR is far less dramatic—from 15.9 percent to 22.3 percent over seven years—which hints at the persistent structural and social challenges that urban women face when it comes to workforce participation. Urban WPR, too, has improved, albeit modestly, reaching 20.7 percent by 2023–24. One can reasonably assume that while opportunities in the urban labour market might be better in terms of pay or structure, access remains a major issue for women, possibly due to cultural barriers, lack of flexible work, or inadequate childcare support.

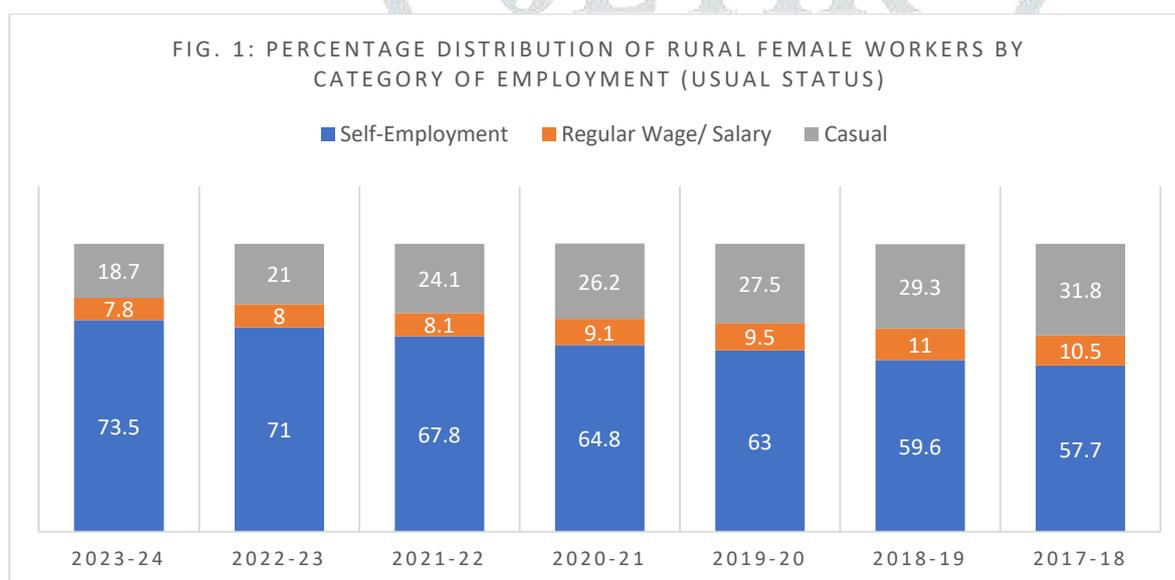
What is particularly striking is the stark difference in the unemployment rate (UR) between rural and urban women throughout this period. While rural UR has declined steadily—from 3.8 percent in 2017–18 to just 2.1 percent in 2023–24—urban UR remains high, even though it has also shown some decline (from 10.8 percent to 7.1 percent). This consistent urban-rural divide suggests that rural women, despite engaging in low-paying

or insecure jobs, are still more likely to be employed than their urban counterparts, who may be more selective or constrained in the type of work they are willing or able to take up.

Overall, this data tells a nuanced story. On one hand, rural India appears to be witnessing a silent transformation in women's economic engagement, albeit in predominantly informal or self-employed roles. On the other, urban women, despite being better educated and more connected, are still held back by deeper systemic barriers. The picture that emerges is one of contrast—growth in numbers, but still a long way to go in terms of quality, stability, and empowerment in employment for women across both rural and urban spaces.

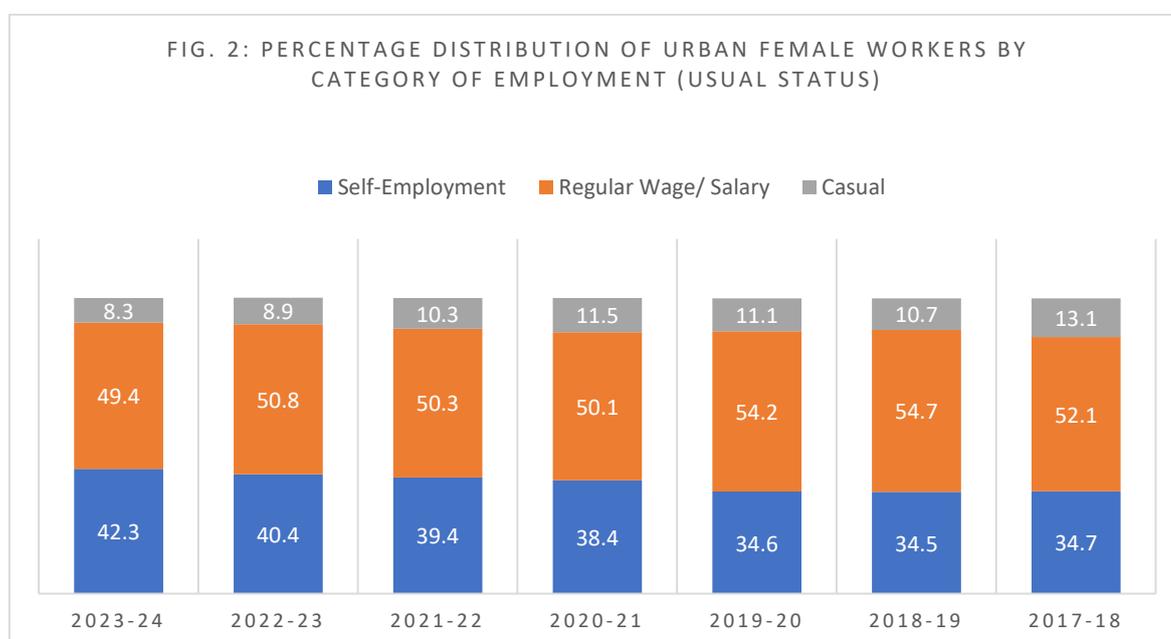
## 7.2. Quality of Employment among Female Workers: A Rural-Urban Comparison

The analysis of employment categories among female workers reveals striking disparities in the quality and structure of employment between rural and urban areas. Figures 1 and 2 present the percentage distribution of rural and urban female workers, respectively, across three categories of employment under the usual status: self-employment, regular wage/salary, and casual labour, over the period from 2017–18 to 2023–24.



Source: Annual Periodic Labour Force Survey, MoSPI, Various Rounds

In rural India, the proportion of female workers engaged in self-employment has risen significantly over the years, increasing from 57.7% in 2017–18 to 73.5% in 2023–24. This consistent growth points to a major structural shift in the rural labour market. At the same time, the share of casual labour has declined from 31.8% to 18.7%, which may initially appear as a positive transition. However, the percentage of women employed in regular wage/salaried jobs has remained remarkably low, hovering between 7% and 11% throughout the period. The concentration of rural women in self-employment may suggest either entrepreneurial push—such as the rise of self-help groups (SHGs), microenterprises, and agri-allied activities—or a distress-driven compulsion, where women enter informal work due to the lack of regular or salaried job opportunities. In either case, this trend raises concerns about the informality and vulnerability associated with a large share of rural female employment.



Source: Annual Periodic Labour Force Survey, MoSPI, Various Rounds

In contrast, urban areas present a more diversified and relatively formal employment pattern among female workers. The share of regular wage/salaried employment consistently remains the largest component, although it has slightly declined from 54.7% in 2018–19 to 49.4% in 2023–24. Urban female self-employment has gradually increased from 34.7% to 42.3% over the period, which could be attributed to the expansion of the gig economy, home-based businesses, and digital platforms enabling flexible work. Casual labour remains consistently low in urban areas, ranging from 8.3% to 13.1%, reflecting relatively better employment quality compared to rural areas. However, the stagnation or decline in regular salaried jobs may signal labour market saturation, post-pandemic job losses, or occupational crowding faced by urban women.

These figures collectively underscore that while female labour force participation has increased, particularly in rural India, the quality of employment remains a major challenge. The growing dependence on self-employment, especially in rural areas, may not necessarily represent economic empowerment unless supported by adequate credit access, skilling, social protection, and market linkages. On the other hand, urban women face barriers to sustaining and expanding their presence in the formal workforce, often limited by structural constraints, safety concerns, and work-life balance issues.

### 7.3. Labour Force Participation Rate of Women in Rural and Urban Uttar Pradesh:

The economic participation of women in Uttar Pradesh shows a distinct decline over the years, both in rural and urban contexts. Tables 2 and 3 highlight the changes in Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR) and the sectoral composition of working women from 2017–18 to 2023–24, based on PLFS and CWS estimates..

Table 2: Percentage Distribution of Rural and Urban Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR), in Uttar Pradesh

			LFPR
PLFS	2017-18	Rural	39.1
		Urban	17.5
	2018-19	Rural	35.5
		Urban	14.1
	2019-20	Rural	29.5
		Urban	13.5
	2020-21	Rural	25.1
		Urban	13.1
	2021-22	Rural	18.9
		Urban	13.3
	2022-23	Rural	14.8
		Urban	9.7
	2023-24	Rural	14.2
		Urban	11.1

Source: Annual Periodic Labour Force Survey, MoSPI, Various Rounds

As shown in Table 2, there is a sharp and consistent decline in female LFPR in both rural and urban areas of Uttar Pradesh. In 2017–18, the rural LFPR stood at 39.1%, which fell to 14.2% by 2023–24. Similarly, the urban female LFPR declined from 17.5% to 11.1% over the same period. This downward trend suggests a worrying withdrawal of women from the labour force, especially in rural areas, where agricultural distress, mechanisation, and limited non-farm opportunities may be shrinking the scope for female employment. In urban areas, this could be linked to rising educational enrolment among women, lack of formal job opportunities, and household or social restrictions that prevent their full economic participation.

Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Rural and Urban Working Women According to CWS By Broad Industry of Work in Uttar Pradesh

Year	Rural			Urban		
	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Primary sector	Secondary sector	Tertiary sector
2017-18	72.3	11.9	15.9	8.7	30.3	61.0
2018-19	75.8	11.3	12.9	11.6	26.0	62.4
2019-20	81.4	7.8	10.8	10.0	23.0	67.0
2020-21	81.2	8.4	10.5	20.5	21.1	58.4
2021-22	85.8	4.9	9.3	16.2	20.0	17.9
2022-23	85.0	5.2	9.8	61.5	21.2	17.3
2023-24	86.6	6.8	6.6	17.2	20.6	62.2

Source: Annual Periodic Labour Force Survey, MoSPI, Various Rounds

Table 3 provides further insight by showing the sectoral distribution of women who are actively working. In rural areas, the dominance of the primary sector (mainly agriculture and allied activities) is evident, increasing from 72.3% in 2017–18 to 86.6% in 2023–24. Meanwhile, employment in the secondary sector (manufacturing and construction) declined sharply from 11.9% to 6.8%, and the tertiary sector (services) also saw a drop from 15.9% to 6.6%. This clearly indicates a regression in rural women's occupational diversification. The increasing over-reliance on agriculture and the declining presence in industry and services reflect limited opportunities and possibly a lack of skill development or mobility to participate in higher-paying non-agricultural sectors.

In contrast, urban working women are primarily concentrated in the tertiary sector, which, although fluctuating slightly, remains dominant. From 61.0% in 2017–18, it slightly dipped and again rose to 62.2% in 2023–24, showing relative stability. Interestingly, the share of women in the urban primary sector saw a surprising rise from 8.7% in 2017–18 to 17.2% in 2023–24, particularly after 2020–21. This could be the result of reverse migration during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, where urban women engaged in agriculture-related activities upon returning to their native places. The share of women in the urban secondary sector declined from 30.3% in 2017–18 to 20.6% in 2023–24, which may reflect shrinking manufacturing jobs and the gendered impact of economic disruptions in industries such as garments, food processing, and construction.

Together, these tables highlight a dual concern: on one hand, the shrinking participation of women in the labour force, and on the other, their increasing concentration in low-productivity and traditional sectors, especially in rural Uttar Pradesh. While the service sector continues to employ a majority of urban women, the rural economy seems to be reverting to an agriculture-centric female workforce, limiting the scope for income growth, skill enhancement, and overall empowerment.

These trends call for urgent policy interventions focused on sectoral diversification, skilling of women, promotion of rural non-farm employment, and improved access to formal work opportunities—particularly in states like Uttar Pradesh where female participation remains critically low.

## 8.CONCLUSION

This study brings to light the evolving and often contrasting patterns of female labour force participation across rural and urban India, particularly from 2017 to 2023. One of the most striking findings is the steady rise in rural women's involvement in the workforce. Over the years, more rural women have been stepping into economic roles, largely driven by self-employment. While this may reflect growing awareness, necessity, and the impact of livelihood schemes, it also highlights a persistent reliance on informal and often insecure forms of work.

Urban India, on the other hand, tells a different story. Female participation has increased only modestly, and unemployment levels remain high. Despite better access to education and infrastructure, many urban women still face barriers such as lack of flexible job options, safety concerns, and household responsibilities that keep

them out of the workforce. The quality of employment is relatively better in urban areas, with more women in salaried roles—but even here, gains appear to be slowing down, especially post-pandemic.

The situation in Uttar Pradesh is particularly concerning. Both rural and urban female labour force participation have seen a significant drop, with rural women increasingly pushed back into agriculture, and fewer finding opportunities in non-farm or service sectors. Urban women in the state also face shrinking access to quality jobs, especially in the manufacturing sector.

All of this points to a larger issue: while numbers may show some progress in participation, the real challenge lies in improving the quality, stability, and dignity of employment for women. Without strong policy support—through skill development, better access to formal jobs, childcare support, and safe work environments—these trends could continue to limit women's economic empowerment.

Ultimately, bridging the rural-urban divide and creating meaningful opportunities for women across sectors is not just essential for gender equality, but for the overall economic growth and development of the country.

## 9. REFERENCES

- Klasen, S., & Pieters, J. (2012). Push or pull? Drivers of female labour force participation during India's economic boom.
- Datta, A., Endow, T., & Mehta, B. S. (2020). Education, caste and women's work in India. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 63(2), 387-406.
- Sanghi, S., Srija, A., & Vijay, S. S. (2015). Decline in rural female labour force participation in India: A relook into the causes. *Vikalpa*, 40(3), 255-268.
- Bhakuni, S. (2022). Workforce participation of women in India: A factor that needs reform. *International Journal of research in Human Resource Management*, 4(1), 106-111.
- Bhattacharya, M., & Goyal, A. (2017). Trends, patterns and drivers of rural female workforce participation. *Social Change*, 47(4), 526-551.
- Pieters, J., & Klasen, S. (2011). Drivers of female labour force participation in urban India during India's Economic Boom.
- Mamgain, R. P., & Khan, K. (2022). Declining Women Work Participation in Rural India: Trends, Causes and Policy Implications. *The Indian Economic Journal*, 70(2), 347-364.
- Klasen, S., & Pieters, J. (2015). What explains the stagnation of female labour force participation in urban India? *The World Bank Economic Review*, 29(3), 449-478.
- Dubey, A., Olsen, W., & Sen, K. (2017). The decline in the labour force participation of rural women in India: Taking a long-run view. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 60, 589-612.
- Menon, R., & Nath, P. (2022). A dynamic analysis of Women's labour force participation in urban India. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 33(4), 766-785.

Desai, S., & Joshi, O. (2019). The paradox of declining female work participation in an era of economic growth. *The Indian Journal of Labour Economics*, 62, 55-71.

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2017-18). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2018-19). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2019-20). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2020-21). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2021-22). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2022-23). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Periodic Labour Force Survey (2023-24). Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India

Verick, S. (2014). Female labor force participation in developing countries. *IZA World of Labor*.

Bhalotra, S. R., & Umana-Aponte, M. (2012). *The dynamics of women's labour supply in developing countries* (IZA Discussion Paper No. 4879). Institute for the Study of Labor (IZA). <https://ssrn.com/abstract=1591706> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1591706>

Benati, L. (2001). Some empirical evidence on the 'discouraged worker' effect. *Economics Letters*, 70(3), 387–395. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-1765\(00\)00389-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0165-1765(00)00389-9)

Bicáková, A., & Kalíšková, K. (2016). *Career breaks after childbirth: The impact of family leave reforms in the Czech Republic* (CERGE-EI Working Paper Series). Center for Economic Research and Graduate Education – Economics Institute.

Dagsvik, J. K., Kornstad, T., & Skjerpen, T. (2013). Labor force participation and the discouraged worker effect. *Empirical Economics*, 44, 47–70. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00181-011-0486-4>

Desai, S., & Jain, D. (1994). Maternal employment and changes in family dynamics: The social context of women's work in rural South India. *Population and Development Review*, 20(4), 753–783.

Goldin, C. D. (1994). The economic status of women in the early Republic: Quantitative evidence. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 16, 375–399.

O'Donnell, M. G. (1988). Charlotte Perkins Gilman's economic interpretation of the role of women at the turn of the century. *Social Science Quarterly*, 69(1), 177–188.