

**REDEFINING UNPAID CARE WORK: RECOGNITION OR
REDISTRIBUTION**



Thesis

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List of Acronyms

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
BBS	Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics
BHWA association	Bangladesh Home workers' women
BLR	Bangladesh the Labor Rules
CEDAW	Convention on the elimination of discrimination against Women
CNG	Compressed Natural Gas
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
ILO	International Labor Organization
IDS	Institute of Development Studies
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOWCA	Ministry of Women and Children Affairs
NGO	Non Government Organization
NSSO	The National Sample Survey Organization
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SAP	Structural Adjustment Policies.
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute For Social Development

USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UN	United Nations
SNA	System of National Accounts

Brief Glossary

This is the brief list of names and terms for the translated selections. Common English spellings for Bangla words are used if these words appear in the third edition of Merriam Webster's International Dictionary. All other words are transliterated from Bengali:

Aram:	You are enjoying the leisurely comfort of home
Bari:	Homealso household (ab)
Bhadramahila:	Respected woman/Ladies
Bhadralok :	Respected man/Gentlemen
Bahir:	Outside of home /Public Sphere.
Chuta Bua:	Part time domestic servant
Dharma:	Moral Principle, Law, Virtue, right conduct. Muslim social and religious obligations within any multiple contexts of his or her life. Crucial to dharma is the idea that meeting one's dharma tic responsibility is always more important than fulfilling one's individual wishes (ab)
Grihini:	Female housekeeper, the lady or mistress of the house. The housewife, usually the eldest woman in extended family who is responsible for managing the household.

Grha laksmi: Avirtuous housewife, a good girl. A women whose virtuousconduct causes the goddess. Laksmi to reside in her husband's home.

Ghar :Home, Household

Ghorer Baou Housewife

Modhobitta: Middle class.

Mudir Dokan: Small grocery shop

Modhyabitto Sikkhita
Sampraday : Middle class educated community

Meyeli Kaz : Feminine task
Nimno Modhobitta: Lower middel class.

Oikonomia: Principle of running a household or law of the house.

Kartavya :Responsibility, Duty

Karma :Work/also means destiny, depends upon your context.

Kam Kaz Work, task, action

Para: Area

Samser : The world , to establish a home, household, worldly life.

Sari : Long cloth for the females to wear.

Sukh Shanti: The term that most commonly used for defining well -being.

Srtiboth: A good wifely care. Society offered women in developing womanly skills / suggestions for a good wifely care

Samser dharmas: Family Principle or running a family or household

Salwar Kameez: Women's dress

Shami :Husband

Shanti/Sukh: Peace

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1 Introduction

1.1.Introduction

The resilience of informal economic activities demonstrates the fluctuating development trends of world economy, and also dissimilar ways of utilizing labor throughout the world. A focus on formal economy and employment statistics ignore the heterogeneity in the forms of work and undermines the continued economic importance of kinship and community ties. Consequently, in popular usage the terms "work" or 'labor' have come to mean the exchange of one's time and energy for wages. On the other hand, the arena of economics has relied outwardly on the endless supply of unpaid care work provided by women to sustain families, societies, and eventually the labor force (which has proved to be a necessary means of support) 'work', as an important means to enabling the economy to progress, without giving it the deserving social and economic status.

Therefore, this androcentric conception considers only paid labour as visible and fails to address the value of women's societal activities, which fall outside the market and is considered non-market work and a type of "invisible" labour. As a consequence our understanding and position on unpaid care work remains incomplete. Therefore, work is characteristically divided along gender lines with men being responsible for the productive work and as the main income-earner, and women consigned to those responsible for unpaid care work and child care. Time is one of society's most essential economic resources and, as such, is measured as a point of evaluation in the field of work. However, time spent on unpaid care work has gone largely unnoticed and ignored. Thus, the question arises why unpaid care work should still remain women's work only and not measured on any scale of regular work evaluation?

As a resulting factor, an increasing number of women have been entering the workforce around the world, particularly in Bangladesh, over the last two decades. Following this trend, women's growing earning power and commitment to the paid workforce have also enabled some families to be more financially dependent on women and strengthened the view that women are also a part of the visible and active workforce previously attributed only to men only. On the other hand, the system of care provision has come under strain in some contexts and for some social groups. Furthermore, the acknowledgement of care giving and the caregiver has emerged as legitimate subjects of public debate especially in a developing country like Bangladesh. Consequently, their choices on ways to deal with the double burden of responsibilities have become an important issue. The fact that women now have to balance both the demands, that arise not only from within their family roles but also from those associated with the workplace, remains a barrier to their work related achievements and leads to the necessity of husbands to contribute more at home. However, this expectation has not been translated well into practice and remains a central barrier to women carrying out their work well and effectively. Valuing women's work, particularly at the household level, in the developing countries continues to remain one of the critical

issues of contemporary development discourse. Therefore unpaid care work has enabled and permitted the preparation of new questions about the discourse of economics and its androcentric biases, and prepared to raise new questions about its nature and basic assumptions. Therefore, questions are being raised about mainstream economics as a trend that not objective enough.

Since the 1970s feminist analysis drew concrete attention to many-neglected parts of domestic politicized life: the nature of the unpaid care work; the ensuing power structure of the family being one of them. Therefore, feminists challenge not only this division of labor but also the very definitions of work and non –work activity. Feminist researchers continue to say that homemakers are workers and household unpaid care work should be recognized as paid and economically viable labour. Feminists emphasize more on realistic analysis of intra-household labor and resource allocation in order to move beyond quantitative growth indicators to improve measures of human well being to document the value of women’s work whether at home or at work places. Care work and care workers comprise a considerable portion of economy but the reluctance to acknowledge their contribution could be viewed as part of a general neglect in women’s issues in public policies and interventions (Neetha, 2009: 73). The changing focus in recent years on unpaid care work as a part of active labour, has come about largely due to the critique by feminist scholars on the structural and neoliberal trends that prioritize market oriented goods and services. As a result, this movement exposed the common assumption that unpaid care work is invisible and that the relationship between the visible and the invisible work that women do, therefore, needs rigorous analysis.

Therefore, making women empirically noticeable is an indispensable endeavor. Unpaid care work does not share the common characteristics of real work; and, thus, has been systematically excluded from the traditional research work. However, most of the policy-makers who responded to women’s needs have concentrated on monetary activities only, without considering the non-monetary activities that are a part of it. Therefore, unpaid care work is kept off the policy table and development agenda. This study will illustrate how middle class and lower middle class, employed and non-employed women, in Bangladesh are dealing with power relations in households and how overburdened care work have limited their life opportunity and hindered their empowerment process.

1.1.1. Domestic Discourse; journey from an old patriarchy to a new one:

During the nineteenth century, a collection of middle class ideas and practices on home and family life became a hegemonic discourse on domesticity (Judith, 2004). Men left home for public work on the outside, women remained at home to plan and manage the private domestic realm. Domesticity was seen to be a natural order of the female gender and promoted as a universal civilized standard for home and family life. Between 1860 and 1900, reform minded Bengali authors

produced more than forty written manuals on domesticity specifically for the Bengali woman and these were intended to offer both practical and theoretical guidance to women on managing and coping with requirements of family life. These had titles such as, “*Conversations with the wife; a husband’s advice to his wife and the laksmi of the home*. Their topics ranged from hygiene and household management to cooking, child rearing and relations within extended families (Judith, 2004; 3). These writers wrote in colloquial Bengali required in reaching out to a more advanced society and their modern reforms in life and lifestyle; based on such manuals which were previously written in an older language in works entitled, “Samsar Dharma(rules of family life).” These manuals also included advice in dialogue form in which a husband would instruct his wife on proper conduct. Such advice manuals also wrote on family dharma (rules) and the need to prepare women for their roles in a family. These manuals were based on old patriarchal traditions that demanded that women remain illiterate and uneducated, confined to the inner recesses of the home. Wives were seen as the ministering angels of the house, guardians of order and organization in the household, as well as superior moral forces in shaping the lives and characters of children in particular. School officials were also instructed to offer courses on domestic skills, like embroidery and cooking, which would guarantee the character of the future housewife and mistress of the home; therefore, needlework became an essential school subject for girls in working class schools (Grimshall, 2007). New domestic science was seen as the ‘natural’ and proper sphere for women’s activities a real life based curriculum that all women needed to master. The later nineteenth century saw the emergence of one such journal called, *Stribodh*. Founded in 1857, it aimed at achieving social reforms through women’s leisure reading (Shukla, 1991,65). It offered women instructions in womanly skills such as: sewing, knitting, embroidery, etc., so that rich women could spend their leisure hours pleasantly and creatively; whilst, poor women could add to their families’ incomes in a decent and respectable way. ‘Srtiboth’s’ suggestions for good wifely care included arranging the house neatly and aesthetically; keeping children neat and disciplined; not shouting at children or beating them; dressing up in nice clothes, especially to receive the husbands when they returned home in the evenings; managing the servants well but not mixing with them; never sitting idle or with other women to gossip and make idle talk; not complaining to the husband about the children, mother –in- law and sister in law or any personal problems in household management; singing or playing a musical instrument to help the husband relax when he returned home, speaking to him in a soft and pleasant manner and not ever nagging him (1857). “A place for everything and everything in its place”, was the watchword, which describes the core component of the proper nineteenth century home. Mrs. Beeton’s *Book of Household Management* (1861) identifies ‘dinner’ in Bengali society as a key marker of civilization in any society and explores a hierarchy of civilizations based on the basis of that manual in the vast rank of world societies based on the presence, or absence, of civilized domestic standards. Those domestic manuals are still alive in different social classes in different forms in Bangladesh. "It is a widely accepted definition framework that agrees to the

original meaning of the term *oikonomia*, derived from the Greek words for household (*oikos*) and law or custom (*nomos*); and, thus, roughly means the principle of running a household or laws of the house. In the 4th century B.C. Aristotle, the philosopher, was first to systematically develop the term "*Oikos*" in his '*Politics*' as the basic institution of human existence in which the necessities of life are constructed and delivered without which people can neither live nor live well (Beeton, 1861: cited Judith 2004).

Women, for a long period of time, were considered a separate class that possessed important but potentially dangerous sexual impulses. Indigenous customs urged the male in the family to protect women from their own tendencies towards sexual promiscuity, and decreed the restrictions of women to the confines of a home's inner spaces. The obligations of *Family Dharama* applied equally to men and women and demanded the subordination of individual desires to the wishes of the larger family unit. Both books and magazines of that social era focused on women's domestic life and rules that were to be implemented by regularly printing articles on women's family relations, on home management and account keeping, on child rearing, hygiene, and cooking. The journals' special emphasis was, however, on wifely behavior: how to be a loving wife, to look after a husband returning home from a hard day's work, and so forth. Their advice was intended to equip women with the skills necessary for managing and creating a family life, to create conditions and to set them up in the personal spheres as a way to compensate men for their loss of power and position in public life. Bourdieu's theories (1977) focus on practice of human life and cultural levels through which humans reproduce and respond to the society in which they live. He mainly emphasizes on practice which helps to integrate patriarchal cultural values; daily habits, the practices of home and family life, physical construction within which we live. Bourdieu stated that *Doxa* is unexamined, unarguable but structuring principles and relationships in any society (Judith, 2004:7). A few periods earlier it was a prevalent belief and well accepted phenomenon in Bangladesh that women should work within the home, which was considered to be a mark of women's respectability (Amin, 1995). Subsequently, most of the women were primarily addressed as housewives, and that was their actual and individual social identity (Hossain, 1990). In addition, a husband's ability to fulfill economically for the family need is intimately linked with the family position. At the same time there is a strong perception apparent in society that women without male protection are insecure to different forms of sexual harassment. Women are, therefore, encouraged to stay at home as *ideal housewives*.

Moreover, in Bangladesh, middle class women are seen to belong to a specific economic bracket and cultural setting. Middle class people's status is defined as '*Modhobitta*' (middle class) and they have a particular cultivated taste in life's choices and in lifestyle and defined behavior (Scarce, 2003). They emerged as a new social group in the late eighteenth century in Bengal; and, it is remarkable, that they were the first group to enter into urban professional occupations challenging traditional status maintainers (Scarce, 2003). The change was affected

through a process of social transformation, which was often referred to as modern in contrast to the traditional (Amin, 1996). Kibria stated that Bangladesh is a patriarchal society in addition to being a class based society as a result two economic inconsistencies occur in the society, one is the process of class construction which controls economic mobility in the household, the other is the system of patriarchy which manages the economic mobility of women (2008; 406). Patriarchy's gendered division of work does not allow women in Bangladesh to participate in the labour market on full time basis, which in turn adversely affects their job market experience and bargaining power (Mittra, 2005b). In late nineteenth century, a *new form of patriarchy* challenged the indigenous patriarchal traditions by allowing women's literacy and educational activity, and by encouraging them to travel outside the home while maintaining that women held a dependent and subordinate status within the society. It also challenged the power and authority maintained in extended families. Currently education and employment opportunity have offered women with new opportunities to reclaim their own position. Therefore, the new wave of modernization has altered roles and relationships in households drastically.

1.2. Labor Market Participation of Women in Bangladesh:

The steady decline in the economy of Bangladesh is compelling a large number of women to participate in the labour market outside her own households. However the chances of labour market opportunity helps many households to reduce the intensity of poverty in Bangladesh. According to the statistical data 6.06 of the total working age urban female population and 19.03 million of the total working age rural female population belong to the 36.1 million-housework category (BBS, 2012). There has been sustained increase in women's labor force participation 4% in 1974, 8%, 1984, 23.9 % in 1990 -2000 (36% in 2010 according to the latest BBS, 2012 statistics), although labor force survey continues to under report women's economic activities (Mahmud and Tasneem, 2011). One of the major structural transformations of the social structure of Bangladesh since the mid 1980s has been the movement of married women to the paid labor force (Amin, 1986).

The most striking feature in Bangladesh labour market is its homogenous character in supporting women. Women are constrained by inadequate public childcare; they have lower incomes to purchase the private childcare and limited access to workplace facilities and necessary supports. However, tradition still makes unpaid care work less acceptable for a man than that of a paid one for a woman. Men dominate all types of industry except private households where 81% are women (ILO, 2011). Gender differences in the status of employment were also evident in LFS, (ILO, 2011) which showed that 56.3% women were unpaid family workers compared to the 7.1% of men in the same situation. About 15.7% women were self-employed in agriculture, 8.9% in regular paid employment, and 9.4% as self-employed in the non-agriculture sector. It is remarkable that BBS definition is based on ILO's definition of economic activity, in practice it is the

social definition of work defined by the society, this is why women's contribution to unpaid care work remains invisible and unrecognized by BBS.

Table 1: Percentage distribution of population aged 15 years and above by economic category, residence and sex, 2010-12

Economic category	Bangladesh			Urban			Rural		
	Both	Male	Female	Both sex	Male	Female	Both sex	Male	Female
Population aged 15+(million)	84.6	43.0	41.6	2.1	10.7	10.4	63.5	32.5	31.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Labor force	58.5	86.8	29.2	55.7	83.1	27.4	59.4	88.0	29.8
Not in Labor force	41.5	13.2	70.8	44.3	16.9	72.6	40.6	12.0	70.2
Total labor force	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Employed	95.8	96.7	93.0	95.7	96.5	93.3	95.8	95.7	92.9
Unemployed	4.2	3.4	7.0	4.3	3.6	6.7	4.2	3.3	7.2
Not in labor force	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	-
Household work	68.7	6.2	80.8	62.7	7.8	75.8	70.0	5.5	82.5
Student	18.7	65.4	9.6	23.4	63.7	13.8	17.0	66.1	8.2
Others	12.6	28.4	9.6	13.9	28.5	10.4	12.0	28.4	9.3

Source: http://www.bbs.gov.bd/dataindex/labour_%20force05-06.pdf

The above table explores the fact that the percentage of active female labor force is only 29.2; whereas, it is 86.8 for the male. Sadly, because of the non-recognition of household work, an overwhelming proportion of women (70.8%) are not on the list of active labor force and 80.8% women are shown to be involved in household work only. Furthermore, there is no reliable data about the number of educated (university graduate) homemakers. Table 1 shows how many women are related to household work as homemakers in Bangladesh. Here we see 24.5 million women in urban areas and 18.8 million women in rural areas engaged in household work. Socio-cultural practices and traditional norms constrain the

development of women's capabilities resulting in women's higher participation in unpaid household activity and lower participation in paid spheres.

Table 2: Population in millions of women and men engaged in Household work.

Category	Women	Men
Urban housewives/household work	24.5	0.5
Rural housewives/household work	18.8	0.4
Total housewives/household work	43.3	0.9

Source: BBS 2012.

In view of the changing stream of world development and global trends, Bangladesh is experiencing a more than proportionate increase in the female labor force, a process often defined as feminization of the labor force (Standing, 1990). However, most of the research work shows that women are still considered secondary workforce in the labor market. In spite of women's great contributions to this market, they are still in the lower ranks and have to face many problems in their professional careers. Of all social categories, employed women are the ones who carry out the heaviest burden of rapid social change. Women's employment has increased noticeably from 8.4% in 1983 to 34% in 2010; but the contribution of women in the national income plan remains insignificant when compared to that of men. In addition, in Bangladesh the ratio of working women is increasing with the enhancement of women's education. So it has become a most urgent necessity for women to educate their children properly. In order to meet with this demand, the need has also arisen for adequate childcare centers, specifically for those children who have mothers working outside the homes.

1.2. How much unpaid care work is done and by whom:

The System of National Accounts, which is the internationally accepted norm for calculating GDP and the professional means to define how economic growth is measured, is based on a distinction between productive (work that is paid) and non-productive work. The SNA production boundary now (for calculation of GDP) includes subsistence agricultural work and also fuel and water collection; but excludes cooking, cleaning, childcare, looking after the elderly and family members, providing emotional support and voluntary services as not a part of this function. Consequently women in Bangladesh work on an average of 16 hours a day and are involved in various unpaid carework as well (Hamid, 1986). Other study focused that if these work hours were added to the GDP than the GDP would be more than double (Efroymsen, Biswas and Ruma, 2007). Islam (2013), through his findings from a recent research study, discovered that an estimate of the Bangladesh Home Workers' Women Association's (BHWA) contributions, that annual contributions of home based workers to the GDP are about Tk. 150 billion (US \$ 2.59 billion). This report also shows that women contribute 41 per cent to the total GDP¹. Similarly, Hamid calculates that the percentage of national production attributed to women would increase significantly from 25% to 41% if unpaid work hours were included in the national economy statistics. In contrast, the amount contributed by men would fall automatically by 75% to 59%. The case of Bangladesh in the same study conducted by the Center for Policy dialogue (2014), finds that based on the hours women spend in non-SNA work, the ratio is about three times higher than that of the male worker. According to the evaluation of replacement cost method, the estimated value of women's unpaid work is equivalent to 76.8% of GDP.

Table: 3 Substantial underestimation of the labor force leads, consequently, to the ratings of national gross income:

Production	Percentage Distribution		
	Total	Male	Female
Accounted under conventional GDP	77	98	47
Additionally accounted for in 1990 Revised SNA (Subsistence)	1	*	2
65+Unaccounted (Housework)	22	2	51

¹ Hamid, S. (1994) "Non-Market Work and National Income: The case of Bangladesh" *The Bangladesh Development Studies*; Vol. XXII. June- Sept. no. 2&3. Bangladesh

Full URL

<http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/40795507?uid=3737584&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=56204255923> (Accessed date 25/5/2012)

Revised GDP	100	100	100
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* Less than 1%

Moreover, the constitution of Bangladesh has failed to guarantee women's equal opportunity rights as well as personal safety in every formal and informal sector irrespective of sex, race, caste or ethnic group. Therefore, the question arises as to why workers, particularly women workers, are underestimated and why the value of women's work still remains invisible? Is it because women's work remains predominantly seasonal, intermittent and uncertain since they work frequently and as unpaid workers on family farms or at unofficial sectors, which are not properly recorded or recognized as official?

1.3. Research problem:

The fundamental element in gendered division of labor creates a separation of life's purposes for women and men (Bakker, 2007) with women restricted to the private sphere; whereas, men through participation in public spaces, have greater access to resources (Unterhalter, 2013). Moreover, the broader adrocentric cultural, political and economic structures maintaining inequalities are left unaddressed (Fraser, 2009). It is not just that women do more unpaid care work than men but also experience the volume of work which leave them with poverty, less energy and limited access to resources which are important for their own self growth (Robeyns, 2003). So it is fair to say that women are suffering from time poverty then men – meaning less time for leisure, recreation, cultural activities and even political participation. Oxfam's Household Care Survey found that adult women spend an average of 11.5 hours per day on total care work responsibility which is almost double the 5.9 hours care work as a primary activity, and at an average of 8 hours a day as more on average than men in the same households (Rost et al. 2015). Another study has revealed that unpaid care work is not seen but is not free, as well (Action Aid International Nepal, 2015; 4). However, in some cases, the increasing availability of clean water, electricity, time saving domestic technology and increasing number of children in primary education have reduced the amount of domestic work among some social groups (Razovi, 2011; 875). The disproportionate responsibility women bear in continuing with care work ultimately hampers her own well-being (Haq, 2013). So it is fair to say that women are suffering from time poverty then men – meaning less time for leisure, recreation, cultural activities and even political participation.

It is observed that the demographic changes have limited the capacity of families to perform care-giving responsibilities in Bangladesh. The declining fertility rate has increased the nuclear family systems as compared to the traditional norm of joint families in Bangladesh. Lopita Haq addressed this issue in her research work and remarked that the increase in women's participation in the labor force reduces care of the aging population (2015). Moreover, a greater investment in girls' education is reducing the time that used to be spent by women in doing

unpaid care work (2015). Another relevant concern is that care systems are also under stress, where families are reconstituted through internal or cross border migration in Bangladesh. When women migrate, it is not that the traditional gender roles are rearranged in a patriarchal social setting; rather, the burden of household work is most likely transferred to another female family member (Haq, 2015). In addition, women's increasing presence in national and international labor markets and in the process of migration and change in work choices also encourage the rise in questions about the traditional family structure and gender roles. But Bangladesh government is now considering this issue seriously and giving some thoughtful attention to paid care work in the context of migration. This dual responsibility is also a cause for discontentment and stress in family relationships. On the contrary, a study on Gender Quality Action Learning programme also shows that such interventions are making some positive changes in the society. For example, men were found to bring water for cooking, sweep verandahs, tidy rooms, arrange clothes, put up mosquito nets, help in cooking, clean out cowsheds...in short do chores which are largely attributed to housewives (Mahmud, 2012).

Since in Bangladesh most of the 'time use' surveys are done on the rural population, there is a large gap in the use of such studies amongst the urban population. Moreover, such studies have been conducted to calculate only the burden of unpaid care work and have rarely discussed the redistribution of the burden of care work. For example, Hamid (1994) surveyed only village households; while, Titumir and Rahman (2014) conducted the value on the cost of domestic work and their surveys are limited to a mere 520 households in seven districts of Bangladesh. Exploring the devaluation of unpaid care work is clearly an important project for theoretical development and empirical study; and, recognition of this as a central policy issue would require a major rethink about how our economy works and what we value as actual work (Eyben, 2013). In addition, BBS recently published documents on Pilot Time Use Survey, 2012, where they have shown the result of time distribution both for men and women. Feminists revealed by their critical lens that the sensitivity of men and women's time allocations to economic incentives is limited by structural constraints such as social norms and gender roles (Folbre, 2000). This disparity becomes a concern for gender justice not because the tasks are undervalued but also because of how disproportionately care work restricts a person's personal growth and professional development. Gender inequalities have been ignored in macroeconomic development discourses. Consequently, the artificial macro and micro economy perpetuates the belief that women's care activities are not of any real significance (Hirway, 2015).

The fact that actors and institutions that formulate such policies are themselves guided by patriarchal norms may be one of the reasons that unpaid care work has not emerged as a major policy concern (Nazneen and Mahmud, 2012). Both in concept and in policy terms, unpaid care work is downplayed and is not counted as real work worthy of recognition. In addition, there is a scarcity in research

work/studies in Bangladesh, which explicitly deals with the issue of unpaid care work, in a more direct approach. Meanwhile, women in Bangladesh have joined the labor force in very large numbers in the last two decades, which can be related to the growing awareness within them of the need for an increased level of entitlement for their hard labor. This shift in the type of labor force structure has also brought up the realization that there are challenges on women who are faced with the daunting task of balancing employment and domestic chores. On the other hand, effective mainstreaming of the issue should be able to challenge this one-sidedness in the working sector. However, the heavy contribution of the household sector to social provisioning has been overlooked as economic and social policies continue to be formulated separately. The fact that care giving is so naturalized –even by women themselves –as something women do and hence not an issue that could be rendered as the subject of public contestation and policy making which acts as a barrier to its politicization (Razovi, 2011; 899). Thus, the overwhelming emphasis of policies and research on women’s work has, therefore, been around paid work only. Feminist economics have brought up the issue of distinct conceptual framework, which make visible critical areas of economy that have been ignored by “*male stream*” economics. Women as workers suffer exclusion from protective legislation and disaggregated analysis of the nature of exclusion calls for a focused approach. In this circumstances unpaid domestic work need a paradigm shift in policy conception if “welfare of women” truly of prime concern. However, the intention of this survey is only to improve the statistical data and does not include the value of uncounted work performed by women or to connect the survey findings with the mainstream accounting. Bangladesh is a class-based society but most of the government policies didn’t consider the class oriented need and requirements. From this background analysis, the study will apply intersectionality lens where women’s heterosexual situation will be located. Therefore this study will explore the needs and strategies of middle class and lower middle class employed women in carrying out their paid and unpaid care work with respect to recognition in both the employment and the economic fields of work. The study will try to investigate that how does unpaid care work affect women’s labour market outcomes. This research work also readdresses intersecting inequalities, which is likely to be more fruitful if women’s contributions and rights are recognized as helpful means to facilitating their own capacity, the power and abilities to challenge such injustice. In this way the wider contribution of caring work might be honoured and recognized as productive contributions rather than mere social needs.

1.4 Objective of the study:

This study has two major objectives. First, a new *summary* measure of the gender-based segregation of unpaid care work is presented. Second, sources of inter-couple variation in the sex segregation of unpaid care work are examined, focusing especially on the effects of time availability, family power, and gender role ideology. There are claims that men have increased unpaid care work time only slightly while women have increased paid work time substantially meaning

women are doing a second shift of unpaid work thus have less leisure time (Shelton, 1996). The debate are competing interpretations of how much men have altered time allocations and the implication shifts in time use have for gender equality. The main objective of this study to explore the time allocative dynamic concerning paid work and unpaid work among middle class and lower middle class men and women households of Dhaka, Bangladesh. The study also explore how middle class and lower middle class employed and non-employed women adjust with unpaid care work, and wage work, and how does this affect their empowerment process. The purpose is to identify ways and policies, which can give recognition to unpaid care work and improve women's chances for paid work.

1.4. Research questions:

The major research question is: How much time is spent on, and what kind of unpaid care work within the household is done by women (employed and unemployed) and men in urban middle class and lower middle class families of Dhaka, Bangladesh.

Sub-questions:

- Do women's changing roles in the labor market lead to shifts in gender roles, specifically in the division of household labor?
- As women have increased their hours of paid work, have their hours of unpaid care work declined commensurately?
- How do women construct, maintain, negotiate and cross boundaries between paid work and family?
- What are women's experiences and feelings in making adjustments between paid work and unpaid care work?
- How do employed women deal with power within the family while managing household duties?
- What kind of recognition do women and men expect for doing unpaid care work?

1.5. Methodological approach:

The approach used in this study is based on a feminist point of view while engaging a level of consciousness about one's social location, which might justify his or her social position (Harding, 1987). According to Harding (1992; 178), discussing an experience is a crucial means of creating knowledge for all and that women's life experiences can work as a valuable center for generating feminist knowledge. However, knowledge and power are internally connected and constituted in the name of dominant social structure that limits what people can know. A particular standpoint challenges the dominant knowledge production and aims to reveal knowledge from underprivileged groups' experiences. Due to women's position within the sexual division of labor, women would have greater

In order to analyze the selected issues, I collected samples of the existing infrastructure of Dhaka city as it has a dynamic and modern cultural atmosphere and also represents the other parts of the country, Bangladesh. The references to the idea of the existing class of the 'Bhadralok' section in the society, fosters a worldview of the structure of the country that divides the Bengali society into three classes: 'Uccho Modhdhobitto' (Upper Middle Class), 'Modhdobitto' (Middle Class) and 'NimnoModhdhobitto' (Lower Middle Class). In Bangladesh, the middle class, as a distinct interest group, defines 'aristocracy' and the opinion of the bhadralok, the gentlemen, most of whom live in pure residential areas like Uttara, Dhanmondi, Banani, Lalmatia. On the other hand, the lower middle class groups live in low scale residential areas like Rampura, Azimpur, Mohammadpur, Mirpur, Eskaton, Jatra Bari, Paribag, Rayer Bazar, and others. They naturally try to live in those areas where the house rent is lower and means of public transport, like rickshaws, buses and CNGs, are easily manageable. These areas in Dhaka city are very overcrowded and we find places where the *Mudir Dokan* (small, neighborhood grocery stores) are mostly interconnected in their business dealings with each household in the neighborhood. As a result, these social sections and areas of their residence, turned out to ideal as our major source of enquiry.

1.9. Sampling and Selection of respondents:

The sampling process used while conducting this study was quite a challenging one. First of all, reaching the target group was not that difficult; however, to interview the target group or to conduct the time-use survey was a difficult task. My research team and I tried to locate respondents primarily from individual contacts. Later, we found more respondents once we conducted one or two in-depth interviews. In this way, the sampling process was primarily snowballed. Since, family income and distribution of household chores are considered personal matters in Bangladesh, many of the people from the target group were not willing to share this information. As a result, we initially had to stick to using random methods of sampling. Later on, we applied the purposive sampling to unlock the interconnected issues related with socio-economic dynamics with household and care giving responsibilities of women in particular.

The study focuses upon diversity and other social differences among the respondents living in Dhaka city and intersectional lens were applied while choosing the respondents. In addition, the multilayered facets of the different classes and professions of people are incorporated in this study although it was somewhat of a difficult task as Dhaka is a multidimensional and diversified city

with many people living in different socio-economic status. Furthermore, in order to maintain anonymity, the names of the respondents are not revealed. The age groups of the respondents vary from adolescent (as young as 15 years) to over 65 years. Several respondents are chosen on the basis of the research, which includes families with children aged from 0-5 years, and up to early adulthood. Socio-economic based levels are chosen as elements of primary factors while choosing respondents in order to explore and compare the social dynamics of the respondents from Lower Middle Class to Middle Class levels. Varying levels of education are also given special importance in the research while choosing respondents, as most of them possessed educational qualifications, which began with graduation degrees and went on to Ph.D degrees. On the other hand, some respondents are seen to have barely completed HSC degrees.

Furthermore, the different levels of education also have strong connections with the socio-economic classes that the respondents come from. For example, most of the respondents from Lower Middle Class families have completed HSC, M.COM or graduation degrees; while, respondents from Middle Class social levels have completed Masters or PhD degrees. Moreover, some of the respondents have foreign degrees as well. Thus, it appears that the family composition and social status play crucial roles in determining the productive and reproductive responsibilities of women. Consequently, the fact that some of the selected respondents are from both nuclear and extended families, offer support to identify and compare the diversity and differences in the roles played by women in certain households.

The survey also brings out the fact that the professions and occupations of the respondents are also connected with the social classes they belong to. Most of the respondents from the Middle class families are professionals like: doctors, bankers, government officials, or teachers at government or private schools and colleges by occupation. On the other hand, most common occupations found among the respondents from the Lower middle class groups are of nurses, NGO workers, or small and medium level entrepreneurs. However, since it would have been quite difficult to determine the relationship of the individual to his or her particular social class, I took the liberty of determining the socio-economic class also on the basis of individual monthly family income. I related the respondents with their family incomes and divided the income earned according to the monthly total which ranged from 30,000 BDT to 60,000 BDT at lower middle class level, and more than 60,000 BDT to above 100,000 BDT per month at middle class level. The fast growing economic development of Bangladesh has created many opportunities for women to economically contribute beyond the household level. In order to share their household chores, most of the families under this study are observed to have one or more domestic servants. While the middle class families have two permanent servants most of the lower middle class families have one or two part - time servants popularly known as "*Chuta Bua*" (part time worker) or they do not have any servants at all to share in the household chores.

Primary data related to this study is collected in two stages: The first stage started with a pilot study followed by a survey to verify the questions and related problems that may arise during the survey time. The pilot study was followed by a survey in which questionnaires were used considering the respondents' demographic information such as age, educational background, household size (number of children and their ages, number of servants and types of servants, etc), their income level, and any productive activities they are engaged in. A common set of questions was used for women from both middle class and lower middle classes. The survey was carried out with six research assistants, who are the students of the department of Women and Gender Studies, University of Dhaka. The second stage included more qualitative, in - depth interviews based on intra-household and extra household gender relations and norms. Moreover, data was collected in order to learn about different strategies that women apply during their lifetime as home managers and overseers of finances in dealing with related problems at work and home.

1.10. Methods of data collection:

While conducting the research, the use of in-depth interviews and survey methods, helped a lot with detailed understanding of the problems that arise or may arise in certain related situations.

1.10.1. In depth interview methods:

I made use of in-depth and semi-structured interviews to collect primary data. A semi-structured interview uses a framework that leads to a focused, conventional, and a two-way communication which is flexible as allowsthe use of follow up questions following the participants' initial response; whereas, a structured interview is very formal and rigid with a limited set of questions. Using this framework a researcher can both give and receive extra information from the respondents. It also allows the researcher to keep a general format of questions during the interview period having had detailed and brief discussions with the interviewees. An interview is a form of data collection method that develops the human interaction between researcher and the informants when they talk about the research subjects, and it helps to create an environment of trust (Kvale, 1996). Millar (2002) mentions that while doing qualitative interviews, research objects are focused on to a homogenous group who live relatively in the same context, and experience the same things.

The next step was the collection of demographic data from the participants at the time of each interview, which was then, analyzed using descriptive statistics; following which interviews were scheduled at mutually convenient times and places; thus, interviews were conducted focusing on bringing out in - depth information at mutually agreed upon times and places. In keeping with my selected trend of feminist narrative inquiry, participants were asked non-directive questions designed to trigger a dialogue about their care giving tasks as family

members. This approach encouraged each participant to discuss what she thought is most important of her care giving tasks. We used an open-ended semi-structured interview guide for this interaction. After ascertaining the respondent's age, marital status, number of children, and current job title, number of servants, salary and level of education, she or he was asked a series of questions about the respondent's employment background and characteristic behavior, and how he or she, alongwith another, manages both work and family responsibilities. At the same time, some respondents were asked focused questions at the end of the core questions if time permitted. These included questions about how they use free time, how they use technology like cell phones and other household technical devices, to manage their work and family lives, and how they use support networks and other resources. The lists of responses to the core questions in the Appendix are the primary data used in this analysis.

While doing this research, efforts were also made to talk to the husbands of the women interviewees to help them to elicit their own expressions and viewpoint about unpaid housework. This part of the survey was quite difficult as the women were also afraid that their husbands would get irritated or be reluctant to share their personal lives in public. Most of the respondents were asked to give an estimated number of hours that they and their husbands spent on household chores daily. The method was the same for employed women and their husbands.

- a) In case of employed women, the in-depth personal interviews and a detailed questionnaire format were conducted for about 90 minutes each. Subsequently, the interviews were recorded and later transcribed.
- b) In case of employed husbandsalso in-depth questionnaires were conducted to know their views about their employed wives' work and also ways of managing time between housework and market work.

A Time Use survey system was followed in order to get the information about women and men's daily household activities. A Survey System helps to find out the details of every single work-type and its time duration very effectively. Moreover, it also highlights decision- making powers by analyzing the rate of time spent between couples, which also indicate their ability to access, and their capability to enterthe work areas. From early morning to night, every hour of their daily routine was recordedin order to explore the household workload of women and men individually.

1.11. Data analysis:

According to Merriam (2009), data analysis provides the answers to specific research questions in a qualitative study. It helps to analyze the data by comparing individual stories and coding them accordingly. Moreover, data analysis combines the information, establishes necessary interpretations and reduces the missing parts of information collected while doing fieldwork. In addition, an interview guide was developed in order to conduct the interviews. After this, the interviews

were taped and transcribed and the transcriptions included an initial summary. As for each question, a paraphrased answer was required along with extended verbal quotations for most of the questions. This study also uses thematic analysis and interpretation that help to define the theme of raw data, split them into small units and analyze those categorized themes with the help of theories. All answers were coded inductively to identify couple-level work-family strategies using Strauss' (1987) guidelines for developing codes that capture the relationship between structural conditions, actors' perceptions, and actors' interactions. The codes were inductive but also shaped according to the structure of the interview questions, which asked specifically about both partners.

SPSS software was used while asking and receiving information in order to test the significance of the relationship between different variables like income, age, education level, and job pattern, family pattern, number of servants and average age of children with the division of labor at home, etc. In addition, I tried to construct the tables, diagrams, and graphs on the basis of the data received in order to show the relationship of household working hours to professional ones. At first, I selected the variables and used a personal computer in a planned way to enter the values of all variables in Excel, 2007, files. Moreover, in order to find the total values of different variables corresponding to different characteristics, I used Microsoft Excel command. Then, using Microsoft Excel I drew the pie diagram, component bar diagram, multiple bar diagram and graphs. After getting the results, I used Microsoft Office Word to explain the strength of relationships between different variables and unpaid work time in different households.

1.11.1. Secondary Data:

The secondary data was collected from scholarly books and articles published online and offline. In addition, different reports, websites and working papers were reviewed to collect information on women and care economy.

1.12. Ethical issues:

In order to maintain the required code of ethics and confidentiality in such types of research issues, I attempted to follow some steps of strategy while doing my interviews like: acquiring information and recording the information acquired. At first, I had to prepare my research assistants to conduct the interviews and also to apply the survey methods. I assigned a few students, who were academically sound and aware of research techniques and ethics, to conduct the fieldwork. Before going on the field, I explained to them about the ethical code of conducts and also how to be flexible in their attitude so as to prevent misinterpretations, misrepresentations, under representation or manipulation of data. Secondly, I prepared myself to conduct the interviews. I interviewed people mostly from the middle classes who were a bit difficult to reach by the research assistants I hired. Subsequently, I had to prepare myself mentally before starting any kind of conversation in order to make the participants comfortable. To begin with, I

introduced myself, explained my intentions and study objectives to the respondents by responding to queries as to why I would like to talk to them and the reasons for the required information. Moreover, I asked for their verbal consent before the interview and also took their permission to use the tape recorder to record their responses. In addition, I informed them that they would be totally free at any time to discontinue the conversation or refuse to give any answers if they felt uncomfortable about them. I tried my level best to make them feel comfortable so that they could answer me without hesitation. My assistants also followed the same ethical code of conduct as I crosschecked their audio taped interviews and field notes to confirm this. While conducting the interviews, it was observed that in most cases, women were a little uncomfortable to reveal their family lives; but, later they became friendly with me when I also followed a pattern of self-reflexivity. I started to exemplify my personal experiences to clarify the pattern of questioning and also in order to make the interview more spontaneous and friendlier. Therefore, we were all very conscious about not asking extremely personal questions and careful to ensure that, when used, the information would not make the respondents feel disturbed or annoyed. In addition, while doing this research, efforts were also made to talk to the husbands of the same women who we interviewed in order for them to also express their sentiments and standpoint towards unpaid housework. However, since most of the women interviewees were reticent about why we wanted to interview their husbands, we tried to assure them of the confidentiality of the information given to their identities and us. We also informed them that we will interview them only if they agreed to it. In addition, we explained our concern about maintaining the confidentiality of the interview so that no one would be able to find, harm, or contact the respondents later. Consequently, I collected all the recordings from the research assistants and kept them in my laptop in a very safe place. I instructed all my students to delete the recordings and also the transcription they made of the interviews. I also collected the information gathered through the survey and made sure that the papers were kept in a very safe place.

While dispatching my assistants for the interviews, I informed them to be careful about reducing the gap between them and the informants. Fortunately, most of the assistants were very careful about their selection of language, dress code and behavior, as they were to interact with people from the different social classes. In a few cases, only I could conduct the interviews, as there was no sort of any power struggle between the respondents and I in terms of status and background. Our overall attitude was one of friendship and informality. We made it a point to wear traditional dresses in order to maintain the appearance of similarity, as well. We did not also share any personal information received from the participants within our immediate surroundings.

1.13. Challenges and limitations:

In the process of conducting this research, we generally found it somewhat difficult to extract information easily as disclosing information related to family

issues are considered sensitive and private in Bangladesh. My team and I faced a few challenges regarding the access to the women and their husbands. Moreover, finding 200 people at random appeared difficult for all of us; therefore, we selected families who were known to us. The assistants and I reached out to our relatives, neighbors and families referred by our acquaintances. However, we could also not interview all of them as many did not want to discuss their personal lives with us. We found it easier when we communicated with the women though some of them were also nervous about confidentiality. Later on, when we assured them of anonymity, they agreed to talk to us. In many other cases, the husbands were reluctant to give interviews, as they were more careful to not disclose facts about their personal lives. In other words, they did not want to be subject of any kind of research. On the contrary, many other men were actually interested in talking about their daily routine, home and outside activities. However, a few of the other women respondents and their husbands still refused to give their interviews. In this situation, I communicated with different middle class professionals whom my assistants could not reach easily.

I also faced problems in maintaining a schedule to interview the vast group of people, as I also had to do my own professional duties at that time. Moreover, I had to also devote some time to keeping track of my research assistants while continuously instructing them to do the work correctly and effectively. Needless to say, I also got psychologically stressed out with the thought of having to complete the data collection process efficiently. I was also worried about the confidentiality of the information, as I was not dealing with the information alone. However, I took all the recordings and field notes from the assistants in order to cross check the transcripts they made. Generally, it is never easy to assure confidentiality while working with other assistants. Therefore, to ensure this, I appointed some senior students like my research assistants who were doing their ph.d studies, had carried out their academic research work under my supervision and were basically trustworthy. Furthermore, I found the time restrictions rather constricting at this time as besides meeting the challenging task of writing my Ph.d dissertation, I was also assigned the position of Chairperson in the department of Women and Gender Studies for three years. As a result, I was professionally and psychologically diverted by many other duties that affected the speedy completion and submission of my thesis paper. At the same time, I was extremely caught up in discovering different household issues and the facts of care economy through the required fieldwork for my thesis. On the other hand, I also found myself enjoying the discussions I had with each participant that helped me immensely to connect myself with them and better understand the field of my research as well as the related factors. The next chapter provides an extensive literature and discussion of the research subject:

1.14. Organization of the Thesis:

The thesis comprises of seven chapters including the introduction. Chapter Two examines the literature review and theories used in the study. The aim of this

chapter is to generate deeper cross-cultural knowledge on unpaid care work, though the study particularly focuses on Bangladesh. The relevant theoretical perspectives also examine and analyze a more expanded scope of gender issues in unpaid care work. The strengths and weaknesses of these theories are then explored and their selection for the study is justified.

Drawing on theory to interpret the research data, the research illuminates the injustices and inequalities that women face in these areas and promotes deeper reflections on the contextual issues and challenges that follow. The empirical results of the study are presented broadly in the following three chapters.

Chapter three explores the amount of time spent by men and women in doing paid and unpaid care work in middle class and lower middle class households. The chapter also shows how unequal utilization of time and work ensure gender power relationship issues within a household.

Chapter Four addresses the multiple boundaries of doing unpaid care work and paid work by employed women in both classes. This chapter also highlights different strategies adopted by employed women in order to continue both their paid and unpaid work areas.

Chapter Five highlights both men and women's opinions and modes of thinking as a way to recognizing unpaid care work in both classes.

Chapter Six critically analyses the empirical data through the use of theoretical framework.

Chapter Seven represents the summary of findings of the study, implications of the policy, and programs based on a holistic and comprehensive view of middle class and lower middle class men and women.

2

Unpaid Care Work and Empowerment; Locating Gender:

The chapter presents a theoretical approach to understanding institutional arrangements adopted by households with the intention of interpreting new conceptual supports, which will help to improve an understanding of continued gender bias. Issues of gender-based disadvantages can, therefore, be seen through the intersectional lens. Therefore, we begin by reviewing its links to existing literature on women's disproportionate share of unpaid care work. Consequently, reference to the importance of unpaid care work is particularly relevant in order to

examine the women's situation since women are now involved both in paid and unpaid work in Bangladesh. The main theoretical framework in studying the household and the bargaining theories of the household as well as Sen's approach the worker's capabilities, provide the help in examining what women can do and are doing in the work sector, as well as how they negotiate with gender-powered relationships for ensuring the family well-being. These types of theoretical framework and concepts will essentially help us to advance our thinking and future actions on the relationship between unpaid care work, gender equality and women's empowerment. The aim of this research is, therefore, to unearth specific aspects of elements that are central for defining the contextual definition of unpaid care work in Bangladesh. This chapter explores the conventional theories of households, Sen's household bargaining model, the Capability approach, and Kabeer's empowerment approach. This chapter mainly explores the essential theoretical framework, which guide the study. The chapter closes by drawing up a particular framework analysis of the issue.

2.1. Conventional Theories of Household:

Gary Becker proposed his first model of family or household collective choice of altruistic. Becker (1965, 1981) argues that a household is a uniform decision-making unit, which generates a joint household welfare function based on interdependent utility functions. This model imposes a structure of jointness in decision-making by individual members and individual members are consistent with the assumption that independent members are independent decision makers. The basic argument of this model is all members of the household have common and stable equal choices and all members can place their single set of need and preferences. Becker refers to family as a natural kinship unit motivated by co-operation and sharing in the household as an enterprise, managing much as the neo-classical theory predicts. Becker has accepted that dictator could be a woman, which is not contextual and unrealistic in the context of Bangladesh.

Feminists critique this model on the grounds that the 'Unitary Model of Household' is completely gender blind as there are gender-based inequalities in allocation of productive resources and distribution of equal benefits within the household (Folbre, 1988). This conventional theory fails to see power as a significant factor in intra-household gender relations. Unpaid care work entered as the field of economics through the theory of allocation of time by Becker though the gender dimension was completely missing (Neetha, 2009). This is a problem that critics of unitary model has addressed that household is simply a complex institution, where production, distribution, reproduction simultaneously continued and has gender specific roles and responsibilities (Katz, 1997:32). Therefore the assumption behind unitary model is often unappealing. Consequently, Moser attempts to address three underlying assumptions commonly used by planners and policy makers which relate to: the first household which consists of a nuclear family unit of husband, wife and two children; the second, that reflects a clear

division of labor based on male as the breadwinner and female as the homemaker who is responsible of family work; and, finally the third, which refers to the fact that in a household there is equal sharing of access to resources and decision-making powers (2001:15-16). However, Bryant (1990), figures that the household size, its composition and structure affect its resources. Considering this model, empirically documented evidence shows that the greater share of household resources needs to be allocated to the household's male head because an altruistic maximization principle enjoys greater investment in the more productive members who are male (Kabeer, 1997). Thus, alternative conceptualizations locate the picture by challenging unified altruism within the household and stating that bargaining powers are not equally distributed between members; rather, they present the relative strength of their fall back positions (Kabeer, 2011). We can, therefore, end this section by stating that the main thrust of this research is to locate the gender power relations and how it is managed in the daily lives of women and men within the household in Bangladesh. This study will show that household structure, situation is not same everywhere; its management process are dependent on class and social context. This study underlines the idea that a household is where a number of individuals live together and provide basic needs related to the families, which shape gender relations, transfer gender norms and attitudes from one generation to the another. Using contributions from feminist theory, this paper shows how these frameworks can justify the diversity of social reality and relations.

2.1.1. Sen's Household Bargaining Model:

Sen's (1997) theory of the 'bargaining model' is a departure from the neo-classical model, which acknowledges the households as a site of both cooperation and conflict. Sen draws attention to the fact that households still belong to a domain connected with conventional economic theory, which culturally differentiated intra-household gender relations need to become a subject for economic analysis (1990). So, real preferences will represent positions within the established hierarchy of interests in the household and the alternative options and constraints associated with it. Sen's framework, thus, sorts out the negative associations embedded in the Beckerian household model between power and altruism, and offers a more credible hypothesis that apparently relates altruistic behavior with a household. Agarwal (1994) redefines this particular situation as 'women's false consciousness' which has diversified features of bargaining power is mutually exclusive and offers a dynamic commitment, also. Thus, Kabeer views that 'Bargaining models of household open up an analytical space to consider power as a dimension of household decision making; a possibility which is ruled out by altruistic models' (1997:264). This particular model entitles the conceptualization of gender, which entails struggle not only over resources, labor and time, but also over socially constructed meanings and definitions, which are often multiple, contradictory, fluid, and contested (Kandiyoti, 1988). The bargaining models justify household decisions in relation to context and culture, which mainly include power differences; normative understanding and practices: allocation,

access and control over resources and the social processes that perpetuate domination and gender resistance (Chhachhi, 2004). Thus, focusing on gender should offer a reconceptualization of household power - play in relation to empirical focus which locates the gendered micro politics of negotiation, cooperation and contestation in different institutional activities (Hartman, 1976:61). There is an assumption that women's employment can easily ensure empowerment in the household. Where employment opportunities of women will necessarily reduce women's unpaid workload. Kabeer (2013) counter answered that access to resources ignores the power embodied in deciding uses of resources and how they are to be used. Beneria underlines the fact that women's control of their income does not translate into more equal gender relations (2008; 158).

Though the bargaining model of a household is useful for analysis of this study, it has limitations in explaining complex aspects of the intra-household gender relations such as emotions like: love, happiness and care that bind household members together. Being loaded with the care work is often viewed as burden created for women that can prevent them from competing effectively with men to ensure equal status for both men and women. The bargaining literature seeks to unpack the determinants of intrahousehold inequality by focusing on alternative types of power and their material and non-material foundations. The capabilities approach is concerned with evaluating opportunities (Folbre, 1986). The bargaining approach provides a meaningful framework for the analysis of gender power relationships where gender inequalities are constructed and contested. Therefore, our main drive of this study is to locate the family power and how it is accomplished and coped in the daily lives of women and men within the middle and lower middle class household in Bangladesh.

2.2.Sen's Conceptualization of the Capability Approach and the Household:

The capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation of individual wellbeing and social arrangements, the design of policy proposals about social change of the society (Robeyns, 2003: 5). The main feature of capability theory is to recognize basic capabilities to develop capacity for agency. The core focus on what people are effectively able to do and to be on their own capabilities. Therefore capability approach addresses the necessary information that we need to make judgment of individual wellbeing and social policies. Thus Sen is concerned not only with the information that is included in a normative evaluation but also intent to know the information chronologically excluded (1991). Capability approach entails a critique how economists have applied the utilitarian framework for empirical analysis. In addition, Sen's approach to capabilities stresses that *real agency freedom* entails the inclusion of diverse voices in the definition and selection of ways of functioning to be included in the set of capabilities (1995). Therefore, it can be assumed that it is context that may be enabling or constraining what determines the capacity to act. However the societal and economic context imposes constraint on choices and on the wellbeing outcomes. People in Bangladesh suffer from a false sense of conscience. For

example, women have the right to get access to paid work like men; but, time constraints due to their multiple family responsibilities, for instance, may hinder their participation in activities equally with men. Sen has, through this approach, decided that 'social indoctrination is the source of women's other-regarding choices'; thus, denying them as agency' (Goyal, 2007; 409). Agarwal argues that women's overt compliance with social norms does not necessarily mean they have accepted legitimacy of intrahousehold inequality; it might reflect the lack of options (1994). Research work shows that mother's work requires long separation from her child; their bonding could be impeded (Heinrich, 2014: 123). Biology interacts with social environments to shape child's development in different ways on the children's age. Parents work can affect children's well being (Heinrich, 2014: 123). In unequal family systems, traditional duties and responsibilities are obstacles to self-realization imposed by traditional norms and values particularly for women in Bangladesh. This approach is useful in analyzing how choices affect the scope of middle class and lower middle class women's potential since the assumption that women lack self-awareness when they make their own choices. The approach provides a critical framework to explore and understand how mass women's combined capabilities enjoy well being as vital to themselves and their family members. Systematic analysis of coping strategies adopted by women within the household can help us to capture the content and process of patriarchal system in class specific and reveal how men and women hold family power, accommodate, resist with each other over resources and responsibilities.

2.3. Discourse on work and unpaid care work: unanswered questions:

What is work and how it is constituted as an economic activity is to be understood as a theoretical, an empirical and a historical question rather than a defining term only. Work, as a source of personal identity, carries the same status as occupation as it is a solid social fact that conditions life's opportunities (Coleman and Rainwater, 1978:47). Particular values and functions of work are specific to time and place and the meaning of work responds to variations in social structure. In the case of Census of Population, the term, 'work,' has been defined as any productive work for which remuneration is paid and market activity is related; similarly, the "worker" is a person employed in "work". Work typically entails membership in a market or employing organization that compensates the worker for his or her contributions (Burke & Greenglass, 2002). There are three related features of work; income, status, and power. The official definition of a worker in Bangladesh is based on the ILO definition:

A person aged 15 years or above who was either working one or more hours for pay and for profit or working without pay in a family, farm or enterprise or organization during the reference period or found not working but had a job or business from which he/she temporarily absent during the reference period.

The contemporary characteristics of work are summarized in the following table:

Table: 4 Contemporary criteria of work

An activity is categorized as work proper if it:
is a purposeful expedient activity that
requires mental or physical exertion, and
is carried out in exchange for wages and other monetary benefits
Is a public activity
Is recognized as work for 'official purposes' such as taxation and
insurance

The term 'work' cannot be understood without examining how gender is embedded in all social relations including work. In Bangladesh 'work' is commonly understood as an activity that produces both material gain and services, having a market value, and an activity of the adult male (Mahmud, 2011). Women's work is viewed in the context and consequence of a powerful system of male dominance; patriarchy (Cain, Khanam and Nahar, 2012). On the other hand unpaid care work includes all non-remunerated work activities, which lack social recognition (Rost, 2015). Unpaid care work is termed as labor undertaken out of affection or a sense of responsibility for other people with no expectations of pecuniary monetary rewards (Folbre, 2000; 75) and which arises out of social or contractual obligations such as marriage or less formal social relationships (Chen, et al 2007; 24). In general, carework refers to all the necessary activities to reproduce human life at personal and community levels where human life is generated and daily life is maintained (Elson, 2010). Care often person specific or customised services whose quality is difficult to measure (Folbre, 2008: 4).

Unpaid care work is housewives production not a part of economy (Simon, 1954). This is the context within which the complex contours of women's provisioning responsibilities are negotiated. Care work is gendered work. Women dominate in paid and unpaid care work and the work is coded as feminine. Feminists have criticized the idea of care as labor of love without denying the emotional and relational dimension of care work. Childcare and emotional sustenance of all the family historically has been publicly perceived as married women's main work (Rutman, 1996). Patriarchy is one of the factors that contribute inadequate male involvement in care issues (Kang, 2009). Through using the concept of work this study will try to find out the contextual definition of work in Bangladesh and how do men and women in middle and lower middle class men and women perceive unpaid care work. Considering the theoretical definition, this study will try to address why so much of this 'unpaid care' work is rendered invisible and devalued in importance. A process of doing this is to try and identify how privilege is maintained by dominant understanding of the reality of 'work'. The discussion made a link to our findings with narratives that hide the extent of work done by women that ignores the fact that provisioning responsibilities are connected to relationships; and, thus, affect decisions about how to access

resources that oppress women by supporting such myths as paid work being the most valued contribution to society.

2.4. The Care Centered Economy: Rediscovering what has been taken for granted:

The past events of history make it possible to clarify why the gender policy cannot be successful without abolishing structural inequalities. The central concern of this study, therefore, is to uncover the correlations that create the possibilities in shaping the human economic activity in a sustainable way to enable a good life for everyone. Feminists and care economists have been criticizing the exclusion of unpaid care work as a part of the active work sector. Much of women's family responsibilities, such as childcare and elderly care, fall into this category. Care work can be conceptualized in terms of who benefits from it (Folbre, 1999). Work directed toward meeting the needs of children, the elderly, the sick and the disabled, is particularly important because these "consumers" often lack a political voice. We need a broader notion of economic empowerment that comprises the market economy and care economy both of which sustain market economy (Chopra, 2015). Feminist economists introduce the care economy as an independent category for caring activities. Yet, modern economics is more; from the outset, it is, according to my thesis focus, about twins, about the birth of non-identical twins of different genders: the predominantly male market economy and the female-dominated care economy. Feminists produce more realistic analysis of intra-household labor and resource allocation; move beyond quantitative growth indicators to improve measures of human wellbeing document the value of women's work. Making women empirically visible is an indispensable endeavor. It introduces actual women in our picture and economic reality confirms how women and men are differently engaged with and affected by political economy revealed that women as *agents* of development process. Adding women in existing paradigm raised a new question by exposing how conceptual structures presuppose masculine perspective. We need to move beyond the dichotomy between men and women to the hierarchy to the masculinity to femininity.

2.5. Empowerments is an Expansion of Agency:

The notion of empowerment is related to the terms of intervention, autonomy, self-direction, freedom and self-confidence; therefore, empowerment is a process of change. In fact, empowerment is the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them (Kabeer, 2013). Therefore, empowerment is a process of change from a disempowered position to an empowered position. For Batiwala (1994), empowerment is a curved changing mindfulness identifying areas for target to changes, planning strategies, and acting for change, analyzing activities and outcomes (Mosadale, 2005: 248). Kabeer redefined empowerment through connecting Sen's capability approach as "empowerment refers to the process by

which those who have been denied the ability to make choices or entail the process of change (2005:13). From the approach of the empowerment process, *unpaid care work* is regarded as less empowering than other forms of work that have self-directed and visible locations (Kantor, 2003). Unpaid care work is a form of exploitative activity that binds women to dual demands from the family and the employers, and subjects them to their husbands' control (Beneria, 2008). Moreover, the stress of dual responsibilities leaves them with little free time and isolates them socially. To work on empowering women, however, brings up institutionalized traditions, which expose the flaws in the whole system imbued with male bias (Elson, 2014). In a different context, legitimizing gender roles gives rise to the fact that it perpetuates in varying degrees the "inequality and subordination within societies; (Moser, 1993:3). Elson (1995) suggests that strategies for empowerment must focus beyond economic restructuring to a restructuring of the social relations in essence, gender habitus, which constrain women. Women's empowerment has been conceptualized primarily along two lines; a) as a goal with aims and targets b) as a process of continuous change in which women empower themselves and challenge the existing patriarchal structure (Darkwah and Sultan 2014; Cornwall and Edwards, 2014). Sardenberg (2013) impressively demonstrates how economic empowerment does not necessarily lead to a break in traditional gender roles. The realization of empowerment calls, therefore, for more attention to both structural inequalities that women face and the existing realities of challenging these factors. The process of empowerment is more about the necessity of expanding opportunities and acquiring the power to make choices both in terms of what women can do and the list of options available to them. Kabeer's (2011) definition of empowerment is more useful and can be applied in this study, which can challenge not only the hegemony of patriarchy but also the mediating structures of class, and religion, particularly in Bangladesh. This theory determines the nature of women's position and condition in our society in a realistic way.

2.9. Intersectionality: an analytical tool:

Intersectionality was introduced in the late 1980s as a diagnostic term to focus attention on the dynamic of difference and the solidarities of sameness in the context of antidiscrimination and social movement politics (Crenshaw and McCall, 2017: 787). Intersectionality rejects the single axis framework (Crenshaw, 1991:1244). It exposed how single axis thinking undermines legal thinking, disciplinary knowledge production and struggles for social justice. It is an analytical tool for theorizing identity and oppression (Nash, 2008). As a response to the lengthy history of essentialism and exclusion that has plagued both feminist and antiracist scholarship the intersectional project centers the experiences of subject whose voices have been ignored. This approach is a belief that ... those who have experienced discrimination speak with a special voice to which we should listen (Matsuda, 1987: 324). We can say that Intersectionality, which is one of the indispensable contributions of feminist ideology; emerge as a significant tool of analysis in addressing other marginalized communities or other

manifestations of social power. Hancock recognized it as an important research paradigm. Collins (1990) addressed it as “matrix of domination and the change over time and place. Mohanty (1991) criticizes the homogenizing of the 'third world' women by sticking to the patriarchal lens to evaluate their experiences without considering the temporal dimensions. Intersectionality asserts to segregated identities and the move to the process of exclusion based on context and dynamics of cross-cutting identities (Davis; 2008). In that case Intersectionality is an unused concept within policy discourse and application. Agency has to be linked with issues of the axis of differences, and the need for an intersectional approach is important here.

According to Hancock defined that intersectionality can provide the best chance for effective diagnosis and effective prescription (2007;73). Therefore, theorizing of intersectionality is a orderly process of understanding that race, color, class, ethnicity, sexuality, age, religion, geographical locations and other social relations of power are equally significant to define the identity of women in the process of becoming a woman (Hancock, 2007). It mainly recognizes that to address the complex inequities the one size does not fits all approach does not work (Parker and Young, 2007). Policy makers can pick their categories of interest and deal with them in isolation without paying attention how they intersect with other social dimension (Thorvaldsdottir, 2007; 6). Gender mainstreaming focused on differential effects of policy on the lives of women and men without properly investigating the diversity among them. The process of multiple discriminations is based on different grounds at different times where intersectional discrimination refers to the intersection of discrimination based on several grounds at the same time (MacKinnon, 2002). The main purpose here is to highlight how these differences combine to create women as what Mackinnon defined as 'a minority within a minority' (2002:19). This will help policy makers to deliver more effective services to meet the needs of those individuals who are disadvantaged by social inequities. This study will analyze how unpaid care work is distributed and social practices are embodied in the intersection of gender, class, religion, and income and other related issues. This lens will clearly help us to recognize how women are silently surviving patriarchy and negotiating the boundaries of the social space inhabited by them. Consequently, this study will analyze how social practices embodied in the intersection of gender, class, age, religion, income, education, motherhood call to question the form of patriarchy as a regular dominant form of social order.

2.10 Gender Justice: Recognition or Redistribution:

Feminist social scientists around the industrial world have given apprehensive attention in recent years to the possibility of the return of care work. Feminist studies argue that unpaid housework is the outcome of intractable and inflexible structural features of current patriarchal and capitalist order (Fraser, 2009). Honneth argues that the struggle for recognition to have an anthropological character because an individual cannot develop a personal identity without

recognition (2000). Taylor defines 'recognition as a vital human need, a deep seated anthropological fact of the matter about the inter-subjective measures of human beings' (1994). Consequently, recognition is the best treated issue of social status which functions as the essential and necessary condition for the formation of an intact personal identity. Fraser said there are three factors, which shape individual lifelong capacity; self-confidence, self respect and self esteem (2009) A successful relationship between mother and child can establish the foundation of subsequent relationship that is rooted in reciprocal recognition (Honneth,1995:104).Fraser focuses on the point that there are two roots of gender injustice: socio-economic and cultural or symbolic. Redistribution and recognition are two co-fundamental dimensions of justice. Socio economic injustice is embedded within the political economic structures of society; whereas, economic structure of society denies women the resources they need to fully participate in social life as it institutionalizes sexist mal-distribution (Fraser, 2009; 28). No zone of the society could be purely economic or purely cultural, albeit not necessarily in equal portions (Fraser, 2003: 63). Fraser says that there are two types of remedies: affirmative and transformative. Whilst both responses aim to make social arrangements more equitable, only those that are truly transformative in nature restructure the underlying framework of these inequalities. The use of recognition as the sole category of normative reflections and approaches is inadequate. It is found that deconstructive recognition is a matter of justice as that of agency and it is just a matter of freedom. As observed, justice today requires both redistribution and recognition.

2.14. Theory of recognition as an analytical framework:

Honneth's approach of recognition, is used in this study because it has strong focus on subjective experience and inter-subjective exchange which make it possible to analyze recognition of unpaid care working contexts with a special focus on an individual's experiences and motives. Honneth pointed out that contemporary logic of work is unable to provide adequate forms of recognition. In his studies, the theoretical approach regarding recognition has different dimensions like love, solidarity and equal treatment with regard to law. According to Honneth (2004) recognition is based on following grounds:

- The private sphere comprising family and friends: a mode of practical relations to oneself; emotional support enhances self-confidence.
- The sphere of rights and legal entitlements; self-respect as a citizen.
- The sphere of cultural and political solidarity; self esteem that redeemed by social solidarity.

The theory suggests every member of the society entitled to recognition for his or her contributions of the reproduction of the society (Peterson and Willing, 2004: 274). The analysis claimed the struggle for redefinition of what counts as work and legitimate source of recognition is futile. Individual takes sole responsibility for his or her accomplishments in order to survive. Honneth

suggests that an expansion of the concept of work could occur so that more diverse notions of accomplishments could come under one umbrella. Through using the concept of recognition and redistribution the study will try to find out men and women's opinion and suggestions about the realistic value creation of unpaid care work in Bangladesh.

2.15. Well-being; the mainstream approaches:

Wellbeing is a multidimensional thought integrating notions of individual freedom, opportunities, and capabilities (White, 2010). The term of well-being is a social process with material, relational and subjective dimensions (White, 2010:158). It gives greater centrality to the importance of personal relationships, people acquire a sense of identity and a sense of position within the relationship.

This is a meaningful new area of activity in the fields of subjective wellbeing, quality of life, and life's satisfaction according to the researched social indicators and the economics of happiness. Schimmack (2008: 999) defined wellbeing as preference realization, which can be measured with affective, and cognitive measures. It moves towards an actor-oriented focus, which emphasizes the strengths rather than needs and to recognize the multiplicity of people's lives forged in a complex mix of priorities, strategies and influences (White, 2010:160). Its attention is not only measure the external objective but also people's own perception and experience of life. A locally grounded conception is evident in a Bangladesh villagers description of an ideal society is *bhat capor niye shonmae thakbo [We live in happiness with rice, cloths and respect]* (Siddique, 2004). This statement has two dimensions one public or social: Shonman respect and second one is happiness correlated with harmonious relationship- as in the common term *shukh shanti* (White, 2010). Well-being is the concept of a life that is well intentioned of dignity – a life that has available in it truly human functioning (Nussbaum, 2000). The definition of happiness is culturally specific in Bangladesh. The notion of well-being comprises of two elements: feeling good and functioning well. Diener and Lucas noted that subjective wellbeing assigns the subjective elements and calculate individual's thoughts and feelings of their lives (2000). Mahbub and Roy (1997) one of the first study carried out in Bangladesh on Wellbeing ; main indicators were money, fixed income, three meals a day, children and children's education, small family size , health access to medical services and a peaceful life.

In Bangladesh, *Sukh Shanti* is the term that is most commonly used to define well-being. In addition, happiness and peace are harmonious with close relationships in the home. This also confirms that a low quality of life with social isolation and a quality of life with social connections define true well-being. Context free evaluations of life creates uncertainty because it is not clear what the construct refers to and it may cause imperial difficulties in individual's judgement of happiness (Lent, 2004 cited Simsek, 2008: 508). Current theoretical development has shown that we should not focus on the challenges individuals face but also the positive process that can lead to increased and enhanced people's wellbeing. Women in Bangladesh consider family happiness rather than self-happiness. The

framework emphasizes that a balance between individuals within a society and their connected environment is important. It gives centrality of personal relationships. Therefore, the present research aims to inform policy planners and administrators about the negative side of social relationships existing in our society, and to propose ways to change this with overall policy intervention, government supervision and control and also through public- private collaboration.

2.16. Explaining the gendered links: Unpaid care work –Entitlement-Capability –Agency -Wellbeing

This chapter is a framework analysis drawn on implications from current balancing intellectual frameworks and own understanding of it as specified above. The framework of unpaid care work, entitlement, capability, agency and well-being, used in this study, is an effort to examine underlying assumptions about paid work and unpaid care work in the development discourse. The overall framework appeals on the capability approach and an intersectional standpoint; the key concepts that will be systematically applied the feminist conceptualization of the bargaining model of the household, which women in Bangladesh carried out as classic patriarchal form. In this circumstance, the translation of women's earning power into greater bargaining power within the household will reflect the perceived costs to women to re-negotiate the existing 'patriarchal bargains'. In this study the sense of well-being could be interpreted not merely as graduating from material deprivation but improving the quality of life as well. The analysis above suggests that Bangladesh is a place where women consciously sideline their personal needs and penalize their personal choices for the family's well-being. We define wellbeing in terms of capabilities that determine a person's real opportunities to lead a life that a person finds meaningful. It is remarkable that women's chances and opportunities are bound up with the chances of the household collectively. The developed framework enables the exploration of the unpaid care work and paid work aspects of women's lives within and outside the household that are shaped by the socio-cultural norms and practices. Finally deploying feminist theories the study mainly challenged the feminist standpoint and brought out a new contextual and counter answer on recognition of unpaid care work. In sum, the above theories are integrated in the exploration on how unpaid care work is making the unequal space for men and women in middle class and lower middle class families in Bangladesh. These theories will give comprehensive ideas and a holistic picture of women's genuine life situations. The capability approach is used to explore the agency of women in the evolution of the pathways aimed at achieving their vulnerable situation at home where women's agency is situated by social norms. The next chapter deals with time investment both in paid and unpaid care work in middle class and lower middle class households in Dhaka city and Bangladesh.

3

Women, Men and Household Work: Time spent in unpaid care work

3.1. Introduction

Chapter two provides us with an overview of the merits and demerits of the various theories that are used now in chapters three, four and five to elucidate the major findings of this study. This chapter analyses data based on time distribution work and care regimes in Bangladesh. We have tried to find out how men and women from different socio- economic backgrounds and different types of households allocate their time paid and unpaid care work in our society. The evidence presented in this study are based on quantitative data analysis where information was collected from a household as well as time use survey where

married couple stated their time allocations, between different activities and leisure within a day. It focuses on how differences between men and women are associated with time use patterns. It estimates the relative influences of women and men's wages on care work time and it helps us not only to understand how earnings affect unpaid care work and also how this relationship differs by class in both the working class and the non-working class groups in Bangladesh. By examining our respondent's comments and statements in our interview, we try to identify those who are likely to have more control over their time, greater access to leisure and those whose use of time will be more highly valued in our society. Thus, the time use is categorized into one of three broad categories; paid, unpaid and leisure. In this chapter we will try to outline how gender inequality contributes to class inequality and how class discrimination oppresses women in a different way. Women's normative orientations and their monetary benefits are divided along class lines. Consequently, it is important to explore not only how unpaid care work affects earnings but also how this relationship differs by class.

In order to address these questions, we analyzed the collected data and tried to estimate how women and men spend their time on a 24-hour period. The means of the study consists of two areas of which the time-diary schedule is the first one. This part is based on household details, including composition of a household, room sizes, and the general lifestyle. Information on individual characteristics of household members' gender, ages, education, employment status, income, daily working hours, subjective evaluation of time pressure and leisure were collected to facilitate the analysis. Data collection for the study was carried out in the main stages between November 2011 and March 2012. Moreover, a common set of questions was used both for the middle and the lower middle class working and non-working classes in different areas of Dhaka city.

We started the first stages with a pilot study to make up sample questions. It was followed by a survey in which a questionnaire was addressed to 20 couples. The target age group was between 21 and 60 years. The customary demographic variables such as: age, sex, marital status, educational qualifications, number and type of servants, income the food habits of the household, the number of infants (aged 0–5) and children (aged 6–14) and adults (aged 15–64) as well as senior respondents (aged over 65) who made up the family were included in the questionnaire.

The second stage, which is the more qualitative part of the primary data, was generated from two social classes and is designed to focus intensely into women and men's perceptions, ideas, values, and the relationship between their paid and unpaid labor activities. Information on intra-household and extra household relations were gathered during the interviews with the aim of obtaining insight into how gender issues are of importance both inside and outside of households. The empirical results of this analysis imply that both gender ideology and the spouse's earnings are important in determining the hours that each spouse devotes to household tasks. To estimate this relationship, we split the sample into two sub

samples: the first consists of two-earning couples and the second consists of male-earning couples.

3.2. Bhadr लोक and Bhadrमोहिला: नुव सोशल -एन्टिटी ट्रेन्ड्स ऑफ मडल-क्लॉस (मधयअडलतु शुरेनी) फॅमललरु हौसहोल्ड अररंजमेंट्स:

The middle- class group of contemporary Bangladesh is a socially respectable class connected together by similar lifestyles, customs, ethics and idealism. They are recognized as Modhyo-Bitto, Sikkhito Sampraday (middle-class educated community). However, what exactly is the middle class? The middle class, as per popular notion, is distinguished from the working class by occupation and education. Therefore, the idea of the middle class is not a matter of income and property; rather it is intertwined with aspects of cultures. They are distinguished from the upper class; apparently, by their seriousness, moral belief, and that they earn a living. Usually, the middle class people's job status is also based on middle level jobs. They are an educated and cultured group of people eminent by their refined modern behavior and owner of cultivated tastes. They belong to a section of the society who is struggling just to strengthen their ambiguous position in society and create significant moral values in their everyday realities. They have regular and well- paid jobs, can buy a car, and afford reasonable housing, smartphones as well as other material goods and services. For a middle-class lifestyle not only are the houses or flats in themselves important but also the neighborhoods should possess certain qualities suitable to their choices. Middle class life in Bangladesh is perceived as largely manifesting itself through everyday interaction, living standards that require upscale residential areas where house rents are comparatively high and to their expectations. For example, most of the middle class families live in homes, which usually range between 1500 square feet to 2000 square feet in size. Most of the middle class families have their homes where they have two bedrooms, a dining space, one guest room and three toilets. Therefore, broader spaced areas are seen as indicators of their family status. In addition, they mostly live in pure residential areas like: Dhanmondi, Lalmatia and Uttara. Since most of them own their own vehicles, the families have a wider choice of residential and work locations, and better access to desired activities. Moreover, family connections are kept up where the tie between father and son is important in transmission of family property and heritage. Family decisions remain tradition- bound with husbands or fathers taking most of the family decisions. Their norms of life, expectations and cultural content are very significant as the middle class is a very positive and maintain a very disciplined life. It is the life that has love, affection and unlimited respect and it is basically observed that these people maintain their status even on their moderate incomes. So, their lifestyle is different on the basis of their job and income. A respectable-looking house with most of the technological and efficient facilities remains one of the most important middle class investments. Most of their homes are well furnished and well decorated where the main items taking center stage are

television sets. Moreover, one can see that they can, and do, buy LCD television and other instruments of entertainment. Other visible electronic gadgets in more affluent homes are CD players and computers. This level of people usually watch movies at home or they sometimes go at cinema hall like Basundhara Cineplex and usually when they fall sick they go to private hospitals like Square hospital, Labaid hospital, Popular hospital, etc. Therefore, the study enabled us to observe some of the factors included in the lifestyle of the middle class, which set them apart from other groups in society and determine their working status.

Prestigious educational qualifications are acknowledged means of transforming status, which differentiate between groups and classes. Therefore, questions based on education and its importance in their lives and for the future of their children were asked in the survey questionnaire. A common answer given by nearly everyone was that education is the main strategy in any attempt to control the future of children. It appeared obvious that in the present day and age most parents feel that the best they can do to assure the success of their children is to secure their proficiency in English and other education related skills. Most of the parents prefer English medium schools for their children, as they appear to have recognized the fact that hegemonic English language is an indispensable condition to accomplishment in life and in any work related situation. Most of the respondents feel that such schools allow access not only to the potentials of higher education and related opportunities in the new global economy, but also to an entire cultural discourse. Consequently, parents are very concerned about their children's education and are trying to make them all-rounder in all areas of necessary skills including the all-important education. In addition to this, they help their children avail of the art of singing, dancing, swimming, Judo, etc. so that their children may have extra skills. In this context, a majority has also adopted separate family living and a small family system. The reason most people gave for this was an educating child is expensive in English medium schools; however, this activity is a necessity for remaining, or becoming, one of the privileged middle-class families.

In addition, more opportunities for women's education have also opened up infinite possibilities for changes in the family structure, gender relations, and society as a whole. Formal education is now a requirement for the new *bhadramahila* (respected women) who are then known to have a claim over cultural superiority in several different aspects. These elements of superior feelings are marked by concentrated efforts that distinguish the norms of the middle class from the lower middle class. However, the middle class in Bangladesh is an emerging social class, which has significant consumer power. This means they do not have to struggle for daily survival as they have regular means of earning. The 'Dining table' is referred to as a key marker of civilization, and is generally based on genders but specifically on culture and cultural practices. A husband or father commonly takes the main seat at the 'dining' table which practice uncovers a highly hierarchical and patriarchal family structure. Moreover, they enjoy their breakfasts and dinners with sufficient time

to be able to enjoy their breakfast; breakfast contains more than one course. In a middle class family most of the women are supervisors, and, in these types of families they are responsible for supervising or arranging much of the household work except cooking the main dishes. Other common tasks like washing clothes, dishes, cleaning toilets, are given to servants. In this class, tradition remains strong because the lives of women still revolve around their household, husbands and children. Childcare, therefore, is their major responsibility. The 'mother' is the main family member entrusted with handling children-related activities especially teaching and grooming.

As symbols of affluence, middle class homes take pride in buying and accumulating electronic toasters, refrigerators, steam irons and washing machines and other electronic equipment such as: electric toasters, sandwich makers, blenders and electric oven, etc., are popular in middle class households. They invest in these machines to save their time and energy as well. Therefore, it is assumed that middle class families can buy these machineries and also hire full-time servants to get the housework and other essential home chores done on time and effectively. Sometimes employed women make food for several days and store it in the refrigerator to be taken out and heated as needed. There is also an increasing preference for junk food like: cake, ice cream, soup, and sandwiches. All these modern tastes and preferences point to the fact that middle class families have changed over to more advanced life style in order to deal with work related activity. As an indication that life is becoming more developed and mechanized, an increasing number of people own at least one car or even one small apartment.

One of the most evident practices that underline the centrality of the domestic sphere for middle class values is the obsession with cleanliness. Women of the house spend hours everyday on cleaning and arranging the home. It is the women of the house whose main obsession is to keep the house clean and to see that servants work effectively to this end. In addition, clothes play a great role in determining the respect and morals of the women of the family. Older women think that those girls who do not retain decency and shame in dressing especially are morally questionable due to their way of dressing and exhibitionism. For them the clothes become a symbol of morality and correct behavior. Therefore, women of middle class families also take special care in the grooming and behavior of the girls, in particular.

In order to be independent and self-sufficient, most of the working women take up jobs to create self-identity. In middle class groups, women prefer jobs not to bridge the gender gap, as there is no visible gap as such because of the increasing acceptance to women working. Their husbands and themselves determine most of the decisions pertaining to women's employment. Most employed women are now enjoying their social life by going out shopping, to relatives' homes and for beautification and to gyms, etc. Most of the women interviewed consider that they have as much social life as they want. On the other hand, families of working women have strong social connections with different professionals and

they also maintain their network. Most of the workingwomen generally manage to lead a peaceful and dignified life. According to the responses we received during the research, the respondentssaid they have time to entertain themselves during their leisure times when they enjoy music, read magazines (like Shanonda, daily newspapers, and books, etc), traveling to different places at home and abroad. Most said they watch TV channelslike Discovery, Zee Bangla, and Tara, Channel I, Ntv, BBC and enjoy music like Rabindra Sangit, Nozrul Giti, and even English songs.

The image of middle class morality is one of the striking features of sociability. Marriage has the undivided interest of the middle class in Bangladesh, specially. It is of utmost importance for these families to find suitable spouses for their daughters and sons. Some do not even believe in forcing children to go for arranged marriages because the generation is changing and love marriages are acceptable as long as it takes place within the same social class. On the other hand, the young people are, in a way, symbols of the class struggle their families are going through; therefore, their purity and moral virtues have to be protected in order to enable prestigious marriage alliances. The survey responded with the idea that middle class orientation is more than the income. Middle class aspirations include a stable economic state of existence and a better life for the children.

Table: 6 Household tasks by women, men and servants in Middle class families

Women	Servants	Men
	Cleaning home two times morning and evening	
	Cooking Three times separately	
Preparing or supervising breakfast	Preparing breakfast	
Preparing or supervising lunch	Preparing lunch	Monthly Bazar
	Preparing dinner	Paying bills
	Taking trash away	Preparing tax
	Cleaning Toilet	Handing Insurance
	Sweeping	Household repairs
	Cutting vegetables	
	Wiping Kitchen Counter	
	Washing dishes	
	Clothes	
	Laundry	
	Hand-washed laundry	

	Ironing	
Household		
Decorating		
Interior Designs		
Finance/ Social		
Entertainment		
Relatives or friends		
Children	Children	Children
Cooking for children and feeding	Do everything themselves if mother is employed	
Helping Children Dress		Taking children to Doctor
Helping Children Bath		Playing with children on Holidays
Putting Children to Bed		Planning Outings
Caring for Sick Children		School-related business sometimes
Teaching		
Schooling		
Story telling		

3.3. Trends of Lower middle class (Nimno Maddhayabitta Shreni) in Bangladesh; household arrangements:

The lower middle class are those groups who earn less than 60,000 BDT per month and lead a peaceful life with respect and dignity. They do not live in higher-level residential or posh areas in Dhaka city like Gulshan, Banani or central Dhanmondi. In addition, lower middle class families are able to afford two-/three rooms with one/ two toilets; most of them live on rent. They mostly live in low-level residential areas like Rampura, Banoshri, Mohammadpur, etc. The following tables show that in this class, people cook twice a day and clean their houses once a day. As they have limited affordability, their wives do most of the household work themselves.

The lower middle class group is distinguished by mid- level educational attainment and semi- professional jobs. Most of their children attend public schools, so they are dependent on governmental provisions for education. Most of them have finished their education in Bangladesh, as they did not get the chance to study abroad. Generally, their children study in Bangla medium schools and not in any renowned or international schools. In lower middle class families, women are generally engaged at junior level jobs. The man does not restrict his wife, as her earning is more or less also important for the family. In such families, also, women's employment is an integral part of fulfilling a demand to the family's

needs. The overall attire of the women is the saree, shalwar kamiz: while the men commonly wear trousers and shirt. Most of the families do not have their own cars and those who do stay in the cities do not have their own houses or apartments. Their houses are usually rented. Moreover, they commonly use public buses, rickshaws, and CNGs for their daily activities. In addition, keeping up with the modern trends electronic appliances like: refrigerators, TV, music players, electronic fans, and sewing machines, are now their tools of housework. Furthermore, they are observed to go out and eat out occasionally. Lower middle class women own electronic devices like irons, pressure cookers, etc., that save fuel and time. The sewing machine has long been a fixture of many lower middle class households, and is the most widespread pieces of home equipment.

Since these families cannot afford to hire paid domestic labor in a regular way, a big number of families are dependent on 'Chuta Bua' (part time domestic worker) for their common household work. Cooking, however, remains the women's own responsibility. Most of the women from this social class state that they prefer to hire part-time help or none at all because they do not like to leave a servant alone and unsupervised in the house all day. There is a widespread feeling in this level of the society that servants cannot be trusted. However, a major fear is that the servant will steal or do some serious crime and misuse their food, gas and water. Being of a low-income level and with little knowledge about marketing patterns, the individuals from this class put more emphasis on the price than the quality of products.

In addition, lower middle class families are more price sensitive as purchasing the modern items of necessity cover a substantial portion of their monthly income. They are not brand loyal but less interested in switching from the current well-known names to lesser known ones. It is true that the product is not more than the price; but people are concerned about keeping to a certain standard to extend their affordability. In most of the cases, these people depend on the nearby retail shops for their shopping and product needs. Most of them go to public hospitals like Dhaka Medical College hospital, Ad-din hospital and others of the same level for treatment, as they are cheaper than private hospitals. The problem with these institutions is that there are too many patients and many hours wasted waiting for attention. Consequently, women from such families have to spend long hours to get cheaper prices treatment. As for entertainment, the women are known mostly to watch Indian Bengali TV series like: Star Jalsha, Star Plus, and local channels like Channel I. They admit also to enjoying both Hindi and Bangla songs mostly. Spending a holiday abroad could be out of reach for the lower middle classes in Bangladesh. During the holidays, they generally visit their own villages or any other local places like Cox's Bazar, Bandorbon and Shundarbon in Bangladesh. Therefore, the study establishes the fact that the professional and social activities of the middle and lower middle class families are somewhat different and these differences also reflect on the gender differences and job opportunities for women specifically. Furthermore, the earning and expenditure structure and life choices of the middle class are very different from the lower middle class families. For

example, the research concludes here that middle class families are better educated, more aware of their rights and needs, and better organized in planning their lives than the lower middle class families.

Table: 7 Household tasks carried out by women, men and servants in Lower middle class families:

Servants /Part time	Women	Men
	Mopping	
Situational	Sweeping	Monthly Bazar
Preparing food	Dusting	Paying bills
Washing cloths	Taking trash away	Preparing taxes
Washing Dishes	Cleaning Toilet	Handing Insurance
	Sweeping	Household repairs
	Cleaning toilet	
	Taking trash away	
	Cutting vegetables	
	Cleaning Kitchen	
	Washing dishes	
	Washing clothes	
	Ironing	
	Preparing breakfast	
	Preparing lunch	
	Cooking dinner	
	Backing	
	<u>Children</u>	<u>Children</u>
	Feeding	Taking children to Doctor
	Schooling	Playing with children on holidays
	Teaching / coaching center	Planning Outings
		Schooling sometimes

3.4. Time spent on household tasks in Middle and Lower Middle class families:

While continuing with my research, we first completed the following table to record the simple average daily housework hours of men and women of different families.

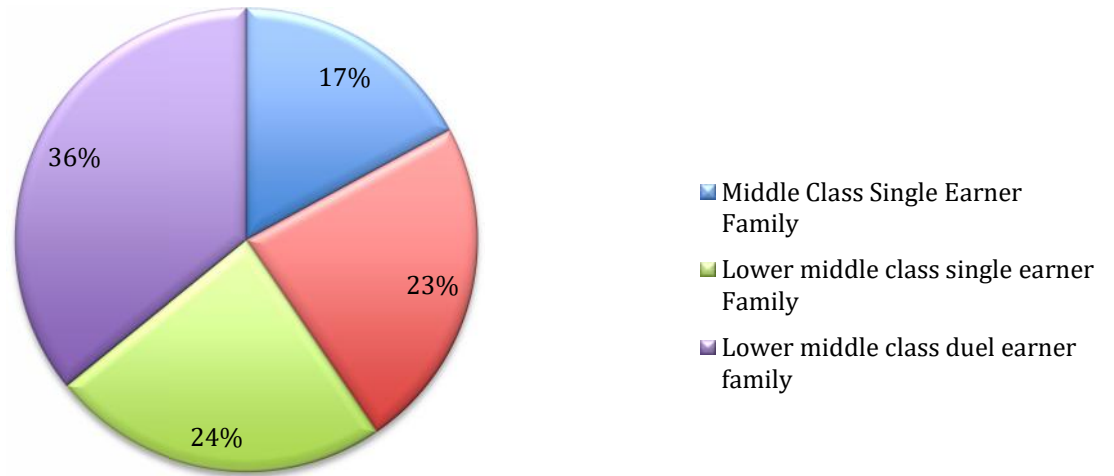
Table: 8 Household tasks done by men and women in middle class and in lower middle class families:

Average house work done in families				
Double earner	Women	Men	Women	Men
	7.738	1.7	6.031	.835
Single earner	12.52	1.848	8.771	.586

In the above breakdown of house work done by men and women, we see that the average working hours of women are much more than the average working hours of men in any kind of family. For the middle class double earner family, women's work at(6.031) is less than the single earner family's women's work at(8.771); but double earner family's men's work is more at (.835) than the single earner family's men at (.586). Again,in lower middle class double earner families, the women's work at(7.738) is less than the single earner family women's work at(12.52), and double earner family's men work at(1.7)which is less than the single earner family's men at(1.848). If we compare between double earner middle class and lower middle class families, we see that the women of lower middle class families work more than those of middle class families; and men of lower middle class families work more than those of middle class families. If we compare between single earner middle class and lower middle class groups, we note that women from lower middle class families work more than those of the middle class families and men from lower middle class families work more than those of the middle class families. Overall, both men and women who were asked this question in the sample questionnaire, say that women do more housework than men and only a few middle class women reportedly do not perform most of the housework because housework is shared between members of the families.

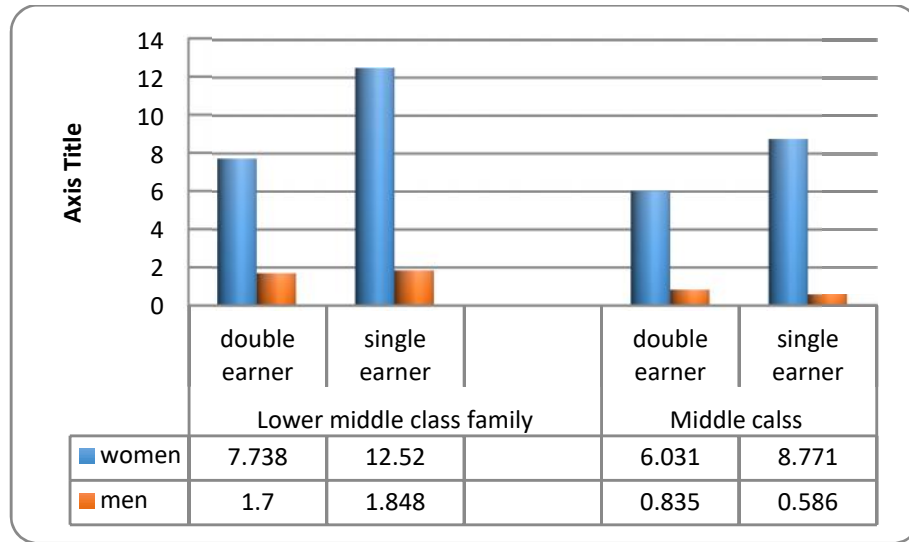
Graph 1: Household tasks done by men and women in middle class and in lower middle class families:

Household tasks done by men and women in middle class and in lower middle class



From the above graph, we can see that the average household time spent on work done by lower middle class single earner families is much more than all other families. The average work done by a lower middle class dual earner family is lower than that of the lower middle class single earner family; but they do greater work than the middle class dual earner family. On the other hand, the average work done by middle class employed family is less than all other families. If we study the average daily work done by different families on the multiple bar diagram, we will get the following break down. If we see the average daily work done by different families through multiple bar diagrams, we will get the following break down.

Graph: 2 Household tasks done by men and women in middle class and lower middle class families:



We observe here that for any family the average work done by women is much more than the average work done by men. Moreover, work done by a lower middle class single earner family is greater than that of all other family's; whereas, work done by the women in middle class double earner families is less than women of all other families. On the other hand, the average daily work done by men from single earner lower middle class families is greater than those belonging to other types of families. The research also shows that the average daily work done by men from middle class single earner families is less than the average daily earnings of men from all other types of families. However, men from single earner lower middle class families work more than those who belong to other types of families. All households, regardless of their socio-economic status, still show support the truth that unpaid care work is socially necessary and cannot be indefinitely postponed particularly in the case of childcare or the care of the sick.

3.5. Different household arrangements and related variables with gender:

The study revealed that household needs and requirements are different between these two classes. Therefore unpaid care work hours are linked and mutually determined by some specific factors and situations. Gender-differentiated time-use outlines are affected by numerous factors, which include household arrangements like food habit, number of family members and gender composition of household members, age of family members, number, availability of infrastructure, and distance to key economic, health and social services such as office, schools, hospitals, bank and bazar or markets. Special occasion like birthday program, marriage ceremony, eid day, and pohela boishakh changes the household work and claim extra time.

3.5.1. Numbers and ages of children determine unpaid care work between men and women:

The shifts between paid labor time and domestic labor time in association with children indicate that women's role in the household and men's role in the paid labor force are reinforced when children are present. The number of adult girl child, reduces the time women spend on various types of household work activities. Daughters are women's main helpers in cooking and home making. In reference to this factor, one of middle class working women, Ayesha (42), said:

"I don't feel any work pressure as my children are grown up, especially my eldest daughter. My daughter does most of the housework regularly."

Consequently, women are still in charge of the majority of the housework, and men with children are more likely to spend extra time in the labor force. The birth of each child increases family expenses, which also increases the pressure on men to earn more. The number of children has a positive effect on men's hourly wages but adds extra burden to women. Most of the men tend to invest more time on paid work than on household work.

For example, Mrs. Salma Khan, a homemaker (42), from the lower middle class states,

"I can remember that since the birth of my first child, I have lost all my free time overnight..."

Meanwhile, men are unreasonably free from family obligations to look after their children or elderly parents because these duties are viewed and designated strictly as women's duty and responsibility. Women who have young children tend to withdraw from the labor market or to reduce the office time in order to continue with their designated duties. Sanjida, (34) a homemaker from the lower middle class says:

"I wanted to join a formal job but when I conceived, I got a new life as a mother and forgot all the outside activities. My mind set was also changed; I feel that outside jobs are for those who have no families or family responsibilities."

Shama Afrin (38) middle class housewife says:

"I left my job for my children and I always tell them to know that their mother, who was a first class holder in both Bachelor honors and Masters degrees, gave up her career because of care work."

Having children is associated with men's spending more time on paid labor. The result supports that children make more demands on women's time at home rather than on financial needs. Rita Yousuf (45) a middle class housewife adds,

“As we have no children, there is no extra work in the family. The maidservant cooks lunch and dinner. I only supervise her. However, I do cook special dishes on special occasions.”

Shaheena (38), a middle class housewife, relates this to us about her life as a housewife:

She says she does all the work systematically; and on her weekends, she does all the undone work and extra cleaning of her home. She enjoys her responsibilities and earns respect from family members because she always fulfills all her duties. She has a maidservant who does most of the housework. She has no extra work pressure as her children have grown up. However, it was tough for her to maintain all household duties when her children were too young.

In order to see whether there are any effects on the average children of men and women who have unpaid working hours, the following table was constructed. From the details in the table, we realize that there is an effect of the housework undertaken by men and women, on the average children of different families. The amount of housework differs with the categories in the children's ages. For example, women of the family with children aged 0-14 do more work than women with no children. On the other hand, we can find housework done by men to be less affected by these categories and that men with no children do less work than any other men. The number of children in a family and their ages is associated with determining women and men's unpaid care work time. However, there is again more variation between women and men. The presence of young children, aged 0 to 7 years, has a strong effect on work behavior like missing days at office work, leaving office early. Time spent on unpaid care work but bring changes on paid work for bearing the child's rearing costs.

It is observed that most of the employed mothers do more unpaid care work and less paid work than childless women. This means that gender is more pronounced and evident for parents than for childless couples. Therefore the difference between employed mothers and childless women is much more profound than the difference between a father and a childless man in respect to working hours. This research is consistent with Gill's study where he critically stated that children are contributing causes rather than solutions to the problems of housework (Gill, 1997).

The presence of children helps to widen the gap between men and women's time devoted to unpaid care work. Men with children spend more time in paid labor than men with no children. About 40% men in middle class and 90% of men from

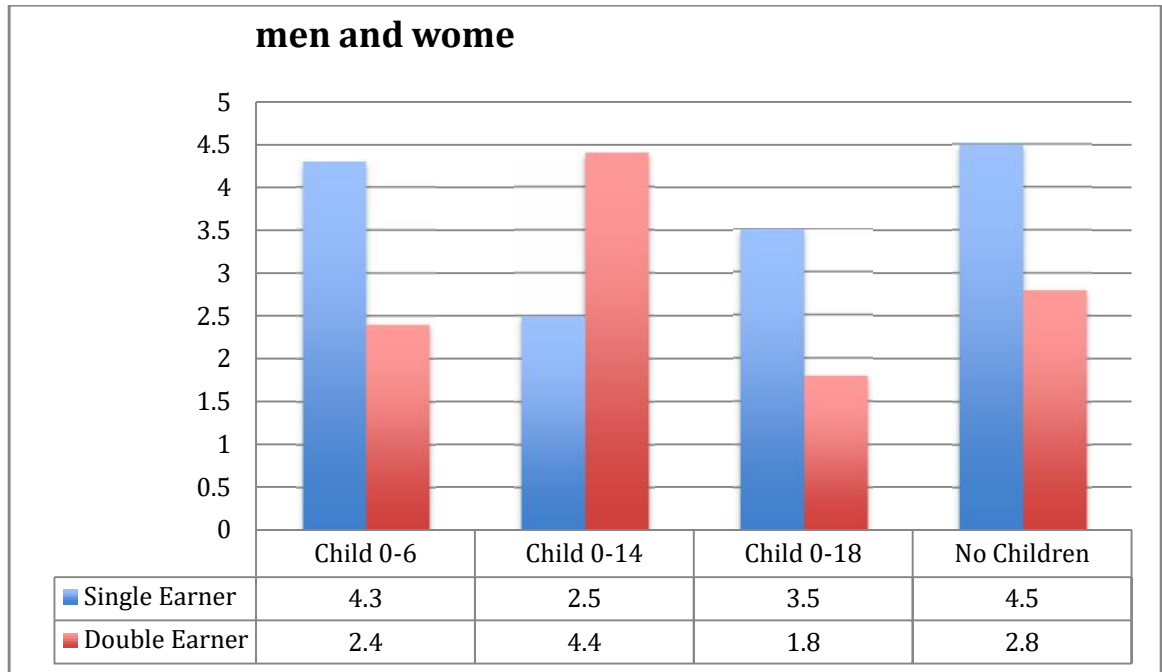
lower middle class are doing double paid work in order to fulfill their breadwinner roles. Men are disproportionately free from regular family obligations. Indeed, most of them are interested to perform their breadwinning and civic responsibilities because they are in fact care receivers. Therefore, it is concluded that the time that parents, with one child, spend at work decreases as the number of children in the family increases.

Average daily tasks of families in different age categories of children	Middle class	Lower middle class
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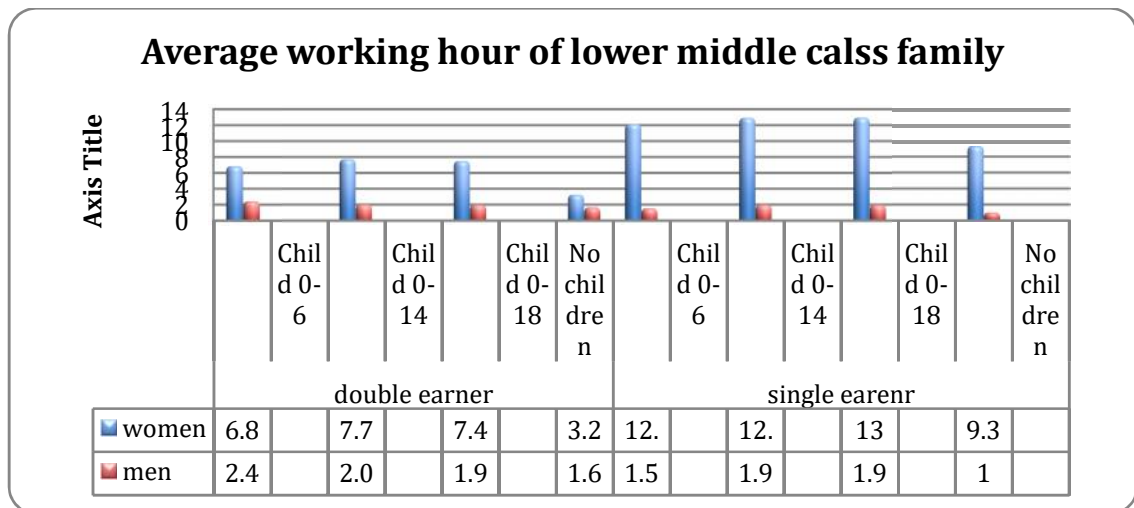
Table: 9 Average daily tasks of families with different age categories of children:

Family	Age	Women	Men	Women	Men
Double earner	Child 0-6	5.6	0.58875	6.852941	2.433333
	Child 0-14	6.242857	0.666563	7.708333	2.014286
	Child 0-18	6.148649	0.637143	7.486842	1.986111
	No children	2.92	0.52	3.25	1.666667
Single earner	Child 0-6	8.506667	0.614286	12.125	1.545455
	Child 0-14	9.528571	0.472353	12.925	1.992857
	Child 0-18	9.454054	0.438108	12.95122	1.981395
	No children	7.614286	0.548333	9.333333	1

Graph 3: The average housework done by men and women of middle class families are related to the different ages of children:



Graph 4: Average housework done by men and women of lower middle class families with different age categories of children



3.5.2. Numbers and Types of Servants, and Differences in Household work time:

The number of servants in a home is a key factor to affecting unpaid working hours of men and women of different families. Therefore, the absence and presence of domestic servants create completely opposite situations for a household. Households without domestic servants promote more work for women in a household and less work for the labor market. Thus, household time

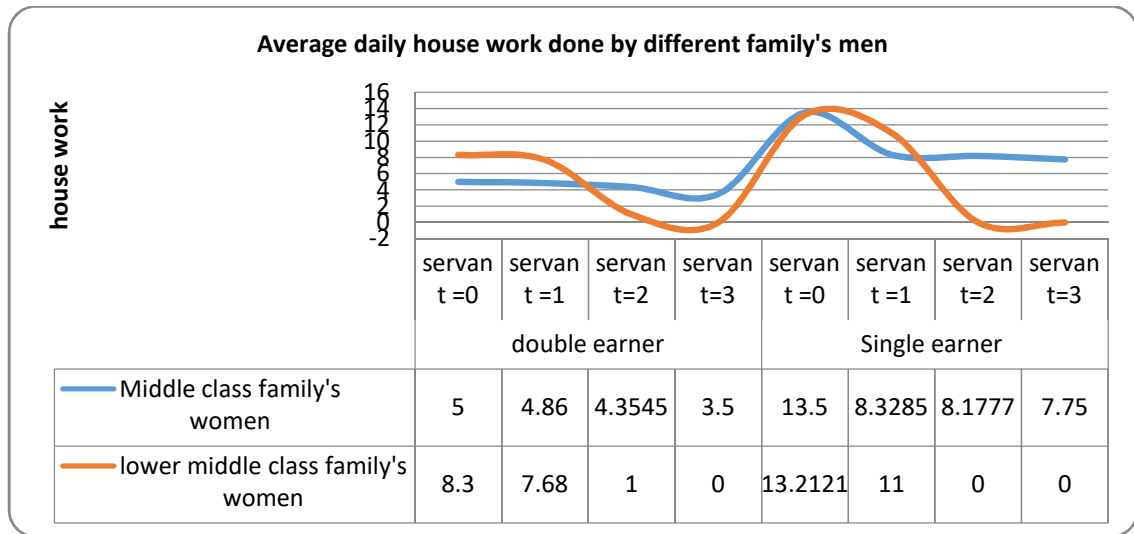
determines the market time. In order to analyze this effect, the following table was designed:

Table 10: The average number of daily unpaid working hours in relation to the number of servants at homes

		Middle class		Lower middle class	
Double earner	No of servants	Women	Men	Women	Men
		0	5	.754	8.3
	1	4.86	.3888	7.68	1.607
	2	4.3545	.79	1	1
	3	3.5	.76	-	-
Single earner	0	13.5	.575	13.2121	2.3303
	1	8.3285	.3773	11	.9117
	2	8.1777	.7004	-	-
	3	7.75	.4025	-	-

From the table above, we observe that the number of servants influences the housework of men and women of different families. The changing number of servants causes significant changes in the working hours of women. When there are no servants in a family, men and women need to do more work than men and women of a family having one or more servants. The amount of housework done by a family having 1 servant is more than the amount of housework done by the family having 2 or 3 servants. Furthermore, a family that has 2 servants does more work than the family that has 3 servants. If we compare between the middle and the lower middle class families, we can see that the men and women of lower middle class families work more than those of middle class families do respectively. We can understand the complete situation by the following graph:

Graph: 5: Average daily housework done by men of different families



In the context of Bangladesh, domestic labor is a common tool for doing the household work; therefore, servants are essential to a well-run and well-maintained household. For example, most middle class families are capable of employing at least two permanent domestic workers. However, women are mostly supervisors rather than direct care workers in such households. Among those interviewed, 90% were from middle class families and hired permanent and full-time domestic servants. Full time servants are paid for their full time presence and part time servants are paid by the tasks and the hours of work. In middle class families most of the women are “Supervisors,” and usually do not do all the work themselves. Their duties are mostly concerned with cooking only or cooking only the main dishes sometimes. Moreover, the number of servants that are hired affirms the class status of the ‘*bhadralok*,’ a respectable middle class person, in our society. As women have become more mobile, responsibilities assigned to them are channeled to other women hired for that. On the other hand, referring to this fact, Yasmin Jahan (42), a middle class housewife, states:

“The woman has to cook even when she is too sick because her husband does not eat any meals cooked by a servant.”

Muuni Haque (27), a middle class housewife, also states,

“I have servants but they cannot work like me. They do not have the commitment towards my family because this family belongs to me. The way I can understand my own family will never match with these uneducated servants. Albeit, my maid helps me but the total responsibility is my own. Nothing can replace this sense of achievement as I feel I am sacrificing my life and giving my full energy and time to them.”

Mr. Salam, husband of Munni Haque, the middle class housewife, explains the situation in the following way:

“The trends of life, have changed; if you can afford it, a special cook will be ready to work as a servant in your house. I am giving more time into that part of housework so that I may hire a good worker. I don’t mind how much salary I will need to pay for that. My wife should be free for my children and for me.”

On the other hand, the employment of servants has become a mark of status for this bhadralok (middle class) family. This means those women have a choice of ways to deal with housework. Most women are not directly involved in household work, but indirectly it is all women’s responsibility because at the end of the day they are accountable for all that. Farhana, (32) a middle class schoolteacher, says:

“I have two housekeepers who do most of the work at home though I have to give all the instructions.”

On the contrary, the picture in a lower middle class family household is different in this matter because they are commonly dependent on ‘*Chuta Bua*’ (part time worker) or no help at all. The type of work Chuta Buas do is different because they get payment for individual taskwise like: washing clothes, cleaning the home, cooking, and toilet cleaning and so on. Most of the families are dependent on part time workers when some families have no workers at all. So, unpaid household work is a permanent job for lower middle class women and they are directly involved in doing all the work themselves. Keeping servants requires extra expenses, so by cutting this cost they try to save some money. Under these circumstances, they try reducing some expenses; but it adds some extra volume of work in their life. A lower middle class schoolteacher, aged (45) comments:

“If we do not do housework ourselves, it will be very expensive and difficult for monthly budget. If we keep a maidservant for doing housework or if we go to eat in restaurants, this will exceed our family budget.”

Munmun Rahman, (28), added that *part* time maidservants come to the residence and help her in washing dishes and clothes; but rest of the work is left for her. She says:

“We are exclusively made for cooking, no one can stop that.”

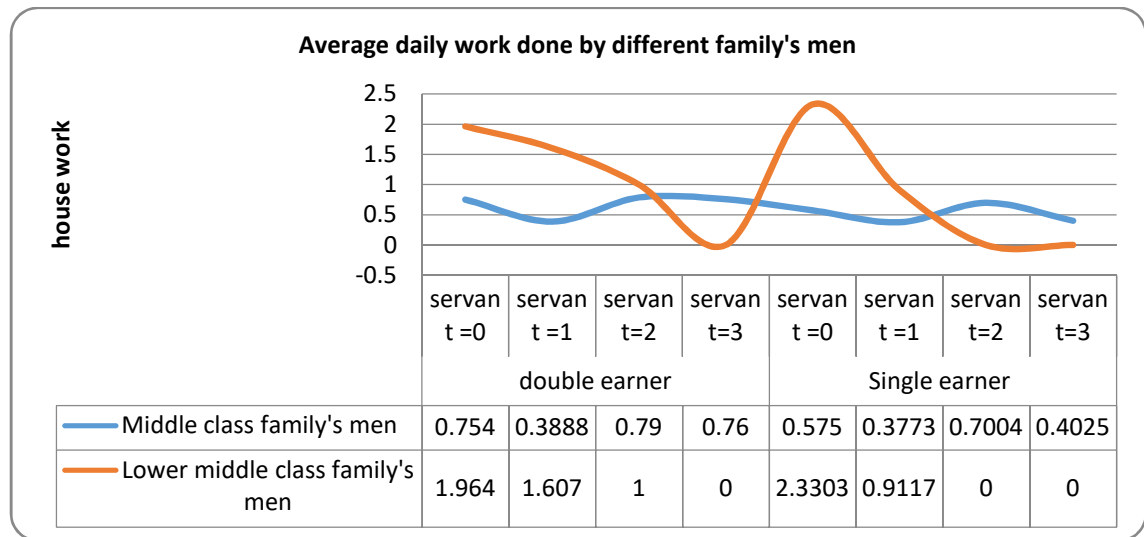
Therefore, money and balance between housework and a professional life are important elements in a woman’s life. Therefore, before joining to any job they will have to learn to make a balance between family life and social life. On the other hand, no one can deny that a woman is at first responsible for family work rather than any other work.

Nasreen Begum (38), a lower middle class schoolteacher, has this to say:

“I get bored of doing the same work everyday and I am also so tired of the volume of work I have to do. I cannot also take rest and I am also getting sick. Hiring a maid is expensive now it costs 4000-5000 taka as their monthly salary. I cannot also hire a maid right now as I am saving money.”

Financial deficiency at home prepares lower middle class women to tackle the boundaries of housework and professional work at a time. Middle class women are getting a more flexible life plan than the lower middle class women because their opportunity to utilize time is different from one another. Women, who can afford to pay for hired domestic labor, spend less time on unpaid labor activities and it allows them to spend more time on their income generating activities.

Graph: 6: Average daily work done by men in different families:



3.5.3. Education and differences in unpaid work time investment:

In general educational qualification is a dominant predicator of time utilization among both men and women. In this study we have identified that the level of education has no significant effect on women’s total unpaid work; whereas, having a university degree or higher degree increases men’s opportunities for overall paid work. They can compete with the market through their qualification. At home all women are housewives and it does not make any difference whether or not a woman holds a PhD degree or not. A lower class homemaker Ritu (33) states, that

“I sometimes feel very disappointed with myself for not doing anything. I have no separate respectful position. I’m recognized by my husband’s identity. Why had I studied? There is no value of my education here.”

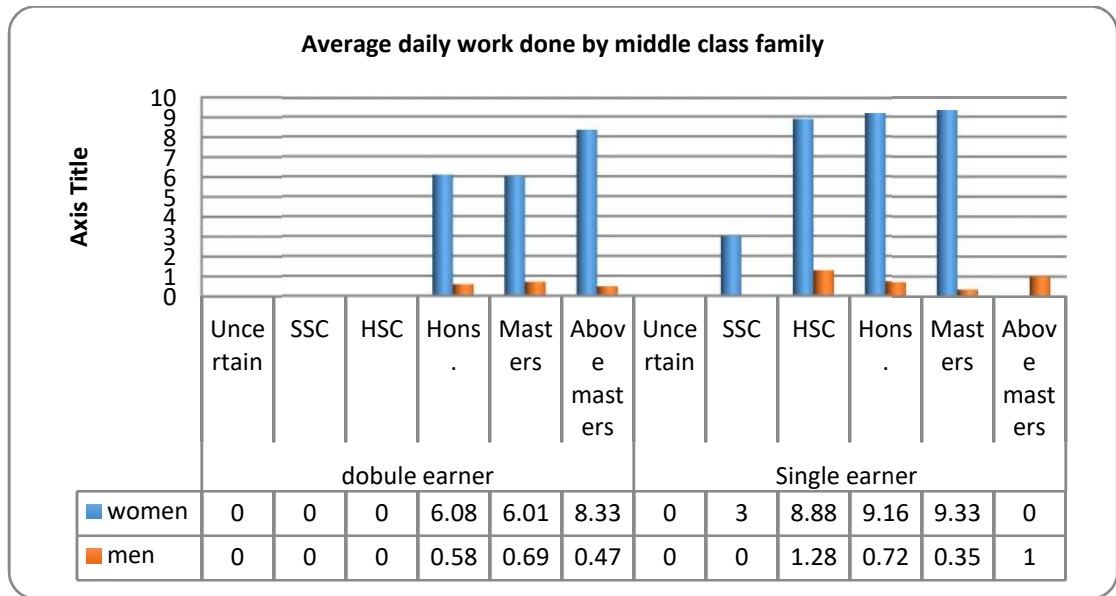
The findings on the impact of women's education on unpaid care work specify that women's educational level is not positively associated with their unpaid work time. To find the effect of the level of education on unpaid working hours, we designed the following table based on the different categories of education.

Table 11: Average daily-unpaid working hours of men and women of different families:

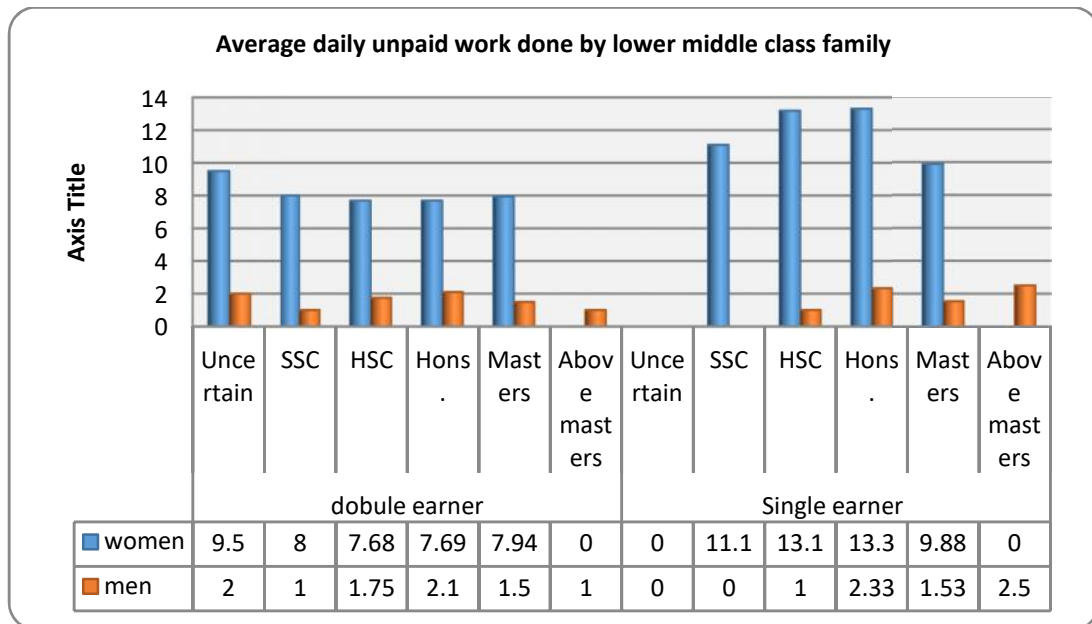
		Middle class family		Lower middle class family	
Double earner	Education level	Women	Men	Women	Men
	Uncertain	-	-	9.5	2
	SSC	-	-	8	1
	HSC	-	-	7.6875	1.75
	Hons.	6.085	.58	7.69	2.1
	Masters	6.015	.698	7.945	1.5
	Above masters	8.333	.475	-	1
Single earner	Uncertain	-	-	-	-
	SSC	3	-	11.1	-
	HSC	8.88	1.28	13.1875	1
	Hons.	9.169	.7232	13.3076	2.33
	Masters	9.33	.355	9.888	1.538
	Above masters	-	1	-	2.5

From the above data, we can surmise that in the case of women from lower middle class double earner families with increasing education levels, working hours are decreased; and, for women with master's degree from single earner families working hours have increased. For the middle class single earner and double earner families, the unpaid care work is more for higher educated women than lower educated women. In this case (for middle class families) higher educated women want to lead a standard family life and that is why they have to do more housework like they do clean the house two times, they cook three times. The home management process is different in lower middle class families. They generally cook two times and clean home once a day. Nevertheless, working hours of men of single and double earner families are not very much influenced by the levels of education. So, men's working time cannot be explained by the categories of levels of education. Here we use the bar diagram based on the values of the table in order to analyze the matter clearly.

Graph: 7: Average daily work done by middle class families:



Graph: 8: Average daily-unpaidwork done by lower middle class families:



3.5.4. Women's Age is a relative factor in determining household time units:

Domestic time based on age factors varies similarly for both women and men in both social classes. The size of the gap between men and women's labor time also varies by age. Men less than 50 years of age, spend more time at outside work than men who are aged more than fifty. The same situation exists for the women, also. Younger women are preoccupied with housework more than women who have crossed fifty. The perspective towards housework is also different between these two groups. Generally, women respondents of various age groups wake up early and sleep late. However, aged women (usually with adult children) do limited housework than the younger age group in both social classes. In addition, younger women with younger children spend longer hours on unpaid work than older women. This shows that the age of women is an important factor in shaping how women carry out their unpaid labor activities. Changes in the age structure have affected the nature of time used at the individual level. Age brings similar positions among men and women when they become older. Perhaps older women are less willing or able to do housework. In addition, the working hours of the individuals (that we collected for this study) depend on their age. Therefore, it is possible to categorize the whole data according to different age levels. To see the effect of different age levels on unpaid working hours, we designed the following table:

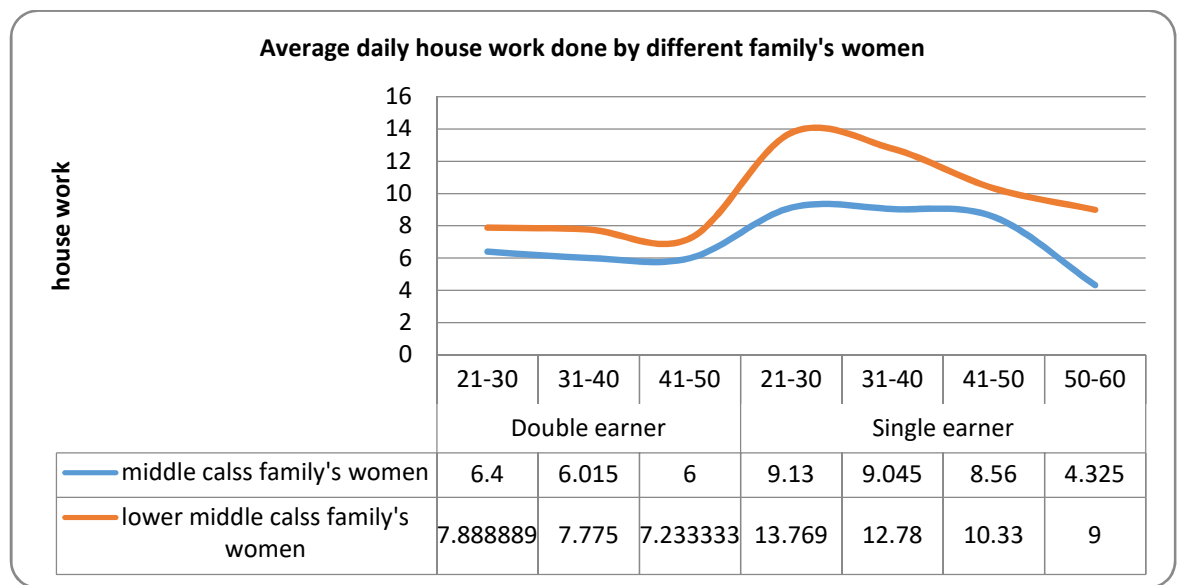
Table 12: average working hours related to ages of men and women:

		Middle class family		Lower middle class family	
	Age	Women	Men	Women	Men
Double earner	21-30	6.4	.565	7.888889	2.2
	31-40	6.015	.8735	7.775	2.029
	41-50	6	.7047	7.233333	2
	50-60	-	.594	-	1.95
Single earner	21-30	9.13	.8575	13.769	1.833
	31-40	9.045	.5204	12.78	2.5454
	41-50	8.56	.2442	10.33	1.4889
	50-60	4.325	.294	9	1

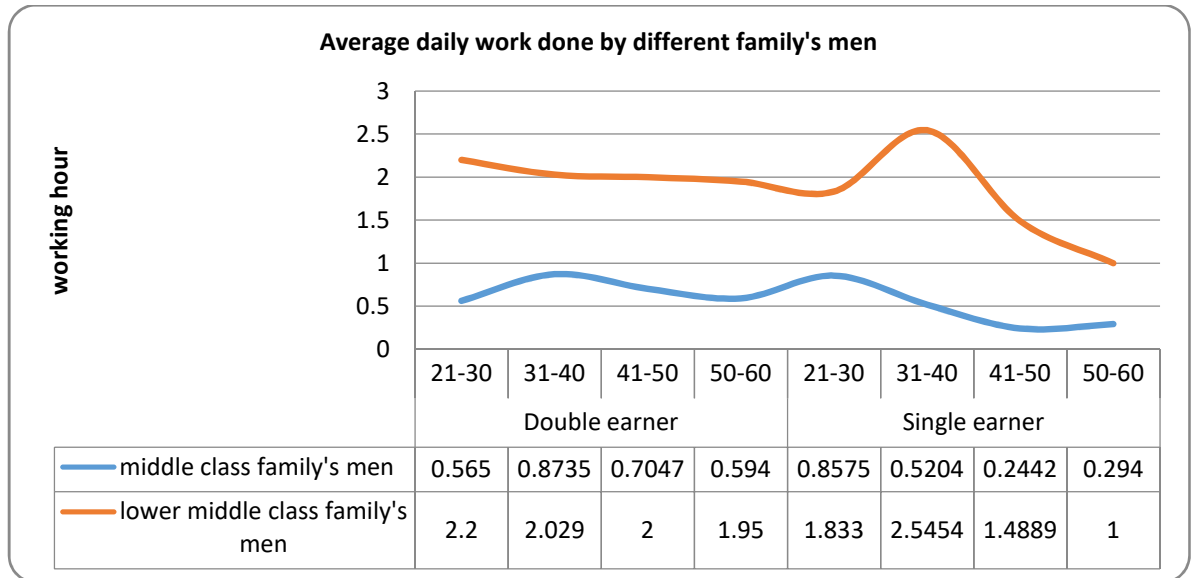
After analyzing the above table, we can see the women aged from 21 to 30 from middle class double earner families work more than women aged 31 and above. Moreover, it is noted that with the increase of age level, working hours are decreased. For women aged 21 to 30 of single earner families, the work hours are more than those of women aged 31 and above. In addition, for women from 50-60, it is 4.32 hours, lesser than that of younger women. For men, we observe the same changing patterns as that of the unpaid working hours and decreasing working hours for the increasing age level. For lower middle class families, work

done by men and women aged 21-30 is more than that of men and women aged 31 and above which is the lowest age group for workers of 50 to 60 years. Again, on an average, women from lower middle class single and double earner families work more than the men of middle class single and double earner families. It is the same for the men of single and double earner families. Now, we can observe these elements in the following graph.

Graph: 9 Average daily housework done by women of different families:



Graph: 10 Average daily work done by men of different families



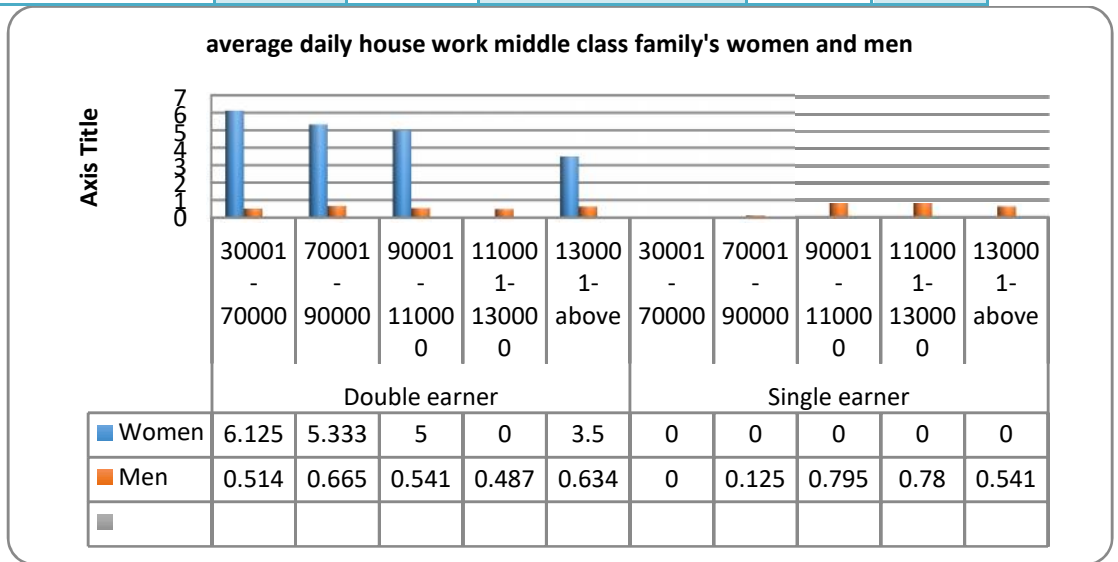
3.5.5. Income vs. Time distribution between paid and unpaid care work:

From the above table based on a middle class family, we can say that unpaid working hours are decreasing because of the increasing income level. Therefore, women from lower income levels do more housework than women with families having higher income level. For double earner middle class families, women having income levels of 30000-70000 TK do more unpaid care work than the women whose earnings are more than 70000. For men, unpaid working hours follow the same changing patterns. Men from lower income families have longer working hours than men from higher income families. In case of men and women from lower middle class double earner families, housework undergoes the same changing pattern though it is higher than that of men and women from middle class double earner families. Furthermore, it is the same for men coming from lower middle class single earner families

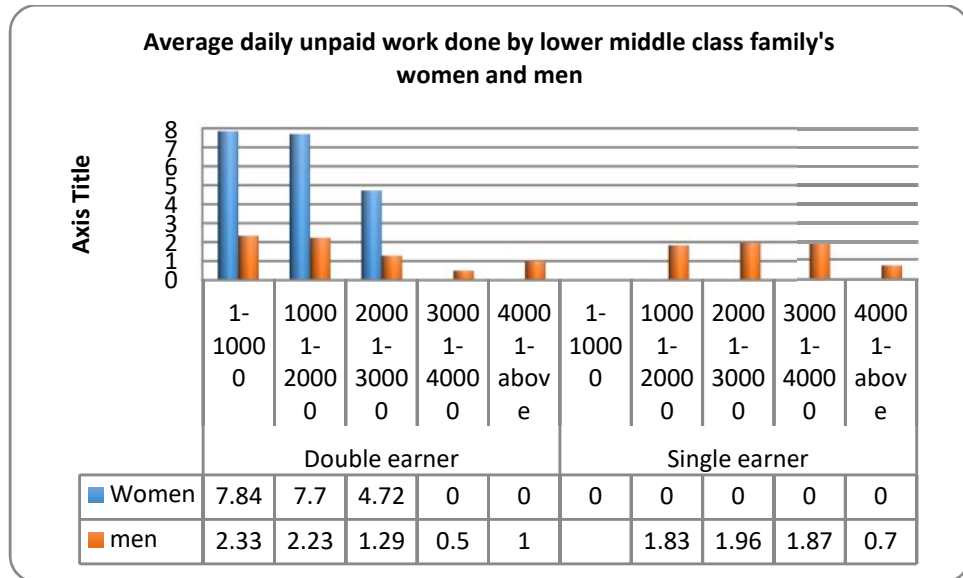
Table 13: Average daily work done by families with different income levels:

Graph: 10 average daily housework of men and women from middle class families:

	Middle class			Lower middle class		
	Income	Women	Men	Income	Women	Men
Double earner	30001-70000	6.125	.7142	1-10000	7.847	2.333
	70001-90000	5.333	.665	10001-20000	7.7	2.233
	90001-110000	5	.5411	20001-30000	4.725	1.291
	110001-130000	-	.4875	30001-40000	-	.5
	130001-above	3.5	.634	40001-above	-	1
Single earner	30001-70000	-	-	1-10000	-	-
	70001-90000	-	.1257	10001-20000	-	1.833
	90001-110000	-	.7957	20001-30000	-	1.9667
	110001-130000	-	.78	30001-40000	-	1.8714
	130001-above	-	.5417	40001-above	-	0.7



Graph: 11 Average daily unpaid work done by lower middle class family's women and men



From the above graph analysis, the situation of middle class and lower middle class women in Bangladesh is a visible example of how paid and unpaid household responsibilities may contradict each other and require some sort of negotiation. The data on paid work and unpaid work also illustrates the fact that although there have been some changes in men’s and women’s time investment, significant gender differences persist. The co-ordination of paid and unpaid work demands often take the form of reduced hours in paid work and reduced time on household work. She never wants to stay in office after office hours and, at times, she upsets her boss and other employees. Mr. Topan, husband of Shilpi Akhter, states that

“As they have a daughter, Topon tries to save money more than his brothers do. After his office hours, he is also involved in a business with some of his friends. So, it is hard for him to help his wife in giving time for housework.”

Mr. Nizam, a middle class working man, explains this situation:

“I cannot help in housework because I am doing a job in a multinational company and, at the same time, I have to do another business side by side with my office work, so how could I get time for housework?”

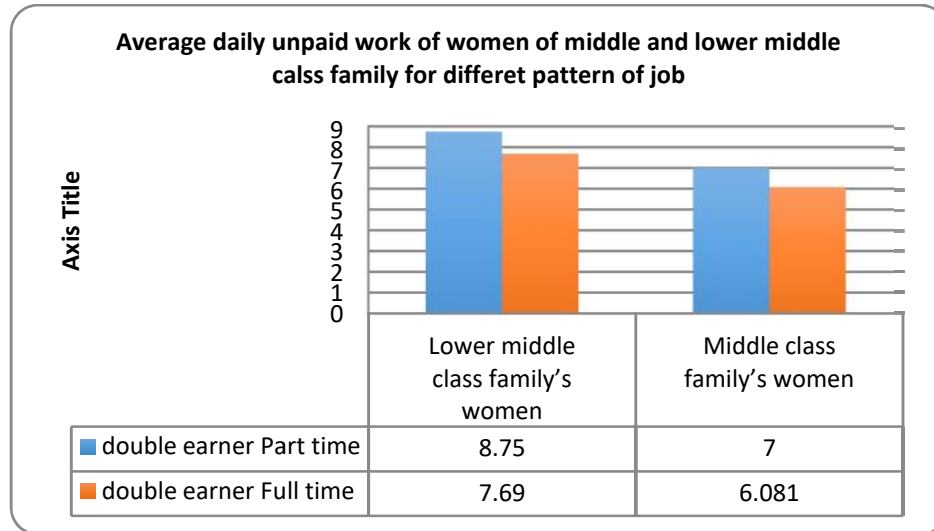
Again we can categorize the given data by the pattern of the job which can be full time or part time:

Table 14: average working hours based on different patterns of job:

Double earner family	Average daily house working hour of different family		
	Working pattern	Lower middle class family's women	Middle class family's women
	Part time	8.75	7
Full time	7.69	6.081	

From the above table, we see that in lower middle class and middle class families, part time workingwomen do more work than the full time working women. Workingwomen who do part time work from middle and lower middle classes, in fact work more than full time workers. The table can be represented by the following graph:

Graph: 12 Average daily-unpaidworks for women from middle and lower middle class families for different patterns of job:



3.5.6. Family type and different times of investment in the household sphere:

Family type variation pattern is another factor, which has got significant influence on working hours. To analyze the aspect, we created the following table:

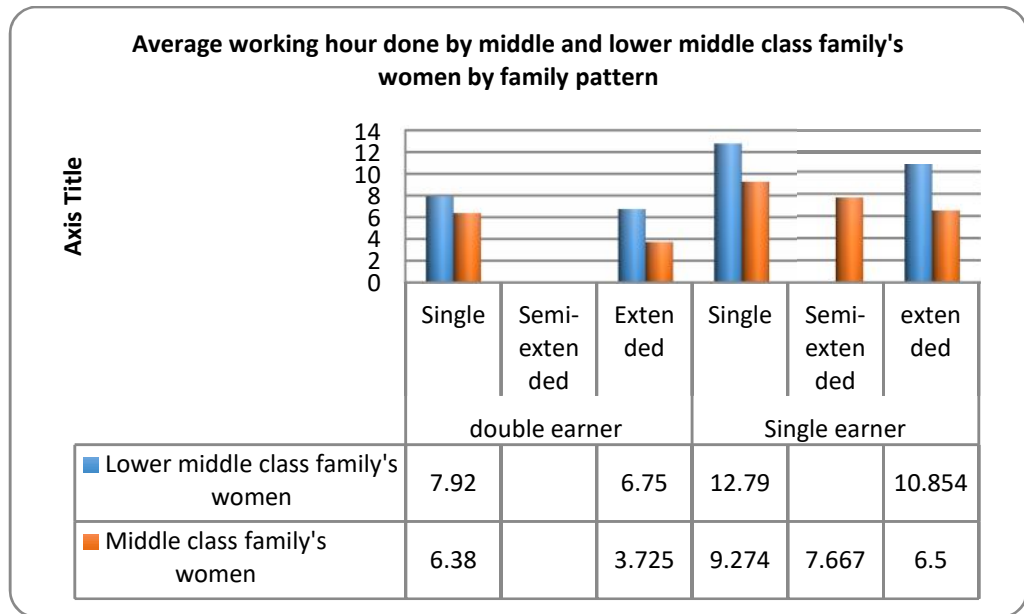
Table 15: Average daily working hours by family types:

Average house work done by different family's women		Lower middle class family	Middle class family
Double earner	Family pattern	Women	Women
	Single	7.92	6.38
	Extended	6.75	3.725

Single earner	Single	12.79	9.274
	Extended	10.854	6.5

From the table above, it is observed that from lower middle class single and double earner families, women of single families work more than women of extended families. Unlike middle class double earner families, women in single families work more than the extended families. Women from single earner families work more than their counter parts in semi - extended and extended families. Women from lower middle class families, irrespective of whether they come from single or double earner families or from single or extended families, work more than the middle class families. This pattern can be seen by the following graph:

Graph: 13: Average working hours done by women of middle and lower middle class families following a family pattern



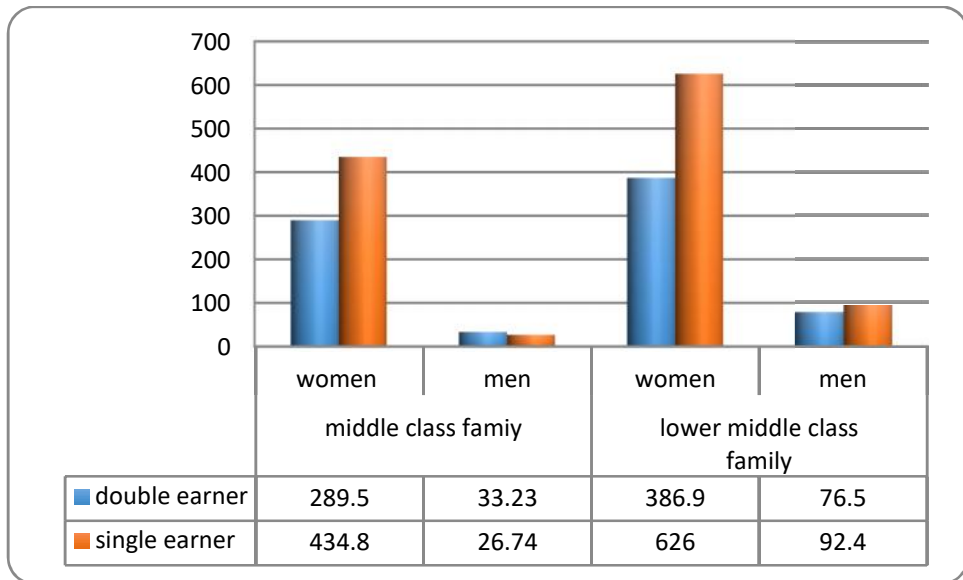
The table below shows the total work of men and women from different families and analyzes the statistics in the following table:

Table 16: total work done by different families

	Middle class family		Lower middle class family	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Double earner	289.5	33.23	386.9	76.5
Single earner	434.8	26.74	626	92.4

The total work done by women in middle class double earner family is less than all other families. For a middle class single earner family work done by men are less than men of all other families. Furthermore, for lower middle class double earner families work done by women is much more than that done by men. For lower middle class single earner families, work done by women is more than all women in other families. Consequently, total work done by single - earner lower middle class men is greater than men of all other families. The following graph analyses this factor about the difference:

Graph: 14: Total work done by single earner lower middle class men is greater than men of all other families:



The graph explains the total load of work done by single- earner lower middle class men is greater than men of all other families. As the market is providing different devices and options for reducing unpaid work time, while only higher income earners easily get the opportunities to develop and reshape their objectives in life and lifestyle, lower middle –class families display more conservative attitudes than middle class families because their social opportunities and expectations are different. Consequently, the content of carework and necessary arrangements differ substantially between families with higher and lower incomes. It is also clear that all women are not contributing equally towards unpaid care work. The household arrangements and family needs determine the volume of time spent on the work.

Table 17: Privileged and Non-privileged Groups in relation to Care work in Middle class and lower Middle class families:

Privileged Group	Non privileged Group
Childless Women	Mother

Mother with adolescent female child	Mother with young child
Middle class employed women	Lower middle class employed women
Housewives	Employed women
Older women	Young women

3.5.7. Leisure time and Social class differences:

Leisure time has become more unevenly distributed because of paid work schedule and home schedules. Certain surveys carried out on these issues suggest a mismatch between individual preferences and work schedules. In examining the pattern of leisure time, we find that there is limited leisure time for employed women and men in both the social classes. An examination of specific leisure activities reveal that most of the men in middle class groups spend their passive leisure time by watching TV, gathering with friends, visiting different places, reading daily news papers. Moreover, passing time in restaurants is also a new dimension of leisure time spent in the middle class groups. On the other hand, both middle class non-employed women and employed women get the same amount of leisure. Although non-employed women have more time than employed women, they remain busy with their children's extracurricular activities like: dance and singing classes, swimming, clubs, etc. They also give time to themselves like going to the parlors for beautification, gym, yoga, reading different magazines, etc. Recently, spending time on the face book is a new craze for middle class women as well as spending time in reading daily newspapers, books like the Reader's Digest, etc. These findings are, therefore, more consistent with a research carried out by Steven Nock and Paul William Kingston (1988) that shows that even in dual-earner households, women spend significantly more time on housework and child care than men. On the other hand, time is a source, which could prove to be a potential source of inequality within households although this point has relatively been neglected in economics.

On the other hand, women of lower middle class families, whether employed or unemployed, do not have enough leisure time for themselves or for being entertained much. However, most of the women watch TV serials of Star Plus channels like: Z Bangla. Some watch Bengali movies but they can hardly finish the movies because of other obligations to family and work. Working women generally follow a tight schedule and even at leisure time, are busy with household work. In answer to the question related to their leisure activities, most of them refer to housework as a part of their work schedule: "***I do household work***". A housewife from a middle class household describes her activities in the following way:

"She has her own friend's circle and hangs around with them. She also has a face book account where she chats with friends and acquaintances. She feels that every woman should have her own space."

Farhana Rahman (33), a middle class housewife, admits:

“Only I know how difficult it is to maintain the everyday tight schedule which consists of only work and more work! No entertainment, no leisure, any time for my own!!! Nobody can understand this situation except the sufferer. I wake up very early in the mornings and go to bed at midnight. Would you believe that I get no rest in this period of time?” I have to do lots of work. I need to oversee every childcare activity. I feed my child, bath him, and make him sleep, dress him up and do much other related work. I am really fed up of work, work and work.”

In spite of this, she does not think her husband needs to share in the housework. According to Sajeeda Begum (37), a working woman from a lower middle class family:

Men get the minimum of one holiday in a week, but women have no holidays in their whole lives. They have to work more on holidays as they do all the pending housework on holidays; invite relatives and cook delicious food according to the likings of their children, husbands, and relatives.

3.6. Time Investment is different on Working days and on Holidays:

The meaning and utilization of time on working days, as opposed to weekdays, is different both for men and women. Most of the working women feel obligated to fulfill the duties they miss during their working days. They want to satisfy all their family members and try to cook special and favorite dishes for their family members. Sanzida (34), a working wife from a middle class family describes her holiday routine:

“I do all the pending housework on holidays; invite relatives, cook delicious food that my children and husband like.”

Mr. Nawaz (34), husband of Tanzila, who is a MBBS doctor, has a different point of view:

“Nawaz does weekly bazaar and bathes his elder son on holidays. He also goes out with his family on holidays, which he thinks of as a part of his household responsibilities and as something that also refreshes him. Besides, he does not get enough time to spend with his family on working days as he is busy achieving a higher degree in medical science.”

As a rule, women try to invest their time more on household activities during the holidays as if they have neglected the required duties during the five working

days. They appear to suffer from guilty feelings that their maids may not have managed the home well during their absence. Thus, they try to recover the vacuum she may have made. The time used for unpaid work between the middle class and the lower middle class social groups is different because of their work practices at home, their space order, refusal to engage in manual work, and control of the work done by other people. Most of the working mothers do use their weekends for rescheduling, catching up on some non-work related activities and non-childcare activities, which they do not finish during the working days. It is an understood fact that childcare is a common and regular task for mothers specifically. Men, on the other hand, look at weekends as leisure time and a much-deserved break from work. Mr. Farhad, representing the men's point of view, says:

“On holidays I take rest as I have to work throughout the week’.

Most of the men directly claim rest and enjoy the holidays in their own ways. “As if the wife was sleeping the whole week,” Momotaz Begum (27), a middle class housewife, complains reflecting the women's reaction to this attitude of the men. Although her husband also helps her at home, she has to do more work on holidays because everybody stays at home and they expect special menu and different types of ‘care’ on those days.

“It is not only the men who love to stay away from household duties, it is also the women who are responsible for giving men extra privileges by not allowing their services for the household.”

It is a most interesting scenario in our society that a large number of women do not expect or accept men's care work roles. Therefore, this freedom makes the space for men to continue with paid work only and contribute to the gender distinction.

On weekends, Nawaz (the doctor discussed earlier) does the weekly bazaar and bathes his elder son. He also goes out with the family on trips, which he looks at as an integral part of his household responsibilities. He confesses that it is really hard for his wife to maintain all household issues alone especially for one who has young children. He is not used to do housework because he does not get enough time to spend with the family, as he is busy trying to achieve higher degrees in medical sciences. Therefore, he concentrates more on doing things outside the home.

“Nahar, Nawaz's wife, states that her mother does a lot of the work and takes care of her children, which helps her to work in peace as she has no tensions for the family when she is in office. She has a maidservant, also, who does most of the housework under her mother's instructions. Nahar's husband is also helpful. He drops their children to school and follows up with their studies on holidays which Nahar thinks is of great help to her. “I have

already decided that after 1 year we'll have our baby and I will resign. It is not possible for me to manage office, family and a baby."

These findings suggest very small shifts in the division of labor between men and women in all households. Women's proportionate share of men's paid labor time is larger than men's proportionate share of women's unpaid care work in all the social classes. Consequently family needs produce a shift in the gendered pattern of time used by the paid labour force without changing the unpaid labour.

3.7. Unpaid care work: Unequal Reproductive Tax:

The overall analysis on gender differences show that the total amount of time women spend in paid and unpaid care work is greater than the amount of time men spend on working; which is deeply gendered between these two classes. Most of the women adjusted their paid work considering the content of family work. The split conceptual model of "*women who want to work*" and "*women who have to work*," simply does not fit the women's experiences in Bangladesh. The study further revealed that time investments are determined by household arrangements and habits which differ by social and economic class. Housework increases with the size of the household but appears to be different on the ratio between men and women. Family structure determines the different workload for women and men. In the case of joint families, women can substitute their workload with other members, which is not possible in a single-family structure. The number of children, their ages, number of family members and domestic workers roles shaped the household work. However, gender equality through education possesses a uniquely difficult problem as a lack of education is creating a back feed loop for this social class. Women's education has an impact on labor market participation without any connection with unpaid care work. However, the gap between women and men's household labor time is not associated with the level of education. It is clear that men even with less education levels are positively associated with paid work; while women's education is negatively associated with the level of unpaid care work. Thus, we can say that education can open the door for market competition, which can ensure women's position and status outside of home but not in the household. Therefore, the volume of work is not equal between these two social classes. According to their household arrangements, the middle class families' total work is decentralized among others; but, in lower middle class families, the work is mostly centralized. Middle class families maintain their family status by cleaning two times and cooking food three times a day; breakfast, lunch, dinner. Moreover, eating fresh food is one of their basic family requirements in middle class families.

Women who undertake unpaid care work tend to have a weaker position compared with those who spend less time on unpaid care work. The burden on working mothers with children is closely related to how much their total household income is. Purchase of care –doers is dependent on the levels of income where middle class families can easily compete with lower middle class

families. Employment of a domestic worker facilitates leisure activities and a better status of social life. On these grounds, the middle class families have the license to hire domestic workers. On the other hand, lower middle class families can't afford it. The home itself is a worksite where multiple interactions command the workday structure and the sense of control negotiated between both the employer and employee under the support of gender and class oppression.

The results of analysis of time spent on unpaid care work reinforce my interpretation that time constraints represent a significant influence on time use and time constraints are gender specific. It is clear that time constraints in the form of paid work and unpaid care work are the only factors affecting total leisure time, although age and gender are related variables of the type of leisure activities. These findings state that employed women are bearing the cost of doing the double day work, while having only one task benefits non-employed women. Full time employed women still seem to bear a disproportionate responsibility in all classes. Moreover, care work inequality is a form of mistreatment, which is experienced by women in relationship with men. But the interesting point is women, as well as men, legitimize men control over women's time and work participation in Bangladesh. For instance, socio-cultural construction of women's regular paid work is optional. Moreover, it is reversely justified only in times of economic need.

Comparing middle class working women's experience with gender gap during household time is lower than that in lower middle class working families. Children, on the other hand, increase both men and women's work. The dilemma arises for men in Bangladesh when they become fathers they need to maximize their economic potential. This context creates a different pattern of work-life balance preferences for fathers and mothers in our society. Women's employment does not lead to any substantial redistribution of domestic work between sexes although it may lead to a redistribution of tasks among available women. It is remarkable that husbands are only involved in these chores if there is any family crises like when the wife is sick, the domestic worker is absent, or there are any special occasions like marriage ceremony, eid. Most of the housewives suffer from home-related inequalities; whereas, employed women suffer from home and outside work related inequalities. Differences in income and social status have shown individual characteristics and managing power in household work. Socio-economic differences between middle class and lower middle class families determine their habits, access to opportunities, demands and investments.

3.8. Trends of time Investment in Unpaid Care work both in middle and lower middle classes in Dhaka city:

The study has revealed that the overall care work hours are not fixed, as there are two categories of work: regular work and irregular work. The study observed that women are not all equally obligated to do household work: some have to tackle the demands of a heavy work single-handedly; while others have to tackle only a

small family with the help of other relatives or servants in the household. Husband, wife and other family members have done the categorization of tasks in different ways in different social classes. The following categories appear to be important for measuring the time spent on housework by focusing on the fact that men and women typically perform different types of household chores. The study consistently indicates that husbands of employed wives do not contribute in more unpaid care work than the husbands of full-time housewives. As a result, employed women's workload, tension and struggle were considerably higher than that of the unemployed women in both social classes.

3.9. A Gendered Analysis of Care: a Silent Family Catastrophe:

In Bangladesh gendered perception towards work determined how time should be utilized and which activities will be distributed between men and women. Women are unconditionally expected to complete family work as well as family wellbeing. So the process of distribution of paid and unpaid care work is undemocratic and inequitable for women only. As a consequence some women are combining very long hours have paid work with caring responsibilities. Other women are free from heavy burden of family responsibilities. Through application of intersectionality lens we can see that there is a class dimension within the same class among women. Ultimately they are regarded as less creative agent in the society. In Bangladesh unpaid care work is assigned to women and it is never concerned whether women are involved in paid work or not. Certainly women's choices often affect their capabilities and destabilize their lives because their limited choices have damaged their capabilities. Therefore, most of the women employed or non-employed negotiate with unpaid care work rather than exercise their agency.

First, the fact that women earn how much income has no positive effect on men's unpaid care work hours. Women can only ignore their personal care, they either cannot or don't even try to use it to increase their husband's involvement in care work. They replace their time with purchased services or simply leave the work to simply go undone or unfinished. Secondly, women's earnings only work to reduce their care work when they are full time employee and belong to the social middle class. However, there are slim chances for part time workers to bargain against unequal family status. The issue, then, is not about choices between paid and unpaid work but rather about finding the suitable and applicable strategies between paid and unpaid work. The author finds that the existing socio-economic and cultural context is not conducive and enabling enough for women to function effectively. The class impact on classic patriarchy creates additional complications. The study shows that women have a double experience of inequality in paid and unpaid work sectors. However, the study finds that the employed women are suffering from dual vulnerabilities as mothers and workers or wives and workers. The study reveals a negative correlation between income and level of gender inequalities in unpaid care work.

The study argues that women's well being and agency are the corner stone for a new alternative development framework to engender the transformation of developing countries. So, the need and importance of recognizing and incorporating the various aspects of women's lives in formulation and implementation of policies should be focused ; a realistic equalizing public policy should be adopted towards reducing the of women's unpaid care work. The next chapter will discuss on how employed women balance their work and family obligations.

4

Care Versus Career: new dilemmas and ambiguous strategies of employed women between 'Ghar and Bahir':

The last chapter documents the gender patterns of unpaid care work, examines how unpaid care work interacts with paid work and how women and men are allocated time between paid and unpaid work. The chapter also highlights how the content of unpaid care work determines the unequal situation between men and women within a household. This chapter mainly examines the social and economic trends that strengthen the pressure on women, in playing their dual roles as care givers and income earners. This chapter is divided into two sections. The **first** section will try to find out the local perception towards work and non- work areas of the society as to how men and women internalize the conception of job and career; and, finally, this section will try to examine men and women's opinions about women's outside work or employment. The **second** section will investigate the challenges and realities of both the middle class and lower middle class working women in their efforts to balance their paid work and family obligations. This chapter will also discuss the intra-household situation of women drawing on motherhood and career framework as described earlier. The discussions on the dilemma regarding paid and unpaid work areas and women's situation within the household in this chapter are based on a combination of responses from the survey and in depth interviews with women respondents. Furthermore, response by women during their interviews will provide an insight into the intra-household ambiguous strategies adopted by employed women as well as constraints on their capability and agency to work.

4.1. New Discourse on Work; Housework: a Contextual Definition:

The following section elaborates on how work is perceived and how the questions of the dichotomy between work and non-work is constructed in Bangladesh. The analysis clearly states that the dilemma concerning paid and unpaid work starts from the way in which work is generally defined. Women in both classes have almost a common idea about work. By interviewing a number of women from across the social structure, I found that there is little difference or disagreement in the opinion of both the women and men as to their roles in society and the family because of the gender-based theory of society. The statements below from women of both class backgrounds show that the most. Ratna Khatun (40), a lower middle class housewife, states:

“Outside work is real work which brings money and social status. There is no way to count housework as work. Housework is non-professional work. Anyone can do housework. No qualifications or experience is needed here. Cooking, child rearing are common tasks for women in Bangladesh. It is accepted as women’s work. It looks odd if any man does housework and it is assumed that he will look like a woman doing it. Shami Jodi ghorer kaz kore ta ekta sreer jonno lozza chara ar kichu Na. (If a husband does household work, it is nothing but shameful for a wife).”

A lower middle class government officer clearly agrees:

“Household work is completely women’s responsibility. It is god-gifted and a natural talent. Women know how to do this work rather than the men. Housework is Meyely Kaz (Feminine work). We are perfect for the outside job, which is the men’s sphere. Although women are working outside, but you will see women can’t fulfill the market demands as well as men. Doing housework is women’s Kartayvva (Responsibility).”

The social conception of work is very much traditional among the lower middle class people. They clearly point out that work is something, which brings money and social identity and share the idea that housework is women’s work. Household work is the regular chores we do in a family according to Mohshena’s (lower middle class housewife) view. She claims that

Women and men both can do the unpaid care work very easily. There is nothing women can do specifically and men cannot. The problem is the society, which prohibits men to not share household work, and if anybody is sharing makes that person bound to stay away from those works by considering the work as “feminine work”.

Mr Rakib Ahmed, a banker from a lower middle class background, reciprocates:

*“How would you understand my problem? It is not easy to work outside.
“Ghore to aram ei thako*

This statement clearly points to the issue that doing unpaid care work at home means almost like taking a rest; where only outside work needs time and energy. They do not have any respect towards unpaid care work, as they do not count it as work; moreover, they do not give much importance to women’s right to freedom and individual agency. Mrs. Asma Khatun (32), a woman from the lower middle class group, who works in a medium level company, says that she is maintaining her triple role with a lot of effort. She thinks:

“Household work means cooking, cleaning, sewing, decorating, washing and so many other household related activities. Household work is really tough to ignore being a woman. Our patriarchal society’s traditional practice makes it only women’s work. Housework is always unpaid and it has no social recognition because it is based on relationships. Housework, therefore, does not need any special skills. It needs practice mostly. All women always have to be busy with household work no matter if they are employed or highly paid. Work means a paid job.

Nelufar Begum (39), a college principal from a middle class family, comments in the following ways:

“Outside work is actual work ... only outsourcing can give you recognition and individual identity. Housework is not a job. It does not need any skills, education or experience. Anyone can do housework but to do a job one needs qualifications. People do it for their families; it does not bring any social identity. Market work is very important to develop a person’s self as an effective human being who dares to exercise her voice.”

A homemaker from a middle class family, Mrs. Segufta Begam (45), states:

“For me housework means Sangsher dharma (Family duties). Women generally view dharma in a spiritual sense the original reason being if they forsake fulfilling the need of the families like food, their families would suffer; and, concurrently, they would also suffer themselves as they would feel guilty of neglecting their moral obligations as women.”

Mrs. Aleya Khatun (43), a banker from a middle class family, presents her views in the following way:

“I believe that both housework and market work are essential work. Housework means love for your family members; it has a different value. We cannot ignore our social values and it will be difficult to ignore, but I think a job is more important as it gives people a voice to exercise their

rights and also ensures the power and social status of a woman". In our society, housework is completely female work, and if any male tries to do any of it, he would appear like a woman and society will call them half lady.

Sadia, a Commercial Executive (30) comments:

She believes that women are not born with efficiency in housework. They learn it from the society. So it's also possible for men to do housework. However, women are mainly responsible for housework as men are responsible for earning. She thinks that women have picked household activities from culture and from social rules.

She also did not avail of the better job opportunities that she got because her husband wanted her to give their children more time. Thus, she always sacrificed her career and dreams for the happiness of her family. Mohsena a lower middle class housewife aged 25 states:

"It is not only the men who love to stay away from household duty, it is also the women who are responsible for giving men extra privilege by not allowing their service for household."

Hena Bari a lower middle class homemaker shared that her husband shops daily and loves to have fresh food. Everyday she has to clean fish and cannot store it in the refrigerator, as her husband does not like it. She says-

"Now I feel really tired of doing all the chores and my physic is not supporting me anymore but have to do the regular job. Women's destiny is destined to serve others and work for others. Hardly I get chance to relax and my husband never helps me. I know it is not men's duty to do household chores and I do not tell him to do anything, I just want that he understands my sickness and ability of work. If I do not feel well how can I work?"

Mrs. Rehana (45), a working woman from a middle class background, states:

Without housework all productive formal activities will vanish. It is the root and basic platform for human beings. Consciously, or unconsciously, women are doing this work and men are enjoying the fruits of this work without doing much to help. Women do not receive any appreciation for the work but if they make any mistakes while doing it, it does not take a second for men to blame them. For me it is an isolated journey for women. Housework is something, which makes us women machines rather than human beings. In our society after beauty of looks, every family wants that their brides should be good cooks.

Therefore, home-related activities determine the quality of any woman. All families want that a mother should be a good mother and that a wife should be a good cook.

Mrs Shamima Ara (40) a housewife from a middle class family, states:

In Bangladesh at the time of marriage, every mother in our society commonly gives the book, Radhuni (by Siddika Kabir) to her daughters to ensure a better-married life. Married life is believed to be happier and to sustain if the girl can sacrifice her choices, become a good cook, win over her in laws, make her own choices acceptable to the family members or give them up without thinking anything of it. A good mother is a good wife also.

The above fact reveals that intersection between religion and social class creates a situation that propagates dependency and the culture of silence. This interlocks women's life cycle within patriarchal perimeters. A maximum number of the middle class women think that unpaid care work is one type of *Karma*, which is interlocked with social values and dharma. Consequently, dharma would be at risk if any woman denies doing her designated work and duties. The above-mentioned statements confirm that most of the women and men believe that doing unpaid care work means value creation in family life, which is called family value. We see how intersection between patriarchy and religious beliefs unconsciously prepare women to subordinate their personal well being in a regular way which ultimately increase men's ability to make personal claims on household resources. Middle class participants consider outside work as real work while they don't deny the importance of unpaid care work. Their statements on this issue show that they give equal importance to both types of work. On the other hand, most of the lower middle class participants think outside work is real work because it earns money and social power. Consequently, for them outside work is more important than housework. The most interesting factor here is how the lower middle class women also fail to justify the value of unpaid care work; they cannot seem to realize that they are playing a vigorous role for their families. Most of the husbands think that housework is very simple to do and that doing housework is like taking rest at home. The discussion above underlines the negative ideas concerning the value of housework in comparison to outside work. Most husbands do not consider it as work. As a result, the devaluation of women's unpaid care work is evident here.

4.2. Local Lens towards Working and Non-Working Situations:

The above analysis on types of work and the subsequent impact on men and women's participation in them reveal that work images are socially constructed and socially distributed. In Bangladesh unpaid work is perceived to be synonymous to womanly work. Her skills displayed here are seen as a natural part of womanhood. The images of work reflect social locations that are associated with that particular type of work. In Bangladesh, a woman tends to specialize in

work that keeps her close to the Ghar or homestead. Most of the men as well as women also do not identify care work as real work. There is a common social belief by most of women and men that ‘*care work means women’s work*’, and that ‘*women should be the ones to do it*’. Most of the women do housework without asking any questions because they also believe that it is their work and by doing this work they want to create family value. About 97 % of the housewives from both the social classes were emphatic in their belief that, ‘they do not do anything. They are mere housewives’. Almost 99% of the husbands of housewives from both the social classes said, ‘she does not do anything’; my wife is a housewife’. It indicates that the so-called notion of ‘housewife’ is contradicting the definition of work and its value. The term housewife seem to refer to no connection with real work; no money means no value, and that women are responsible only of doing this kind of work because women do not have any extra values in society like men. The perception towards work and non-work is socially constructed and people are not ready to consider carework as work at all. So work is not only a source of self-esteem to the individual but also gives them a position in others’ eyes. Thus, unpaid care work remains largely as an activity in contrast to work. The social background has a moderate effect on perceptions of unpaid care work. Therefore, this social perception towards work has been deactivated in its estimate by state agencies like the Bureau of Statistics. Therefore, negative perception towards unpaid care work is making visible the space for policy makers and development thinkers not to count it as ‘work’. No money generated means ‘zero value’ for any activity, and women are only assigned to doing the zero valued, unpaid work. Consequently, women do not have any extra value in the society unlike men. Therefore, unpaid care work is embedded in feelings of family responsibility and commitment to others’ well-being which is also implanted in patriarchal structures that interrelate with the rest of the economy.

4.3. Discourse on Job Versus Career:

Most of the employed women in middle class and lower middle class sections of the society define job to mean ‘Professional work’. The definition of Job is almost the same in these two classes as they define a job as any outside work that earns money. A Job helps them to earn firstly and then it will ensure their active economic participation in the household. Rokeya Begum (38), an employed woman from the middle classes, states her opinion in the following way:

“Job is the first step to entering the market place and expressing oneself to large audiences. Career helps to understand a person’s best and his/her qualities to reach the top.”

Aleya Khatun (34), a homemaker from a middle class family, states her views in the following way:

Job means to do any work with limited commitments. Career is related to hard work, proper attention, and excellent performances to achieve such dreamt of positions, which mean a better position, power, high qualities, and a huge salary.

Mr. Zohurul Haque (49) a government officer from the lower middle class, states:

Dedication towards a job is the basic road to a career. Entering a job does not mean everything. The job is simply the first step to go ahead, but a career is different from just being the starting point; it means chances to prove to others a person's qualities and capabilities that how much he or she is capable to produce the best for the workplace.

Mrs. Farida Begum (35), a college teacher from a lower middle class background, comments:

Doing a job is easier than making a career. For her, a Career is like Toposha" because 'Anek Tappsher por career hoi', which is only possible for men because a woman has little time to really spend on working towards one goal.

The above definition indicates that people in this society believe that job is the starting point of a career. A career needs more commitment than doing a job does. In Bangladesh, a career is not seen as a compulsory option for women even among the middle and well-educated classes. A career is not limited to just having a job and earning some income, too. Career is ultimately connected with long-term experience.

4.4. Perceptions of Men and Women towards Women's Paid Work:

We identified all the statements in the interviewees about the issues with which men and women view women's employment. In Bangladesh, women require to rely on male protection and provision for everything. When they were asked what they valued about doing outside work, the majority of men and women replied differently. Therefore, a number of positive and negative arguments came out in response to our questions on this point.

4.4.1 Positive Arguments towards Women's Employment By Respondents from the Middle and Lower Middle Classes:

A few people in our society personally believe that women's outside jobs have positive dimensions for the family.

Mr. Naas, a businessman from the middle class, responds in this way:

My wife is a doctor. So, she should build up her career in this line. My wife has a social identity, which means that I have a strong social position as well. However, I still feel that first of all she should think about our children. I will not restrict her job duties. I feel proud for her because she is a BCS cadre. On the other hand, I think she will not be able to do FCPS because of our children. I do not think it is compulsory to achieve this degree because she does not need to be a career doctor. Moreover, women cannot manage homes properly if they become careerists. My wife is also not passionate about continuing with further qualifications on her job and is not too keen to become a renowned doctor.

Mrs. Ishmat Jahan (37), a workingwoman from the middle class, states:

One should do a job at least for evaluating one's level of education. Therefore, working outside enhances knowledge and it is also related to freedom and one's own identity. Women should know how to maintain both home and the workplace. She believes that paid work is the way to evaluate one's talent, education and to have some money for her own. It also increases social respect, dignity and work recognition.

Sayeeda (34), a workingwoman from the middle class, believes:

She has a strong voice in the family and every family member gives importance to her opinion because she both controls her household and makes economic contributions in the family. In her opinion, unemployed women have less power in the family than the workingwomen as they have no economic contribution to make in the family.

In middle class families, most of the husbands think that wives' outside jobs can increase their family status. On the other hand, husbands from lower middle class families think women's outside work can reduce their financial burden. The perspective about women working out of the house between these two classes is different. Their arguments show that women's jobs are situational. According to this point of view, it appears that family requirements influence the women's chances of being able to do a job. Mrs Sadia (33) a workingwoman from a lower middle class background, states her feelings in the following way:

She can acquire knowledge for going outside and she feels more comfortable at the workplace than at home. She enjoys her care activities but she does not like to spend a whole day on housework. A formal job, according to her, gives women freedom and self-confidence.

Mr. Alamgir, a working person from a lower middle class background, argues his case in the following way:

Earning by both husband and wife helps to have an economically solvent family. In his view, if women can manage somebody to look after the dependent children, they should do jobs; otherwise not. Every child needs a mother or someone reliable and affectionate. So, before going to work it is very necessary for women to ensure children's safety. According to him, women's work can create problems if there is nobody to look after the children in the absence of the mother. Everyone knows that women are discriminated against in the labor market and women's wages are lower than men's. It is not an accident. Women are forced to be grateful because they are tuned to some extent to work for no or little wages. On the other hand, employers also easily get the chance to keep women's wages low, as they know that there are countless women waiting for jobs.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the perception towards women's employment is not always negative. While middle class men consider women's employment as a means of social status, lower middle class men consider it as a source of income, which can ensure family welfare. But one thing is clear that women can't deny doing housework whether she is employed or non-employed. A more detailed reading of the results of the interviews we carried out with men show their attitude towards women's employment is often based on much more perceptive appreciation of women's household activities than expression of general approval of their professional ones.

4.4.2. Negative Arguments towards Women's Employment from Middle Class and Lower Middle Class Groups:

In the course of the research survey, the study also points out some negative issues towards women's employment. Men's attitude towards employed women is commonly traditional. Most of the men respondents commented that household work is women's primary responsibility. Mr. Shahed Rashedi (32), a private service holder from a middle class family (husband of a housewife), for instant, thinks:

Women should stay at home. It is not her duty to support the family financially. I am solvent. So I do not support my wife to do a job. The working environment outside is a not woman- friendly one; they can face problems from their male colleagues. Islamic law is that women are bound to maintain purdah. But working women is not obeying this dictate. Income earnings make women insincere to the family, she goes out of husband's control. As a result, family life becomes painful. So, I will never ever agree to my wife doing a job. Her main duty is to bring up our son.

Shilpi (32), a housewife from a middle class family, clearly comments about the importance of outside work in the following way:

I sometimes feel very disappointed at myself for not doing any job. I feel have no separate respectful position in this society. My identity is that I am a housewife. Why did I study? There is no value of my higher education. Earning gives women their own identity. On the other hand, it is also true that every mother should give her first priority to her children. I can give enough time to my kids and it really makes me happy.

Toiub Ullah (45), a husband from a middle class family, states his views in the following way:

Allahr rohmote amar emon din ashye nai je bou k diye taka Kamai (Earn) korabo.

Firdous Ara (32), an NGO worker from a lower middle class background, states:

My husband's income is not enough to maintain the standard of living in Dhaka city. I have to work hard because I also do all the household chores. But when I get my salary, I forget all the pain. My husband could afford to maintain our family but my income helps to have extra money in the family for which we can afford better housing and everything else more than before. Because of my earnings, we can now afford a modern flat. For this reason, I do a formal job.

The intersection of patriarchal values, traditional culture, and men's strong attachment with the labour markets, serve to reinforce women's dependence on men. Therefore, women's awareness of their roles is conditioned by the society. It is noted that most women do paid work not to address their own positions; but, because of social and family demands which are giving them the space to do jobs.

Jhorna Begum (38,) a housewife from a lower middle class family, states:

Children need both their parents' care, which is more essential than any job. There are many parents who go to work and their children are left to play on the streets. Their lives are always in danger.

Momotaj Begum (42), a housewife from a lower middle class family, states:

I have to look after my children and do housework, which takes a lot of time. So, if I do any job, who will look after my family? I believe that if I serve my mother-in-law I will get reward in the after-life. This is my responsibility as a daughter-in-law, why should I avoid it.

Therefore, most housewives think that housework is their designated work and they will get spiritual reward for doing this work. The opinion that they accept it as a part of their role in life is also emphasised in my research. Kinnori Rahman (45) a housewife states:

I am a full time housewife for my family. My husband works outside and I don't think that he will help me in the evenings. I don't have enough time to take up any jobs. I don't have any future, my children are my future. Is there any job opportunity, which I can do from home?

It is observed through the research findings that a group of women are doing housework to fulfill their family's needs. They seem not to realize that they can also do jobs in order to address their self-identity. As they are doing jobs to fulfill their household or family requirements, they are not too choosy about the type and background of these jobs. Moreover, most of the women don't have their own requirements as such. Mr Mahboob (37), a doctor from the middle classes, states in favour of the facts:

He believes that when both husband and wife earn, it helps to make the family economically solvent. In his view, if women can manage somebody to look after children, they should then take up jobs; otherwise, they should not. Every child needs the mother or someone reliable and affectionate to care for him. So, before going out to work, it is very necessary for women to ensure children's safety and care. According to him, women's outside work can create problems if there is nobody to look after and take care children in the absence of the mother.

Shammi Rahman (43), a housewife from a lower middle class family, expresses her views in the following way:

Women who have little kids should not do any outside jobs because children need their mother during their early ages. Working women may have some sort of independence, such as being able to spend her own earned money when and how they wish to do so, but their position in their family is the same as that of housewives.

Workingwomen do not have extra facilities than housewives who are without their own earned money. Md Rezaul Karim (50), a businessman from the middle class states :

Initially, I always encouraged my wife to do a job and earn so that she could stand on her feet and become self-dependent. Now, she is working for a long duration. But I feel her loyalty towards me and the family is gradually decreasing. I believe a woman cannot take the place of a man. Policy makers are trying to ensure equality between the genders while biologically they are unequal.

Monirul Islam (50), an officer from the middle class, states:

Je romony radhe se chulyo badhe. (A woman who cooks can also tie her hair; in other words, a woman can do all kinds of tasks whether big or

small). If she is interested to work outside, she should know how she could manage her work. Actually, a man cannot do the housework as he has never done it before. There is a firm perception in our society that men cannot do housework. There is also an Islamic belief that men should be involved in outside work only. Since I earn, I would not like my wife to go out to work.

In many cases, working outside the home is viewed as disregarding men's traditional authority. These men do not want their wives to be fully independent. Dependence on men constructed hegemony masculine power and patriarchy. Some other husbands feel that an earning wife would pose a threat to their identity as providers. When men try to control women, they manipulate religious laws and deter their wives from active participation of doing any jobs in a proper way. If we compare between these two standpoints, we can recognize that justification towards women's employment is weaker than the justification of women as care workers. The belief that unpaid care work is basically women's work is an undeniable fact for most of the women I met and encountered the feeling that they didn't often feel they declare that they either liked or disliked this fact. They fear that expressing their opinion on this might even end their marriages. In Bangali culture people generally cannot accept the idea of divorce. Men's strongly believe that women should be more responsible towards their family responsibilities. In a few cases, husbands also determine selecting or rejecting jobs where they act as benevolent dictators. Most of the husbands carry out their roles as watchdogs. A woman's self-perception also leads to acceptance of male authority. This traditional norm has been passed down from generation to generation in eastern societies, and tends to influence marital relationships.

4.5. Multiple Boundaries between Paid and Un-Paid Work in Middle and Lower Middle Class Families:

The following section will provide detailed descriptions of how employed women both cope and fail to cope with demands of work and unpaid care work. Therefore, men's relative freedom from household labor gives them more access to employment while women's household labor responsibilities limit their paid work opportunities. Although the traditional notion about women's paid employment has been changed in Bangladesh, people have begun to accept the idea of women working at outside jobs. However, some families still continue to put household labor as the first priority and a morally prior responsibility for women. If women wish to begin their paid work, it means ideologically they want extra jobs and they have to willingly undertake this double burden of household and professional work. Therefore women who '*actually want to work outside*', women who '*have to work outside*' and '*women who choose to stay home*' are pitted against one another rather than against the social arrangements that make the double day condition in all women's employment. Boundaries between home and work are rigid and socially sanctioned and most of the women are maintaining these boundaries silently. Society expects women to bear these

routines. Therefore, women meet their responsibilities by employing a range of activities and multiple strategies. Indeed, the analysis shows some common constraints in middle class and in lower middle class families with respect to undertaking paid work and unpaid care work.

4.5.1. Keeping Reproductive Role Functional Is Their First Challenge: Invisible Social Constitution:

The role of care giving is central to the relationship among paid, unpaid work and community work. Most of the employed women face triple burdens while managing the unpaid care work and need to perform each role perfectly. By taking up employment, women challenge the traditional division of labor by gender. The pressure that women face in balancing job and family obligations is the most significant barrier in women's attempt to advancement. This is particularly true when women's performance in care work is considered on the grounds of her being a: "*good mother and a good wife*". A working woman, Shapna (38), from the middle class household, echoes these sentiments in the following way:

My husband is demanding and emotional in nature. I don't get free time at home to sit beside my husband, which he earnestly wants. If I have extracurricular work at office like training or any workshop, he would think that I am going for recreation and always discourage me from going. He will not realize my actual situation and never compromise.

In addition, employed women are confined not only with the household roles but also with outside work pressure and children's responsibilities.

According to Tabassum, a nurse who belongs to a lower middle class family, who states in the following way:

My husband can work in peace because he knows that his shirts will be washed and ironed, food will be served in time, and his shoes will be cleaned. But I am always worried because I have to manage all these things myself in spite of my hectic session at work."

Alea Begum (29), a senior teacher from the lower middle class, also shares her opinion regarding this point of view:

I know about the importance of women's career development, but household work is also my responsibility. I have to manage both the work. However, I cannot develop my career by ignoring my household responsibility. What will people say... that I am a selfish person?

The study shows that in both classes only women have to compromise a lot to maintain both family and social duties. The overall picture is that the large

number of employed women with children is sacrificing their leisure and free time because of their professional duties. This is because women are not able to choose preferred time slots because of the differences between the actual and desired paid work schedule. Moreover, workingwomen argue that despite their monetary contributions to the family, they are still expected to be obedientwife to their husbands. Division of work means division of application of capacity. While men are free to work in one sphere only and that is public work, women have to hold down two jobs. For women, work and home are two distinct domains where a diffused culture integrates these two domains. Most of the middle class women ideologically consider that care work and paid work are both important so they do not want to ignore any one. On the other hand, lower middle class women inherited the traditional notion of unpaid care work so they cannot ignore the unpaid care work. The logic between *don't want to ignore* and *cannot ignore* are the equitation of their daily life. In addition, the sudden sequenceof married employed women into the paid work runs against traditional thinking that women must choose between family and career. On the other hand, even today women are restrained by parameters placed around them by domestic responsibilities, which, on the whole, do not affect men. Middle class men and women have the same value for doing social work and family work. Most of the women consider that the social norms are creating the differences, and though it is not mentioned anywhere that women will do care work and men will do outside jobs, the invisible boundaries are setting the roles in the family. Consequently, women do care work because they have realized that both types of work have the same importance in family life. These parameters are both real in terms of types of workthought to be suitable for women.

4.5.2. Motherhood is the Speed Breaker of Employed Women; Outside Work Makes Irresponsible Mothers:

The study confirms that middle and lower middle class women are commonly facing the motherhood crisis while balancing work and home. It is well analyzed that motherhood is an unavoidable responsibility of the woman and her means of self-actualization. It is believed that a woman cannot be completely developed as a social being if she does not become a *good mother*, and this is the central logic of every woman's life in Bangladesh. Pregnancy and motherhood are two important factors that are inevitable in women's life but these are also a kind of drawback for women's career. Workingwomenappear to have changed the image of good mothers from one who stays at home to one who also takes on the extra burden of an outside profession for her family's benefit. Therefore,before joining any job women are supposed to justify whether that job fits with her role and responsibility or not².

Shaheda (35),a middle class family woman says:

²Anne Marrie Slaouter (2012) discusses the difficulty many women face in trying to juggle a career with the demands of marriage or motherhood.

After her two miscarriages, she again conceived and at this point her husband made her leave her job as she was not physically fit to do so.

Motherhood appears to be the only weak point on the success of women's career. In fact, there is no doubt that having children does pose additional challenges for a woman. A large group of women leave the job for nurturing their children. The dominant discourse of the ideal mother as exclusively bound to the home is soon becoming a thing of the past as more women join the work force. Goldin focuses on motherhood as the obstacle that has held women back (1988). Consequently, mothers tend to work at part-time jobs.

Mrs. Rehana, a lawyer, says that this could have an effect on the children:

When I used to work longer hours, the maid servant take care of my son who is five years old and when I returned home my son would shout, 'what did you come home for? Go back to your job!'

Most of the employed women feel that due to their job their children are not getting proper care and that they are responsible for this uncomfortable situation. They feel their children are deprived of quality time and quality care because of the mother's absence. They suffer from guilty feelings and indirectly hold themselves as irresponsible mothers.³ Consequently, self-blame is another dimension to the character of the employed mother. The younger the children, the stronger these effects are. Women without children thus have the weakest boundaries between paid work and care-work. Referring to such problems of working mothers, a working woman states:

'Women were born to be mothers; that is the law of their life'. I used to reach office late everyday. Within one month, my office management's impression about me became negative. For example, I gave lame excuses on an everyday basis about my late attendance. It was not their fault. I am continuing my job still but I have already proved that I am not capable like my male colleagues in my responsibilities.

As a mother and a caregiver, women appear to be struggling with newly constituted, calculative responsibilities, most of the mother's feel that they have miscalculated their ability to deal with their two lives at home and work. Moreover, leaving children in the hands of a maid makes them more scared; but on the other hand, they have no other option than to either leave children with the maid or leave the job. Motherhood is seen, as a means to allowing women not to compete with the workplace hierarchies. Motherhood is, thereby, represented as reorienting women to the hierarchies of the labor market. Farhana Islam (37),a

³Reserachers have documented that children are more likely spend time without parental supervision eraly ages which may in turn harm the children's performance and increase their risky behaviour (Heinrich, 2014:124).

banker who belongs to the lower middle class social group, explains the issue in the following way:

I am not satisfied with my working life, as I cannot look after and feed my child properly. Everyday, I want to quit my job because job is not giving me fullfledge freedom. I am feel pressure, obligations and guilty when I feel that the emotional bonding between me and my daughter is becoming weaker day by day.”

Most of the working women are suffering from dissatisfaction as they feel they are not taking care of their children like the housewives. These women feel that they are not fulfilling their proper responsibility as ‘mothers’.⁴ Motherhood is often considered a universal experience and becoming a mother is a momentous experience everywhere both socially and culturally. So, becoming a mother is always more than a mere biological event. It is thus observed that employed women cannot have sound sleep, and psychological pressures make them unable to do proper work at home and outside. Some women leave their children to their in-laws, but they are also tense at the same time about the children’s proper diet and security. One lower middle class working mother narrates her experience as:

My daughter is 13 years old. She is a teenage girl. Our para (area) is not well secured. During my office time, my daughter comes from school and stays home without us for almost three hours. I cannot concentrate in my office work properly. My quality of work and mental energy are declining day by day.

As the female child grows up, mothers are more scared of their security as fathers will never take the responsibility of this and will accuse them for any occurrences that might take place in such situations. Therefore, the mothers of girl children are always under the threat of her designated responsibilities to also protect her. One middle class employed woman states:

I was able to join a new job ten years ago after trying for one for a long time; however, when I became pregnant my husband and mother-in-law forced me to resign from my job. I didn’t have any say in that.

But no one was ready to understand her problem. She was sacrificing everything and trying to stomach all the criticism without uttering a single word. She says:

Working women’s children are dependent on their servants; they learn their behavior and language from the servants, which might affect the kid’s proper development. In that case, women should sacrifice their jobs. There

⁴Social science and medical research show that children who are nurtured by their biological parents enjoy better physical cognitive and emotional outcomes on average than children who are raised in other circumstances (David, 2015: 12).

is nothing more important than a child. Nobody can take enough care of a child like the mother. I also sacrificed bank job and selected the teaching profession as it is suitable for taking good care of children and has flexible timings. "I am not happy at all. I have lost my spirit and enthusiasm. Mental pressure has more impact than even physical torture. I am destroying myself day by day and I think I will die soon".

The above narrative strongly supports the fact that a mother wants to care of her children full time. She feels very sorry when she leaves her child at home in the care of others and it is commonly expected that the servant will take care of them. Servant crisis is another problem in Dhaka city. Even if servants are available, the danger is that a child's basic education is affected in quality as the uneducated servants replace the educated mother in guiding and mentoring the child. At the same time most of the husbands want proper care from her, looking after the children and all other needs of the family. However, the wife does not complain against her husband for not doing or sharing with any of the household work.

Woman means housework. If you want to describe any woman's identity, society will measure her quality and ability as a mother and a wife first, and not as a professional person.

It is hard for women to simultaneously carry out two apparently opposing moral duties of being both a good mother and a good worker in the labor market. This means the women accept parallel rules of behavior and social control. Such barriers include the lack of opportunities for women to present their potentiality in their paid jobs; therefore, reducing their influence and positive commitments towards their job. Sayeeda Khanam (50), a working lady from a middle class family, states her views in this way:

I did not accept any better offers; I rejected better jobs one after another because my husband wanted to have more babies. Thus, I sacrificed my career and dreams for my family's happiness.

Mrs. Ratna (35) a working woman from the lower middle class, states:

I have two children. My son is 11 years old and very naughty. Once when I was in my office I got a call from the school that he was injured during the games period. It made an impact on my work quite significantly. I had to face these types of problems three or four times and I lost my job. It undermined my confidence in myself as a parent as well as a worker. I was extremely depressed. I was in a dilemma, if I continued to work I was selfish, irresponsible, and a careless mother; and, if I stayed home, I would feel insecure for my future.

Women's childbearing abilities and responsibilities helped the legitimate claim on women's exclusion from certain kinds of employment in the labour

market. Therefore, we can claim through this study that gender-neutral work entitlements will not be transformed into gender-neutral parenting arrangements. The role scripts are embedded in the notions of motherhood. Motherhood is a unique role or responsibility where children are the reflection of the parent's self-identity. Motherhood is, thus, working as a speed breaker for career development as well. Most of the employed women go through tense moments for the child and believe that for this they are concentrating less on their jobs. Childcare takes different forms; only one partner holds the driving license (Craig, 2006). Most of the time, the responsibility of children rests specially on the women. The experience of mothering very young children is different from the mothering of older children. Many observers judged and criticized about working mothers as selfish, unnatural and even dangerous to their children and society (Wilson, 2006). According to some respondents, outside work automatically makes women irresponsible mothers. Most of the working mothers feel that as good mothers they should give fulltime to their children, also. On the other hand, as good citizens and to make a fulfilled personal life for their families, they should do jobs. However, the question arises on how can they work full time on two objectives? If they give priority to employment their children will not get the attention and care they require. As women and mothers, they have certain obligations to their families; and as citizens, they have some other type of obligations. This complex burden of responsibilities and obligations is apparent too in their experiences. Taking time to examine this issue from the women's point of view, it is seen that the complexity of their duties not only reveal their personal dignity but also structural inadequacies. The meaning of unpaid care care for mothers in particularly self-sacrificing terms which oblige mothers to engage in care work in accordance with dominant norms and pay less attention to professional work (Wilson, 2006).

4.5.3. Time Crisis is a Common Boundary; Intersection of Paid and Unpaid Time:

It is well documented that gender inequality continues to be a ultimate result of gendered time allocations. Most of the employed women are struggling to find out time to combine between paid and unpaid care work. Unpaid care work, as well as civic responsibility, both requires additional time commitments. This study focuses on the fact that women's paid work hours are negatively associated with their care work time. The caring work is often cyclical; while, the working time is linear. In summary, balancing paid work and unpaid work is clearly more challenging for employed mothers than for non-mothers. Middle class women are able to afford and hire paid domestic labor. They redistribute household chores to these members. This enables them to spend more time on their diverse income generating activities. The women are able to reduce the hours they spend on unpaid and low paid work, and to increase the hours of paid work. The women's working day is more productive compared with lower class women. Compared with middle class women, lower middle class employed women wake up early in

the morning and go to sleep late at night. One of the employed women Mrs Ratna Begam (31) from the middle class states:

Women's work is never done" Invisibility adds to the oppressiveness of this endless work.

It is clear that women's intra-household strategies are enhanced to cope with the extra household work. Class differences increase and decrease the cost of life. According to Sen (1993), well being in terms of valuable capabilities that determine a person's real opportunities to lead a life that a person finds meaningful and valuable. The study shows that unpaid care work time is promoting clear barriers to get real access to other things and real life opportunities for women in both classes.

4.5.4. Type of Work, Work Timings and Distance of the Working Place Are Common Topics of Family Objection

Job location is a countable part of the objections raised against women for working outside.

Distance of the job location is also a matter of concern for every employed woman in both social classes. Most of the families in this society do not support women going for long distance jobs. It creates another major obstacle for women to develop their career at working place just like men because they have to choose short distances for any jobs like 20 to 30 minutes' journey. In case of any family crisis, she can come home and solve the problem quickly. Adore Begum (39), states her opinion on this perspective in the following way:

I had to select primary school teaching job instead of one at multinational companies because of my children's complains. They are missing me a lot, especially my 5- year old son. He always wants to stay next to me. That's why I cannot think for a high profiled job, which demands long hours and an office, which is at a distance. Now, my family's happy because my school is not so far from my home.

It's very clear, then, that such jobs make employed women unable to serve their homes and family properly, so they have to select short distance jobs. Sometimes they cannot even attend one day's official training because they have to stay at the location and their families are happy. Short distances make them happy that it does not create barriers to attending to and serving the family. Asma Khatun (29), a schoolteacher from a lower middle class family, shares her opinion in the following way:

I am so fortunate because the distance of my office from my home is not so far. It is so helpful for me to continue my job. Every day before going to

my office, I have to prepare breakfast for everyone and I take care of my daughter's schooling. Being closer to home is a big help to me.

Types of Jobs are Another Bargaining Issue for a Family; Teaching is a Perfect Profession for Women:

What kind of jobs is suitable for women that also fulfill part of their obligation to the family? Most husbands like to see their wives take up jobs, which are less competitive, of short time duration, or local organizations. Thus, most of the women must search jobs that meet with these requirements so that they will be ready to provide their regular family service and may not feel any extra pressure from the job. It is quite visible that husbands from most of the families from middle and lower middle classes have a clear objection to the selection of jobs for women. Most of the families prefer that women should select teaching professions or any other job, which is flexible for women to deal with their two responsibilities.

Tension is a Common Word; Heavy Psychological Pressure:

Psychological pressure is one of the most important obstacles for working class women in both classes. They have to face unquestionable problem regarding psychological torture of husbands and other family members. Rukshana Begum, a working woman from a lower middle class background, expresses her opinion in the following way:

Sometimes my husband complains that I am not cooking as perfectly as I did on previous time which make problems for him to eat properly; he also says that I need to give more care to my children's food; otherwise, they will get sick.

On the other hand, some women are known to have faced psychological problems because of the stress of dealing with children, family and office work. She could, therefore, not give required concentration towards her office work and family responsibilities. Asma Khatun, a working mother, stated her opinion:

Most of the time I am facing the problem of time shortage to maintain, manage and finish all the work at home and office. Sometimes I feel that I cannot give proper time to my house and also to my children. I feel that I

am a bad mother to my five- yearold daughter, but I have to manage all the responsibilities. I am trying my best to give both my home and office proper time.

The working mother has to convince her family members as well herself that she is working not just for her own development but also for the welfare of the family. First, in order to accommodate care work, most of the employed women take additional time off from work by being allowed to arrive late, leave early or may even not be able to take on any additional responsibilities. The second thing is that the role of caregivers may promote women to hunt for part time jobs or give up work entirely. Last but not the least, family demands discourage women from re-entering the labor force, if any family needs her. Therefore, we can say that in Bangladesh middle class and lower middle class women are more obligated to unpaid care work rather than the paid work. The analysis identifies continuities between contemporary discourses around employment for the middle class and lower middle class. The paid and unpaid boundaries indicate how rights and responsibilities are negotiated, dependent on the context of situational constraints and opportunities. The study shows women as facing two types of constraints in their paid and unpaid work spheres that include the normative and structural types. The crossing of boundaries is indeed multifaceted, and still unfolding.

4.6. Application of Intra-Household Strategies to Negotiate the Boundaries between Paid and Unpaid work:

Despite facing many dilemmas, women are still managing to care work and also continue their jobs. Women feel that a job is really important to get self- voice. Though lower middle class women do not earn enough money, they still feel that they are self-reliant. For this, they want to continue the jobs and try to manage the burden of two jobs at any cost. The focus is on how employed women in both classes negotiate their respective work–life balance strategies. Although work–life balance is often considered from a *female perspective*, this is no less *an issue for men*. Women are ultimately bearing personally the costs of their household and social responsibilities. Although employed women from the lower middle and middle classes are facing the above common problems but sometimes they apply different strategies for balancing family and work responsibilities.

4.6.1. Motherhood Deficiency Versus Care Crisis; Shifting from Biological Mother to Non-Biological Mother:

As an employed mother, the first obstacle she faces is to take care of her children as a mother. Care deficit means deprivation, which reinforces inequality between a child who is getting absolute care and one who is not. Time use survey shows this imbalance between the two classes. Consequently, employed women of lower middle and middle classes apply different strategies to continue their outside job even when they become mothers:

Middle Class Employed Family Strategy:

The majority of middle class employed women and educated mothers utilize paid child care, governess or experienced ayahs whose monthly salary is almost 4000 to 5000 takas; or sometimes they take help of Day Care Centers. They have economic capability to hire domestic help, in particular, during their absence; these women act as surrogate mothers to the children of the households while the mothers are away. Although children remain in their homes, they experience the replacement of their mothers by trained substitute mothers, who are capable of taking on the responsibility of food preparation and child care and try to guide the children during the absence of their mothers. Middle class women can afford to pay for hired help, which helps to reduce the time they spend on domestic chores, and release them to spend more time on their income generating activities. These children have the opportunity to acquire good habits but staying in an artificial environment within their home. Although dependency on maid is a problem as women are always in tension about the safety and security of the family members and quality of carework and childcare. Most of the women say that employment is costly for children as well as the mother.

Sabrina Akther (42) says:

Workingwomen's children are mostly dependent on servants; they learn behavior from servants, which hamper kid's proper growth and development. In that case, women should sacrifice their jobs, as there is nothing more important than their child. Nobody can take enough care of a child like the mother.

In the middle class, employed women are presumably more capable of buying care time at home than the lower middle class employed women are. So, they are either for hired care givers in order to work or add to the economics of the family budget, or against it because of the effect on their children and home.

Lower Middle Class Family Strategy:

Lower middle class employed women with low education and lower incomes cannot easily afford to buy care service from outside. This financial compulsion is imposed on the mothers badly. Lower middle class working mothers leave their children at home, uncared for and unattended. They are primarily dependent on relatives or neighbors to look after children at free of cost. The study shows that most the children of this group pick up many bad habits due to the prolonged absence of their mothers from home during the day. Sometimes these children may eventually stop going to school and instead spend the day roaming around aimlessly. Some of these children are neglected, ignored, stuck in front of the TV. There are instances of these children doing badly in the exams since there is no one to take care of the child's academic activities. Sometimes they can get involved in antisocial activities. It is difficult for lower middle class people to get

access to fee based private childcare facilities, so they have to resort to less professionalcommunity services.

Different strategies	Middle class families	Lower middle class families
Dependent on Governance/ Servants	85%	25%
Dependent on relatives	5%	35%
Dependent on day care center	5%	0%
Dependent on elder daughter	4%	25%
Dependent on neighbors	1%	15%

Table 18: Multiple Child Care Strategies for the Middle Class and Lower Middle Class Households:

Most of the workingwomen say that employment is costly on the children. They feel guilty over not spending quality time with their children. It is clear that employed women of both classes get the sense of economic independence; but, they are in the worst condition for dealing with their children in comparison to the non- employed mothers. Due to outside work, most of the women cannot give proper time to their children and somehow they are dependent on others like mother in law, sister in law, governesses, servants, etc. With the system of joint families dying out and servants being scarce, the problem is becoming more difficult. While the middle class women can afford to keep helping hands due to their additional income, it's a big challenge for the lower middle class women to do so. Therefore, on these grounds, lower middle class employed women are more vulnerable than the middle class employed women. In this circumstance, we can say employed women are more vulnerable than non-employed women in both classes. So, a woman's choice between motherhood and employment is actually socially designed. Women's mothering identity and working identity simply clash with each other. Motherhood means passivity and absence, while work is activity and presence. As such, motherhood has got a negative effect on women's career prospects but an enhancing effect on men's income opportunities. The study reveals that middle class employed women have more access to overcoming this problem rather than the lower middle class women. Though the ability to provide children with care givers is a required necessity, care given by maids is considered to be care given by strangers. On the other hand, as more women are employed, care work moves from informal to formal sectors. Changing attitudes has resulted increasing demand for formal care services, which has, in turn, help create means for women to get into the field of professional work and contribute to family resources. .

4.6.2. Lowered Fertility Rate:

Increasing women's participation in the labor market has drastically lowered women's fertility rates in both the social classes. Employed women from both the selected social classes realize this fact in almost the same way. With longer lifespan and two children increasingly the norm, many women are spending a shorter period of their lives raising children; and, thus, have more available time for other endeavors. Consequently, women may have left the employed life to care for young children may have delayed them from getting to the top position. In lower middle classes, the family members have also started to realize that children mean extra expenditure and extra time. So, in both classes they are aware of the benefits of producing a lesser number of children. A working housewife from a lower middle class family, states:

I do not have any interest to have another child; one child already has given me enough experience. After the birth of my daughter, I fail to realize the passage of the day and night in my life, as I do not even have the time to feel the passing hours.

The study shows that women who leave the workforce to have children tend to re-enter the workforce when their children are grown-up. Lower middle class families are more concerned not to take more than one child than the middle class families since it benefits the family economically and allow the women to work.

4.6.3. Accepting no Leisure, no Holidays:

Women do not have holidays. Most of the men get the minimum one-day off in a week, but women have no holidays in their whole lives. In fact, employed women make extra preparations for doing more work on holidays.

Middle Class Employed Family Strategy:

Having a maid ensures a bit of leisure time for middle class employed women; but, lower middle class women are hardly fortunate enough to take such an advantage. Spare time is greater on weekends than during the weekdays because there are no labor market obligations. Most of the working women feel obligated to fulfill the vacuum she creates with her absence during the working days on week-ends. She wants to satisfy all her family members. She tries to cook special and favorite dishes for her family members. Sanzida (34), a schoolteacher from the middle classes says that:

I do all the pending housework on holidays; I invite relatives, cook delicious food that my children and husband like.

Mr. Farhad says:

On holidays I take rest, as I have to work throughout the weekdays. {As if, his still slogging wife was sleeping the whole week.}

Lower Middle Class Family Strategy:

Lower middle class employed women have to work more on holidays. For them there is no difference between working and weekend days. They need to do all the pending housework on holidays and have to invite relatives and cook food, which their children, husband, and relatives like. They do not get time to take exercise or visit relatives' houses, as most of them have no maids. Therefore, everyone has a weekend except the employed women. Therefore, it is an employed woman who has to work 7 days in a week and who has no Fridays. Respondents say that weekends means more work for them. Shaila (27), a bank officer, states her point of view in the following way:

On working days, I do all the work and never get any rest. Really, there is no way to get rest even on holidays. On these days, I have to work more than other days. My children and husband want to have special food on weekends. I have to clean the house more thoroughly, and do all the pending work. I never can think about rest or entertainment. Nobody tells me to enjoy my holidays or take rest. When these women were questioned about what they do at leisure time, they replied, "We do household work".

During the holidays, women try to invest their time more in household activities as if they made mistakes all through the working days and neglected the house. They suffer from guilty feelings that their family is not well-managed when they are absent. Thus, they try to recover the gap they think they left by being absent on working days. Most of the employed mothers did say they use their weekends, for rescheduling, catching up on the weekends on some of the non-work and non-childcare activities which they did not finish during the working days.

4.6.4. Replacement of Workload Through Modern Technology:

Household technology can reduce the loss of time and energy. Technological support can give women minimum space to withdraw herself from nonstop activities. Electronic refrigerators, washing machines, and microwaves are now the necessary tools of housework. Replacement of traditional equipments can make women free from heavy burden.

Middle Class Family Strategy:

Most of the middle class families invest in domestic electronic equipment to save their own time and energy. Moreover, middle class families can buy these types of electronic equipment to get the housework done. All of these machines mainly reduce the physical demands of housework in all households. This means that these women have a choice of planning strategies to do the housework easily and

effectively. On the contrary, lower middle class family women cannot facilitate their lives like the middle class family women. Most of the middle class employed women are trying to challenge the traditional boundaries inherent in Bangladeshi society silently. Most the middle class employed women have personal car. This may help them to enjoy mobility without any constraints.

Lower Middle Class Family Strategy:

Lower middle class women reflect the problem that taking technological support is a financial obligation for them. Most of the lower middle class employed women use access to public transport, which are not women friendly, and usually under heavy rush, which hamper their office time. However, their access to household technology is minimal because of financial constraints.

Kobita (37), a nurse from a lower middle class background, states:

12 years have already passed but I still could not manage even to buy one big refrigerator. During the Eid festival, we can think of buying something by using our bonus money.

Differences in life's opportunities are shaping different kinds of atmosphere for employed women from both classes. A higher income rate is making a significant platform for middle class employed women to balance work and family life more than the lower middle class ones.

4.6.5. Joint Family to Single Family: Lack of Social Interaction:

Time spent in social interaction is substantially higher in middle class families than in lower middle class families. The reduction of the family size is probably partly due to economic difficulties, consequently, the nuclear family with its small family of only the parents and children is becoming the model of the society. Most of the families (middle and lower middle class) now prefer nuclear families in order to be more solvent. So both classes prefer single family equally.

4.6.6. From Traditional Bazaars to Department Stores and Online Shopping: Differences in Time investment.

In the context of Bangladesh, most of the middle class families adjust to social requirements by purchasing goods and housework services and outsourcing domestic tasks. The capacity and interest to buy meals from restaurants or from the supermarket require less time to prepare food, ultimately reduces the burden of familywork. However, this market opportunity is only feasible for those who have money. Therefore middle class families are more privileged group than lower middle class households for bearing access to resources.

Middle Class Family Strategy:

The current trend of household shopping has shifted from the traditional bazaars to the departmental stores where a variety of products are available; prices are fixed which reduces extra time spent in bargaining. Most of the middle class families are used to going to the department stores like Agora, Meena bazaar, Nandan, and so on for shopping. Consequently, middle class family members can save some time and reduce problems because they can bear the prices to purchase food, readymade products from such department stores or super market. On the other hand online shopping is a relatively new trend in Bangladesh, which has free shipping offers for consumers. Moreover, online shopping system is convenient for people because it saves time and energy, transportation hassles, the respondents find online shopping a convenient option for time saving. However, the Internet infrastructure and socio economic conditions of Bangladesh do not allow this access to all classes. Many of the people, mainly from the middle class backgrounds, whom we spoke to admitted to making use of these modern facilities, which works for working couples specifically.

Lower Middle Class Family Strategy:

On the other hand, lower middle-class families go mostly to the traditional bazaars to buy necessary household products; and, even though, bargaining for affordable prices takes more time, it reduces some amount of money spent which works very well for them.

4.6.7. Shifting Tastes from Fresh Food to Frozen Food:

Middle Class Family Strategy: There has been a steady decline in the amount of time middle class families spend on cooking and dish washing. However, the evidence shows that this change is not due to only using labor saving devices in the kitchen or getting help from the domestic servants but they can buy food or go to restaurants for their dinner or lunch. In dual- earner middle class households, compensated care work by buying services -including ready-made food, restaurants meals. As noted, this shift is added value for the GDP in the accounts as economic growth but not for unpaid care work. The study addresses the reality that household appliances have provided the minimum ease and change to the monotony and repetition of regular home tasks. Many of the people we spoke to confessed to thinking and doing the same.

Lower Middle Class Family Strategy:

Most of the lower middle class employed women have limited budget for monthly expenditure; therefore, buying frozen or junk food is really claimed an extra expenses in the case that they mainly cook twice or once a day. So, these people have shifted their habits from taking fresh food to non-fresh food. For the sake of time, they are negotiating with quality in care work to flexibility of time in office work.

4.6.8. Changing Household Infrastructure; from ‘Individual Houses to Apartments:

To cope with a modern competitive life, both middle class and lower middle class families are willing to reduce their family members. Thus, the types of household and infrastructure are changing day by day in both classes. The decline of the large joint family houses and the rise of compact modern apartment buildings present the spatial logics of the two existing social imaginaries. The conception of modern flats is based on nuclear family structures and not designed for the extended and multi-generational joint families. Lower middle class families technically have chosen small houses with two or three rooms to cut down their unpaid work time as they mostly have limited helping hands.

4.6.9. Changing Jobs; Family Needs Determine Social Needs:

Family characteristics rather than working conditions influence changing job or career among women. Most women face family demands of either staying in the old job or moving to a new one following childbirth or other family events. Analyses show that household conditions do affect young employed women's decisions to change their jobs or exit the labor force.

Lower Middle Class Family Employed Women family strategy:

The study shows that lower the middle class have the same needs as the middle class households, but they have less opportunity to fulfill necessary family needs. Therefore, this group of people changes jobs more than the middle class employed women. Most of the lower middle class respondents argue that they change their jobs to maintain childcare properly and it makes a lot of quandary improving their career. They have not less opportunity to prove their capabilities than the middle class workers. They have to change their jobs several times only for family responsibilities.

Table 19: Different Types of Care Work Make Barriers for Women's Employment:

Total	Middle class	Lower Middle class
Marriage	1%	5%
Pregnancy	35%	15%
Child care (educating)	50%	35%

Elder care	5%	15%
Housework	9%	30%

In this perspective, Nasrin Sultana, (37) of the lower middle classes states her feelings in this way:

Shirin Akhter, aged 35, claims a very real situation of our biased socialization process. It emphasizes on only men as superior and women have to be in secondary positions. She states her opinion in the following way:

Both of us were working in banks but not on the same jobs. I had to change my job because of my last promotion, which increased my salary, status, position, and also power. Thus, this results in my being on a higher position than my husband. Though we are not in the same office, but my husband requested me to change my job because he may have to face some uncomfortable situations, which might matter to his prestige.

It is a great crisis for women to exercise their opportunity because they cannot ignore their social and traditional norms. Like Shirin Akhter, Munni Islam, aged 27, also raises a very important issue. She claims that she had to choose a temporary job instead of a permanent one because it would be helpful to give the required time towards family members, especially for children and aged members. She states her opinion on this:

Now I am a part-time worker. Through my high profiled job and skills, I have a possibility to reach big position but all this is not happening according to my wishes. Where will I go? How can I ignore my family being a married woman? I am a mother, also. I have to think also for my daughter's future; not only mine.

Most of the women pay wage penalties for changing their jobs. It also creates major dissatisfaction and frustration among some employed women. Most of the women are changing to lower-paying jobs that are less demanding but make them lose overtime pay, be absent to care for ill children, and lose social ties with professional associates that had contributed to the income in the past. Women who quit their jobs for childbearing have consequently lower wages on the alternative jobs and they may need to forfeit their seniority on their jobs. Undoubtedly, some employers refused a few number employed women to rehire after leaves of absence following childbirth. Respondents of my survey also refer to such issues in their home and professional lives.

4.6.10. Women in Part Time Jobs: Women Are Irregular Workers:

The study clearly addressed that there is a difference between these two classes about the necessity of women's involvement in the labour market. Lower middle class family strategy: to cope with this "double shift activity," a large number of lower middle class women move to part-time or contingent workforces that are less stable and less beneficial. Some women have reluctantly left the labor force because they could not find adequate childcare assistance. This study is consistent with Duncans results that working mothers with dependent children mostly work part-time (Duncan and Edwards, 2004). The evidence of this analysis is that women's job quitting is a function of their available options for alternative jobs, which ultimately reinforces full-time homemaking. The study shows that lower middle class women mostly adopt the non-standard time schedule. They think a part time job is much better than doing nothing. For them money is more important than the job status. Neither they are career oriented nor they work for social status. Their main objective is to earn money.

Middle class family Strategy: In this aspect middle class women have a greater control on their schedules than the lower middle class women. Some women we spoke to have suggested that care work does put women at a greater risk of reduced work hours; but, they are managing their full time jobs through multiple strategies like taking constant service from the domestic servants that help them to cope with the issue to a certain extent. In the lower middle classes employed women sacrifice their careers when they have more, or younger, children and with the increase of professional and economic status in their husbands' employment fields. Furthermore, employed women select their work areas according to the needs of their children. The links between the low wages of mothers and their propensity for part-time employment is an important issue. For instance, mothers may be less motivated to attain higher occupational mobility than childless women. On one hand, husbands' high earnings are likely to make their wives' incomes less necessary which, in turn, will depress wives' earnings through reduced time of employment. Alternatively, a positive association may exist between the earnings of spouses if the husband's high earnings allow the wife to seek job for work satisfaction derived from upward mobility.

4.6.11. Negotiating with Promotions:

Employed women in both classes are bound to carry out their household roles no matter if she has a helping hand or not. It creates an inconceivable situation for every woman to work in at better jobs and has a negative impact on their salary and promotion areas. Moreover, they face a lot of unbelievable situations in order to achieve their career goals. Such situations hinder opportunities for women to show their capability to develop their career.

4.6.12. Having It All is a Dangerous Phrase for Women; Wives, Mothers, Career Based, and Professional Women:

The study clearly stated that, the challenges affecting women's volume of activities responsibilities are very difficult to continue to a time. Therefore, these enormous responsibilities rest on women and are considered a part of their primary responsibilities while their careers are considered secondary they must bear them or face drastic consequences in both her professional and personal lives. Mrs Ratna Begum (37), a middle class working woman, explains:

Familial responsibilities take precedence in my life; that is why my career is moving like a snail. I cook the main dish everyday and supervise other household activities... my aged mother-in-law is also under my care. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to manage every second of my time and to ensure quality work at the same time. All these things are making me restless; and recently, I have started thinking of taking a break from this professional life for at least one year; although, I know that I can't come back to a similar job.

Similarly Mrs Narita Begum (35), lower middle class working woman, states:

Sometimes I feel extreme stress when I have to manage child rearing, kitchen management, looking after my husband and answering the social calls all at the same time.

The study illuminates the dilemma of employed women in Bangladesh to achieve the work-family balance. Balancing between work and personal life can be challenging and have an impact on a person's job satisfaction and personal life. The study shows that for Bangladeshi women, the family has to always come before anything else. The challenge of balancing both roles is enormous and very difficult. In many cases, the ensuing problems run deeper. Mrs Narita Begum (35), a lower middle class working mother, states:

It is very difficult for a woman to become a perfect wife, perfect mother and perfect employee at one time. You need to remember this is only possible for the Fereshta/angels, not for human beings.

The statement confirms the negative impact of familial duty on professional work. The responsibility of taking care of senior family members and children rests on women whether women are employed or unemployed. This phenomenon, consequently, affects women's ability to function properly. Most of the employed women explain how they invest most of their time and energy to finishing all the work to be done, which also affects their performance both at work and home. Middle class women are able to afford and have hired paid domestic labor and can redistribute household chores to these members. This fact enables them to spend

more time on their diverse income generating activities. The women are able to reduce the hours they spend on unpaid and low paid work, and to increase the hours of paid work. The middle class women's working day is more productive compared with the lower class women.

Table 20: Multiple Strategies to Make a Balanced Life between Home and Work for both Middle Class and Lower Middle class Women:

Means for work-life balance	Middle class Households	Lower middle class Households
Technology and household equipment	These families invest in various types of equipment that facilitate their domestic activities such as refrigerators for food storage, micro-oven, dish washing machine, Air condition, computer, iron, washing machine, water purifying machine, full time generator.	These families have budget deficiency. Most of them have refrigerators, fans, and normal stoves with no cars, ACs or dish washing machines.
Transportation	Most of them have cars to boost up their mobility.	They don't have their private cars and are bound to use either transport provided by the office or public transport. Expenses for any other private transport are very high. It also restricts their mobility and requires extra time from them.
Health care facilities	Private Hospital: Most of the families ensure their health care and mostly go to private health institutions. Middle class families go to private hospitals to avoid spending long hours waiting for attention.	Over 90% lower middle class members go to public hospitals as they are cheaper than private hospitals. The problem is that there are too many patients and many hours wasted waiting for attention.
Domestic Hand	Most of the women have hired paid labor that helps with their domestic chores so, their income generating activities are	The women spend long hours on unpaid labor activities because they are unable to hire paid domestic labor on a

	not restricted. This enables them to spend more time on their diverse income-generating activities. It is also a mark of prestige for the families to be able to hire ayahs or maids	regular basis. It is either because they cannot afford to hire paid domestic labor or they try to save money by taking up this extra load.
Market access	Super Markets or Department stores: They go to superstores for buying their weekly food and other necessary household products at a time, which reduces their time consumption.	They regularly go to the local Paikary Bazar (Local retail/ open bazar) where prices are cheaper than the superstores. It is also a mark of prestige for the families to be able to hire ayahs or maids.
	These families are adaptable to bought food and other household commodities in large quantities at a time, which reduce their time spent on shopping. Online shopping also saves their time.	Lower middle class families can only buy small quantities of food and household items at a time because of high prices. The women spend long hours shopping to get cheaper prices and also buy small portions.
House tutor for children's education	Each family is capable of keeping house tutors for their children. They mostly supervise and monitor their children's educational progress.	Either mother / relatives / friends or elder son or daughter or general coaching centers (where quality of teaching is very poor)

4.7. Reintegration in Household Work: Housewife is a Permanent Identity:

The study clearly stated that personally, most of the women in both classes believe that housework and childcare is women's work. They always suffer from a dilemma whether career is important than family or family is important than career. If caught between a home and career conflict, women are expected to compromise with their career plans but not their care works. Most of the women compromise with careers rather than families because doing care work gives them real satisfaction and mental peace. In these circumstances, women are more

committed to unpaid carework than paid work. Most of the women's lives still revolve around their households, husbands and children. The study confirms the fact that women's unpaid care work forms a regular barrier in keeping up a sound and solid career. Sometimes women's decision to work outside or not to work can be seen as a social rather than individual or personal choice. The study pointed out the issue that most of the women have commonly a permanent identity; housewife. A woman who is earning a lot, doing a good job, qualified, educated, on the other hand a woman who is earning less, less qualified, non educated both of them have same identity in the family life. Considering housework or unpaid care work all women are carrying out same class and same identity. Specifically, this section stresses on the side effects of unpaid care work in their personal life and on how economic and social policies influence women's options by reducing and increasing the burden of unpaid care work in family life.

4.7.1. Comparative Situations Between Middle Class and Lower Middle Class Employed Women:

While comparing the situation between two classes, it is clear that the lower middle class employed women are more vulnerable than middle class employed women. It is commonly found that there are the weakest boundaries between work and non-work areas for those who have no children. This study reveals that women have adopted multiple strategies to avoid the role conflict. Moreover, women are capable of making tragic life choices to overcome the barriers for their career development without rejecting care work:

a. Middle class women work outside either for creating social identity or for self-satisfaction. On the other hand, lower middle class women basically work for family needs and economic crisis. For the lower middle class women, economic necessity is the biggest challenge for joining the labor market. There is some evidence, which indicates that extra money is desired for the purpose of affording a more adequate living; consequently, family needs are their basic indicators of selecting outside jobs.

b. The middle class has some time to escape traditional duties as they have two or more permanent helping assistants that enable them to purchase the services of other women. Middle class employed women play supervisors' roles, in particular. Thus, they can carry out their jobs more smoothly than the lower middle class women can. Lower middle class women usually carry on with two compulsory jobs at a time. They are excessively overburdened as they belong to this class where life's luxuries are not easily found. Children of the middle classes miss an educated environment in the association of uneducated surrogate mothers, maids or helpers, and they grow up almost without care or proper grooming.

c. Moreover, lower middle class women are overloaded due to their family responsibilities. Their workload is heavier than the middle class women's. So,

they have fewer chances to challenge and violate the traditional rules and norms of social etiquette.

d. Employed women have multiple choices to look over paid and unpaid work more than lower middle class women. Therefore, middle class employed women have the opportunity to make their career rather than the lower middle class women. Therefore, they are more professional minded than other groups. Thus, we can say that the paid and unpaid work kinds are different and class based. In addition, gender and patriarchy issues intersect with different classes in different ways.

4.8. Women have Jobs and Men have Careers: Care vs. Career:

Unpaid care work remains deeply unequal in practice both in paid work and in unpaid care work; middle class women and lower middle class women suffer disproportionate social costs as a result. The connection between work and family varies by class levels. Therefore, women's career goals in Bangladesh are considerably affected by family responsibilities as is obvious in our research analysis so far.

Shaeeda (37), a lower middle class NGO worker, says:

Since she could not complete her banking diploma, she did not get the recent promotion. Thus, she says that women should choose such jobs where there is no heavy work pressure and which can allow her to satisfy her family first. Everything she does is for her family, so family happiness is more important to a woman than any career.

The results presented here indicate that women may be better off when their children are older (at least 13 years of age) because they can then focus on their careers with less interference. This is a reaction to the survey findings acquired so far that asserts that a much higher percentage of women experience problems in scheduling tasks such as care for sick children, doctors appointments, and school report card days. About half the women with fewer children than five in number say that child-care needs would affect, to some extent, their decision to accept promotions. It is a fact that a few women have their own choice about the selection of paid job. In a few other cases it is found that some young women who worked before marriage too often give up their jobs after marriage at the demand of their new husbands. Household income level is determined of whether a woman will work or not work. Most dedicated mothers usually judge working women as bad mothers. Therefore, a social difference is formed in spite of the large number of working women in our society today. In order to bring a balance to the double pressure in the work-home situation, most working mothers prefer informal care giving by relatives if they are not able to provide it themselves. However, it is clear that economic independence still does not bring

household or family independence for women in Bangladesh. Kobita, who has now taken a break from her job, states:

I sometimes feel very disappointed with myself for not doing any job. I have no separate respectful position. I'm recognized by my husband's position, name. After our marriage, his relatives and others address me as, 'Prodiper Bou;' and when I became a mother, the same people including my husband started calling me 'Mohoner Amma''. Why had I studied? There is no value of my higher education anymore. Wage earning gives women their own identity. But I cannot also deny the fact that every mother should give her first priority to her children and that educated mothers can give better education to their children.

In Kabita's perspective, women should think about career only after taking good care of their children. She got a job but resigned from it because her younger child was losing weight and getting sick. She also claims that even if outside jobs cannot change her traditional identity there are times when her husband and neighbors ask her to leave her job. According to her, it is assumed that women are basically responsible for care giving work and household management. If any woman fails to perform such work well, society calls her a "bad mother" no matter what her position at the workplace is, no woman can deny the social system. Most of the respondents said:

No husband is ready to minimize his career plan for his wife's career.

Ultimately, unpaid workload reinforces gender inequality more in lower middle class families than in middle class ones. The study shows that this class cannot afford paid care workers or modern technological support; consequently, putting women under extra pressure to make a balanced life between paid and unpaid work. In Bangladesh, unpaid work is perceived to be synonymous with women's work. Her household based skills are, therefore, seen as a natural part of womanhood.

The finding shows that there is a family hierarchy, which is dependent on intra class relationships, which makes unfair social gender related levels. Men are treated as first class citizens and women are second-class; while, among the employed and non-employed women there is also another class dimension. Most of the lower middle class women change their jobs three to four times in order to fulfill family needs. Moreover, their marriage partners constantly push their wives to select flexible jobs like teaching, nursing, where work and time commitment will be less and women will be prepared for unpaid care work at all times. Therefore, men work primarily to make their career while women do jobs either for family needs, for personal satisfaction or for their children's development.

Our finding illustrates that women in full time employment attain economic bargaining powers but have less leisure than men. Considering all social and

traditional, religious constraints women are somehow continuing their jobs. The crossing of the boundaries is indeed multifaceted and still unfolding. These two spheres, *Ghar* and *Bahir*, are no longer mutually exclusive of each other for everyday women are trying to break through gender limitations traditionally assigned to them by the family and the society. Consequently, women are seen to create their invisible revolutions throughout their everyday lives by replacing their sole responsibility with work responsibility.

We turn now to consider different aspects of this changing context, which are cumulatively raising new questions about care work and its future. Who will do this work? Who will pay for it? How will it be structured and understood? Should care work remain a separate field of policy, provision and practice? Considering these rising questions, the next chapter will try to investigate what kind of recognition women and men want for doing unpaid care work?

5

Redefining unpaid work: *Recognition or Redistribution?*

The last chapter discussed how middle class and lower middle class employed women are facing multiple constraints for continuing their paid and unpaid work. The study addresses some of the common problems faced by women from both the social classes and the ways their solution strategies are different. In this chapter, the study will try to reveal the sentiments and the expectations towards recognition of unpaid care work. Therefore, this section will mark out the arguments towards recognizing unpaid care work by addressing the opinions shared by women and men in both classes in Bangladesh. The case of recognition for unpaid care work is a new concern and will lead to more realistic and equitable policymaking. The contextual definition of ‘housework’ and social position of a ‘housewife, creates an adverse situation when demands for recognition of unpaid care work are raised. The study shows that the major problems in counting the economic values of household work are the definitional vagueness of the term ‘household work’ and unpaid care work. In most of the cases, women’s household duties are not considered as work at all. These are named as *‘labor of love’ or responsibility*. Mostly, the socio-cultural notion and the gendered division of labor assign women with the responsibilities of performing household chores. The study shows that in Bangladesh the perception regarding unpaid care work is very narrow and biased. Hence, the problem arises: should we or should we not consider these works in monetary terms? The answers will come through the analysis the perceptions of the people regarding recognition of unpaid care work. Unpaid care workers are very important stakeholders in the policymaking process and we need to hear the unheard voices before approaching any argument in the policy making process. So, before application of any new system, we need to examine the impact of that result. In the following chapter, we turn our focus on women and men’s expectations towards recognition of unpaid care work. Here we will try to sound out the multiple voices and to point out the appropriate means of solution to the demands unearthed through our survey. Moreover, there is the mixture of practical and ideological explanations regarding the recognition of unpaid care work, which will be analysed and recognized, in this part of the research finding. This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will address the negative arguments towards recognition of unpaid care work; whereas, section two will uncover the related issues which focus on the claims for recognition of women’s unpaid care work in both the social classes.

5.1. Recognition or Redistribution of Unpaid Care Work: A Contextual Standpoint:

The study confirms that women's own perception of the costs and benefits of unpaid care work engagement are diverse. The contexts in which women live their lives as mothers, wives and daughters are socially constructed and culturally marked and shaped; consequently, women are generally habituated to carrying out the unpaid care work in a regular way. A large group of women accept it as the normal or natural way to doing things as a fact difficult to resist and more difficult to claim for recognition. Szurek made the observation that the ways in which a society defines women and values their care work capability, are displayed in their cultural treatment (1997: 287). Unpaid care work is culturally appropriate, socially acceptable and morally underpinned and prepares women to take on the burden of care work. As a result, there is little cultural space available for alternative ways of thinking or knowing about unpaid care work.

2.0.0 Negative Arguments Toward Recognizing Unpaid Work:

5.1.1. Recognition of Care Work Can Destroy Emotional Bonding: Love and Feelings Cannot Be Bought or Sold:

In Bangladesh, the portion of unpaid care work is uniquely emotion-based in the sense that it is an expression of family expectations. Family care is one kind of emotional bonding where the women fulfill their duties towards other family members as a show of love and respect. A large number of respondents, both women and men, feel that wages or any recognition for care work could destroy emotional bonding within the family. Some women find satisfaction for doing for their families; therefore, it is still both constituted and experienced as a 'labor of love. Sigala (2004) uses the notion of identity to capture how mothers view their childcare and self-define their roles. Housework is somehow commodifiable but there are no market substitutes of true love's labour (Lynch, 2007). Moreover, doing care work validates womanhood; adult women create and experience their invisible family power in the very process of doing domestic chores. Most of the participants clearly express the opinion that care services are not produced for the market; there is no market price to value this "job". The imputed values are quite sensitive to the assumptions made. Therefore, the imputation value will be more subjective. Wives and mothers also gain a sense of control by managing a home and the routines of its members. Many respondents feel that an economic understanding of unpaid care work will deintegrate the emotional significance of care work. Therefore, Mrs Farida Begam (45), a middle class housewife states that:

She loves to think of herself as a 'successful housewife'. She believes care work is as important as formal jobs. If domestic work is not done properly, family members cannot do their other jobs attentively. Unlike other workingwomen, she has spent her entire life doing household work. She feels if she does not do all this work properly, what will be her value in her family! She is of the opinion that if a mother ensures a brilliant future for her children, the resulting sense of satisfaction will be her best

recognition. She declares that housewives and care givers like her will be happy if society can stop calling them housewives as it sounds very negative.

Mrs Selina Pervin (40), a housewife, says:

I am not doing these activities for money ... there is no value for love and feelings. I do all of these activities for my own people and not for outsiders. I know times have changed but how could we think to place a price tag on love and care. It comes from inside and no one can force it to happen. I believe that putting a price on housework means you are selling your love, which is not possible for a mother like me. Shall I ask money from my children for caring for them? Why would I take money for the work, which I do for my own loving family!

Mr. Rabbani, a middle class banker (37), says:

We, the Bengalis, have strong family bondage because our women sacrifice their everything for the family; moreover, women hold family tightly by their labor of love. It is our tradition and we should feel proud of this.

Mr Arif (34,) a lower middle class government officer, remarks:

He does not support payment for housework because nobody should get paid for his or her emotional and social work. It looks really odd that women are getting payment for their family work. He thinks any kind of recognition can never evaluate women's labor of love. So, according to him, housework is something, which one cannot buy or sell; it is completely one's own. It looks funny that some one is taking money from her own family members. He thinks it will negatively affect our traditional family bonding.

Dr. Nawaz does not support payment of any kind of recognition for unpaid care work because it is women's social duty. He says:

After giving birth, a woman becomes a mother. It is a biological and a natural process. Only motherhood can fulfill womanhood. Besides, it is the social duty of a mother to take care of her children and do housework to keep her own family organized. So, there should be no question of any recognition for care work. Today some feminists are asking for recognition for unpaid care work; tomorrow they will start asking rewards for the birth of each child. It is beyond our imagination that a mother could ask for recognition for nurturing her own children. This is not called recognition; it is one kind of humiliation to be remunerated for being a wife and mother.

It is clear that care is embedded in close relationships, which is experienced as a labour of love. Carework who's content and implementation process are socially shaped by our intimate relationships. Although women and men in a household experience the obligations of care differently, in case of recognition a few of them have shown their negative positions. A large number of respondents believe that this process will destroy their blood relationships and family bonding.

The strongest bond of relationships and feelings are found within the family; as our respondents claim that marriage means social and religious commitment to live together, family means to carry out relationships not earning money. Instead, the best 'pay' for any care work to gain respect and honour and not any material achievement. They feel that their hand-made food have an additional work value, which goes beyond money. Here these groups of women perceive positive feedback and admiration for the objects they have created. They see the care work as their creative potential, expression of their individual ability. The women get mental satisfaction, self-fulfillment by doing care work, which permits a sense of continuation of doing care work. While it increases their personal satisfaction, it also increases their economic vulnerability since paid care work could create economic penalty (England, 2002). Here we pointed out that the understanding of family welfare involves more than income.

5.1.2. Wages for Housework is Completely Unethical: It Will Damage Family Happiness:

A group of women from middle class and lower middle class social levels express their opinion on the fact that commodification of care work is neither feasible nor desirable. A few women expect to seek their own reward in psychological and economic terms that result in their work of providing satisfaction to other members of the family. They express how unethical is to expect recognition for care work given to their own family members. Consequently, a group of men and women cultivate and express their idea that care work is complementary where wage creation is most unethical. These groups of people feel morally obligated to carry out the unpaid caregiver activity as expected.

Mrs Rajia Parvin (38), a college teacher from the lower middle class, states:

Care work ensures my family's happiness. I enjoy it a lot when I cook and feed my family. "It's my family, my children, my husband and I do not think I should take money from anywhere for doing this duty. It will be even more unethical to demand something for doing it. Life is a challenge and at every moment of it, we will have to think about happiness in our lives. Therefore, if a few sacrifices, and accommodating a few people can make our lives happier, we cannot think about equality or recognition, which makes our lives complicated. In family life we will have to make our

minds flexible; where competition between husband and wife will bring dissatisfaction.

Mrs. Najma Begam (32), a middle class homemaker, says:

It is not always that I do domestic work out of love. I do it because there is nothing to do about ignoring it. I don't think that payment for unpaid care work can give any positive results in women's lives; rather, it will make them inferior as it may hamper women's position and prestige in the family. It will be good enough for me if the government could give us an honorable name, which can readdress us as 'workers'.

Mrs Noore Alam (35,) a middle class government officer, comments:

I obey my religion. According to my religion, I have to love and care for my family; then, how can I imagine earning money for doing my own household tasks! Yes, I wanted to work outside as I have a Masters degree; but because of my family and child I had to sacrifice my dream. After all they are now secure and happy. While my mother nurtured me freely, why should I fix a cost for my child?

Mr. Rahman (45), a middle class banker, comments:

The concept is very materialistic. Family relationships are not measured by money. I feel that my wife is capable enough to run the family alone and I earn enough to look after the entire family. There is no issue of payment for doing family work.

A number of women affirm that women do not have the choice to live life without marriage and unpaid care work, as those are their designated roles in life. A group of women and men also discourage the policy of wages or any kind of recognition for care work. They are against any kind of recognition because they feel care work is something personal and cannot be influenced by any kind of political regulations. The related discussion with some of these respondents revealed that happiness disappears, or at least is curtailed, when discipline enters a family. Moreover, cultural and religious values also reflect their ideals related to good life. In addition, a group of female homemakers from middle class explain that educating their children is of paramount importance and one of the goals in their lives; so they are determined to do their utmost to achieve this. There is a sense of mutual and personal connections as a result of common interests between these women. They feel their personal abilities are recognized when others regard them as experts in their care giving skills. As unpaid care-work givers they share a

feeling of being connected to each other and this is why a large number of the women respondents insisted they would not withdraw their roles as care givers nor would they take any recognition for it. Some of the women refer to the fact that sometimes children, who are not well mannered and dishonor their parents, are often said to follow the dictates of their mothers (Oni, 1996). A good child is often said to follow the dictates of the father and a bad one of the mothers (Renne, 1993). It appears to be a tradition in our society to usually blame the mother for any negative qualities in the children. Therefore, the goal of the women is to ensure that their children and other members of their household are successful and good people. Consequently, these women take family responsibilities seriously and do not negotiate or compromise with their care giving roles. This form of mutual exchange is seen as central for people to experience satisfaction.

5.1.3. Care Work is traditionally taken for Granted:

Traditionally, men have always interposed care work as women's work and it has been legitimized by the society. Currently, a large group of women have accepted it as their sole work and re-legitimized this as a social norm. Automatically, women's ability remained to be related to women's caring role. Women do take more time off to tend to family, but that's not always a choice.

Mr Ezaz (37), a middle class banker, expresses his opinion:

He never supports payment for care work. Women do care work for their own families. He says that if a woman is not paid for giving birth, she should also not be paid for rearing children. It is women's duty to manage home and there is no question about money or any other recognition in return. A woman becomes a mother and that is her best recognition. Giving salary for housework is simply a family prerogative.

Mr. Jakir, a businessman from the lower middle social class, says:

If my wife is happy with this particular work and life without a job, why are a few people clamouring to bring some problems and make some families complex? It would be a social complex or irrational social issue and nothing else. If you transform 'care' into 'product' by paying a salary, then the care giving work will lose its own motherly

characteristics. You have to remember that today I am a successful man because my mother put lots of effort on rearing me.”

Mrs Rehnema Begum, a middle class homemaker 34, asks:

Payments for housework will create another social crisis for women. Don't you think that it will be a gentle way through which they will discipline women?

Non-payment of salaries and non-recognition of unpaid care work is reinforcing the common assumption that care work is not actual work: thus, preventing women from struggling against the truth except in the privatized kitchen areas. Care work is naturalized and it has been attributed to the women. They have internalized the idea that care work is the suitable work for women to do (Duncun and Edwards, 1999). Taking wages for care work is one kind of struggle against the social norms. These groups of women who are seen as caregivers are culturally constructed and recognition of religious and cultural values contain cognitive dimensions. Ultimately cultural recognition misrecognizes women's social position and undermines their productive role. Unfortunately, women have little power over their situation and to retain power over their own attitudes. Most of the men and women internalize justified unequal patterns in which women perform all or disproportionate share of care work. There is clear evidence, then, in favor of explanation of care work and childcare patterns on social norms as internalized by gendered moralities.

5.1.4. Recognition Can Re-Institutionalise Family Hierarchy; Employer – Employee Relation Between Husband and Wife:

The study uncovers the fact that a group of women are absolutely against any kind of recognition from their husbands for their work. The current experience shows them the hegemony of power from their husband. If they get any monthly payments from their husbands it will give the husband the formal chance to exploit their wives' agency and choices and create a direct path to family hierarchy where women will have to continue their parallel relationships like that of two controllers, *husband- cum- boss*. Now, this situation forms an invisible family hierarchy and this type of dual domination will help to exercise a visible family hierarchy. Moreover, husbands who pay their wives for the housework can reinforce the destined to be housewives. Consequently, this process can introduce a new reason for women to remain home as newly-appointed housewives.

Mrs. Selina Sultana (38), a middle class homemaker, says:

Now our identity is housewives; however, after getting payment for our care work, we will be called paid housewives. Shall I consider it as recognition or humiliation? Now, my husband at least respects me;

however, after I am on payment, he will me treat me in whatever way he wants.

Nasima Begum (38), a lower middle class homemaker, comments:

She supports salary system, as it can be a monetary recognition of housework. However,if salary has to be paid, the government should pay it otherwise husbands may treat their wives as ‘employed wives’. The salary system also changes the position and importance of women in the family. Since housework is not recognized in the national economy, among family members, and especially husbandswho hardly recognize it.

Farida Begum (45), a lower class schoolteacher, says:

Payment for care work cannot increase our position from that ofhousewife. First of all, we need to change our social name, “housewife” since a power relationship is constructed by framing this name. If husbands are requested to pay for housework, the wives may be treated as maidservants. At this moment, we are accountable for family activities; after the wage creation, we will be treatedas permanent servants of our husbands. If husbands give recognition to this role, it will create an employer and employee relationship with the wife. Generally, in the offices only employees get money from the boss. If a husband takes the responsibility, he will try to control the wife’s life more and her life will be ruined.

Few women who earn more than the husbands answer the question of whether women should be paid for care giving duties, with a counter question:

If we women want to become the home employers, are our husbands ready to be our employees; are they ready to do these home based activities routinely?

Table 21: Multiple Negative Arguments for Recognition of Women’s Unpaid Work:

1. Employer –employee relation will build up between husband and wife	50%
2. Housework is taken for granted	20%
3.Accepting any recognition is Unethical: It will	15%

damage family happiness	
4. Love and feelings cannot be bought or sold	15%

The above statements clearly agree that wage creation is not the only means to recognizing unpaid carework. The creation of paid care work policy may also create more critical and complex family issues and promote more hegemony-power relationship between men and women. It can open new doors to humiliate women as employed housewives where men can exercise their traditional authority and domestic domination formally and women can easily lose honor in the family. It may also create new ways to make women powerless. Few women asked to change the traditional term of housewife. It is felt that redefining or renaming this traditional term can be a starting point in recognizing their work. Women's reproductive work is generated through complex cultural processes in which they learn to accept a vision of themselves and their productive contributions as less important and more expendable than those of male family members. Cultural and religious values are basically how people articulate their ideas of good life. They view themselves as primarily responsible for the well-being of other family members. Therefore, cultural values can easily work like vehicles of subordination (Fraser, 2000). Women are caught between the social relations of commodity production and the non – commodified logic of family relations in the homes. The social structure and power relationships situate women's agency accordingly. Indeed, a woman feels, or is expected to feel, incomplete without being a good mother because of social argument and conditioning. A workingwoman commonly expected to be a *good wife* and *good mother* at a time.

5.2. Positive Argument Toward Recognizing Unpaid Care Work

The study reveals that women have a strong connection with care work and the recognition of care work involves in making the contribution of carers visible. It can provide a basis for measuring a planned government policy. A large number of women do not support the traditional patriarchal system, which bounds them within four walls and opens the whole world for men. Intuitional recognition of care work strategically is very important for value creation of unpaid care work, which has been one of the pillars of development. Women's time poverty undermines their wellbeing, generates dependency and limits options for decent work and restricts women to a lower status. Most of the respondents, male and female in both classes ask for remuneration for carework from the government. They identified two types of sources for giving remuneration or for family wages: from the government and the other from the husband.

5.2.1. Recognition by Remuneration is Acceptable but should be given by the Government:

A large number of respondents agreed to monetary value creation for evaluating care work. They have fully agreed on women's daylong free services for family progress. Ideally, a state must be aware to deliver minimum standards of care for all citizens and share some of the costs of the carers, or reduce some care work by giving outside support. It can reinforce or counter balance gender differences in care burdens. When the state deserts its role, struggling to fill up the most cases strengthen existing inequalities. A middle class Banker, Saheena Akhter (43) states:

She doesn't support the idea of wages for housework because it's not such tough work and doesn't need any special qualifications. Women do home management as they love to do it, it is a social system, and there is no question of money in it. Nobody should leave jobs after being paid for housework, she thinks, because it will not create any identity for women. There is a proverb in Bangladesh that jei lau, sei kodu. (Both types of the same gourd mean the same vegetable however they may be called; in other words, different names given to the same product does not change its identity). A housewife will always be what she is even as a career woman.

A group of middle class women think that recognition will never make any difference to the status of women...unpaid care work will remain women's work as usual.

I do all the work. I only expect respect for this. But those who are housewives really need to be paid for their housework. It will never hamper personal relationships or emotional bondage; rather a woman will feel safe, will have enough money for her personal expenses and be happy for getting value for her carework. Even if I am paid for carework, I would still not leave my job because an outside job gives a woman a strong voice to be heard clearly; paying for care work never could do it.

Their arguments claimed that the government should guarantee minimum levels of care for all citizens, which can counterbalance gender difference in care burdens. In this study the time use survey has shown that some private institutions' costs are disproportionately high. They believe that paying housewives for their work will give them a source of economic empowerment. Keeping this point in mind, feminists have been demanding wages for household work for a few decades.

Ratna Begum (43), an NGO official from the lower middle class, states:

We are full time workers. We, women, strongly demand wages for housework, as we cannot afford the endless hours in the home and then having to depend on husbands or to take second jobs but still have no money we can call our own. No body works as much as we do. We need money and not more work. At the same time, we want healthy day - care

centers where we can keep our beloved children safely while we work. At the same time, the government should give us transport services during office time. We also do not get proper maternity leave. I think the government should consider these issues seriously and should count our maternity leave as in active service.

Mrs Ela Salauddin (32), a homemaker from the lower middle class, comments:

She likes the concept of salary but she will never ask for money for her housework. If government pays it, she will collect the money. She thinks that a salary system can make women's life better as they will gain purchasing capacity.

Mrs . Mohsena (25) a lowermiddle class homemaker says:

The payment from the government will increase women's position in the family. The women who are unemployed if gets money for housework will do something for self and can contribute in the family.

Mr. Shohid, an office worker from the middle classes says:

This system will be very interesting. I would really welcome such a system. I think the government should initiate some kind of remuneration for the homemaker. By this system homemakers could also earn some money and contribute to family expenses.

Mr. Rijvi Shaker, a small business owner from the middle classes, remarks:

I did not think about this before. If the government determines the wage rate for housework, I don't mind. But, if it comes from the husbands it will appear strange.

Ratna Begum (45), a middle class homemaker, says:

She sometimes loves housework but many times she does these out of responsibility. She supports a salary system, as it can be a monetary recognition of housework. But she thinks the government should pay the salary; otherwise, husbands may treat their wives as 'employed wives'. The salary system also changes the position and importance of women in the family. She does not think that it can hamper family bonding in any way.

Mrs Afifa Shahid (32), a middle class homemaker, says:

“I used to be a lawyer but now I am simply a housewife. I have to ask for money from Shahid even if I need to buy a small thing like a safety pin! I hate it.” She feels that a salary system for housewives is good but it must be ensured that husbands will not mistreat their wives because of the salary. She misses her job because it gave her money and position. She likes the concept of salary for domestic work; but she emphasizes on government’s role in moving this policy and implementing it. Governments should take the responsibility and supervise that wives are not be mistreated by their husbands because of the salary.

Mrs. Lovely (38), a middle class college principal, mentions:

She supports getting payment for care work as it will increase mutual respect in a family and wives will have more importance. Women are sacrificing their whole life or compromising with all situations only for their love or obligations, which should be evaluated, and everybody should feel that care work is not a very easy work. Payment for housework from the state system will give it recognition and respect to household management, Lovely thinks there will be no question of further domination if government pays for it. At the same time, the government should give us old home facilities and day care centers for children. It will help a lot to the employed women to balance their lives.

Mr. Alamgir, (41) a government officer from the middle classes, opined:

He does not support payment for housework if husbands give it because it will not create extra income in the family. State should give it if any woman claims for it. He thinks that most women will deny taking money for this work, as it’s their social duty and emotions work behind housework. Money can never evaluate emotion.

Mr. Kabir,(45) a middle class businessman, perceives:

If women could have payment for housework, they would not be interested in outside work, which would be very good for the family. The state system should provide this money. By this system, homemakers can also earn some money and participate in family expenses.

Mr. Mojjamel Hossain (48), a middle class businessman, says:

He thinks that women should get paid for housework because many women will not go for paid employment after receiving this. He says if husbands give this, it would have no worth. He doesn’t support women doing such jobs, which have long work periods. It is not very necessary for

women to go outside for work; rather, they should give importance to family life. Men earn only for the family, so women should not have any problems staying at home for the family.

Mrs Tasmia Rahman (45) a middle class working woman, says:

People do celebrate International Mother's day, Friendship day, Valentine's Day, etc... Can women get one day weekly or at least one day monthly as women's holiday A day to let her have some time of her own. Consequently, there will be no tension of cooking, feeding or any other family responsibility. Life is ours but our time is for others... so where is our life?

Being a housewife and taking care of family is a full time job and not just an 8-hour a day job...It is usually a 16-hour a day job. Almost 25% men and women from both social classes ask for monetary help from the government. At the same time, they focus on some facilities, which can help to balance their private and personal work. They may get some relief from doing extra work. Therefore most of the women have emphasized their suffering from time crisis. It is true that time deficits for young employed parents may not be compensated for by till a later time which will be surplus time because the time utilization at a young age cannot not be fulfilled at their old age. Life's needs, demands will be changed. So, weekly holidays, or monthly holidays, is their prime requirement. They also emphasize other facilities like transport, technology, day- care centers, and part-time jobs, jobs from home from the government, which can help to continue their balanced and happy life. Some women have proposed that the state should take the responsibility for raising sufficient revenue and for good quality care accessible for all. Value of unpaid work in personal income will make the lower middle class people more prosperous. The development of publicly funded childcare programs is essential to some dimensions. There would be sufficient investment in infrastructure and technology to reduce the time burden and drudgery of the work Fraser advocates the rethinking of all work by collapsing the false dichotomy of labor inside and outside the home (2004).

Table 19: Positive Arguments for Recognition of Unpaid Care Work:

a. Monthly remuneration from the government	25%
b. Housewife's name must be changed	20%
c. Monthly or weekly women's holidays	15 %
d. Day care center /elder care center	15 %
e. Public transport for women only	10%
f. Without interest rate loan for household saving device	10 %
g. Paternity Leave	5 %
h. Part time job	5%
h. Salary from Husband	2%

5.2.2. Recognition Must be given by Husband for the Actual Realization of Women's Employment:

In Bangladesh, work is analyzed differently as to whether men or women perform it. The content of unpaid care work is intimately interlinked with the pattern of women's employment. A group of women are really depressed and mentally disturbed about their situation. Their position is different from others because they work all the time' but are blamed if anything happens that is slightly wrong. Their demand is very specific that men should realize about the level of women's contribution. Men's realization can only compensate women's vulnerable positions. Men neglect unpaid care work most of the time. In the fourth chapter, it was addressed that most of the husbands think doing care work is one kind of taking rest at home. So, only men's realization and changes in their perception towards care work will influence a sense of respect for women. Therefore, it is first and foremost men's responsibility to give recognition to care work. They think that the husband should give their homemaker wives a monthly salary with bonus from their earnings. Thus, one of the lower middle class homemaker (40), says:

Housework is a thankless job... we need to make men feel thankful. Husbands should realize that we don't only sleep at home but do work. If we stop doing this, who will cook, clean, etc? When is there a law that makes husbands give money to women for housework they are bound to do? At least, the government can change our position by changing the term housewife for us. In Bangladesh most of the women are called by the husband's name and then, the children's name after marriage. We, housewives, who work for the home, do not believe that we are doing nothing for the family.

Time spent in house work between men and women have been linked to numerous causes and consequences. Mrs Mitu (37), a middle class homemaker, states:

She is doing very hard labor because she has to look after her son, has to do household chores and, at the same time, continue her studies. She thinks that every woman should get payment for household management because it is a laborious job. Women should get remuneration for this unrecognized hard work. Everyone thinks that housewives have no work. According to her, this payment should be at least worth 1/10th of her husband's income.

Mrs Rehana Begam (35) a middle class homemaker, says:

All women should get one-day holiday in a week when men will do all the household activities. In this way, men will realize how hard it is to manage a whole household almost single-handedly.

Mrs. Laila Hassan (46), a schoolteacher from a lower middle class background, says:

It seems that women do nothing at home and just pass time entertaining themselves or resting. At least most of the husbands seem to think in this way. But household management is very much a tough task without any helping hands. Only women can understand this situation. In order to change this perception they need to be paid wages for housework or there should be a law that all husbands should do housework on Fridays and wives get holidays. She supports payment for housework because women need pocket money and money means freedom, therefore, the husband should give it. She thinks that this payment should be women's right.

The above statement shows that wage creation for unpaid care work can increase a new pressure and crisis on women. So taken together these statements illustrate the tension and complexities involved in recognizing unpaid care work as professional job or work that should receive appropriate wages. Receiving respect and love were central to their feeling fulfillment as caregivers. Ultimately these statements gave us mixed messages reflecting muddled and polarized public sentiment. A few respondents spoke for the financial remuneration is in itself interesting.

5.3. Black Box Treatment; Equal Distribution of Unpaid Care Work vs Equal Distribution of Paid Work: a Win –Win Condition?

The study addressed the fact that there are various choices available for valuation of unpaid care work, like: silence, avoidance and denial, three types of voices came from the respondents we contacted. The study sharply indicates that GNP does not measure happiness or quality of life but only the possibility of happiness. We need to propose GNP measures more meaningfully because it seems to advertently ignore the social and economic costs for doing unpaid work. Gendered power structures and social norms both lock women and men in positions that limit their ability to think rationally and make decisions on the lives they both want to live.

Therefore, a new paradigm of development that needs to capture subjective aspects that can measure family happiness. Layard (2005) claims that the subjective satisfactions is the only indicator to measuring social progress while others claim that happiness is too subjective for the social progress (Nussbaum, 2008). Thus, the measurement of progress has to consider higher aspects in quality of life and development beyond basic economics. The old paradigm of development heavily focuses on economic success and often disregards other

aspects of life while trying to realize economic growth as the prime development factor. There is a need to redefine the meaning of development and that is only possible when the traditional definition of **work** is changed and the so-called **housewife** is renamed because women's subordination has been justified in many different ways. We will have to identify the problems through using intersectional lens and solve the problems by using human lens. We do not want only development, which only brings money; we want to ensure human development, which will ensure the dignity and quality of life to all. With a view to assess this end, we resolve the following based on most of our respondents' responses.

- I. A large number of women and men are trying to create their social positions by claiming that unpaid care work is important. These groups of people are not interested to share any care work with others. They will continue to do the care work for their families. These groups of women are really enjoying their motherhood that's why they don't want to place any price tags; respect and honor are much more important to them than any other recognition.
- II. Another group of people from both classes recommend that contribution of unpaid work should be made visible in the policy making process. They prefer monetary evaluation through replacements, wage rates or any other way in, which the government should give monthly salaries for this activity as type of family wages.

The study has, therefore, captured the subjective aspects, which can ensure the quality of life. Inclusion of unpaid care work will be a new point to be added to the development agenda, and a positive subjective step in the development process. The study pointed out that good relationships with family members have an important impact on subjective wellbeing on women. The state can decide who has access to quality care and who should bear the costs of the care more. It can support care solutions through tax alleviation by regulating care provisions and controlling the basic quality of services provided by the caregivers. The above discussion shows that there is no universal one size that fits all solution. The respondents' statements bring about a variety of thoughts and queries, which can be used to find out the appropriate solutions. We believe family life is not a place of competitions or games that are to be won by one person. Therefore, gender equality requires us to take the economic value of home labor seriously. Prices alone do not capture family values because they are unrelated to real value. Anderson clearly states that commodification of women's labor means it leads commercial response into non-commercial motivations. Under such circumstances, policies should be made to involve men in care giving roles for the elderly and children in order to reduce the burden on women only and recognize care work from a broader perspective. It is clear that it would be very challenging if we never convey actual change without addressing women's actual roles in society and its roots. Moreover, we can deconstruct the household and interrogate what Whitehead calls the Black Box treatment (1981; 89). In feminist discourse it

is well reflected that households have inner politics of their own which are not divorced from the politics of the society in which it is embedded. Therefore, we need to rethink what progress of the society means and what aspect should be measured in what way.

5.4. Equal Distribution of Paid and Unpaid Work for Men and Women is the Best Solution for All Concerned:

The study found that a large group of women and men from both classes realize that recognition of housework is really complicated. There is a huge dilemma about sharing care work or getting any healthy support from the state. On the other hand, it will take a long time for the execution of any new system or law. The fact that care responsibilities are culture- based and their consequences are economic was pronounced in many interventions. If we realize these women's self-understanding as irrational, we will lose the opportunity to understand their choices and agency. In addition, the fact that employed wives do more housework than other non employed wives as they want to prove themselves as good wives was resolved through the discussions. This result is inconsistent with bargaining theories. More than half of the married women from the middle class and the lower middle class ask for a fair share of housework as well as a fair share of paid work both for men and women. Indeed we hope that their recommendations will begin to find a way in policy and organizational practice for women. These issues make us aware that households offer a complex panorama where only equal distribution between paid and unpaid work will be the *proper black box treatment* and will automatically reformulate the household gender relations considering the triple R approach. The next chapter will critically analyse the empirical data through the use of the theoretical framework, which has been discussed in Chapter Two.

6

Unpaid Care Work as a Silent Family Crisis: Locating Empowerment vs Disempowerment:

The discussion in Chapters Three, Four and Five was on the empirical findings of the study. In Chapter Three the discussion is mainly focused on how the middle class and lower middle class households invest their paid and unpaid work and time through gender lens. Chapter Four critically addresses the multidimensional problems and challenges faced by employed women in order to balance paid and unpaid work. It also compares and contrasts these problems and challenges between these two classes. It identifies their different adaptation strategies for balancing paid and unpaid care work. Chapter Five addresses the men and women's positions towards recognition of unpaid care work. This chapter will critically analyse the empirical data through the use of the theoretical framework, which has been discussed in chapter two.

6.1. Unpaid Care Work and Housewifisation; a Silent Family Crisis:

The study confirms that in Bangladesh most of the women are accepted primarily as housewives which term reflects women's rightful position and their principal identity. Subsequently, through the daily practice of doing unpaid care work, most of the women in middle class and lower middle class are domesticated. Therefore, women negotiate with outside jobs but have no options of negotiating with unpaid care giving work. As we have demonstrated already through different class locations, most of the women seek to redistribute unpaid care work and take help from mothers, daughters, other relatives, or female maidservants. In Bangladesh, unpaid care work is commonly accepted as women's *work*. These normative assumptions are often transmitted into the policy domain where women are accepted to bear this family responsibility. It may indirectly reinstitutionalise traditional gender norms and leave the care needs unaddressed. Society does not recognize care work as work; therefore, most of the housewives cannot claim their legitimate recognition. On the other hand, women's contributions are seen less valuable than that of men, which confirms Sen's definition of perceived contribution (1990). Failure to recognize the value of unpaid work leads to the belief that people who spend time doing unpaid care work are "unproductive", "inactive", or unemployed". On the other hand, the internalization of patriarchal

ideology encourages most of the women feel that the home should come first. The study reveals that family culture and class positions that transmit dependency and a culture of silence which ultimately interlock women's way of life into the patriarchal framework. It is recognized that most of the women cannot deny the social norms whatever the personal costs to themselves. Social norms and core family responsibilities have disabling effects on women; whereas, employment allows women to step out of the cover of tradition but doesn't actually strengthen their agency. The gendered labor market and patriarchal priorities intersect to secure the public and private space for men in Bangladesh. This study consistent with Diener (2008) study where he asserted that human needs and subjective appreciation depends on both living conditions.

Opening the 'black box' thus proves that power structures within the family are generated, reproduced and legitimized. The burden of housework prepares one channel through which women are included and excluded according to the family requirements. In addition, 'household' is the common address where this hegemony of family politics is practiced in a regular way. Bargaining in the household atmosphere gives rise to emotional manipulations, which, in turn, destroy women's capacity to express their feelings in a proper way. The empirical evidence ensures that sources of earning for women make no difference or any fundamental change on the bargaining table. Family wellbeing and happiness is very important and meaningful for women where they tolerate and sacrifice their agency for others. Moreover, we see that intersection of multiple variables like: patriarchy, religion, class, employment, etc, prepare women to undermine their wellbeing which increases men's ability to make personal claims on household resources. Intersection of patriarchy and unpaid care work also leads to undervaluation of women's incredible capacity to work and of ignoring their contribution to the family's well being.

6.2. Opening the Black Box: Gendered Bargaining Table:

There is a wrong assumption of conventional household theories that the household consists of only husband, wife and two children. However, in Bangladesh households do not consist only nuclear family members. In fact, they include extended family and non-family members who are highly mobile and leave and return to households at intervals. Subsequently, the image of a household changes with such activities in response to socio-economical and political factors that influence the families. In most households there are more dependents than income earners. There is another notion that a household functions as a single unit for all members within which there is equal control over resources and equal positions in the decision making process. On the contrary, in Bangladesh women have lower access to the capital compared to men because unpaid work is too overburdened to get equal access. The study has shown that preferences of husbands and wives differ as women give priority to spending more on household consumption needs; and, therefore, are able to invest less in the public sphere.

The study reveals that women in middle and lower middle classes do not have the same preferences regarding paid work and unpaid work and many of them are ambivalent and adoptive mainly because preferences are constrained by opportunity structures and conditioned by cultural context. Therefore, there is a class dimension between employed and non-employed women within the same class. It is clear that the relines of traditional gender ideologies and structural constraints are enforced on women's options and choices. However, a large number of women in both classes are experiencing multiple problems for balancing paid and unpaid work in which their traditional care work is now in question.

Bargaining in the households is often a considerable subject for women in this society where love, affection, and emotional manipulation destroyed women's actual capacity to apply their real choice; most of the women are becoming choiceless. It is well pronounced that women's earning reduces their economic stress but it does not allow them to cross the pre-existing gendered relations. Most of the women sacrifice their personal growth and interest for the sake of family happiness and her children's future. This could mean that care giving remains the compulsory activity to follow for women and that their freedom to function remains more restricted than that of men. In Bangladesh when a woman becomes a mother, her needs, choices and nature of life completely changed over night. Because most of the women specifically mothers are expected to be primary caregivers and not primary earners. As a consequence women's income is leading them far from being empowered, which may represent a further dimension of disempowerment. Sen's household bargaining model carelessly fails to see that women are heavily burdened by unpaid care work in households, which rigorously reduces and damages their physical and mental capacity to challenge the gendered division of work. The empirical data is consistent with Kabeers study which illustrates that earning an income through paid work is not necessarily sufficient to alter women's position in family sphere profoundly (1997). On the other hand, outside income does not give women any extra power or position through which women can shift their traditional position. In this context, we can claim that all women are housewives more or less. The existing bargaining approach is particularly applicable to situations where men are unable to contribute resources to meet the family needs. It is clear that women's employment opportunities are important for improving their economic entitlements; yet, it is not appropriate for crossing the traditional boundaries. In spite of that, it is women's subjective positions in the household, which influence their ability to negotiate for children and their families. Considering women's everyday lives it is clear that most of the women are considerable for family rather than outside job.

6.3. Women's Agency and Capabilities: Negotiated and Situated Agency:

The study uses the notion of capability as a means of power processed by women, which is important for achievement and functioning. It perceives women as agents

who have power which they are able to use to evolve strategies and pathways to be followed within the institutional context' This 'power', however, is perceived by others to be mostly constraining and unfavorable to them. Men's freedom from unpaid care work and their obligation to do paid work as provider of families constitute one side of the coin; whereas women's acceptance of care giving responsibilities for the household chores in surrendering their actual capability to men's management constitutes the other side of the coin. Women's individual earnings for the care work are defused and curtailed. Evidence from the study indicates that the capability of women to take the decision of doing paid or unpaid work is not only dependent on education and income; the volume of unpaid care work, class, religion, number of servants, and cultural dimension also determine this choice. This shows that women are not entirely powerless; but they mostly negotiate with opportunities and make them dysfunctional. Resources are important in the approach to capability whether care work is unpaid or low paid; as a consequence women are at risk of capability deprivation. Earning money is not an intrinsic part of the female role. Thus, we see that while at the level of bargaining women are motivated by self interest, their dealings with other family members are marked by inherently selfless attitudes. An image of intimacy and dependence thus radiate from the families and encourage women to view gender relations in less critical ways. Paid work allows women to step out of the protection of traditions by doing a job but does not necessarily strengthen their agency to exercise. The findings include that unfavorable context determines women's control over paid and unpaid care work. It is clear that most of the women have admitted their husbands' superior position as a bread earner and indirectly surrendered their new status as a bargaining tool and readmitted themselves as *good wives*. Women cannot afford to disregard the social norms no matter whatever the personal cost. Most of the men get family pressure for extra income when they become father. No doubt money has a visible value in our society. Therefore men become more powerful from family to social domain. Agency is unequally restricted along gender lines largely because men can be concerned about their relationships without being constrained undertaking of care work (Kabeer, 1997). Sen defines that the outcome of bargaining will be less favorable to a person less value being relative to the well being of others (1990). The study found that women's paid work has not led to a redistribution of unpaid care work between men and women which promoted unequal power relations in a new way.

The shifts in women's labor force participation have not altered the size and shape of unpaid care work, so there is a weak link between the labor market and the household for *women only*. Empirical studies do not establish a consistent link between wives' employment and husbands' housework time. Agarwal (1979) argues that social norms could restrict a woman's bargaining power in relation to housework allocation by providing a justification for maintaining a gender unequal situation at home. In this way, the bargaining table gives extra value to men than to women and reconstructs the gender power relationships within the homes.

Women's time poverty undermines their wellbeing and generates their vulnerable situation in family and the society, as well.

The study revealed that women spend longer hours on both paid and unpaid work. It does not mean men are lazy or inactive since they are also spending time; however, this time is spent only on paid work. Fewer men are working at double shifts but in the paid sectors. As a result, the total hours of unpaid care work has a stronger effect on women's wages than on men's wages. However, the wife's housework time is positively related to her husband's labor-market hours; while, her husband is unaffected by her labor-market hours. Even though the wife's employment status has influenced the husband's housework time, it is still relatively low in comparison. Women's subordination within the family allows employers to pay them lower wages.

In addition, multiple contextual common factors control women's agency and situations. It is remarkable that in a household, women and men's situations are completely different from each other's. Family status affects men and women differently because the family demands and responsibilities are different for women and men. Educated, employed women from the middle classes are able to increase domestic outsourcing and purchasing substitutes according to their need but this investment added to national GDP in Bangladesh. Lower middle class women have fewer options in their hands to replace their workload. Safa's (1995) study has shown that the ratio of unpaid care work changes is determined by class variables. Palmar (1995) describes unpaid care work as tax that is charged in the domestic sector in order to reproduce the domestic economy, a tax that is completely paid by women. This study is consistent with Palmar's findings. Therefore the study suggests that the government and management of any organization should consider proactive steps to make work- family balanced policies as part of employment rules. The combination of paid work obligations and extensive family responsibilities has required individuals and families to cope with this challenging lifestyle.

6.4. Visible Needs and Invisible Contributions: Perception of Women as Dependents:

The study finds that men contribute to visible items and, women mostly to the invisible ones. The invisibility of items on which women spend resources contributes to and increases they're being perceived as dependents on men. Women fulfill most of the invisible needs and this action acts negatively on women's ability to accumulate resources with consequent negative impact on their decision-making abilities and intra-household positions. Women are usually used for the benefit and welfare of household members especially children. Consequently, gender differences operate at all levels of social life and are deeply embedded in how work is structured, experienced and remunerated.

This study identifies with Sen's argument that person's perceived interest, claims and values given to the contribution of different household members determine bargaining power and are mostly unfavorable to women (1990). So, the gender-powered relationship between employed and non-employed women is different. The so-called housewives who do not work outside the homes are creating greater disparity between the perceived and the actual contribution. This has a negative impact on their decision making power and intra-household positions. The study reveals that lower middle class women have lower access to capital and time than middle class women do; which implies that lower middle class women have a weaker "fallback" position than the others. Most of the women are sacrificing their *self-interest* as they invest their time and work for *collective interests*.

The present research intends to inform the government that unless opportunities are offered to the families to take proper care of the children, the country cannot succeed in spite of a large dependence on youth being available for service to the society. Ambition for better employment and prospect for promotion compels women to stay away from home for longer hours ignoring their children. Renewed social agenda with attention to children and increasing access to education and quality care also adds to this factor. We need to recognize and value (through remuneration, time or support) all forms of unpaid care equally. Children are an essential community of the social investment. Family choices depend on family budget to invest more in their children and increase their children's chances of success.

Furthermore, increasing attention to children is one of the factors, which has opened new rules to enforce women's rights and has become a focus of discourse on citizenship. Redefining childcare is an issue that is about children, especially children from the lower middle classes in Bangladesh. There must be a new agenda for re-privatizing and re-distributing care in the public policy to cater to this important need.

6.5. Point of Departure: Gendering Equality of Capabilities Means Valuing Care Giving:

The present study tries to reformulate the propositions that the capability approach makes gender equality an essential concern that entails equalizing the actual freedom of life. The capability approach supports that unpaid care work must be recognized as a legitimate choice for all individuals, which need to be valued. Therefore, real freedom of choice needs to be assured impartially where individuals can use their different preferences. Considering Sen's capabilities approach, the study has recognized that in practice women's agency is controlled, ignored and sometimes rejected. The capability approach argues that to have real freedom to choose functionings, different individuals will require different kinds of resources and people may have different capacities to gain access to the same resource for functioning (Sen, 1990). Available resources are the fundamental source through which individual can exercise their agency. If care is unpaid or

unrecognized women are at high risk of capability deprivation. In Bangladesh most of the women are suffering from sharing unequal access to resources. Robeyns (2001) argues that the capability approach that enables an argument for the correction of these structural inequalities between men and women affect women's ability to transform means into functionings.

In Bangladesh women are disproportionately playing the caregiving role where women's agency is situated. In this circumstance social demands are to be understood as a part of the process of institutionalizing capabilities. Real agency of freedom requires that there will be genuine choice to reject alternative functions. The study shows that alternative options are also restricted and class oriented for women. Middle class women have some alternative options for reducing their workload but lower middle class women are repeatedly negotiating with their real choice and agency. The differences of resources are making lower middle class women more vulnerable than the middle class women. Middle class families can make their own financial arrangement for hiring care, which is not possible for lower middle class families. The study clearly stated that lower middle class is suffering from care deficiency than the middle class households. In Bangladesh women's agency to choose between paid and unpaid care work is disproportionately restricted by the family needs. The study shows that lower middle class women have less choice of doing paid or unpaid work. Family crisis and family needs permitted them to do a job and cut down quality of care. Sen's bargaining model implicitly recognizes that interdependency in individual's capabilities at the household level acknowledges that individuals are dependent on others for maximizing their well-being (1990). Welfare economists tend to deny the gendered dimensions of capabilities, which affect their normative ends. Gender equality in capabilities for paid and unpaid care work requires the need for a combination of a diversity of social entitlements and brings to the forefront the issue of time as well as money. Real freedom to prefer would entail the attachment the comparable access to resources and value independently different preference gains. Through using capability lens it has been identified that the different personal and structural differences that result in women's unequal freedom to choose paid work and unpaid care work in Bangladesh. By requiring the capability, the policies should be redesigned and implemented which may recreate the real space to exercise real freedom. In addition, Sen's accounts of women's low perception of self-interest ignores that women's agency is situated in relationships of care and their agency is unequally restricted along gender lines.

In Bangladesh unpaid care work is a permanent work for women in all classes. But state intervention in family affairs is almost absent. In fact there is no policy for care as such in national policy setting. This study is consistent with the argument where Guy claimed that women came into workplaces, which is designed for men (2003). Until we start redesigning workplace environment and requirements for employees considering families requirements and family obligations women will suffer to choose between embracing work at the expense of family, and embracing family at the expense of career success. The key

advantages of uses the capability approach to address the problem of gender equality in relation to paid and care work it provides the universal equality model rooted in the recognition of human diversity. Sen's household bargaining model considered the outside paid work ignoring the unpaid care work (1990). This model acutely denies people's emotions, love, happiness, which usually bind household members and their personnel growth.

Increasing public support for the family care is an important departure in Bangladesh's social policy sphere. Childcare has become a major issue in contemporary times making us realise that our children are in need of care. Government managed to achieve the welfare expansion by job creation for women, but the state has an important role in preparing families to adjust to new employment conditions and to repond to new social risks. The study attempts to broaden our analitical lens and understanding of the impacts of economic reform on women. However, the study finds that unequal structural set up and cultural constraints are not conducive in enabling women to function adequately. Yet, it has been argued that women's well-being and agency are the cornerstones for a new alternative development framework to engender the transformation of a developing country like Bangladesh. Therefore, there is the need and importance of recognizing and incorporating unpaid care work and various aspects of women's lives in the formulation and implementation of the policies and planning intervention need to be designed.

6.6 Subjective Experience of Recognition; Empirical Results:

The dimensions of law reflect the institutional patterns of recognition that women in Bangladesh are experiencing within societal structures and organizations. The study shows that women in Bangladesh do not receive any recognition for unpaid care work in a formal legal sense, which can easily redefine the meaning of unpaid care work. The study claims that recognition is not only perceived through the types of work; competence also recognized by skills and adaptibility. In addition, recognition is taking place through interaction and solid connection with family members. Time, resource and mutual connection thus serves as currency for assessing the value of work instead of money. It means inter-subjective exchange form an equivalent value for work. Within this factor one finds the personal value for doing unpaid carework and intrinsic satisfaction and self-fulfillment, which provides compensation in times of evolution in women's lives. In Bangladesh, most of the women have direct personal relations with household, children and other family members. In these circumstances, mutual support of individual progress leads to affirmative personal sanction of the sense of love. The study confirms that unpaid care work has a positive impact on the personal experience of recognition for women. Women in Bangladesh feel acknowledged by personal achievements, which are formed beyond the conventional economic principles. This creative process can start an inner journey through which one's sense of achievement is generated by this self-determined practice. This journey also helps them to acknowledge their own meaning of life and promotes

emancipatory potential. The subjective sense of satisfaction that results from the willingness to continue unpaid care work at any cost reflects the subjective need for one to affirm recognition of her own specific contributions. Women's happiness depends on the realization of positive relationships with family members in Bangladesh. This study is consistent with Folbre's findings where he claimed that money couldn't buy love (2012). But the problem is this kind of well-being re-established the traditional social structure and gender power relations in family sphere in Bangladesh. Emotional attachments has a downside (Folbre, 2012). Taking a step back from this enthusiastic assessment on the manifold types of individual potential of unpaid care work from a societal perspective, shows that all members of the society do not have the same opportunity to freely decide to pursue the unpaid care work and enjoy its contribution to personal recognition because basic income has great importance in this connection. The result indicates the substantial differences in human wellbeing among these people in Bangladesh. It is well pronounced that disparity in objective condition and in subjective perception is adequately depicting wellbeing differences. It is important to notice that objective indicators and subjective measures are needed to justify the quality of life and inform the policy makers. Positive subjective experience, such as personal fulfillment emphasises that well-being should be regarded as a factor for further development. All human beings need care and caring relationships. We need to acknowledge the moral value of the family ties underlying the caring labour on which human life is dependent. The next chapter proposes policy recommendations and suggestions to lift the constraints on women's time and work burden by both reducing and redistributing these responsibilities between women and men and between state and family.

7

Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study and the conclusions that are drawn from the study. The emerging recognition and redistribution of unpaid care work, has now caught serious national and local attention for public action to promote women's equal position and real empowerment. Conventional measures of economic activities such as gross domestic product (GDP) ignored the multidimensional social work that frames between human beings and the economy. It is true that love and relationships motivate caregiving it still takes time and physical exertion just as paid work dose. The exclusion of unpaid care work is a major weakness of the estimating national accounting system in Bangladesh and it also transmit wrong indications to policy makers about the contribution of women for family wellbeing. The time has come for labour economics to incorporate unpaid work into the analysis of labour and employment for formulating realistic policies. It is deeply hoped that the widespread data analysis and information presented in this study will unravel the multilayers of social realities and will help to implement the policy in a more positive, inclusive and realistic way. This chapter will try to examine the way through which social and economic policies can support the care economy. The issues that arise from the findings and conclusion of the study that has implications for policy formulation, implementation and planning intervention porgrams that will literally and practically improve the quality of life of middle class and lower middle class women in Bangladesh. A summary of thesis findings is presented in the first section while conclusions and issues that have policy implications are discussed next.

Summary of Findings

The study reveals that conventional household theories are inadequate to describe the households in Bangladesh because the households are comprised of more than nuclear family members and there is interdependence through social interactions. As the unpaid care work is culturally assigned for women, men are hardly ready to participate with women in doing this work. So, earning an income cannot play sufficient role to alter women's traditional position because unpaid care work is viewed as women's fundamental duty in Bangladesh. So, there is limited difference between employed and non-employed women in doing unpaid work using power as a bargaining tool to support the relationship. Therefore, most of the unemployed women are suffering from unpaid work related inequality; while, employed women are suffering from paid and unpaid work related injustice and inequalities. Both employed and non-employed women have failed to challenge the patriarchal bargaining powers. The average working hours of women are much more than same for men in all types of families, women work less than their counterparts in single earner families. However the degree of difference increases with falling income level. The study shows that the level of education of women

has no significant impact on total unpaid care work done by women. Joint families allow sharing of unpaid care work by other women members. Mothers do more unpaid care work and the demand for such work increases with the number and age of children. Household domestic help leads to less unpaid carework for women in a family. The study revealed that women's changing roles in the labour market is not accompanied by shifts in gender roles in the household. Indeed the husbands of employed women do not contribute more to unpaid carework than the husbands of full time housewives. In order to carry out double burden women have to limit their occupational choices and time autonomy. Further working mothers often suffer from self-blame and guilt regarding the supposed neglect of the upkeep of their young children. The study pointed out that the embedded gender norms in a diverse resilient structure wage employment for women do not liberate them from their traditional identity.

The social constitution determines which agenda will be accepted for bargaining and which will not. Ultimately, social calculators undermine unpaid care work and weaken women's agency to challenge the counting system. These factors convert women's entitlements into disentanglements at the household level. The findings show that most of the employed women specifically lower middle class experience a higher incidence of work intensity and lower quality of life compared to men. Most interviewees spoke about how their care responsibilities were accommodated around the rigid demands of the paid work. They refer to finding complex mazes in their own way of obligations and resources. The findings discovered that employed women are consistently facing practical and emotional difficulties in negotiating the gendered nature of the work care nexus where the different classes are playing negative dimensions with gender. In addition, because lower middle class employed women are working in low income jobs, caring for young children, doing household responsibilities, creatively managing competitions with public agencies, they are creating overlapping unpredictable demands on their time within the confines of limited child care options, poor public transport and the fixed schedule of public agencies. This study clearly shows that women are suffering more from time poverty than men.

Unpaid care work is playing a significant role to sustain our family life – but it has been regularly mistreated and taken for granted in public policy and development efforts. The study shows that there is an emerging consensus around its importance. The study did not clamor for wages for housework or about reducing the overall care provided or preventing women from making their own choices about when and how to provide care work. The objective of this study was very simple that the definition of unpaid care work must be redefined by a rational definition, positively accepted by men and women, more fairly shared between women and men, and better supported by the state in the form of inaccessible public services, investment in technology, and engendering the infrastructure. All citizens should get proper quality of care, but the costs and burden should be more

evenly distributed, socaregivers should not have to sacrifice their time, needs, choices, leisure and opportunity.

The current social crisis is increasing uncertainties and pressures on ordinary people, especially on lower middle class women and their children. The limitations render GDP an insufficient and incomplete measure of social and economic well-being. It is argued that women's contributions have largely been unacknowledged in policy-making processes. Care must be conceptualized as legitimate and as a necessary central human activity, which, in turn, will make it the basis for argument. This means the individual needs, autonomy and interdependence must be recognized. Measures may be justified on the basis that they are needed in order to permit the individual to make real and meaningful choices. A focus on the household as the unit of analysis will make policies more effective and equitable especially for women. The gender division of labour and intra-household gender relations is critical for successful policy analysis and formulations and planning of intervention programs. Women have a disadvantaged position within the households and the society at large, in Bangladesh, which makes the pursuit of realizations of their interests particularly difficult.

Finally, the study addresses the issue of valuing this unpaid care work, which remains a controversial issue between the middle class and lower middle class people in Bangladesh. The study notices that there is no single dimension of opinion towards recognition of care work; their position is almost *fluid*. In addition, there is mix between practical and ideological explanations regarding the recognition of unpaid care work. The study confirms that care work is embedded in complex patterns of social relationships. Therefore, care work becomes a home responsibility rather than that of the state. A large number of women are happy and also interested to contribute their time and sacrifice their professional life for grooming their children's future. Unpaid care works also a source of self-esteem for certain group of women in Bangladesh. The study unfolds that wage creation will not solve the problem of unpaid care work rather may give rise to a situation of employed housewife. The study revealed that monetary valuation of unpaid care work can be allocation of disempowerment for women not least because of definitional vagueness of the term household works as against unpaid care work. Monetary valuation approach is limited in terms of assigning value to the satisfactions derived from fostering family relations and family bonding. This argument challenges the traditional feminists standpoint in this regard. The study argues for introduction a new summary measure of unpaid care work that income and objective wellbeing is correlated with happiness and subjective wellbeing. In that sense the real value of unpaid care work at household level is much more than its estimated market value. The study rejected value creation of unpaid care work through replacement cost method. The planner should rethink that wellbeing is not singularly related to income.

The study suggest that government should develop a new methods of policy analysis based on wellbeing category as the measure of benefit for unpaid care

workers. The study pointed out that children are an important community in our society. Planners should incorporate this issue as a separate agenda and there must be separate budget for promoting children's capabilities, which will sustain both infants and children. The conventional policy prescriptions considered education and employment for women's empowerment. Therefore neoclassical economist whose paradigm dictates mainstream development policy fails to contemplate the unequal power relations between men and women within the household. Policies failed to provide a clear avenue for creating a new balance between autonomy and connection. To the contrary, a lack of change in other gendered arrangements has promoted *nonstructural* and *cultural* contradictions particularly for the group of women in Bangladesh.

At present, the main drawback that exists while making care work visible by encouraging female empowerment through employment is that we pay least attention to the issues like who will look after the dependent people like children, elderly or disabled family members and who will do the household chores? Therefore, an extensive concentration on income growth ultimately masks the wellbeing of the society. On the other hand, women are still regarded as inferior to men within the household, the society and under the law. Thus, if policy initiatives that will improve the material and social condition of women and promote social changes are to be devised, there is a need to understand how profound and pervasive the structure of women's subordination really is.

Dimensions that Policies Need to Address:

- a. First of all, the household is not a unified location where gender power relation is being constructed between women and men. Households should be the separate objects of theory, policy and intervention planning and implementation. In Bangladesh, perception towards work is gendered. This perception commonly exists not only in men but also in women. So, changing processes must challenge the patriarchy as well as classic patriarchy, which are carried out by women.
- b. Household and family arrangements are completely heterogeneous factors, so the quality and quantity of household activities do not remain the same between middle class as well as lower middle class households in Bangladesh. The study clearly states that all women are not equal contributors to unpaid care work. The nature of unpaid work varies enormously between contexts – affecting women differently. For example, crisis of care giving is more rampant in lower middle class dual earner households than any other households. So, the recognition process should consider the contextual issues and class dimensions.
- c. Unpaid care work is a continuous untiring job mostly round the clock round the year. The study reveals the links between time and its many correlates of individual capabilities. It added that the time use patterns and

trends could be integrated into the assessment of policy-making and monitoring to ensure the quality of life. The study further shows the need of time use for public policy, including welfare reforms, social policies, and the labor market that affects paid and unpaid work. Time use has strong gender partiality that should be a very strong matter for policy intervention.

- d. The study shows that having a child does pose additional challenges for employed mother, which is considered as motherhood crisis. This study shows that a large group of women leave the labor market during periods of childrearing. Having children is associated with men's spending more time on paid labor. The result supports that children make more demands on women's time at home rather than on financial needs. We find out that women spend longer hours on unpaid care work for nurturing their children. It does not mean that men are lazy or inactive since they are also spending extra time by spending more on outside work; however, this time is spent only in paid spheres for bearing the child costs.
- e. The study clearly addresses that recognition of unpaid care work in Bangladesh, which does not mean value creation by money only. This is because unpaid care work is backed up by emotions, love and feelings as well as a sense of responsibility; and, in that sense, its real value is much more uncontaminated than its market value. Unpaid care work is a source of self-esteem for women in Bangladesh. Most of the feminists argued for monetary value creation for unpaid care work. But this study brought opposite argument, which challenges feminist's common approaches. The study shows that wage creation is not the complete solution for recognizing unpaid care work. Wage creation may also create more critical family complexes and promote more hegemony power relationship between men and women. It can open a new door to humiliate women as an employed housewife. Men can exercise their traditional authority and domestic domination formally. It may thus create a new road to make women powerless. A large group of women in both classes think relationship is much more important than any kind of recognition. Most of the women (in both classes) think that better relationships can provide better quality of life. They think money is not the only source of family happiness. So monetary evaluation of unpaid care work can be a location of disempowerment of women, this result ultimately challenges feminist argument. The effects of development interventions on relationships are an area need to be addressed. Therefore, a new paradigm of development needs to be captured which can bring proper family wellbeing in the society. The government should develop new methods of policy analysis based on well-being as the measure of benefit for unpaid workers. The study ended up challenging the feminist standpoint by bringing a new contextual and counter answer regarding recognition of unpaid care work in Bangladesh. Therefore, study has captured the subjective aspect, which

can ensure the quality of life; we need to measure relationship for real growth and actual development, which was never addressed or counted by the economists, policy makers and development thinkers. Government policies and institutions to become more responsive for female wellbeing require a paradigm shift.

Policy makers can introduce the type of program and social services to improve the quality of life of workers, which is beyond basic economic elements and GDP. The government can develop new methods of policy analysis based on well-being as the measure of benefit for unpaid workers. The study points out that unpaid care work and paid work are both equally important for human development. A one-sided effective plan can damage the other side though both are interrelated and interdependent. The study tries to find out the ways in which households are interlinked with other key arenas of social interaction and the ways in which it struggles over these elements. In a modern society, existing policies have to be changed considering the idea that the individual rather than the family is the point of departure, and labor market participation of both men and women is advocated. The study shows that that cultural and economic injustice is imbricated with one another. Consequently, the resulting equation is simple: unpaid care work needs cultural and economic justice at a time. The tight interlock between familialism, the male breadwinner model and women's unpaid care role need to be disjointed. But, we need to be careful about gender equality and be more concerned for generational equality. The study draws on the fact that unpaid care work and the worker need two types of justice:

- Cultural justice = means devaluation of care work = unequal status of caregivers = remedy is recognition.
- Economic justice = unequal distribution and gendered division of labor wages = the remedy is redistribution of responsibility and resources.

Love, Emotions and Feelings = Money: not a Simple Formula.

In this study, most of the respondents answer that unpaid care work is done for love, happiness and family well-being and not for earning. The study shows that most of the women get enormous satisfaction by giving their effortless time and service for family members. Women are investing their quality time by ignoring their career in order to ensure a good future for their families. Their realization is that money is not the only source of family happiness because their expectations of life are a little bit different. They think better relationships can provide better quality of life. Therefore, most of the women think of their self-progress as something to do later and family is their first priority. Consequently, they believe family bondage depends on love and care, so wages can break this relationship and respectful feelings for each other. Women believe also that close relationships require sacrifice. The interest of good health, the gaining knowledge, the social relations, the hours spent with relatives and friends all these carry no price tags.

Therefore, monetization of unpaid care work of women is more than a question of justice. We need to measure and value unpaid care work, that much is agreed. So, we will have to identify the most efficient system, which can open up the other eye of statistical binoculars with which we view the economy. The importance of policies to address and improve the situation of women cannot be overstressed. Furthermore, it is necessary to bring these policies together in a more holistic perspective that encompasses paid and unpaid work. It is remarkable that valuation of unpaid work is an area where no standard concepts and methods are yet developed for application. The ideological background of this movement lies in the classic feminist Marxist analyses (Dolla Costa, 1972) - a housewife's wage brought on a new discord in the women's movement of the seventies. The main objection against wages for housework is that it would not enhance economic independence in the long run because it would discourage labor market participation and investments in education. In this study, most of the respondents refuse to take wages for unpaid care work because it will destroy family relationships and family bonding. Most of the feminists argued for monetary value creation for unpaid care work. But this study brought opposite argument, which challenges feminist's common approaches. For them relationship is much more important than any kind of recognition. They think money is not the only source of family happiness. Most of the women (in both classes) think that better relationships can provide better quality of life. So monetary evaluation of unpaid care work can be a location of disempowerment of women, this challenges feminist argument.

One Size does not fit all: Middle Class and Lower Middle Class Households Needs are not the same:

Linked to the issue of substantive equality must be the recognition that women are not a homogenous group. If we apply the intersectionality lens, we get the clear picture that the situation and needs are not same of all our respondents from these two classes. The study clearly states that the needs and requirements and the household situations are different from the middle class to the lower middle class, employed and non-employed women, mothers, the childless or singles, pregnant and non-pregnant women, aged and non aged women, higher educated and lower educated women. The study recognized that marriage, motherhood, employment-nonemployment, education, class, number of helping hands intersects with gender and creating unequal situation between men and women in both classes. Their heterogeneity requires us to take into account the fact that women do not experience discrimination and privilege in the same way. Therefore, a sameness approach cannot protect and promote women's rights as women have been in disadvantaged position for different reasons.

The real challenge of fighting existing gender inequalities through these policies will be maintaining a sustainable approach that will ensure the inclusion of people with all the crosscutting intersectional identities and existing diversities within, as well as apart from, our social construction of gender. While it is true that policies

cannot be tailor- made for every individual, they should contain some elements of universality to incorporate everyone under its jurisdiction as well as meet everyone's common needs. We need to remember that quantitative data may merely show us the overall picture of the phenomenon we are dealing with, but a qualitative approach will help us to find out the root of the problems in an effective way leading to a sustainable solution. At the same time, it is crucial for any strategy that seeks to empower women to take control over their lives and transform gender and power relations while also involving men. This is because a women's empowerment without the involvement of men, is a partial solution, which can recreate more problems. Changing socio-economic circumstances have led to new sets of behavior trends in recent times among men and women. Economic activity is a powerful influence on women's empowerment and behavior trends; and, is therefore, vital to gaining understanding of demographic trends and socioeconomic development. The critical element of these interventions was the attempt to turn women into subjects rather than objects of development and to shift the ends-means debate.

Implications for Policy Formulation: a New Perspective

Bangladesh has made enormous gains in gender equality in some key development areas; however, only unpaid care work has been placed on the sidelines in the policy development agendas. Over all examinations of government policy signs show that there have not been much focus on assessing the contribution of unpaid care work to the country's economy or its central role in promoting social wellbeing. At the same time, their inability to effectively address the issue of equality between men and women, the manner of approaching women's issue's within them and the gap in the implementation, raises doubts about the state's intentions to actually improve the status of women. This also points to the problematic nature of relationship between women's movement and the state. The other issue is that household work and product includes some qualities, feelings, pure care that is not at hand in market work. Some respondents believe that comparing domestic work with wage work is its devaluation as it precludes the dimension of love and fulfillments. Therefore family care and care related activities are not comparable with market activities. The evaluation of unpaid care work is an area of huge debate in Bangladesh and there are respondents who argue against its economic value creation. A large number of respondents clearly stated that value creation of unpaid care work is a process of underestimation of pure care and pure love. So-called market cannot provide this kind of care, which is provided by the family members. Their justification is that economic work is in the market place, which is performed under competitive conditions for profit making; while housework is carried out to maintain the family relationship. So value creation of carework cannot be justified by the market value. This study rejects the method of replacement costs. Thus, we now need to change our thoughts about economic development by dispersing it from one center to the well being of all. Thus, it is the economy that needs to become caring, not care that needs to become like the market. Social and gender

inequalities intertwined at the intersection of labour market and care. Middle class women can avoid having to negotiate the sharing of household responsibilities by outsourcing than the lower middle class women.

A context and class specific tailored policy plan is the only way to ensure gender equality in the workplace; reconciliation of work and family responsibilities appropriately and effectively. Besides, weak implementation of the special measures and the monitoring and supervision mechanism to follow-up on the implementation is virtually absent in the workplaces. Furthermore, this change is not only required at the policy formation level but also in terms of the approaches adopted at the policy implementation level. To initiate gender sensitive policies, though extremely important, can only take us halfway towards a sustainable solution. For example, the policy is silent on addressing the cultural inequalities that obliges the actual capability of women in Bangladesh to engage in productive work and challenge adverse social system. The vision of the government to empower women by removing barriers is not linked to this reality. Time use has strong gender dimensions, which should be a matter for policy intervention. Consequently, we can surmise here that while the policy talks about one thing, the legal framework says another. Therefore, it is indeed the right time to pay proper attention to the discriminatory cultural values that consider women primary caregiver to their family and not as contributors to productive resources. The awareness arising out of that particular issue can be one of the way outs that will create critical consensus among women about their rights and entitlements as human beings. In Bangladesh, religious groups have a strong influence over existing family laws. Different religions have their own individual perspectives about women's role in family and beyond. Therefore, it is believed that inclusive growth cannot be achieved with gender blind policies. Currently, international migration and internal migration has created income opportunities to Bangladeshi women. Yet, the state and policy makers did not consider the issue that seriously and never discussed how the unpaid care responsibilities would be fulfilled during the absence of these female migrants. Unpaid care work is essential for family survival so policy makers should give a sharp focus on the subject. So, queries related to this issue can arise in order to clarify the needs: Why does unpaid care work matter for development? What development interventions can be ordered to demonstrate unpaid care burden, and how can the burden be more equitably shared between men and women? The legal pluralism that operates in the country, especially on family law, does not serve the interests of women. There is a need to synchronize the laws and make them uniform to serve the interests and needs of women and men equally.

How Should we Construct Social Economics that Promote rather than Undermine *Wellbeing*?

Eventually improvement of women's situation cannot be pulled off without recognizing the differences they face and the needs they have. This is what this

study has tried to concentrate. Therefore, the study clearly points out the fact that economists are paying too much attention on the economy's circulatory system and neglecting to study its digestive tract (Daly, 2008). Policies are usually made within a certain ideology that serves only particular interest groups. The study clearly illustrates the limitations that conventional policies are largely inefficacious because it has failed to demonstrate different layers of realities. The policy makers failed to realize the fact that there is a strong link between household and state. Subsequently most of the households are becoming dysfunctional which cannot help to sustain a stable welfare state. The study intended to develop an alternative economic system that can create equal relations between women and men. In this way, both gender inequalities in caring and care deficits can be made explored and newer policies to tackle can be thought off.

We need to stop considering the GDP as a tool for measuring well-being because GDP measures only monetary dealings related to the production of goods and services. Policy is totally silent in addressing cultural constraints, which make women incapable to exercise their agency. Therefore, misdistribution and misrecognition are inequities that require political action for *institutional as well as personal change*. The national childcare policy should incorporate some strategies where every parent who needs care should be able to afford care without having to children leaving in any unhealthy environment. Affordable childcare can make parents free from extra tension and enter into employment. The planners should consider women as social agents, and they should implement agent-oriented approaches to women's agenda. A combination of cultural and socio-economical reasons, keep the gender bias in place. This is reinforced by care policies that leave women with no alternative but to interrupt their careers in order to take care of their children.

Policies, which can integrate Unpaid Care Work Through the Triple R approach:

Integrating unpaid care work with macro-economic policies was first recommended by Diane Elson by introducing the triple R approach in 2008. This approach attempts to integrate unpaid care work into mainstream economy by reducing and recognizing it as paid and unpaid work.

Recognition: Redefining Unpaid Work:

The first *R refers to the recognition* of unpaid care work by giving visibility to this work in the national statistical system. It draws up the role of care in the society and involves its career making contributions visible. Since recognition is both a means to an end and an end in itself, it helps to make things visible. Care work began with the individual woman and then shifted as required in society to greater values; and, thus, established a status not only to this work but also to the worker. The socially constructed women's role as mothers, wives and how these social relationships assign duties and obligations for women in their daily lives

need to be taken into account. To recognize this unpaid type of care work the Bangladesh government can take the following measures:

a. Change the definition of *work* and *housewife*:

Recognition of unpaid care work means unpaid care work must be acknowledged *as work*” and *housewives must be acknowledged as workers*. There should be only one definition of work, which will include both paid and unpaid care work, and the outdated system of counting work needs to be challenged and changed. It has been observed that the title of “housewife” is inadvertently less valued than that of a “working woman.” All services of the domesticated woman to her husband are legitimized by the definition that he is the head of the household and the main breadwinners. Domestication and housewifisation is the process by which this social control is achieved and the notion of housewife cultivated women as a subordinate of the society. Policy maker should bring this issue on the table by changing the traditional definition of “*work*” and ‘*housewife*’. The study shows that men and women both equally perceive that unpaid care work is *women’s work*. The cultural aspect, which makes women care for love, women believe it is their obligation as wives, mothers and daughters- in- laws. It means patriarchy is a major reason for women’s subordinate position; but classic patriarchy which exists within women also promotes women to accept subordinate positions. Society should value the importance of care, without reinforcing care work on women, which is something, only women can do. Recognition or misrecognition from social institutions such as: government policies, law practices, wherein some categories are constituted as normative, excluded, and invisible. Therefore, recognition of housework as a type of work means a challenge to the traditional policies and strategies, which had never included the concept of unpaid with work and its struggles.

b. Engendering the Male Breadwinner Model:

State has given the labor market opportunity to outline work types without considering the household work. The study clearly stated that household is a separate site of development and change, which has separate requirements from the state. Currently state policies, deliberating strong breadwinner regimes, have encouraged the involvement of women in Bangladesh with home and their dependency within marriage. Male breadwinner- based commands make women dependent within the confines of marriage and husband especially when they have young children. In spite of the fact that women's labor market participation has increased in Bangladesh, where the breadwinner regime is resilient, women are likely to bear part-time job and to have broken career patterns. Within this time the breadwinner arrangements have lost its significance due to the changing roles and demand of men and women in Bangladesh. It is important to focus that people do public work for familylife. In this model, it is expected that men would

move towards care giving as women have already moved towards breadwinning. It will definitely bring the win-win condition.

c. Valuation of Unpaid Care Work into Satellite Accounts:

Unpaid care work can be valued by wage creation is another method to integrating unpaid care worker in the mainstream economy. This is possible through using time use studies. The satellite account of unpaid care work is an extension of national accounts beyond their conventional restrictions. Through using satellite account men and women both of them can realise how much time women are contributing for their family. At the same time negative perception towards unpaid care work will be changed and care worker will get family recognition. People of the society will stop saying that a woman does not work because she is a housewife. The system will automatically claim that GDP measures only monetary transactions related to the production of goods and services, it is based on an incomplete picture of the system within which the human economy operates. By measuring only marketed economic activity, GDP ignores the social and emotional capital on which community relies for its survival and well-being. The study has corrected the incorrect measuring system of work. So the government of Bangladesh should incorporate satellite accounts for giving social recognition first, which ultimately can create a space for women.

II. Reduction of Unpaid Care Work:

The second *R refers to reduction* in unpaid care work in order to reduce that part of the work as well as the time stress of unpaid workers. Once the nature of unpaid care work is understood, it is indispensable to take measures to reduce and to redistribute it. Intervention can support market to better delivery of specific services. Increasing public support for the family and social care will be an important departure in Bangladesh. This can be done in multiple ways:

a. Giving Loan to women without Interest Rate to Buy Household Technology:

The study confirms that care is essential in every household but in many cases it can be performed in less time through better support. The study shows that using technology reduces work burden in middle class households than lower middle class households. Middle class people in Bangladesh are getting support of modern technologies, which reduces their heavy time constraints. This group of people is getting different opportunities and quality of care that is benefiting all members of the household. But lower middle class people are coping with traditional equipments where they are suffering from time constraints, crisis of family care. Therefore increase of investment in affordable domestic technologies ultimately can reduce the time pressure. The government of Bangladesh can approve loans to women without any interest rates to buy household technologies. This means contributing to investments in time and labor saving infrastructure

technologies and practices can easily reduce time-consuming care work. It will help those families who are cutting care services due to shortage of time. These steps will release women from the unavoidable burden and give them family space to enjoy leisure, free time or to join properly in paid work.

b. Safety Road and Female Transport Systems:

Infrastructure deficits have a severe impact on female than male. A consequential aspect of women's difficulty in relation to the labour market which constrains their regular mobility in the public domain. The absence of necessary public infrastructure contributes to the spatial fragmentation of labour markets. The study shows that lower middle class employed women are struggling daily basis during the office time for using the public transport. The government of Bangladesh should ensure safe and affordable public transport through addressing the specific needs of this heterosexual group of women. There must be separate stations for these buses. Public and private transport companies should be encouraged through budgetary incentive to run more buses through reserved seats for women or buses for women only during the office time. The government of Bangladesh can run selected buses named as "office bus" which will give service of employed women only. The study shows that middle class people mostly have their own transport ;but lower middle class people are mostly dependent on public transport. The government should consider this issue and give necessary support to lower middle class women to make their mobility freer. The government should take on the responsibility of improving the transport facilities for women rather than awaiting the private sector to take the lead on their own.

c. Re-Articulation of Labor Market and Social Policies:

Ensuring equal opportunities for advancement and career development we need to rearrange the labour market system through using intersectionality lens. This study shows that women are suffering from discrimination not only because of gender; marriage, children, number of children and their age, social class are also related causes of discrimination. The government of Bangladesh has already begun with efforts to establish a comprehensive labor market system. Policy maker should realize that women have strategic and practical needs, which is different from men needs. Therefore the corrective approach recognizes that in order to redistribute the benefits equally between women and men, reasonable treatment is required which can ensure a balanced life. On the other hand, a women-friendly working environment needs to be examined. Family friendly atmosphere, family time, can increase work productivity. Therefore, family leave is morally a women's issue but equitable sharing of unpaid care work can promote men to take family leaves more. On the other hand, effectiveness of gender budget and other women development activities in creating women-friendly working environment need to be examined.

III. Redistribution of Unpaid Care Work:

The third *R* refers to the *re-distribution* of unpaid care work to be done that is more fairly distributed among households, community, state and private sectors. The redistribution of care tasks is likely to require valuation and acceptance of new roles. In addition, redistribution of unpaid work within the household requires changes in the prevailing patriarchal norms and customs. Redistribution of unpaid care is the most scientific method through which we can overcome this inequality between men and women. To develop this method we will have to fight against patriarchy as well as classic patriarchy. Claims for redistribution mainly deal with shifting the responsibility of care from unpaid family care to paid care work. Promoting good care radically reduces family care and creates employment in care. The strategy for redistribution claim is to create a critical debate to engage with political debates and try to make the media report on the issue of dependent care to keep the issues on the agenda. The inequitable allocation of tasks and potential consequences is developing more needs that are to be known, means to change such practices, and improve women's status in society. These objectives should inform the designs of social protection and other public sector interventions as well as educating girls and boys to recognize the value of care work and encouraging men to provide the care. A more egalitarian balance of care task is likely to come from renegotiation of gendered relations in the home, community, and political decisions. Therefore, to achieve gender equality in the labor market social attitudes must be changed and should men to take on a larger share of unpaid care work. To redistribute this unpaid care work, Bangladesh government can take the following measures:

a. Establish *class based* day care centers in all organizations for men and women.

Bangladesh is a class-based country. The study shows that the buying and spending capacities of middle class and lower middle class family members are not same. So, keeping this issue in mind, the state should provide facilities and necessary services to all. Moreover, the responsibility of the children should be shared between parents and the state, and children must be seen as having a distinct claim on the state's resources. The present research intends to inform the government that unless opportunities are offered to the families to take proper care of the children as the country cannot thrive without a large regiment of youth being available for service to the society. Ambitions for better employment, and prospects of promotion compel most women to stay away from home for longer hours ignoring their children. The study shows that a large number of families are still facing difficulties in finding available, affordable, accessible day care center for their children. In 1994, the government's agreement to support the

environment includes provision of childcare and crèche facilities at the workplaces. In late 1995, the Bangladesh labor laws ensured mandatory child care facilities on site to about twenty-five women workers with children of below five years of age unrelatedly of whether the work places are factories or any other commercial organizations. Contrary to this planning, children's day care centers, in Dhaka, a Bangladesh, are focused on poor women's children not for middle or lower middle class families (Islam and Khan, 2015). The fees catalog also encourages many poor women to stay away from day care centers and to depend on family elders and maids. The government currently runs 32-day care centers across the country and NGOs run 12-day care centers in Dhaka city. Although the designed lay-out of the physical environment, which contains the building colors, the interior, finishing, outdoor spaces, selection of equipment and room arrangement that are unavailable in 98% day care centers in Bangladesh (Newsletter website, 2011). The policy in Bangladesh is to be silent about addressing the contradictions in the legal framework because the state itself is institutionalizing care work as women's work by enabling day care centers, where only female workers are available. This law reconfirms that childcare and nurturing are women's sole responsibility by employing only women workers at these places. The study proposes to consider day care centers in all public and private organizations not targeting women workers but men workers also. Uniform rules for the employees should be in place at least where protection of the children is concerned. Provisions should be made for setting up of crèches within the office premises so that the mothers and fathers can conveniently and usefully leave their children there without any worries. On the contrary, it is a fact that in Bangladesh paid care services lack required strategy and services like: qualified domestic workers, preschool education, public health care, etc., basically because of the fiscal stress. The government can impose of all school and colleges to provide school bus service. This strategy can help parents to get some relief from time constraints. Child allowance is another strategy through which parents can get options to purchase desired childcare. Childcare policy should address the needs of lower middle class and middle class families in Bangladesh in a separate way. This childcare policy can provide a work support of parents. Policy maker and development thinker should be mindful of this dual role.

c. Promoting gender equal time: Parental leaves:

Providing paternity leave will also help in breaking the stereotype mindset that holds only women responsible for reproductive functioning. The Bangladesh Labor Rules (BLR) provide, under 2006, a leave duration of 6 months (24 weeks with full pay for women employees). Women, who have served at least a minimum of 6 months with the current employer, are illegible for this benefit. However, the government has ignored the private sectors where most

irregularities are prevalent (The Daily Star, Dec 19, 2010). Therefore, the government should introduce new laws to calculate acceptable time duration for paternity leave in case of promotions. The laws relating to maternity leave should be reviewed and not be used as an excuse for employing women on short-term basis. The government should also incorporate paternity leave, which is a pre-requirement of justice in the workplace. Employees on maternity leave are also able to undertake some paid work without losing their entitlements to statutory maternity pay. Although this is a development for mothers, it has a detrimental effect on fathers who, as a consequence, are still seen as 'secondary carers'. Conversely, women still face discrimination in employment when they become pregnant and also when they return to work after being on maternity leave. The study shows that a large number of lower middle class employed women start their job as new employees to their former companies and jobs. Consequently, it is recommended that the government implement strong measures to count this duration of time as that of active employees on their jobs. It is further recommended that the same facilities be provided by the private sectors as well. The government and society should encourage the responsibility of fathers and develop policies to address the impact of the absence of male on the family's wellbeing, and promote active fatherhood. Parental leave needs to be reinforced as a collective right rather than an individual right.

d. Challenging stereotype mindset:

In Bangladesh social law is more acceptable than the legal one. Which promoted stereotyped mindset. Therefore changing the traditional perception towards work and unpaid work can be challenged and changed by rejecting patriarchal cultural values. Cultural changes in our society can play a crucial role of valuing unpaid care. Cultural change demands regular education campaigns in school, college and university level to challenge stereotypes and entrenched norms at all ages and in all sectors of the society. All the schemes for educating and empowering girls and women will fall short unless there's a serious change in mindset of the people in the society. Sensitization is an essential accompanying measure to raise awareness of women's capabilities and rights. Sensitization is thus essential to enable men and local communities to recognize the value and potentials of women, and to engage as partners in the process of change. However, the consistent pattern of rising consciousness would bring about the institutionalization of the process to engender legislation that recognizes and values unpaid care work as one to be shared by men in our society. The study reveals that gender sensitization of both men and women are important instruments of change, and effective ways of transforming popular traditional customs, beliefs and attitudes. This awareness can be achieved through social dialogue on community level. There is a need for change in the school curriculums, as well, especially in order to sensitize the upcoming generation to this particular issue. The school curriculum needs to be changed to accommodate the view that there is no difference between paid and unpaid work. The importance of care work should be incorporated in the school syllabus through which girls and boys would accept it as work rather than

women's work. On the other hand, subjects like home economics should be banned as for women only. Moreover, the print media has separate women's pages, which often highlight stories of successful women but also subjects that relate to the traditional roles of women. A national broadcasting policy, 2013, was drafted with the objective of preventing projection of women as objects in commercial media presentations. We need to promote key media messages focusing on the value of the family and children in our society.

e. Introducing Women's holiday: leisure and rest periods:

The study repeatedly highlights the fact that most of the women are suffering from time crisis, which is their basic right. Time for oneself is essential element to get the taste of independence and well-being. Gendered time norms raise policy agendas in the quest for more egalitarian time cultures. Only equal time investment for unpaid carework as well as paid work both for men and women can remove the care crisis and fragile family life. Identification of who are time poor matters for policy intervention. For example, governments can consider a day to be observed as *International Women's holiday Day* to honor those women who have already given their valuable *lifetime in care giving* without any recognition. Redistribution of unpaid care work is a political issue as it directly challenges the dominant gender norms of the society in Bangladesh. Dramatic rise in dual earner families has increased the struggle to balance between paid and unpaid work. The provision of time off for important issues will help close the gap between the two types of work and gender discrimination.

f. Introducing the old home strategy:

Although elderly care is considered to be a familial responsibility in Bangladesh, cultural norms dedicate the role of caring to women in particular. With high increase in life expectancy, elderly care is becoming increasingly indispensable. The study shows that elderly care is entirely dependent on women. Aged people need extra care, which demands extra time from women. Therefore many old people are required to enter full-time residential care, as well and number of women gives up their careers to take care of their elderly in-laws or parents. Today, people over 60 years of age constitute 6% of the total population of Bangladesh. Furthermore, population predictions indicate that the number of aged people in Bangladesh will reach 8.5 million and 10.1% of the total population by 2025 (Rabbaw and Hossain, 1981). But Bangladesh government does not have any specific preparation for this group of citizen. But it is remarkable that Government of Bangladesh has introduced an old-age allowance (Boishko Bhata) program in 1998 for the rural helpless, disabled, poor aged people. The program covers each ward and 403110 aged people would be benefited across the country. This program is largely been appreciated and welcomed by the society. Although this is a petty amount and the recipients are very few in numbers, yet this is a very good pioneer effort by the Bangladesh Government. This policy fully ignored and denied the care

service of middle class and upper class aged people. The study claimed that supportive formal services could reduce the stress on caregiver. At the same time the government of Bangladesh can introduce a law named “care return” where each capable, adult son or daughter will be responsible to take care of aged parents who are not interested to take the formal care. In addition Bangladesh government has established six aged homes named as Santi Nibas in six divisions for providing shelter for the elderly people. Still the service of the government is not sufficient or cannot fulfill the social needs properly. There is always a huge gap between demand and supply of care services for the aged people in Bangladesh. In this circumstances government should consider the demographic data for fulfilling the service gap. At the same time government should incorporate a comprehensive medical service for those aged people who mostly suffer from multiple physical and psychological problems. It is also almost impossible for them to get into an overcrowded public bus for taking the medical treatment. In this regard, government should take the initiative to devise special free out-door service units in government hospitals and special modern transport services for the elderly. The Government of Bangladesh can introduce home medical services for this group of people.

The emerging recognition and redistribution of unpaid care work has now caught serious national and local attention for public action to promote women’s economic and social empowerment. Therefore, the silence of the policy in addressing cultural constraints is constantly perpetuating the status and social position of women. The failure to consider the context and class oriented household needs; the multiple roles of parents as care providers exhibit the blindness of orthodox economics toward care work and household labor, in general.

Creating a Win –Win situation: Gendering problems and engendering solutions:

The present research aims to inform policy planners and administrators about the negative elements of social relations existing in our society, and to propose ways to change this with overall policy intervention, government supervision and control, and also through public- private collaboration. The present research intends to inform the government that unless opportunities are offered to the families to take proper care of the children, the country cannot thrive in spite of a

large regiment of youth being available for service to the society. Furthermore, an ambition for better employment and the prospect for promotion compel women to stay away from home for longer hours ignoring their children. To the researchers, this aspect of the modern family structure brings out the question of protection for children to the forefront. Traditionally, the labor market has functioned in terms of a male breadwinner model anticipated on the notion that women will deliver unpaid care work regularly; whereas men stipulate economic support for family needs. Paradoxically, women are expected to continue family responsibilities. As a consequence the notions of gender equality, do not necessarily lead to changes in gendered identities about caring in Bangladesh. In general paid work alone is an indicator of women's empowerment where unpaid care work is officially denied. The study tries to find out ways in which households are interlinked with other key arenas of social interaction and the ways in which it struggles over these. Therefore, the slow decline of the universal breadwinner model has resulted in care work to be included in the state policy agenda. In the former days, the male breadwinner model created a social economic content where care work used to be carried out by women privately within the informal economy. In this circumstance, the policy has changed in the sense that the individual rather than the family is the point of departure, and the labor market participation of both men and women is encouraged. The male breadwinner engagements have lost its significance due to the changing roles of men and women. Women's earning has weakened men's absolute earning power. We can assume that this is the beginning to render dramatic changes in the gender-power relationship at the family level. It is apparent that gender role representations are shifting among women.

The importance of policies to address and improve the situation of women cannot be overstressed. The reality is based on positive changes by which women's situation not only benefit them but also benefit other members of their household, and the society as a whole. Furthermore, it is necessary to bring these policies 'together in more of a holistic perspective that encompasses productive and reproductive work. I will argue that changing of conventional dominating economic perspective on care from neoclassical to feminist economists approach and gender analysis of institutions, would improve the situation of unpaid care workers and that would contribute to the development of the country's policies that would lead to an improvement of the care providers'.

Conclusion: Toward a new moral order:

The study points out that the conventional policy has proven largely ineffective in failing to assess the complexities of patriarchal structures which create gender asymmetric endowments, risks and constraints which compel women to remain within its parameters. By overlooking women's non-monetary activities and concentrating on monetary activities, the policy has essentially perpetuated the existing status quo of women's traditional gender roles, which infringe on their freedom and choices. It is, therefore, indispensable for women to engage in

constructive debate with policy makers and negotiate the conceptual and policy issues that affect them directly. Noting Fraser's (2003) suggestion to shift focus from "who gets what" to "what people need" in a welfare state, policy makers should consider a new set of indicators prior to creating a policy plan. Where quantitative and qualitative development will get equal importance. The policy maker should realise that women are not a homogenous group. Their need and demand are not same. The study revealed that gender, class, marriage, motherhood, age, number of children and type of servants are playing dominant role of changing women's situation. In total, there is a need for multipronged policies to address the needs of different categories of women in Bangladesh. This is what this study has attempted to unearth. Effective relevant action to improve the disadvantaged position of women requires harmonization of research, policy and action. The study revealed that care is an essential element for household and family life. The quality of care can ensure a sound family life, family relationship and social bonding. All women are not equal contributors of care work but women in both classes are sole agent of this work. On the other hand there are two groups of people commonly needed extra care; children and aged people. The policy maker should consider separate measure for these groups of people. The Government should realise that there is a connection between the household and the state. So we need separate programs for household development.

Thus social dialogue and public debate is powerful for transforming traditional mentalities or cultural norms. There is no doubt that social dialogues take different roots, new ideas, and bring diversity. Gender equality cannot be attained in the absence of equal rights and women themselves have to be the active agents for this change. The exclusion of women in the labour market is unjustified and represents a vast economic and competitive loss for any society. Moreover, creating an enabling environment of equal opportunity and treatment in the labor market for both women and men, would also contribute tremendously to poverty reduction, the achievement of the SDGs and social justice. Wieringa claims that on the question of transformation, "women should learn to define their own problems (1994; 844). Gender equality cannot be attained in the absence of equal rights and women themselves have to be the active agents for this change.

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