
AN INTRODUCTORY ANALYSIS ON UNPAID WORK OF WOMEN

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Abstract: What is unpaid work? Unpaid work includes all non-remunerated work activities and it is safe to say that it lacks social recognition. Unpaid work is classified as “Economic Work” and “Non-Economic” work. Measurement of unpaid work. The value of the unpaid labour is calculated by ,[i] Output method, [ii] Input method. Output method tries to measure the results of unpaid production by assigning a price to the quantities of goods and services produced. Input method is divided into [a] The opportunity cost method,[b] The market replacement cost method.

Key Words: Unpaid Work, Care Work.

What is unpaid work: Unpaid work includes all non-remunerated work activities and it is safe to say that it lacks social recognition. According to the United Nations System of National Accounts of 1993, some unpaid work activities are deemed “Economic Work” and other unpaid work activities are classified as “Non-Economic”. Economic work can be stated as, [i] production of fixed assets for household use, such as building a house, [ii] subsistence production work, such as crop production, annual husbandry, forestry, and fishery for own use, [iii] collection of raw materials for income generating activities like crafts and other manufacturing and [iv] activities such as unpaid family work for crop production that reaches the market, as well as animal grazing, agro processing for sale. The Non-Economic work is defined as, [i] household maintenance [ii] cleaning [iii] washing [iii] cooking [iv] shopping [v] providing care for infants and children [vi] care for permanently ill or temporarily sick and [vii] all volunteer works for community services.

In Marxian economies, unpaid work, especially women’s housework, is levelled as ‘reproduction’. Neo-classical economics looks at unpaid work essentially as a form of consumption-but still treated as a form of leisure (in case of married women). Economists who are interested in unpaid work have mostly concentrated on microanalysis of household work. At the macro level, ‘an iceberg view of the economy’ prevails: what is visible is actually only a very small part of what goes on in economy.

The burden of unpaid work and paid work respectively are distributed unequally between men and women. As a result men receive the lion’s share of income and recognition for their economic contribution-while most of women’s work remains unpaid, unrecognised and undervalued. The unequal distribution of unpaid work between women and men is substantially linked to the sex-segregated labour market and the prevailing sex discrimination and domination of men’s values in society at large. (Swiebel, 1999).

Measurement of unpaid work: The value of the unpaid labour can be calculated as , [i] Output method, [ii] Input method.

Output method tries to measure the results of unpaid production by assigning a price to the quantities of goods and services produced. This method involves the measurement of output by observation of prices and requires data on the quantities of services produced.

Input method is divided into, [a] The opportunity cost method, [b] The market replacement cost method.

Input or Indirect method involve valuing output in terms of cost of inputs and require information about the time spent on household work. The input approaches value household production as the sum of all of its inputs which include labor inputs (time use) and the use of physical capital (the land, dwellings and equipment owned by households). However, the time use survey only provide information on time use and so on, in practice, the valuation method do not take account of value of physical capital used by households in non-market production.

The opportunity cost method searches what is the cost of the cost paid work opportunities unavailable to the unwaged worker because of her responsibilities plus the cost of her unwaged work. Or in other words, each hour devoted to domestic activities could have been sold in the labour market instead. On the other hand, the replacement cost method finds out what would it cost to pay a third person or a replacement to do the work being completed by the unwaged workers. It means that household save money by performing family care work themselves instead of buying similar services on the market or hiring someone to provide them for household. The opportunity cost method has two wings, [i] Specialist approach, [ii] Generalist approach.

Each approach has certain limitations, ie the replacement cost typically assigned to women’s work reflect current market value, not real value, and so, are quite low. These calculations are a beginning step

to understanding the economic value of women's work with much more work to be done.

The Time use data is used for measurement of valuation of work to estimate the work performed by women also where data have been collected from household survey on a national scale. The total value of unpaid family care work at national level depends on, [i] the amount of time that each person devotes to this activity, [ii] the number of people who perform it and [iii] the value attributed to each unit of time of this work.

The difficulties of measuring and valuing unpaid work are most widely cited. Conceptually, at least, the battle against the invisibility of women's work seems largely to have been won. Women's domestic work is still uncounted.

Presently, Canada is using Nova Scotia GPI (Genuine Progress Index) to measure unpaid work which has 20 components of indices. But GPI is not intended to replace the GDP rather GPI in effect adopts a qualitatively different approach. The GPI assesses the economic value of social and environmental assets by imputing market value to the services provided by the stock of human, social and environmental capital. But this imputation of market values is not an end in itself. It is a temporary measure, necessary only as long as financial structures such as prices, taxes and monetary incentives continue to provide the primary ones for the actual behaviour of businesses, consumers and governments.

GPI can provide a useful tool for communication between the market and nonmarket sectors. It can provide a means to move beyond monetary assessments towards a more inclusive and integrated policy and planning framework. GPI itself should give way to multi dimensional policy analysis across a number of data bases.

Some empirical findings: Human Development Report-1995 asserted that if these unpaid activities were treated as market transaction at the prevailing wages, they would yield huge monetary valuation-a staggering \$ 16 trillion or about 70% more than the officially estimated \$23 trillion of global output. Of these \$16 trillion, \$ 11 trillion is the non-monetised, invisible contribution of women. Its study pointed out that a sample of 31 countries study indicated not only that men (53% in developing countries and 51% in industrial countries) but also that of women's total work time - both in developing and in industrial countries, roughly two third is spent in unpaid work and one third in paid work. For men in industrial countries these shares are reversed. Men in developing countries spend even less of their total work time in unpaid work roughly one fourth. Women continue to do more than half of the unpaid household in most industrialised countries and between two and four times more unpaid childcare

than men. Between 1980-2000, across the developed world women doubled their share of paid work with respect to men, going from 22 to 44 percent of total paid work. However, the share of women's time in unpaid labour hardly changed during the time period. It is estimated that if women's unpaid work were assigned a monetary value it would constitute between 10% and 39% of GDP. Other studies show that reducing the household time burdens on women could increase agricultural labour productivity by as much as 44% in some countries.

The total yearly value of unpaid family care work equals to 8.29 and 67.06 billion Euros which corresponds to 4.3% and 4.5% of GDP in Poland and Italy respectively. In Poland 9.5% of the estimated total value of care may be attributed to child care, whereas in Italy it is 72%. The value of child care is mostly the results of women's activity, with 5.42 over 7.92 and 35.3 over 52.2 billion Euros in Poland and Italy respectively. According to market replacement cost, the total yearly value of unpaid family care work equals 6.79 and 61.77 billion Euros which corresponds to 3.7% and 4.1% of GDP in Poland and Italy respectively. The total yearly value of unpaid family care work estimated with the specialist market replacement cost equals 8.53 and 75.08 billion Euros, which corresponds to 4.5% and 5% of GDP in Poland and Italy respectively. On the other hand, according to the social cost of unpaid family care work, the value of child care in Poland ranges from a minimum of 3.5% of GDP to a maximum of 4.2% of GDP. The value of child care in Italy ranges from a maximum of 3.2% of GDP to a maximum of 3.8% of GDP. The value of adult care is lower in Poland than in Italy. In Poland, the loss in value of childcare amounts to 0.6% of GDP (a loss of 17%), whereas in Italy the loss amounts to 0.3% (a loss of 9%). (*Framcacilla, Giannelli, Grotkososka and Socha, 2011*)

In Spain, the Bank of Spain studied that the majority of women (99.15%) undertaken some household activity versus only 77.63% of the men. The women spend almost 3 times more time in household works than the men, spending 214.95 minutes per day versus only 111.72 minutes per day for men. Women contributing to more than 50% of the household income engage in more than 50% of household production. The share of total house work time for a women is 76% when she earns than that of her husband, 71% when she earns the same, and 68% when she earns more. Women devoted less time to household activities as their relative income increases: 229 minutes when they earn less, 204 when they earn the same and 189 when they earn more. However, the men's household work time increases from 82 to 92 minutes as women's earnings increases, but decreases again to 87 minutes when women's earnings increase beyond men's. On average

, women spend around 128 minutes and 143 minutes on household and childcare, whereas men devote 72-82 minutes per day to these activities. Women spend 365 minutes per day with children under 10, whereas men spend , on average,252 minutes per day. Higher income households might be able to outsource more, and thus reduce a wife's house work burden. Higher the spouses' education level, the lower a wife's share of total housework. The outsourcing of household maintenance service has appositive and statistically significant increasing wife's share of housework by 8.7%.A husband devotes 28.5 more minutes per day to routine childcare if his wife earns the same amount he does, in relation to husband who earns more than their wives but this positive effect only exists up to the point where a wife earns the same amount as her husband and remains constant beyond that. The U shaped relationship between housework and childcare and relative earnings is also robust to a continuous rather than discrete alternative definition to also robust to a continuous rather than discrete alternative definition of relative earnings. (Sevilla-Sanz,Nadal, and Fernandez,2010)

In Canada, the study examines the profile and time spent on paid and unpaid work for young adults from 3 generations-late baby boomers (born from 1957-1966) when they were age 20-29 in 1986, Generation X (1969-1978) which was in that age group in 1998 and Generation Y(1981-1990) which reached within 2010.It was found that young adults from generation Y were more likely to be single(67%) ,living at home (51%) and going to school(19%) compared with their counterpart in the two previous generations. Time spent on employment and housework was also most alike for young men and women of generation Y. At ages 20-29,late baby boom men did ,on average , 1.4 hours more paid work per day than women. In generation Y, this difference narrowed to 1.1 hours. When late baby boomers women were age 20-29, they did 1.2 hours more housework per day than men. By the time generation Y was the same age ,the difference had narrowed to 0.4 hours.Average daily, time spent on paid work and housework by men and women in young dual-earner couples in more alike for those without children and particularly so for generation Y. (Katherine,2011)

Women contribute 15% in GDP in Japan and 54% in Australia. Women do two third of all unpaid work in Canada. In EU, the value of unpaid family household ranges from 20.1% - 36.8% of EUGDP depending on methodology. The value of unpaid household work performed by women throughout India is upwards of 612.8 billion US Dollars per year depending on the economic value assigned to the tasks women perform daily.10% of urban and 25% of rural housewife have no income and 28% female in rural areas did not engage in paid work. One third rural and urban

women engaged in non-paid work. According to the replacement cost, the value of rural women unpaid work in India stood 1350/- per month in comparison to 2950/- per month in urban area where unpaid work by women is constituted as 61% of GDP.(Evengelical Social Action Forum and Health Bridge,2009). Close to two out of every three Indian women are, in their prime working years, primarily engaged in unpaid housework, new NSSO data shows.

This phenomenon, on the rise over the last decade, is least common in the southern and north-eastern States and most common in the northern States, Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh in particular. Another study suggests that Women spent about 2.1 hour per day on cooking food, about 1.1 hour on cleaning the households and utensils. Participation of men in these activities was just nominal. Taking care of children was also mainly the women's responsibility as they spent about 3.16 hours per week on these activities as compared to only 0.32 hours by males. Women reported less than 1 hour of time spent on activities relating to shopping, pet care, teaching own children, accompanying children to places, care of sick and elderly, supervising children and care of guests. However, if this time is calculated during one year period this time will become quite significant. There was not much difference in the time spent on most of the activities among states. The latest study showed that Indians spend 191 minutes (nearly 3.2 hours) on unpaid work and little below five hours on paid work every day.

American time use survey during 2003-07 in USA showed that women spent more hours per week doing unpaid household work than did men, however, men spent more time doing unpaid work than did women. Over all, the total time that men and women aged 15 and older spent doing either paid work or unpaid household work was about the same. The time individuals spent doing unpaid household work, and the type of household work they did ,varied by age. Time spent in many unpaid household work activities increased with age for these 50-66 years old and coincided with a decline in the share of the population who were employed. The peak in unpaid household work time ,however, occurred for those in their mid-thirties, and largely was driven by the time they spent caring for and helping household children. Taking a look specially at parents of one, two, three, or four or more children showed that when more children were present in a household, mothers were less likely to be employed, spent less time doing unpaid work and spent more time doing unpaid household work, the time fathers spent in those activities and their labour force participation were less responsive to the number of children living their household.(Krantz-Kent,2009) In Britain, during

1987-1997 in dairy farm ,69% of the recorded dairy time is directed towards non-work, 18-21 percent towards unpaid work and remainder 10-13% towards paid work. The time allocation into a number of effects. It displays large constants for non-work(113-123 weekly hours) and smaller constants for unpaid work(10-13 weekly hours); a positive age effects on female unpaid work activities, a negative age effects on female unpaid work activities and dis-similar age effects on leisure and personal care whereas the wage produces the reverse effects on leisure and personal care has a negative impact on unpaid work and positive impact on unpaid work and a positive impact on paid work. The recovered coefficients also suggest that an infant stimulates 17-19 weekly hours of unpaid female work at the expense of other time uses, a child aged 3-5 generates a similar result in 1999 sample, while other dependent children generally stimulates fewer hours of additional unpaid works. (Prodromidis, 2009).

Worldwide, there is a downward trend in people working as contributing family workers and overall an inverse relationship to level of economic development is evident. In 1996, inward, women contributed 33.2% which reduced to 25.1% in 2006, men contribution reduced from 15.8% to 11.6% in the same period. The wide variation is evident in the regional level. In South Asia, the ratio for women to men is 62.6% versus 16.2% in 2006 as against 72.8% versus 22.4% in 1996. In Latin America and the Caribbeans the rates are 5.1 to 3.7 in 2006 in comparison to 7.2 to 6.2 in 1996. In SubSaharan Africa the rates are 39.3 to 23.3 in 2006 as against 36.2 to 27.0 in 1996. In OECD countries, women's total workload is higher than men's, their earnings are lower than that of men. Using time series data of 25 countries, there is a negative relationship between real GDP per capita and the female male difference in the sum of work for pay and work at home, while estimates in some countries in North show that there has been a convergence between the time allocated to unpaid work by women and men. European and North American men have increased the time allocated to unpaid domestic labour. (Antonopoulos, 2009). In USA during 2003-2012, the changes in unpaid work time during this period varied by poverty status and gender. In particular, between pre-recession and recession periods the unpaid work time of poor men increased in contrast to the decrease in non-poor men's unpaid work time. Furthermore, non-poor women decreased their unpaid work time throughout the business cycle, while no change is observed among poor women. Unlike men and poor women, in case of non-poor women, it was associated with a decrease in the unpaid work time due to their lower inactivity rates between pre-recession and recession periods.

Worsening of the spousal employment situation placed downward pressure on the unpaid work time of all four groups, with women being affected more than men. These two employment related factors contributed to the gender differences in the unpaid work time changes. (Khitarihvilli, 2014).

Some important recommendations

Recommendations on measurement: The Commission on the status of Women (CSW) first took up the issue of women's unpaid work in the 70s. The Mexico Conference (1975) established the issue on the equity of the sharing of household chores between men and women.

The Second UN World Conference on Women (Copenhagen, 1980) however clearly spelled out that besides child care, other basic public facilities and social services like housing, safe water, and energy supply must be put in place in order to alleviate the workload traditionally imposed on women in their performance for survival. 33rd CSW on 14-18/11/1988 at Vienna aimed at both the spheres of unpaid work and the world of paid employment would be successful in changing the uneven distribution of unpaid work. Beijing conference strongly shouted for wages for homework where they felt that the idea of wages for homework should be clearly distinguished from social benefits like child allowance or the concept of the family wage i.e. a wage considered sufficient to support a family. The 4th world conference on women at Beijing, the focus was on the measurement and valuation of unpaid work and its incorporation in national accounts, but it did not spell out how that goal could be accomplished other than by better measurement and statistics. The Commission in the Status of Women in its 40th session (1996) discussed child and dependent care, including sharing of work and family responsibility. At 41st session the CSW agreed conclusion (1997/3) only touched upon the issue of measurement and valuation and the sharing of unpaid and unpaid work between women and men. The Statistical Commission held in 29th session in February 1997, the unpaid work is not included on that list of 15 indicators but is mentioned in a list of indicators that are also seen as valuable and relevant for monitoring and evaluating progress. There is a reference to the start of the process of updating the 1993 System of National Accounts, however.

In patriarchal society like India, some of the jobs like cooking, taking care of children, sick and aged persons, etc. are generally performed by women. Unfortunately, no data are generally available at state level to show the time spent by women on these activities. Further these activities are treated as non-economic as per SNA but they are essential for the survival of society. Moreover, if more and more women get themselves involved in economic

activities, then some alternative labour have to be deployed, like in some developed countries to perform these activities. Time Use Survey is first such source, which have provided much sought after data on these activities.

In the Time Use Data Survey, a paradoxical aspect of this problem is that those most burdened may not be able to participate in the studies: "It is usually those women with the heaviest workloads who choose not to participate in these studies." In general, measurement of time causes "some of the most demanding aspects of unpaid work [to be unexplored] and the premise that time is an appropriate tool for measuring women's unpaid work goes unchallenged." Surveys have also been criticized for lacking "depth and complexity" as questions cannot be specifically tailored to particular circumstances.

Recommendations on policies: Women's unpaid contribution have always been invisible and not considered in economic and social policy. Gender equality cannot be achieved by itself .It must form part of economic policies and change the very meaning of these policies. Macro economic analysis must include resources which are not valued , such as unpaid work of women.

There are two categories in formulating policy framework, namely,[i] Specific or direct policies,[ii] Indirect or mainstream policies.

Specific or direct policy has seven sides, namely,[a] Making unpaid work visible and [b] Unpaid work and gender equality policy, [c]Equal sharing,[d] Rearranging paid work,[e] public service,[f] commercialisation of unpaid work,[g] policies with regard to voluntary community work.

The second group consists of four types, viz, [i] Promoting a more equal sharing of unpaid work between women and men,[ii]Introducing changes in the organisation of paid employment in order to facilitate the individual combination of paid and unpaid work both by women and by men,[iii]The provision of public service, such as child care etc., and [iv] The commercialisation of domestic labour.

Since the development of approaches and data necessary for the incorporation of unpaid work in economic policy model is still in its infancy, consideration of the policy implications of unpaid work will be indicative and descriptive.

These are included as follow ;

1. Employment and labour market policy
2. No tax on unpaid work
3. Gender bias on tax system
4. Risk cover for unpaid work
5. Unpaid work by recipients of social security and welfare benefit
6. Other policies.

Indira Hirway(2014) stated important policy framework for unpaid work in India specially in two ways,[i] *3R Approach*-It states to recognise unpaid care, reducing unpaid care work through better infrastructure and technology and redistributing care while ensuring that this role is not delegated to women's alone.[ii] *Monetary valuation*- Input-Output method have been used for this purpose but have now superseded satellite accounts .The limitation is to incorporate unpaid work, it is critical to first understand the determinants of the distribution of paid and unpaid work between men and women and the differential impact of policies on paid and unpaid work using time use data and to incorporate into macroeconomic policies.

In terms of formulating macro policies for public investment in India ,Lekha S Chakraborty (2005) also suggests that there is a need to integrate time budgets in ex-ante expenditure interventions (where the paper presents an illustrative matrix in terms of Sen's capability approach interpreting the three crucial layers are capabilities, functioning and commodity space in terms of time budgets, unpaid work and fiscal stance) and also for ex-post benefit incidence analysis using unit utilized data from time budgets.

Prince Edward Island Advisory Council(2003) on the status of women unpaid work recommended the following actions:[i] Sponsor a provincial public education and awareness campaign on unpaid work,[ii] Commit to a budget development process that uses real costs and benefits, not just cash transaction and analyses the differing impacts of budget decisions on men and women,[iii] Commit to a policy development process that analyses the real impact of policy change on women and men,[iv] Advocate for measures in fairer taxation, include pension plan, modify causes, modify maternity and parental benefits and provide universally funded child care.

Valeria Esguivel (2013) prescribed that policy makers need to recast Time Use Data collection not only as a precursor to the construction of household sector satellite accounts, but as an irreplaceable source of information for the design of policies that support the reduction and redistribution of unpaid care work, within framework that recognises both caregivers' contributions to wellbeing and the cost of care giving .Beyond the obvious impact in care policy designs, time use data can and should inform development and macroeconomic policy .Further more, time use data has already been incorporated into well being indicators that challenge conventional income inequality and poverty measure.

World Bank recommended that;

All Bank investments must:

- Respect and promote women's human rights, especially rights to work, favourable working conditions, equal pay for equal work, education, as well as rest and leisure.
- Value and reward all care work.
- Provide grants, not loans, to impoverished countries to free up funds for child, disabled and elder care as well as other social spending.
- Proactively engage women 'beneficiaries' in all project cycle stages from design to monitoring and evaluation, as well as other female stakeholders including community leaders.
- Make full use of robust sex-disaggregated data to guide project design, monitor progress, and identify gender gaps in employment, income and differential impacts on economic growth and wellbeing.
- Expand WDI to measure the time women and men spend contributing to unpaid care work

Policy investments must:

- Halt cuts to public social spending and privatization and user fees that curtail health, education, and other social services, which disproportionately impact women as caregivers.
- Implement gender budgeting that incorporates gender analysis of household time use.
- Develop banking and finance practices that account for unpaid care-related restrictions to credit, such as weak access to collateral or other resources.
- Proactively promote women as leaders from community to national levels.
- Advance quality care policies and programmes to improve human development and expand paid employment.

Concluding Remarks: Unpaid care underpins all societies, contributing to well-being, social development and economic growth. It is generally

unrecognised and under-valued by policy-makers and legislators.

How societies address care has far-reaching implications for gender relations, power relations and inequalities, as well as human rights enjoyment. The costs and burdens of care are unequally borne across gender and class: care is predominantly done by women and girls, and research shows that the time and difficulty of engaging in unpaid care work are linked to levels of poverty.

At the 68th session of the United Nations General Assembly (October 2013), the Special Rapporteur noted the tasks (1) to analyse the effect of unpaid care on poverty, human rights and women's economic empowerment; (2) to clarify the human rights obligations of States with regard to unpaid care; and (3) to provide recommendations to States on how to recognise, reduce and redistribute unpaid care work, with a view to realizing the human rights of women and tackling their disproportionate vulnerability to poverty.

We have to assess the reasons for and the consequences of this failure to measure, and argue that it is an issue which demands the urgent attention of statisticians, economists and policy makers, alongside feminist academics and activists. Without unpaid services and their depletion being measured and valued, predictions are likely to be faulty, models inaccurate and development policies flawed. The history of the campaign on unpaid work over the last three decades illustrates, on the one hand, the salience of these issues and, on the other, the resistance which exists to taking them seriously. Our aim is to initiate a campaign to persuade policy makers that the failure to count unpaid work both lay at the roots of gender inequality and caused serious flaws in the way economic trends were evaluated.

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