Economic Valuation of Women's Unpaid Household Service Work in Bangladesh

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This short note estimates the economic value of women's unpaid household service work in Bangladesh using data from the Time Use Survey 2021 of BBS. This survey collected detailed information 17,772 respondents (10,024 female and 7,748 male) from 8,000 households on how individuals aged 15 years and older spent their time over a 24-hour period in a day on various activities. Productive time of all household members is divided into three categories: i) household chores (e.g. cooking, cleaning, etc.); ii) caregiving services for household members; and iii) paid and self-employed work. The first two categories comprise unpaid household service work. Data show that women and men spent 7 hours and 6.9 hours on productive work, respectively. In order to estimate the total economic value of women's unpaid work, we follow an input-based replacement cost approach with generalist wage rates. Our estimate shows that the valuation of women's unpaid care work is BDT 5,307 billion, which is equivalent to 14.8 per cent of the GDP in 2021. This figure is a meagre 2.8 per cent of GDP for men.

Keywords: Unpaid Work, Time Use Survey, Economic Valuation, Time Allocation
JEL Classification: J17, J22

I. INTRODUCTION

The opening paragraph of Margaret Reid's (1934) seminal book starts with the following observations: "We are familiar with household production as with many other commonplace things, yet really know very little about it. Few people appreciate its importance. Nor do they realise the part it plays in providing them with the goods which they enjoy." This neglect of household work is partly due to the fact that we tend to deprecate things what are close at

hand. Reid (1934. P.3) also provides an answer to this puzzle: neglect of household work "perhaps is due even more to the fact that the household is not a money-making institution. The more we have concentrated on money values, the more we have overlooked that part of our economic system which is not organised on a profit basis." Unpaid care work is an essential element of social reproduction — a process that supports individuals, families, and society to continue thriving. Despite its significance, unpaid care work has been generally undervalued as it takes place outside the market. This was the case until recently. Sustainable Development Goals (SDG 5.4) calls for recognising and valuing unpaid care and domestic work through the provision of public services, infrastructure and social protection policies, and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate. Unpaid care work is undoubtedly "work," although there is some debate on how to define it. In this short note, we contribute to this literature by estimating the monetary value of women's unpaid household service work in Bangladesh.

In standard microeconomics, "work" is defined as an activity that is done in exchange for income or consumption, generating disutility. Nonetheless, in terms of intrinsic satisfaction, some people surely get utility by minding children, cooking, and/or cleaning, and in some cases, even by performing remunerated work. An alternative approach to defining work, describing paid and unpaid care work, is Margaret Reid's (1934) "third-person criterion," which defines work as an activity one could pay another person to perform. Based on this third-person criterion, various unpaid caregiving tasks such as childcare, eldercare, cooking, cleaning, and gardening are considered work if another person (a third party) could be employed to carry them out on someone's behalf. Another factor in determining "work" is whether an activity generates a benefit that can be transferred or shared. According to both these criteria, the time devoted to unpaid care can certainly be defined as work.

II. DATA

In measuring unpaid care work, time-use data is widely regarded as the best source of information for understanding individuals' daily activities, comprising of the time spent on unpaid care work. Following the United Nations (UN) International Classification of Activities for Time-Use Statistics (ICATUS) 2016 guidelines, the Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (BBS) has recently conducted a Time-Use survey in 2021 to collect information on how individuals aged 15 years and older spent their time over a 24-hour period in a day on various activities. Using the 2011 Population Census as the sampling frame, a total of 8,000 households from 500 enumerated areas were first

randomly selected (BBS, 2023). Time use data were collected from 17,772 respondents (10,024 were female respondents, and 7,748 were male respondents) from these households on their 24-hour time diary of the preceding day of the interview. Of these respondents, 12,277 were from rural areas, and 5,495 were from urban areas. In this study, the time diary data of these respondents are used to estimate the contribution of unpaid household and care work of the respondents in Bangladesh.[1]

III. METHODOLOGY

Recognising Sen (1987), the approach that is adopted in defining unpaid care work in this exercise relates to Margaret Reid's "third-person criterion," considering "work" as an activity that one could pay another person to perform.

There are two distinct approaches to measuring unpaid care work: (i) an output-based approach and (ii) an input-based approach (Ahmad & Koh, 2011; Dorji, Mercer-Blackman, Hampel-Milagrosa, & Suh, 2020; United Nations, 2017). The output-based approach places a value on unpaid care work by assessing the cost of acquiring a similar service in the market. For example, this could involve the cost of purchasing an hour of daycare from a centre or buying prepared food. When assessing the value of unpaid care work, the output-based approach assigns the price of equivalent market substitutes to non-market goods and services. However, defining the output of unpaid care work, such as caring for children, and finding the appropriate data that show market prices for outputs of the equivalent quality and quantity of the goods and services created by unpaid care work is certainly difficult.

On the other side, an input-based approach focuses on measuring and assigning value to the labour inputs involved in unpaid care work. Following the third-person criterion, it values the estimates of individuals' time spent in unpaid care work using the market wage rates for workers who perform similar activities in the labour market. While, in principle, other inputs like capital and raw materials should ideally be measured when evaluating the value of unpaid care work, in practice, labour remains the most crucial input and, thus, the primary consideration in valuing unpaid work. Given the difficulties in defining the output of unpaid care work, the input-based approach is mostly used in valuing unpaid work and is also followed in this exercise.

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[1] Unpaid care works are broadly divided into three broad divisions with ICATUS digits related to (i) unpaid domestic services for household and family members, (ii) unpaid caregiving services for household and family members, and (iii) unpaid volunteer, trainee, and other unpaid work.

Within the input-based approach, the two prevailing methods employed to construct "market wage rates" for valuing labour time are based on estimates of either opportunity cost or replacement cost. The opportunity cost is the per-hour value of time that a person could have spent in an alternative activity if s/he had not been doing unpaid care work. However, while the opportunity cost may reasonably refer to forgone earnings, some calculations might be required for those who have no such jobs and may not necessarily capture the benefits of unpaid work provided to others. Instead, the replacement cost, by contrast, uses the wage that would have been paid to a person hired to perform the same tasks (i.e., the third-party criterion).

Due to the lack of consensus on the most appropriate wages, the replacement wages can vary widely, ranging from a lower-bound estimate to an upper-bound estimate. A generalist wage approach assigns one wage to all activities, irrespective of the nature of the work. On one end, the generalist measure considers low-paid workers in the market, including domestic workers. In contrast, the specialist wage approach assigns distinct wages to various activities, depending on the actual wage rate associated with each specific job. The specialist measure, the other hand, considers relatively high-wage workers, such as nurses and teachers, who spend their time in the relevant specialised activities. Nevertheless, both the generalist and specialist wage approaches often overlook the time individuals dedicate to unpaid care work. For example, an inexperienced person might invest more time in tasks such as plumbing or cleaning than a seasoned specialist. Therefore, it is possible that the use of the specialist wage approach could lead to overstating the value of unpaid care work. Both the generalist and specialist wage approaches also fail to do quality control and do not consider the emotional intelligence needed for such unpaid domestic and care work (Dorji et al., 2020; Suh & Folbre, 2016). For instance, can a cook's wage serve as an appropriate estimate for the labour and care provided by a mother? In such a case, it is possible that the use of the market wage approach could lead to understating the value of unpaid care work.

Considering the challenges related to measurement and data availability and aligning with existing literature, this exercise applies the input-based replacement cost approach with generalist wage rates to value unpaid care work carried out in Bangladesh. The formula used in valuing unpaid care work is as follows:

Annual monetary value of unpaid care work

= Population of age 15 years and older

× Average hours spent on unpaid care per day

×365 days in a year

× Hourly replacement wage

In this exercise, the formula followed by Ahmad and Koh (2011) is adapted to reflect the variation in rural and urban unpaid caregiving work and the variation in wages by females and males. BDT 300 per day (i.e., BDT 37.5 per hour) and BDT 350 per day (i.e., BDT 43.75 per hour) replacement wages of the unskilled daily casual workers are used in valuing women's unpaid work in the rural and urban regions, respectively. BDT 450 per day (i.e., BDT 56.25 per hour) and BDT 500 per day (i.e., BDT 62.5 per hour) replacement wages are used in valuing men's unpaid work in the rural and urban regions, respectively. The wages are collected from the surveys administered by the Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS). The 2021 wages are calculated with a backward adjustment of recently collected 2023 wages and are found to be consistent (see Appendix Table A3). Additionally, the total population of 2021 used in the exercise is taken from BBS (2022). In Bangladesh, the proportions of the female and male population are 50.5 per cent vis-à-vis 49.5 per cent, the rural and urban population is 69 per cent vis-à-vis 31 per cent, and the population 15 years and above constitutes 71.4 per cent of the total population.[2]

IV. ESTIMATES OF UNPAID HOUSEHOLD WORK IN BANGLADESH

In Bangladesh, women perform more unpaid household and caregiving work[3] and less paid- and self-employment and related work than men do. Figure 1 shows that, on average, women spend 1.2 hours on paid and self-employment, while this is 6.1 hours for men. Nonetheless, on average, women spend 4.6 hours and 1.2 hours on unpaid household services and caregiving services as primary activities compared to 0.6 hours and 0.2 hours, respectively, for men, implying that men spend about one-sixth of what women

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[2] Note that there are several data limitations in the study: (1) The Bangladesh time use survey data collected time use information of an individual only for one day during the COVID time, i.e. the first quarter of 2021, and hence the estimates in this study are likely to be subject to seasonality bias as well as the impact from COVID; (2) For a lower and upper bound estimate, the valuations could not be carried out using both the generalist and the specialist wage rates due to lack of Labour Force Survey (LFS) data on the specialised wage; (3) The valuation does not reflect individuals'/ households' willingness to hire a replacement for their unpaid household and caregiving work, and if willing to replace, the valuation does not reflect how much will they be willing to pay for such services; and (4) We have also deliberately left out the unpaid volunteer work in this calculation. Although volunteer work falls under the "unpaid care work" category based on the operational criteria, volunteering at some level presumes that the actor has some free time, which may violate the definition of unpaid work (Dorji et al., 2020). This paper particularly focuses on unpaid domestic and care work for household members.

[3] Following the conventions in other countries, unpaid volunteers, trainees, and other unpaid work have not been considered in the economic valuation of unpaid care work.

do in unpaid household work. In proportionate terms, women spend 24.5 per cent of their daily time on unpaid household work as primary activities compared to only 3.3 per cent of men. Consequently, the unpaid household work by women is more than 7 times higher than men's engagement. As much of unpaid care work is done as secondary activities (for instance, looking after a child while doing other work), the estimate in this study, based on primary activities, provides a lower bound to women's contribution to unpaid household and caregiving work. For a more precise estimate, future research should consider including secondary activities in measuring women's contribution to unpaid care work and also analyse the association between unpaid care work and women's economic outcomes.

Figure 1: Productive Time Use Pattern for Women and Men (hour)
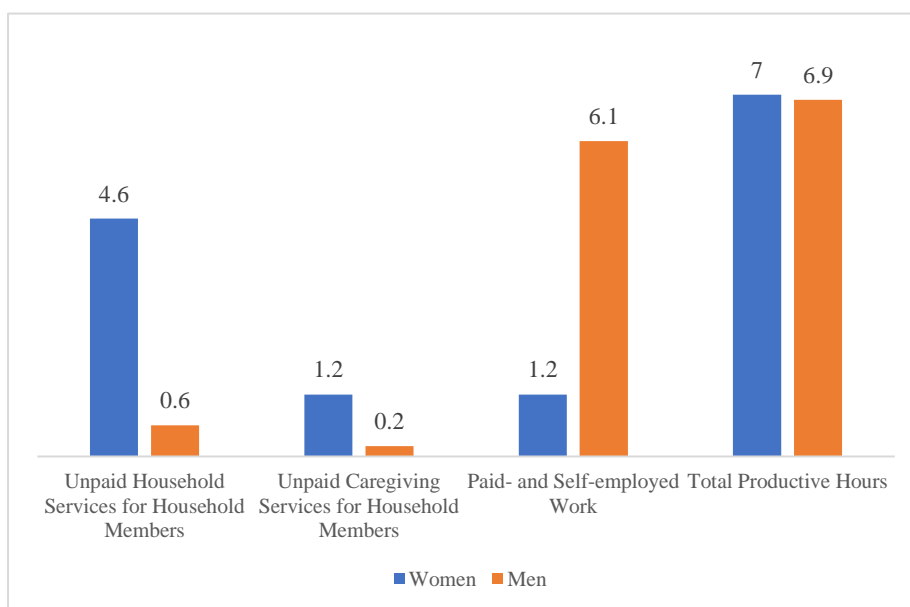
Note: [a.] The values represent averages during the survey period and only include unpaid household and caregiving work as primary activities.
[b.] A full list of activities considered under unpaid household services for household members and unpaid caregiving services for household members is provided in Appendix, Table A1.
[c.] A detailed valuation of the average daily time (hours/day) spent on different activities by women and men in rural and urban areas is provided in Appendix, Table A2.

The estimates of the valuation of unpaid care work using the Bangladesh Time-Use Survey of 2021 reveal that in Bangladesh, women make a significant contribution to social reproduction and economic development through unpaid household and caregiving work. Women's contribution through unpaid non-market household and caregiving work is three times higher than their male counterparts (see Table I). Be that as it may, the valuation of women's contribution to unpaid care work using full-wage—in our exercise—is equivalent to 14.8 per cent of GDP, while men's contribution is only 2.8 per cent of GDP. Women's total contribution to GDP via unpaid care work can be broken down further into rural and urban areas. The matched figures are equivalent to 9.8 per cent and 5 per cent of GDP in rural and urban areas, respectively.[4]

How realistic are our reference wage rates which represent the daily market wage rates of unskilled casual workers? In order to address this question, we present simulation results based on different assumptions regarding the shadow price of the labour involved in household service work (see Table I). It is possible that those involved in household service work are paid lower than the daily market wage for casual labourers. To account for the lower wages of domestic workers compared to the daily casual workers and also to take into consideration the lower productivity of non-specialised individuals compared to a professional, we adjust wages by reducing them to 75 per cent and 50 per cent of reference wages. Even under these assumptions, we still find women's unpaid care work to be equivalent to 11.1 per cent and 7.4 per cent of GDP, respectively. Alternatively, one can argue that care work is vital to society and the economy and requires a certain level of nurturing skills, i.e., knowledge of nutrition, medicine use, and emotional intelligence. To account for such skills and emotional factors, we increase the reference wage of unskilled daily casual

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[4] Utilising the replacement cost method, Khatun, Khan, Pervin, and Jahan (2015) estimated the value of women's unpaid work in Bangladesh to be 76.8 per cent of GDP in the fiscal year 2013-14. The study by Khatun et al. (2015) encompasses a broader framework of non-SNA activities, which are activities outside the System of National Accounts (SNA) but fall within the 'general production boundary.' This includes valuing activities like taking care of livestock as part of own-account production. This raises the probability of duplication with the national GDP estimation, which already considers unpaid work related to production activities. Earlier, Hamid (1989) examined the methodological issues involved in estimating women's "non-market work" to GDP, including Margaret Reid's "third-person criterion". She finds that women's "subsistence work" was equivalent to 11 per cent of GDP in 1983/84 (Hamid, 1989, p. 47).

workers by 25 per cent and 33 per cent.[5] This yields women's unpaid care work in Bangladesh to be equivalent to 18.5 per cent and 19.6 per cent of GDP, respectively.

It seems that our reference wages for unskilled casual wage workers based on the generalised wage method, yielding an assessment of women's unpaid work that is equivalent to 15 per cent of GDP (in 2021), provide a *middle ground* between the two contending views – one overstating the skill level required for the care work and the other underestimating the emotional element of the care work. However, this estimate should not be taken as unchangeable as the valuation of unpaid care work very much depends on how society *values* this unpaid work, and that can generate an alternative estimate to what we sketched out here.

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[5] The 33 per cent upper bound adjustment of wages is based on Sri Lanka's recent valuation of unpaid work. The Sri Lanka exercise used the wages of domestic cleaners as a lower bound estimate (producing an estimate of 10.3 per cent of GDP) and the wages of early childhood educator as an upper bound estimate (producing an estimate of 15.4 per cent).

TABLE I
VALUE OF UNPAID HOUSEHOLD WORK IN BANGLADESH, 2021

Activities	All			Rural			Urban		
	Women	Men	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men	All
Value at Full Wage Rates (Reference Wage Rates)									
Unpaid domestic services for household and family members (billion BDT)	4,171	770	4,941	2,787	525	3,313	1,384	245	1,629
Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members (billion BDT)	1,136	2,48	1,383	731	146	877	404	102	506
Total (billion BDT)	**5,307**	**1,018**	**6,325**	**3,519**	**671**	**4,190**	**1,788**	**347**	**2,135**
Per cent of GDP	14.8%	2.8%	17.6%	9.8%	1.9%	11.7%	5.0%	0.9%	5.9%
Value at 75% of Reference Wage Rates									
Unpaid domestic services for household and family members (billion BDT)	3,128	578	3,706	2,091	394	2,485	1,038	184	1,221
Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members (billion BDT)	852	186	1,038	549	109	658	303	76	380
Total (billion BDT)	**3,980**	**763**	**4,744**	**2,639**	**503**	**3,143**	**1,341**	**260**	**1,601**
Per cent of GDP	11.1%	2.1%	13.2%	7.3%	1.4%	8.7%	3.7%	0.7%	4.5%
Value at 50% of Reference Wage Rates									
Unpaid domestic services for household and family members (billion BDT)	2,086	385	2,471	1,394	263	1,656	692	122	814
Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members (billion BDT)	568	124	692	366	73	439	202	51	253
Total (billion BDT)	**2,653**	**509**	**3,162**	**1759**	**336**	**2,095**	**894**	**173**	**1,067**
Per cent of GDP	7.4%	1.4%	8.8%	4.9%	0.9%	5.8%	2.5%	0.5%	3.0%

(Contd. Table I))

Activities	All			Rural			Urban		
	Women	Men	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men	All
Value at 125% of Reference Wage Rates									
Unpaid domestic services for household and family members (billion BDT)	5,214	963	6,177	3,484	657	4,141	1,730	306	2,036
Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members (billion BDT)	1,419	310	1,729	914	182	1,097	505	127	633
Total (billion BDT)	**6,633**	**1,272**	**7,906**	**4,399**	**839**	**5,238**	**2,235**	**433**	**2,668**
Per cent of GDP	18.5%	3.5%	22.0%	12.2%	2.3%	14.6%	6.2%	1.2%	7.4%
Value at 133% of Reference Wage Rates									
Unpaid domestic services for household and family members (billion BDT)	5,548	1,024	6,572	3,707	699	4,406	1,840	326	2,166
Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members (billion BDT)	1,510	330	1,840	973	194	1,167	537	136	673
Total (billion BDT)	**7,058**	**1,354**	**8,412**	**4,680**	**893**	**5,573**	**2,378**	**461**	**2,839**
Per cent of GDP	19.6	3.8	23.4	13.0%	2.5%	15.5%	6.6%	1.3%	7.9%

Source: Authors' own calculations.

V. CONCLUSION

Knowing the value of women's unpaid household and care work is a crucial step towards recognising women's unpaid care contribution and, hence, gender equity. The present exercise is a humble attempt in that context to show that the women's unpaid care work contribution is quite significant - about 15 per cent of Bangladesh's GDP – a number closely comparable across the South Asian countries. Using the input-based replacement cost method with generalised wages, the valuation of women's unpaid work is estimated as 10.9 per cent in Bhutan using wages for semiskilled workers (Dorji et al., 2020), 15 per cent in Sri Lanka (Gunewardena, 2023), and 7.5 per cent in India (State Bank of India, 2023). However, in India, the valuation of women's contribution to unpaid work is lower as it only includes women aged 18-60 years, unlike the estimate for Bangladesh, which includes women aged 15 years and older. It also assumes a lower hourly wage rate per day of INR 21 for rural and INR 33 for urban compared to Bangladesh's BDT 37.5 and BDT 43.75, respectively. If the Indian estimate is corrected for wage level differences and reference age-group differences, then women's unpaid contribution would be approximately 14.7 per cent. Overall, if we do simulation-based exercises by adjusting the wages, the matched estimates for Bangladesh vary very little across South Asia.

This unpaid care work valuation clearly indicates the acute inequality that persists between male and female workers in unpaid care work. Women's unpaid care work contribution—in GDP equivalent terms—is five times higher than the corresponding contribution by their male counterparts. In short, female workers are much more involved in unpaid care than male workers. Recognising and measuring unpaid care work is critical as some parts of society are performing it "for free," while others are continuing to do their "paid work" on an uninterrupted basis. The unpaid and paid work are thus organically linked in an integrated system of social reproduction.

The above valuation exercise, however, does not mean that unpaid care work is to be immediately reflected in BBS's GDP estimate. But it clearly suggests that if unpaid care work for both women and men is to be reflected in national accounting, it would add to approximately 17.6 per cent of Bangladesh's GDP. However, it is not currently permitted statistically because that would violate the System of National Accounting (SNA) rule set by the UN. While the latter still ignores unpaid care work, it still takes into account the unpaid production work (though there is, admittedly, room for improvement here, too).

This study has policy implications in terms of highlighting systematic recognition of unpaid care work and investing in care services to reduce and redistribute the unpaid care responsibility of women. The latter can be manifold:

a. Unpaid caregivers should be prioritised in accessing public health, nutrition, and general social protection programs.

b. Better infrastructure and caregiving market and non-market institutions should be in place for unpaid care work, including childcare and elderly care, to reduce women's unpaid care responsibility and provide them an opportunity for economic participation.

c. Investment in technology can come in handy - improved technology for cooking and cleaning should be encouraged at the household level to raise productivity in care work.

d. Male contribution to the household unpaid care work must be societally encouraged. This will help ensure the spread of the care work across genders, ensuring gender equality in unpaid work.

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Appendix

Table A1: Activities under Unpaid Household and Caregiving Work

Division	Activity title
	Unpaid domestic services for household and family members
31	Food and meal management and preparation
32	Cleaning and maintaining of own dwelling and surroundings
33	Do-it-yourself decoration, maintenance and repair
34	Care and maintenance of textiles and footwear
35	Household management for own final use
36	Pet care
37	Shopping for own household and family members
38	Travelling, moving, transporting, or accompanying goods or persons related to unpaid domestic services for household and family members
39	Other unpaid domestic services for household and family members
	Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members
41	Childcare and instruction
42	Care for dependent adults
43	Help non-dependent adult household and family members
44	Travelling and accompanying goods or persons related to unpaid caregiving services for household and family members
49	Other activities related to unpaid caregiving services for household and family members

Table A2: Average Daily Time (Hours/Day) Spent by Gender and Location

ICTAUS Activity Group (Major Division)	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Women	Men	All	Women	Men	All	Women	Men	All
Employment and related activities (market-based)	1.2	6.1	3.3	1.1	5.9	3.2	1.5	6.6	3.7
Production of goods for own final use	0.8	0.6	0.7	1.0	0.7	0.9	0.3	0.1	0.2
Unpaid domestic services for household and family members	4.6	0.6	2.9	4.7	0.6	2.9	4.5	0.6	2.8
Unpaid caregiving services for household and family members	1.2	0.2	0.8	1.2	0.2	0.8	1.3	0.2	0.8
Unpaid volunteer trainee and other unpaid activities	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Learning	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
Socialising and communication, community participation, and religious practice	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.0	2.0	2.0
Culture, leisure, mass media, and sports practices	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.5	3.0	2.6	2.8
Self-care and maintenance	10.9	11.3	11.1	10.9	11.3	11.1	10.9	11.3	11.1
Total hours in a day	**24**	**24**	**24**	**24**	**24**	**24**	**24**	**24**	**24**

Source: BBS (2023).

**Table A3: Daily Agricultural Wage Rate (Without Food) for
Casual Labourers in Rural Areas, 2023**

District Name	Male with meal	Male without meal	Female with meal	Female without meal
1. Bagerhat	400	500	NA	300
2. Bandarban	500	600	327	426
3. Barguna	500	600	300	400
4. Barishal	500	600	NA	NA
5. Bhola	500	600	400	500
6. Bogra	500	600	300	400
7. Brahmanbaria	500	600	302	402
8. Chandpur	400	450	300	350
9. Chattogram	500	600	300	400
10. Chuadanga	400	500	300	350
11. Cumilla	557	656	339	437
12. Cox's Bazar	500	600	300	400
13. Dhaka	500	600	400	498
14. Dinajpur	500	550	300	350
15. Faridpur	500	600	399	496
16. Feni	600	700	300	400
17. Gaibanda	400	450	300	349
18. Gazipur	NA	500	NA	NA
19. Gopalganj	400	500	350	451
20. Habiganj	500	550	300	350
21. Joypurhat	600	700	300	400
22. Jamalpur	504	602	300	400
23. Jashore	333	304	200	203
24. Jhalokathi	500	600	300	350
25. Jhenaidah	400	450	300	350
26. Khagrachari	500	600	311	400
27. Khulna	NA	500	NA	250
28. Kishoreganj	500	600	400	500
29. Kurigram	400	450	300	349
30. Kushtia	500	600	NA	NA
31. Laxmipur	511	608	409	507
32. Lalmonirhat	500	550	300	349
33. Madaripur	500	605	411	511
34. Magura	400	450	300	350
35. Manikganj	600	700	NA	NA
36. Meherpur	400	450	248	298
37. Moulvibazar	500	600	350	400
38. Munshiganj	496	598	302	404
39. Mymensingh	500	700	200	300

District Name	Male with meal	Male without meal	Female with meal	Female without meal
40. Naogaon	400	450	300	349
41. Narail	450	500	300	350
42. Narayanganj	500	600	300	400
43. Narsingdi	529	633	315	415
44. Natore	389	489	289	339
45. Chapainawabganj	450	500	251	305
46. Netrokona	501	603	500	600
47. Nilphamari	401	502	250	300
48. Noakhali	657	780	393	501
49. Pabna	400	498	200	299
50. Panchagarh	450	600	250	300
51. Patuakhali	NA	600	NA	350
52. Pirojpur	600	700	397	497
53. Rajshahi	500	600	300	400
54. Rajbari	500	600	300	399
55. Rangamati	500	600	300	400
56. Rangpur	400	499	271	321
57. Shariatpur	500	600	403	502
58. Satkhira	400	340	246	233
59. Sirajganj	400	500	250	300
60. Sherpur	497	597	NA	400
61. Sunamganj	400	450	300	350
62. Sylhet	500	600	329	429
63. Tangail	591	691	NA	NA
64. Thakurgaon	498	548	300	350
All	**477**	**559**	**309**	**378**

Source: Calculated from the primary data of BIDS survey of 64 villages 2023.