

Draft version 1

Report on

**URBAN POOR LIVELIHOODS
DOMESTIC WORKERS IN DELHI**

Submitted by

Institute of Social Studies Trust to Sir Dorabji Tata Trust

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Contents

| | |
|---|-------|
| 1. Survey Methodology | 1-24 |
| 2. Findings from East and North East district | 25-34 |
| 3. South Delhi, New Delhi | 35-62 |
| 4. West Delhi | 63-66 |
| 5. Key findings: live out domestic workers | 67-71 |
| 6. Key findings: live in domestic workers | 72-74 |

This study has been carried out by a team of researchers from Institute of Social Studies Trust. The Principal Investigator was Shrayana Bhattacharya. The study was supported by Sir Dorabji Tata Trust and conducted over the period January 2008-December 2009.

Several persons contributed at different stages and special thanks to Dr G. Raveendran for his advice on sampling methodology.

CHAPTER 1

The Survey Methodology

1. Objectives of the Study

The project has been initiated with the support of Sir Dorabjee Tata Trust to study the emerging livelihood patterns and working conditions of the poor within the context of urbanisation and growth in the National Capital Region (NCR) and specifically query the role of migrant labour in the two sectors of (i) domestic work and (ii) information and communication technology (ICT). Rapid economic growth including real estate boom and expansion of service sector industries in the 'core' is believed to have opened up considerable employment opportunities in recent years. There is, however, serious information gap about the quality of such employment including job security, income security, social security and conditions of work. Interactions with the concerned activist groups such as KISLAY, SEWA Union, Karnataka Domestic Workers Union and NIRMAAN through meetings, conferences and field visits confirmed that data on the profile of domestic workers and their working conditions were not available for any recent period. This study is aimed at obtaining a qualitative description of living conditions and employment characteristics of domestic workers, particularly migrant women in the NCR. In particular, the study is an attempt to map the variables influencing the working conditions and wage rates along with the profiles of domestic workers in Delhi. The specific objectives of the study were the following:

- i) To assess the socio-economic profiles of domestic workers, particularly women, in different parts of Delhi including their marital and migratory status.
- ii) To assess the quality of employment of domestic workers including their employment, income and social security coverage and working conditions.
- iii) To assess the role of social networks and the existing institutional systems in mediating employment, wages and conditions of work.
- iv) To assess the hierarchy of skill and productivity if it exist within the sector, the determinants of such hierarchies and its impact on wages and working conditions.
- v) To assess the entry and skill barriers, if any, and how these are mediated by various factors including place of stay, migratory status, place of work, mediating agencies, etc.
- vi) To assess the extent of influence of the determinants of wages and benefits like demand, supply, productivity, unionisation and personal endowments in the labour market outcomes of domestic workers.
- vii) To determine the differentials in wages and working conditions between male and female live in workers, part-time and full time workers, workers belonging to unions and others, workers employed through agencies and others, etc.

2. Exploratory Research

Although a quantitative estimate of number of domestic workers in the National Capital Region (NCR) based on a well designed probability sampling was not the objective of the study, it was

necessary to ensure that different parts of the region with settlements of female domestic workers were given adequate representation in the survey so as to bring out locational differences and settlement characteristics. A workshop conducted in April 2008 on the survey methodology also stressed the need for capturing the diversity of domestic workers in the NCR. It was also equally important to avoid wastage of resources by attempting to conduct surveys in areas which were not the identified settlements of domestic workers. An iterative sequence of qualitative and quantitative research was thus carried out to identify the areas of settlement of domestic workers along with their level of concentration. The process generated and consolidated a large amount of a priori information which assisted the study team in evolving a set of guidelines for survey design and execution.

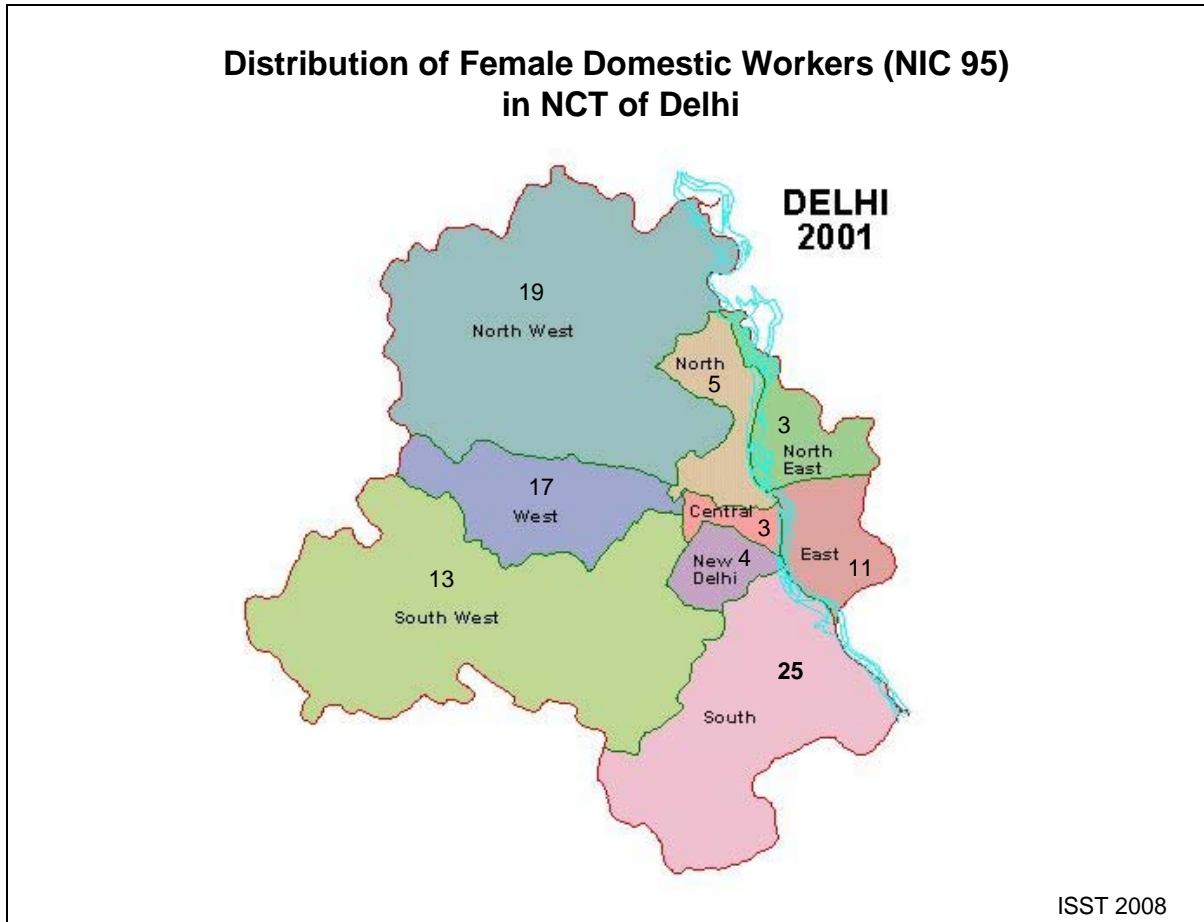
At the first instance, an attempt was made to identify the regions of concentration of domestic workers within the NCR. Quantitative estimates of domestic workers in different parts of NCR were thus generated by using the unit level data sets of NSS 61st Round Survey on 'Employment-Unemployment'. There were 1,38,044 domestic workers (NCO Code 531) in the entire NCR during 2004-05 as per these estimates. Among them, 83 percent of the workers were in Delhi and another 13.0 percent were distributed among three border districts of Uttar Pradesh. Females among them constituted 76 percent. The distribution of domestic workers by state, sector and sex is given in Table-1.

Table-1: Estimates of Domestic Workers by Region and Sex (2004-05)

| State | District | Rural | | | Urban | | | Rural+Urban | | |
|------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| | | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total |
| Haryana | Rewari | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1094 | 1672 | 2765 | 1094 | 1672 | 2766 |
| | Gurgaon | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 975 | 975 | 0 | 975 | 975 |
| | Faridabad | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1301 | 1301 | 0 | 1301 | 1301 |
| | Total | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1094 | 3948 | 5042 | 1094 | 3948 | 5042 |
| Rajasthan | Alwar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| UP | Meerut | 0 | 4277 | 4277 | 904 | 202 | 1106 | 904 | 4479 | 5383 |
| | Baghpat | 0 | 7621 | 7621 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7621 | 7621 |
| | G.B. Nagar | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4052 | 874 | 4926 | 4052 | 874 | 4926 |
| | Total | 0 | 11898 | 11898 | 4956 | 1076 | 6032 | 4956 | 12974 | 17930 |
| Delhi | Delhi | 9125 | 0 | 9125 | 18371 | 87576 | 105947 | 27496 | 87576 | 115072 |
| All areas | | 9125 | 11898 | 21023 | 24421 | 92600 | 117021 | 33546 | 104498 | 138044 |

The estimates revealed that the survey of domestic workers could be confined to Delhi. It was, however, necessary to identify the districts of Delhi with maximum concentration of female

domestic workers so as to ensure a proper distribution of samples. The district-wise estimates of female domestic workers as per Census 2001 revealed that the maximum concentration was in South Delhi. The district-wise percentage distribution is given in the map.



After assessing the areas of concentration, it was necessary to identify the specific geographic locations/areas of stay of female domestic workers so as to prepare an effective sampling frame. Since survey was not intended to derive estimates of total numbers but to obtain the profiles and other characteristics of such workers, it was adequate to confine the survey to identified dominant places of residence of such workers. Reviews of previous literature on migration, informality and women's employment highlighted slums, *Jhuggie Jhompri* (JJ) clusters and unrecognized housing settlements as the dominant area of residence for live-out or part time domestic workers. Literature and studies on urban livelihoods also suggested that these settlements offered shelter to recent in-migrants. Preliminary field visits in 5 slum clusters, interviews with researchers and activists in combination with a review of secondary literature suggested that paid domestic work was seen as an important occupation for women residing in slums and JJ clusters. It was common to hear people describe the sector as an occupation taken up by most female slum-dwellers. Hence, it was recognised that slums would be key sites to trace and survey domestic workers. The slum settlements, however, had different typologies in the city. These included recognized and legally

designated slums known as JJ colonies and settlements which were un-recognised and risked evictions. Various kinds of settlements in the city, as identified by the Economic Survey are:

- i. Jhuggie-Jhompri colonies (JJ)
- ii. Slum designated areas
- iii. Unauthorised colonies
- iv. Resettlement colonies
- v. Rural villages
- vi. Regularised Unauthorised colonies
- vii. Urban villages
- viii. Planned Colonies.

The first two account for bulk of Delhi's slum population (Batra 2004). Legally designated slums, as per the Slum Areas Improvement and Clearance Act (1958) are usually found in Central Delhi, with a majority in the walled city. Many of the relocated slum populations live in JJ colonies in Papan Kalan, Bawana, Holambi Kalan, Madanpur Khadar and Savda Ghera . These areas are near industries or urban villages in border districts such as North West and South Delhi. Very few have any proximity to residential areas and thus the domestic workers would be travelling by public or private transport to work. Surveys on such relocated sites and resident domestic workers have been done in the past. Such efforts continue with Jagori's on going study in Manadpur Khadar and Bawana. The ISST study aspired to sample various kinds of domestic workers, including those who resided in slums which had not been relocated or resettled while living in close proximity to their places of employment.

The search for a comprehensive list of all the slum settlements in Delhi was fairly long and complex. The Slum and JJ Department of Municipal Corporation of Delhi (MCD) provided a list of slums in 70 Assembly Constituencies as on 31st March, 1994. Discussions with the concerned officials revealed that the list was not updated after 1994. These interactions also highlighted that the list created by the Department was unreliable for a survey in 2008 as many of the slums enlisted in different Assembly Constituencies had been demolished and relocated to new legal and government recognised JJ colonies constructed by state agencies in border districts such as North West and South Delhi. The Department also provided the ISST team with information on the current geographical location of recognized JJ colonies, where households from 205 evicted slum clusters had been resettled between 1990-2007. However, this information on JJ colonies was restricted to recognised settlements in particular geographical areas, and did not cover informal and unrecognised squatter settlements of domestic workers near private residential colonies. It was also noted that various slums had been demolished and large sections of slum dwellers had not been resettled. Thus, there were several new unmapped slum and JJ clusters in close vicinity to pre-existing settlements. The initial phase of interactions and field visits in slums where unions and organisations working with domestic workers operated, confirmed such problems with using the MCD data as a frame for identifying slum localities. Many of the domestic workers, particularly during initial interviews in South Delhi confirmed they had moved from nearby slum clusters, where their homes had been demolished or faced the threat of eviction. This was a phenomenon highlighted by activists and academics investigating evictions in urban Delhi (Baviskar 2002, Hazard Centre 2001). In addition, the demonstration of evictions nearby or the fear of evictions had caused many households to relocate to different settlements. Thus, there was a large section of Delhi's

slum population which would be unaccounted for, if the MCD list was used to identify slums in the city. Due to relocation and eviction, survey of slum populations would take more time and effort, as clusters would have to be traced from 1994 to their current location in 2008 – an exercise which was unfeasible.

Reviews of the Delhi Economic Survey (2007) and the Planning Commission report on slums in Delhi (2002) also highlighted concerns regarding slum enumeration and statistics produced by Census 2001. While the Slum and JJ Department of MCD enlisted 1100 clusters with 6 lakh Jhuggies and a total population of 30 lakh in 1994, the Census 2001 data estimated Delhi's slum population as 20 lakh with 4 lakh households only. The statistics also showed different geographical concentration of slums, despite using the same definitions. The MCD document indicated that slum settlements were largely in North East, South and East Delhi, while the Census 2001 data showed largest concentration in Central Delhi. The 2001 Census data appeared to concentrate on the old acknowledged 'slum' settlements, providing limited information on more recent and informal JJ clusters. The MCD list included several informal and un-recognised JJ clusters, also known as 'Camps' -- which were identified for relocation, as they were encroaching on public or private land. Thus, the Census data were criticised (Planning Commission 2002) for underestimating the slum population and did not allow the ISST study to tap more recent settlements.

As the use of slum data from the MCD or Census 2001 to identify part time domestic workers at their place of residence was plagued with problems, the study aimed at identifying domestic workers through listing and sampling of employer households within private residential colonies, resettlement areas, government colonies and DDA flats. The ward level geographical frame was available from electoral rolls, released in August 2008. These rolls provided address listings of all individuals with voter cards in the city. The list divided the NCT into 70 Assembly Constituencies (ACs), and provided detailed geographical information on each ward of the city. The ISST study team prepared profiles of the ACs based on the descriptions in the list and conducted a pilot survey in 3 ACs. The pilot was conducted in employer households in nearby housing colonies and selected slum settlements.

Employer Households: The government colonies and DDA colonies in the selected ACs were identified and households were listed with the help of electoral rolls to identify employer households. The listing was done in one block or lane selected at random. The households found to be employing domestic workers at the time of listing were asked their permission to interview their domestic help.

Employee Households: The households in a gali or block selected at random in the randomly selected slum in each of the three ACs were listed to identify domestic workers. The selection of block and listing was done with the help of the electoral roll. If the electoral roll did not contain address details, any single lane in the slum was listed. The listed households in the slums were asked if any of the female members of the household had worked as domestic worker. The details of domestic workers thus identified were collected through a pre-designed questionnaire if willing to respond.

The survey of employer households yielded poor results. Field investigators recorded weak response rates, especially in apartment complex areas which were guarded and gated. Employers

were often unwilling to answer questions about their domestic help, and in addition were not too keen on their workers being interviewed. In households which allowed the ISST field investigators to question employed domestic workers, the investigators nearly spent half the day waiting for women to finish their working shifts in the colony. In addition, workers were often hesitant to answer questions in their employer's households. They felt that answering survey questions during their working hours would hamper their work. Many had to reach home at specified times to fetch water, pick up children from school or cook lunch or dinner at home. Thus, this method was abandoned after pilots in 3 colonies spread out in East, West and South Delhi.

The survey of domestic workers in their places of residence, slum settlements, provided good results. It proved that the descriptions of specific areas provided in the electoral lists can be profitably used for identifying slum settlements- both recognised and un-recognised. The use of electoral rolls as geographical frame to identify and sample slums was thus found to be feasible. It was also found that the response rate was considerably good and the workers were willing to respond positively to the interviewers. The adoption of the methodology, however, limited the coverage to live-out domestic workers. The electoral rolls divided the nine districts of Delhi into 70 Assembly Constituencies and a sample of these constituencies had to be selected as the first stage sampling units.

3. The Sampling Design

A stratified three stage quota sampling design was used for the selection of sample respondents for the survey. Each of the nine districts of Delhi formed a stratum. The ACs formed the first stage sampling units. ACs were, however, selected after classifying them into the following three sub-strata:

- i. Assembly Constituencies of Delhi bordering with other states in the border districts.
- ii. Assembly Constituencies of Delhi not having border with other states in the border districts.
- iii. Assembly Constituents in non-border districts.

There were 6 districts which had borders with other states in the NCR and the number of border ACs in these districts was 21. It was decided to give priority to border ACs in the sample selection and as such all such ACs except one were selected in case the district had more than one border AC. In the case of single border AC, it was selected with probability one. Thus the number of border ACs selected in each border district was given by:

$$n=N-1 \text{ if } N>1 \text{ and}$$

$$n=1 \text{ if } N=1 \text{ where } N \text{ is the number of border ACs in the district and 'n' is the sample size.}$$

In the case of non-border ACs in each of the border districts, except South Delhi, 25% percent of them were selected in the sample. In the case of South Delhi, all the non-bordering ACs were selected in the sample. In addition, the wards of South Delhi as per Census 2001 but included as Assembly Constituencies of New Delhi district were also selected in the sample.

In the case of non-border districts, 50 percent of the ACs was selected for the survey. Simple random sampling was adopted for all sample selections, wherever required.

In the aggregate 36 ACs out of 70 ACs were selected for the survey. These samples were distributed among all the districts of Delhi and the districts with border ACs or with higher concentration of female domestic workers received higher weightage in the allocation of samples. The number of border and non-border ACs in each district and the samples selected from them are given in Table-2. The list of selected sample ACs by district is at Annex-I. However, survey could not be completed in eight ACs because of various reasons including non-availability of slums, non-cooperation of residents and prevailing law and order situation in the constituency. Thus the effective sample size was 28 ACs.

Table-2: District-wise Distribution of Sample ACs

| District | Number of ACs | | Sample size | | | Non-response |
|------------------|---------------|------------|-------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| | Border | Non-Border | Border | Non-Border | Total | |
| South Delhi | 6 | 2 | 5 | 2 | 7 | 0 |
| New Delhi | 1 | 6 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| East Delhi | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| West Delhi | 0 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| North West Delhi | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| South West Delhi | 3 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| North East Delhi | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 2 |
| Central Delhi | 0 | 7 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| North Delhi | 0 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 2 |
| Total | 21 | 49 | 16 | 20 | 36 | 8 |

The second stage sampling units were slums within the selected ACs. The list of slums in each selected AC was prepared on the basis of the descriptions of wards/ settlement areas in the electoral rolls. The areas described by the words such as ‘Camp’, ‘Basti’, ‘JJ’, ‘Slum’ and ‘Huts’ were treated as slum settlements and listed in each selected AC. The electoral rolls, however, included only those areas in which individuals with voter identity cards were living. Thus, there was a bias towards more secured settlement areas in the second stage sample selection. Further, the areas which did not contain any description could not be classified. There was also no indication about the size of population in the listed areas. There may be, therefore, slum areas which have been missed while preparing the list of slums though all possible efforts were made in consultation with MCD officials and local NGOs to locate all areas containing slum dwellers. Such local enquiries helped in identifying slums near South Delhi’s urban villages such as Chandan Hola and Kusumpur Pahadi. During field visits, the team realised that the voter lists mentioned a variety of clusters – some were *kutcha* JJ clusters, which were not more than five years old, while others were old clusters which had been legally designated as slums. All the identified slums were listed in the order they appeared in the voters list and 50 percent of them were selected by using simple random sampling.

The third and final stage sampling units were galis, lanes or blocks in each selected slum settlement areas. The list of such sub-areas within the slums was also prepared on the basis of descriptions contained in the electoral rolls and field investigations, wherever, the lists did not contain any such details. One such sub-area was selected randomly from each slum for listing of households for restricting the listing to 50 to 100 households in the selected slums.

The ultimate survey units were female domestic workers in the selected areas who were willing to co-operate with the survey team. They were identified by listing all the households in the selected gali, lane or block and ascertaining whether any female member of the household was engaged in paid domestic work and if so whether she was willing to participate in the ISST study by providing responses to the questionnaire. If there was more than one such member in the household, all of them were surveyed. The listing of households was not limited to the households in the voters list but covered all the households in the selected areas irrespective of the fact whether any member of the household possessed voters identity card or not. The households were listed in the order of the house numbers wherever such numbers existed. In other cases the households were listed in a contiguous order and the households were assigned serial numbers.

4. Field Surveys

The surveys were conducted by trained investigators through face to face interviews and by using well designed structured questionnaires which were finalised after consultations with survey experts and pre-testing. Copies of the questionnaires used for listing and detailed survey are at Annex-II and III.

3 teams of investigators were recruited for the purpose of the survey. The survey was conducted by a total of 30 investigators, supervised by 3 professionals. The adhoc investigators recruited for the survey were given both theoretical and practical training in the concepts and definitions used in the survey instruments and in the actual conduct of the survey. The survey work was also supervised and coordinated by the technical staff of the ISST very closely. Training for 30 investigators was conducted through 3 workshops which were held for three day periods each. Each workshop focused on a team of 10 investigators who were allocated specific districts and thus the inputs were also localized and specific district related queries regarding logistics and the survey instruments could be tackled. The teams were allocated districts based on their past survey experience and geographical know-how of the NCT. Training sessions discussed the nature of domestic work, concerns domestic workers may raise in relation to responding to surveyors and aimed to provide conceptual clarity on the terms and issues queried in the instrument. Investigators were also engaged in mock-canvassing exercises, through role play methods.

Out of 70 assembly constituencies, the sample included 36 ACs and 117 slum clusters. **Final survey data relies on 28 ACs and 72 slum clusters.** A total of 1438 live out domestic workers have been surveyed. Please see details in Annex-III and Annex –IV.

5. Qualitative Research

The survey was concomitantly followed by qualitative investigation through backvisits and in-depth discussions. Domestic workers who were willing to be interviewed were asked to provide contact details and they were followed up by the study team in specific areas. Certain women provided mobile phone numbers, through which interview timings and dates were finalised. The in-depth discussions were held in ten locations distributed across South, West, East and New Delhi districts. The places were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- i. Incidence of domestic workers reported.
- ii. Willingness of local communities to interact with the research team.

To facilitate this process, a team of ten technical persons were trained at a workshop held on 5th and 6th of September 2008. These persons accompanied the ISST staff for interviews and field visits.

Interviews were held with willing respondents at their residence/ place of convenience. Field observations about the area of settlement of the respondents and area of employment were also made.

A roster of contacts and areas was maintained by the ISST research team. 7 Focus Group Discussions have been completed in East, South, New Delhi and West Delhi slums 78 female live-out domestic workers have been interviewed thus far.

6. Scrutiny and Tabulation

Data validation and scrutiny was conducted in two phases. Field supervisors were requested to visit one surveyed household in each survey site and check the accuracy of details provided. This process was implemented in varying capacity as several households did not entertain repeat visits. Thus, the supervisors were only able to ascertain if correct households had been identified. The second phase of scrutiny regarding data collection was conducted by the ISST qualitative team, which would back-visit areas and households within two week periods of the survey forms being submitted. These visits were used to validate data and initiate qualitative research.

Data entry was conducted by two resource persons at ISST. This process was completed between February and May 2009. Data consistency checks are being performed, with particular focus on information collected on individual household members, wages and working conditions. Erroneous, duplicate and incomplete entries are being removed from the data set. This process shall be completed by between June and July 2009.

7. Difficulties Faced in the Field Survey

The word 'survey' is increasingly looked upon with immense suspicion by slum communities in Delhi. Field investigators were often shunned away by local leaders and household members. During weekly meetings with ISST research coordinators, the investigators highlighted how the word 'survey' had acquired a negative connotation, with people in many slums particularly in

South, South West and North East Delhi as they were tired of being enumerated for one survey or another.

This was an issue which was highlighted in the pilot survey itself in South Delhi where a female domestic worker in Kirotia camp said,

‘Yes, nowadays all kinds of people come for surveys. They fill forms and we never know what happened.’

Not only were slum residents tired of surveys, some areas reported immense fear and anger towards the process. Two of our field investigators faced violence from local leaders and their men in NOIDA and a Jat dominated slum community in South West Delhi’s Najafgarh. In most slums identified in Najafgarh, leaders and members used intimidation tactics to ensure that field investigators did not canvass the questionnaires. Hence, despite Najafgarh being identified with Bijwasan and Dwarka in the district, it was not surveyed. A similar situation was reported in Seelampur, an AC which could not be surveyed in North East Delhi.

In some of the sample slums the investigators had to abandon the surveys because of two specific reasons. Firstly, the word ‘survey’ had become associated with the eviction process, where MCD and Slum Department staff would survey households to notify them for eviction and determine criteria for relocation. In other cases, communities associated surveys with the PDS and ration card process – which was seen as corrupt and ineffective. Though the field investigators tried to explain the objectives of the ISST study to the households, it was met with mistrust and non response in several cases.

Interestingly, slums enlisted in Central and North Delhi – many of whom had been legally designated as slums –reported an opposite response. The groups to be listed felt that they were in no need of a ‘survey’ as the area was recognised by the Government. In the case of a selected slum, a household member stated that her relative worked as a peon to somebody well connected in the Government and asked the field investigator to leave a note and his identification, so that the households in the slum could check with their relative about the validity of the ISST survey, after which they would call and notify the investigator to return for the listing and survey. That call never came. In another set of slums near the University campus, households reported that they needed to check with known university employees regarding participation in the ISST survey and never communicated with the team again.

The survey also occurred during assembly elections in Delhi. This posed several problems and delays as residents in slums in East and North Delhi, were extremely politically active. Due to campaign meetings and celebrations, women would join their family members to receive free sarees or food being distributed by candidates in these areas.

Many of the surveys and listing procedures were done in the afternoon time when women would return from their morning shift of work. However, the nature of women’s paid work and care work in slums, in addition to procuring water in the evenings or afternoons resulted in many sampled slums not being able to report responses as women were unable to simultaneously converse with field investigators and manage their various household tasks. Field investigators were asked to return late at night, when domestic workers were free.

ANNEXURE III

Survey Period: September 2008 to December 2008 (4 months)

| S. No | District | Number of Assembly Constituencies Sampled | Number of Assembly Constituencies with responses | Number of Localities Sampled | Number of Localities with responses | Total Number of Live-Out Domestic Workers Surveyed |
|--------------|-----------------|--|---|-------------------------------------|--|---|
| 1. | East | 4 | 4 | 22 | 22 | 224 |
| 2 | North East | 4 | 3 | 8 | 8 | 127 |
| 3 | South | 7 | 7 | 20 | 16 | 385 |
| 4 | New Delhi | 4 | 4 | 19 | 12 | 238 |
| 5 | West | 4 | 4 | 7 | 7 | 198 |
| 6 | South West | 3 | 2 | 7 | 4 | 98 |
| 7 | North West | 3 | 2 | 6 | 3 | 38 |
| 8 | North | 4 | 2 | 16 | 4 | 88 |
| 9 | Central | 3 | 1 | 12 | 3 | 43 |
| | TOTAL | 36 | 29 | 117 | 79 | 1438 |

1. EAST DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondents and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with responses | Number of respondents |
|--------------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|-----------------------|
| Trilokpur i (55) | 5 | 2.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 20 |
| Patparganj (57) | 14 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 66 |
| Vishwas Nagar (59) | 7 | 3.5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 57 |
| Sahadra (62) | 17 | 8.5 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 81 |
| TOTAL | 43 | 21.5 | 0 | 1 | 22 | 22 | 224 |

One extra area in Vishwas Nagar was canvassed as Anand Vihar residents were interviewed for preliminary qualitative rounds of discussion, in association with

SEWA Union. As the key aim of the study was to partner with local unions and action groups, this area had to be surveyed.

Note: Timing of survey was a major problem as women were unwilling to respond when their families would be home, while unable to respond due to work shifts or household work. Thus, few numbers of listed households responded in each clusters.

2. NORTH EAST DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondents and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with responses | Number of respondents |
|--------------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|-----------------------|
| Seemapuri (63) | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 88 |
| Gokalpur (68) | 5 | 2.5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 29 |
| Karawal Nagar (70) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Seelampur (65) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 15 | 7.5 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 117 |

Notes: T Huts in New Seelampur were canvassed, but team was not allowed by local leaders to canvass. There was a state tension here and fear of surveyors.

The team could not replace Karawal Nagar due to concern regarding time and cost of the survey. Investigators did find slum clusters in the AC, through interaction with residents of private colonies, but local response was weak due to fear of evictions.

3. SOUTH DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent s and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with response s | Number of respondent s |
|---------------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|------------------------|
| Mehrauli (45) | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Chattarpur (46) | 8 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 60 |
| Deoli (47) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 62 |
| Ambedkar Nagar (48) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| Sangam Vihar (49) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 69 |
| Kalkaji (51) | 9 | 4.5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 103 |
| Badarpur (53) | 7 | 3.5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 81 |
| TOTAL | 37 | 19.5 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 16 | 385 |

Note: Mehrauli-- Kusumpur Pahadi (listing is available, but weak response rate). JNU Jhuggies caused problems as none of the locals allowed the women to speak to survey team.

Ambedkar Nagar -- Ambedkar Camp, Dakshin Puri was amidst fear regarding evictions, thus the team did not return after local slum leaders refused entry.

4. SOUTH WEST DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent s and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with response s | Number of respondent s |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|------------------------|
| Dwarka (33) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 40 |
| Najafgarh | 6 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bijwasan (36) | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 58 |
| TOTAL | 13 | 6.5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 98 |

Note: Najafgarh – intimidation of surveyors. Jat communities said their women do not work and their was no need for surveys.

Bijwasan—Slum Hutments near Mahipalpur village were found through interaction with local NGO.

5. WEST DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent s and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with response s | Number of respondent s |
|----------------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|------------------------|
| Rajouri Gardens (27) | 4 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 50 |
| Hari Nagar (28) | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 83 |
| Janakpuri (30) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 35 |
| Vikaspuri (31) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 40 |
| TOTAL | 14 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 6 | 7 | 208 |

6. NORTH WEST DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent s and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with response s | Number of respondent s |
|--------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|------------------------|
| Narela (1) | 6 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 28 |
| Rithala (6) | 1 | 0.5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| Mundk a (47) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Rohini (13) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | 12 | 6 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 38 |

7. NEW DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent s and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with response s | Number of respondent s |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|------------------------|
| Jangpura (41) | 6 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 65 |
| RK Puram (44) | 16 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 32 |
| GK (50) | 6 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 43 |
| Okhla (54) | 10 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 97 |
| TOTAL | 38 | 19 | 3 | 1 | 10 | 10 | 238 |

8. CENTRAL DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondents and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with responses | Number of respondents |
|-------------|--|---|---|--|--|--|-----------------------|
| Ballimaran | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Karol Bagh | 10 | 5 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Patel Nagar | 7 | 3.5 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 43 |
| TOTAL | 23 | 11.5 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 43 |

9. NORTH DELHI

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent s and listing | Total Number of slum clusters canvassed with response s | Number of respondent s |
|--------|--|---|---|--|---|---|------------------------|
| Burari | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 39 |
| Adarsh | 13 | 6.5 | 0 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 20 |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|----|------|---|----|---|---|----|
| Nagar | | | | | | | |
| Shakur Basti | 14 | 7 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 29 |
| TOTAL | 31 | 15.5 | 0 | 11 | 4 | 4 | 88 |

ANNEXURE IV

DISTRICT WISE DETAILS OF SLUM LOCALITIES CANVASSED

1. East Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Trilokpuri | Sanjay camp, Trilokpuri D-37 - 288 | 10 |
| | Indra camp, Trilokpuri (Bus-terminal) | 10 |

| | | |
|---------------|--|-----|
| | 214 – 238 | |
| Patparganj | Jawahar Mohalla, Shashi Gardens, Gharonda Neem ka Bangad, Patparganj A440 – 234 | 10 |
| | Nehru Camp, Patparganj E77, 543 – B-77 | 10 |
| | Mahatma Gandhi Camp, Shashi Garden 29 – 116 | 10 |
| | Jay Bharati Camp, East Vinod Nagar G6-46 | 10 |
| | D Block Jhuggie Cluster, West Vinod Nagar 30D – 10 | 10 |
| | T Camp, Khichripur D-21 – O23 | 16 |
| Vishwas Nagar | New Sanjay Amar Colony, JJ Camp Vishwasnagar D507 – C404 D337 – D229 | 20 |
| | Joshi Colony, Majboor Nagar, IP Extension Vishwasnagar 115 – A-47 | 10 |
| | Harijan Basti, New Sanjay Amar Colony, Vishwasnagar A460-422 | 10 |
| | T Huts, Vishwasnagar 5 – T7/68B | 2 |
| | JJ Indra camp, AGCR Enclave, Near Karkadooma Court E96/22 – 57 | 5 |
| | JJ Camp, Near Anand Vihar 85/13 - 11 | 10 |
| Sahadara | Jhilmil Colony, Near Ramlila Grounds, Opp Gurudwara 135-81/14 | 10 |
| | JJ Colony, Old Seemapuri (F Block – 243 to 46) | 10 |
| | Krishna Market, Jhilmil Colony 80/621 – R-3 | 9 |
| | Rajiv Camp, Jhilmil Colony E42, 325-336 | 10 |
| | Ambedkar Camp, Jhilmil Industrial Area HH number 221-148 | 10 |
| | Kalandar Colony, Dilshad Garden 66-360 | 10 |
| | E 138 Hanuman Colony JJ Camp OR Hanuman Basti near Dilshad Gardens – Plot E 52/5-E52/92 | 3 |
| | Deepak Colony, Dilshad Gardens | 9 |
| | Sonia Camp, Jhilmil Border J951346 | 10 |
| TOTAL | 22 (Hanuman and Kalander Colony are different names for same location) | 224 |

2. North East Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Seemapuri | E-Block, New Seemapuri E47/7 – 7 | 15 |
| | Sharhadpuri | 53 |

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| | 53-104 1-8 (Ind Gali) | |
| | Nandnagari jhuggies (only listing) 438 – 57 | 20 |
| | Sundernagari (E-57C) | 10 |
| Gokalpur | Harijan Basti, Panchwati Colony Gali No 13 154-465 A13, A12, A10 Gali no. 14 | 10 |
| | Sanjay Colony, Gokalpuri, A Block Resettlement Colony A/41 - A392 | 10 |
| | B Block, Sanjay Colony JJ Camp, Gokalpuri | 9 |
| TOTAL | 7 | 127 |

3. South Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|--|-------------------|
| Chattarpur | Harijan Basti, Maidangarhi, Chattarpur A-720 – D10 | 19 |
| | Chandan Hola, Dera Gaon Chattarpur 106-114 | 20 |
| | Balmiki Basti, Maidangarhi 570 – 88 | 21 |
| Deoli | Janta Jeevan Camp, Tigri Deoli 178 – 315 | 29 |
| | Sanjay Camp Dakshinpuri | 33 |
| Ambedkar Nagar | Harijan Camp, Ambedkar Nagar, Khanpur (no house numbers) | 10 |
| Sangam Vihar | Sangam Vihar, Tugalakabad F/3 No house numbers | 39 |
| | Sangam Vihar jhuggie, mangal bazaar, Near dam (1-50) | 30 |
| Kalkaji | Jang Jeewan Camp, Karpuri | 23 |
| | Navjeevan Camp | 7 |
| | Kirotia Camp | 3 |
| | Bhoomain Camp | 70 |
| Badarpur | Gautampuri B Block | 47 |
| | T Huts near Kanch Ka Godam/ Tajpur Pahadi | 26 |
| | Badarpur Village T Huts | 8 |
| | | |
| TOTAL | 15 | 385 |

4. South West Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|
| Dwarka | Pocket-8 Jhuggi Durga Park, Nasir Pur (17-89) | 12 |
| | Jhuggi Mahavir Enclave | 28 |
| Bijwasan | Harijan Basti, Kapaskhedha Un-numbered huts | 16 |
| | Arjun Camp , (525-289)Hutments in Mahipalpur village | 42 |
| | | |
| TOTAL | 4 | 98 |

5. West Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|
| Rajouri Gardens | Raghubir Nagar, F and R Block, T Huts | 50 |
| Hari Nagar | Harinagar, Mayapuri 18 – 378 | 40 |
| | MS block Pilli Kothi, Tilak Nagar Huts, Hari Nagar 115 – B46 - 150 G-100/0943 - 510 | 22 |
| | | 41 |
| Janakpuri | Ganda Nala JJ colony, Pankha Road Plot W 68/780-42 (includes 3 HHs from A block) | 15 |
| | Dabri gaon, Sitapuri Basti, Janakpuri B/08 – B/105 | 20 |
| Vikaspuri | Kali Basti, near Gandanala Hastasal | 40 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 208 |

6. North West Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|
| Narela | Jawahar Camp (Gandhi Ashram, near ML School) (Plot 3-4 – HH 174 to G Block Plot 3) | 17 |
| | Narela Resettlement JJ Gautam Colony, Sec 6, Park 4 | 11 |
| Rithala | Rithala, Harijan Basti (56/5 to unnumbered Sector 5 Jhuggies | 10 |
| TOTAL | 3 | 38 |

7. New Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|
| Jangpura | Jalvihar Jhuggie, Bhogal | 28 |
| | Sardar Basti, Ashram | 37 |
| RK Puram | Vasant Gaon, Near Vasant Vihar, R.K. Puram 203 A-203C | 8 |
| | Nepali Camp, Vasant Vihar J-14/170 – J-72 | 24 |
| Greater Kailash | Ashok Bandhu Sar Camp (B 21 – B146) | 6 |
| | Subhash Camp , Sheikh Sarai | 17 |
| | Jagdamba Camp | 20 |
| Okhla | Rajasthani Camp, Near Sarita Vihar | 14 |
| | Madanpur Khadar | 50 |
| | Taimur Nagar, Jhuggie, Pahari Number 1 1/12- 1/82 + Taimur Nagar, Jhuggie, Pahari Number 2 | 32 |
| | | |
| TOTAL | 10 | 238 |

8. Central Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|--|-------------------|
| Patel Nagar | Jhuggies near Nepali Mandir Punjabi Basti : Gayatri Colony, Baljeet Nagar, RamJas Grounds Gate 3 (F 186 – f 235) | 43 |
| TOTAL | 1 | 43 |

9. North Delhi

| Assembly Constituency | Locality | No of Respondents |
|-----------------------|---|-------------------|
| Burari | Block A, Bangali Colony, Sant Nagar; | 19 |
| | Basti near Dabli, Kammalpur | 20 |
| Adarsh Nagar | A Block Jahangirpuri Huts (A 28- 71/B) | 20 |
| Shakur Basti | Railway Jhuggie Camp, Shakur Basti | 29 |
| TOTAL | 4 | 88 |

CHAPTER II

Findings from East and North East Delhi District

The findings from the sample survey have been distributed based on the districts, due to geographical diversity within the NCT of Delhi. East and North East Delhi districts border the state of Uttar Pradesh and account for nearly one third of the population of Delhi. The two districts also report the highest density of population as per the Economic Survey of Delhi 2009.

These districts were amidst large scale construction and demolition activities due to impending Commonwealth Games, at the time of our qualitative and quantitative data collection. Construction sites and debris were our usual research companions. Investigators particularly felt the impact of demolitions in these districts as several listed JJ clusters and resettlement colonies could not be traced in the field. The districts also report increasing real estate development, with large numbers of housing colonies and apartment complex buildings being constructed and thereby changing the urban morphology of the neighbourhoods. These new developments appeared to provide new employment opportunities for paid household services and construction services.

SCOPE OF SAMPLE

There were 8 wards listed in the East Delhi district, and a total of **4 ACs were included in the ISST sample**. Of the 4 border ACs, 3 were selected. Of the remaining 4 non border ACs, 1 (25%) was selected.

- 55. **Trilokpuri**
- 56. Kondli
- 57. **Patparganj**
- 58. Laxmi Nagar
- 59. **Vishwas Nagar**
- 60. Krishna Nagar
- 61. Gandhi Nagar
- 62. **Sahadara**

North East Delhi reported 8 wards but contained 4 border wards. Of the border wards, 3 were selected, and 2 reported survey responses. While Seelampur was selected as the one non-border ward, the pilot attempted here suggested serious political difficulties due to recent violence and police enquiries. Karawal Nagar, which was also selected had no slum clusters mentioned in the ACs, as per the electoral rolls. As the team needed to conserve costs and time, no replacement was used for the AC. **Thus, finally 4 ACs were included, of which 2 provided survey responses.**

- 55. **Seemapuri**
- 56. Rohtas Nagar
- 57. **Seelampur**

58. Ghonda
 59. Babarpur
60. Gokulpur
 61. Mustafabad
62. Karawal Nagar

The analysis relies on survey details noted from female domestic workers across 9 slum and JJ clusters in the district and one urban village. The details are supplemented with interviews, case studies and ethnographic materials collected in 5 sites. 21 life and occupational histories have been collected. 2 Focus Group Discussions were held in Okhla and RK Puram.

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE IN EAST AND NORTH EAST DISTRICT

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondents and listing | Total Number of clusters canvassed with responses | Number of respondents |
|--------------------|--|---|---|--|--|---|-----------------------|
| Trilokpur i (55) | 5 | 2.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 20 |
| Patparganj (57) | 14 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 6 | 6 | 66 |
| Vishwas Nagar (59) | 7 | 3.5 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 5 | 57 |
| Sahadra (62) | 17 | 8.5 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 7 | 81 |
| TOTAL | 43 | 21.5 | 0 | 1 | 22 | 22 | 224 |
| Seemapuri (63) | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 98 |
| Gokulpur (68) | 5 | 2.5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 29 |
| Karawal Nagar (70) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Seelampur (65) | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |

| | | | | | | | |
|--------------|-----------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|
| TOTAL | 15 | 7.5 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 8 | 127 |
|--------------|-----------|------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|

Demography

The survey canvassed 224 domestic workers in East Delhi and 127 workers in North East Delhi. Majority of women surveyed belong to the age groups of 30 to 35 years. The average age of women in the sample is 28.5 years. 85 % of the domestic workers surveyed are Hindu.

Education

Nearly 76 % of the sample is uneducated. None of the domestic workers surveyed have completed class 12th. 9 % have completed schooling between classes 1 and 5, thus reporting some degree of primary education.

| Characteristics | North East | East |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| Average Age (in yrs) | 34 | 35 |
| Uneducated (no schooling + cannot sign name) (in percentage share of respondents) | 72 | 76 |
| Majority Religion (based on percentage share of respondents) | Hindu (92%) | Hindu (80%) Muslim (19%) |
| Currently Married (in percentage share of respondents) | 77% | 78% |
| Migrant (percentage share of respondents by place of last residence) | 92% | 80% |
| Average Family Size | 3 | 4 |
| Majority Social Group | SC (89.53%) | SC (75.56%) |
| Number of Respondents | 127 | 224 |

Caste and Geography

Domestic work has traditionally been viewed through the lens of rigid caste hierarchies and labour market stratification. While caste issues were difficult to investigate for the ISST team due to non response in other districts; the populations surveyed within East and North East Delhi reported the least degree of non response. A large share of the castes reported belonged to the Scheduled Caste communities with large sections of migrants of UP belonging to Bairagi castes and the Balmiki communities. This is an interesting trajectory with past research on the Balmiki communities, also known as the sweeper castes in the city; suggesting rigid labour market opportunities for these workers.

Marital Status

Nearly 76% of those surveyed reported being currently married. Nearly 11% of the workers sampled in East Delhi were single women. This is the highest percentage share reported in the city.

Housing and Habitat: Consolidation and Contestation

Housing conditions and infrastructure have a significant bearing on women's ability to work and earn more wages. The nature of water services, for instance, shape workers occupational arrangements ie the number of houses they can work in and the number of hours or tasks they can perform. In addition, poor public amenities imply greater workload for women workers.

On an average, domestic workers in East and North East Delhi report living in their current habitat for the past 16 years. Several workers highlighted how the construction related activities brought them to the city. Having participated in the construction sector, several workers started taking up jobs as domestic workers within the houses they helped build. 54% stated that their current homes were their first and only places of residence in the city. 5% have faced evictions in the sample.

None of the areas visited had any assured water supply, drainage or electricity. During interviews in slum localities in East Delhi, several workers and local informants mentioned how the areas previously accessed free electricity due to the local political representative. However, since the privatisation of electricity distribution, meters had been installed which generated huge monthly bills, causing women to take up paid domestic work. The following comment also illustrates the emerging gendered burden of urban user fees and privatisation, with women taking up the role of income earners to manage rising expenditures for consuming services such as electricity and water. Sheela, a domestic worker living in New Rahul Vijay Colony had been out of work for a few months.

The new meters that have been installed about 2 years run very fast. If you go and complaint, one has to pay 60Rs then they take months to take any action and don't do anything. The previous meters did not generate high bills (400-500Rs for two months). I have not paid the bill for two months since I have been out of work.

Infrastructure and rental payments are a serious problem. 42% of the respondent's reports owning their own home, while 57 % pay rent. Average rent paid by these respondents is estimated to be Rs 1074 per month. 24 % of the rent paying respondents pays Rs 1000 per month. 9% pay rent of Rs 2000 and above. Minimum rent recorded is Rs500 in Madanpur Khadar, while maximum is Rs 2700 in Vasant Gaon.

| Characteristics | East | North East | Total |
|----------------------|------|------------|-------|
| Ownership of House | 77 | 70 | 75 |
| Rent Paid (in Rs) | 505 | 750 | 595 |

Nearly 75% of the households own their houses in the two districts in Eastern Delhi.. This group reports payments of close to Rs 595 per month.

Migrant families who have been resident in the city for a longer duration report higher shares of household ownership than those who have migrated to Delhi more recently. In-depth interviews with several domestic workers indicate that amongst migrant households, acquiring a house was critical to settling in the city. A dominant share of migration for live-out domestic work was familial or facilitated through social networks. Migrants would find temporary accommodation through these networks and then progress to find alternate shelter for which they would pay rent. Some households would further manage to save and invest in a plot of land and build houses in JJ clusters. Sunita, a resident of New Rahul Vijay Colony in East Delhi, migrated to Delhi from Etawah, in UP nine years ago with her husband and four children. Her mother and brother had been living in the colony for the past 20 years. After living with them for a few months, they found a room in the same cluster for which they paid rent, which she says drained most of her income. Hence they decided to buy a plot of land five years ago. She says, *“Since rent was eating up most of my income, I thought it’s better to somehow buy a house, so we sold some things in the village, took some money on loan and with some saving we bought this house. The rent was Rs 700-800 at the time, it was a very small room, and there wasn’t enough space for everyone to spread their legs properly while sleeping. We lived there for about 3 years. This land was very expensive, I spent Rs 25000 and so did my mother. There was nothing built here. We collected bricks and other materials on our own from a park in the neighbourhood.”*

Poverty Cards, Identification and Access to State Services

Lack of identification documents and the affiliated problems in accessing state services was a crucial concern raised by workers. These districts have recently witnessed increasing collective action efforts to mobilize slum dwellers to activate the targeted Public Distribution System. 27% of the domestic workers surveyed in East Delhi reported possessing a BPL card.30% of the workers surveyed in NE Delhi reported BPL card possession.

Only 6% have completed domestic worker registration with the police authorities. 11% report possessing other forms of identification. Majority of these are ration cards provided by the government.

Entry and Exit

From the entire sample, only 24% report finding their present jobs through directly approaching the employing household. Thus, for a large majority, their entry was mediated through local social networks. Of the migrants, 74% stated they had heard about paid domestic work from persons in their villages and pre-migratory homes. On an average, women joined the sector in this district when they were 25 years old. 88% workers stated that they needed references from other domestic workers to find jobs within the locality.

Training

3% of the sample interviewed in the district reports receiving training in domestic work. 12 persons sampled felt that training was necessary for workers to improved chances at finding better work within the sector.

Migration

The survey asked respondents about migration through three separate questions – the first enquiring after their place of birth, the second about their place of last residence and the final was a direct question asking if they had migrated to Delhi or lived in Delhi since birth. 31 % of the respondents in East and North East Delhi stated they had lived in Delhi since birth. Close to 69% of the sample had migrated to Delhi or migrated from Delhi after work to eventually return. 26.5% of the domestic workers surveyed in the district were born in Delhi. The largest share of respondents was born in Uttar Pradesh followed by Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.

| Characteristics | East | North East |
|-----------------------------------|--|---|
| Majority place of birth | UP (55.88%) Bihar (14.71%) Cross Border (1.76%) | UP (75.81%) West Bengal (11.29%) |
| Majority place of last residence | UP (46.35%) Bihar (11.5 %) | Uttar Pradesh (59.26%) Madhya Pradesh (6%) |
| Majority mother tongue | Hindi (85.22%) Bengali (3%) | Hindi (87.21%) (Bengali -12%) |
| Percentage who migrated alone | 8 | 0 |
| Majority year of migration to NCT | 1988 | 1995,1999 |

| | | |
|---|-------|-----|
| Percentage of Migrants (birth place) | 74% | 72% |
| Percentage of Migrants (place of last residence) | 83.5% | 94% |
| Percentage share of those who have lived in Delhi since birth (total number of persons) | 31% | 28% |

Close to 13 % of the respondents reported Delhi as their previous area of residence. From the remaining migrants as per the place of last residence definition, 65% reported Uttar Pradesh as their previous area of residence. This was followed by Madhya Pradesh which was reported by 12% of the surveyed workers in the district. 1.5% reported Bangladesh as their place of last residence. 93% of the sample migrated from villages and rural areas. Of the 219 migrants, analysing primary responses, we find that nearly 46% of the households surveyed moved to Delhi in search of work. Thus, the larger majority moved with their households for marriage or to join their familial units in Delhi. Unlike other districts, female migration to Delhi is based on familial causes, as only 18% workers surveyed state they came to the city in specific search of employment as a domestic worker. Of the group of migrants, 12% of the cases in East Delhi district report paying somebody for assistance in migration to the NCT. Only 7% of the female migrants in East Delhi had migrated alone to Delhi. None of the workers surveyed in NE Delhi reported migrating to Delhi alone.

A majority of 72% of the migrants state they know other migrants from their village, and meet everyday. This indicates that they live in the same locality.

| Characteristics | East | North East |
|--|---------------------|---------------------|
| Percentage share of migrants who say there are other people from their village in Delhi | 73.25 (115) | 63(39) |
| Percentage share of migrants who are in communication with other migrants from their village | 65 (102) | 55 (34) |
| Average number of times respondents meet with other migrants from their village in a month | 16.38 | 12.14 |
| Percentage Share who report receiving help and assistance from such networks | 29 (45) | 10(6) |
| Majority form of help received | To Find Work | To Find Work |

Remittance

Only 5% of the workers surveyed in East Delhi district report making remittances. This is concomitant with the qualitative data which suggests that incomes from domestic work are usually spent on immediate expenses such as rents and user fees.

| Characteristics | East | North East |
|-----------------|------|------------|
|-----------------|------|------------|

| | | |
|--|------|---|
| Percentage of migrants reporting remittances | 5 | 0 |
| Average Number of times migrants remit in a year | 3.5 | - |
| Average amount in Rs remitted in one year | 1327 | - |

Nearly 27% of the migrants in the East Delhi district report visiting their villages each year. The same estimate for workers in NE Delhi is 15%.

Husbands Occupational Status

Domestic work is emerging as significant source of stable income which pays consistent expenditures such as rents, children's education fees and user fees for amenities. Married women interviewed in North East and East Delhi report mixed sources of livelihoods. On an average, households rely on 2.5 sources of income for livelihoods. Of the total sources of livelihoods, majority reported relying on a mix of casual labour and paid domestic work to manage income and expenditures. Households report an average of 2 earning members of the family. 24% of domestic workers who are currently married state their husband' are engaged in casual labour. Qualitative insights revealed that such work usually implied construction labour or work in building sites. 13% of the women stated their husbands were unemployed. A large share of husbands are engaged as self employed persons in the North East district.

| Characteristics | East | North East |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Unemployed | 13.5 | 13 |
| Casual Labour | 41 | 25 |
| Self Employed | 19.5 | 45 |
| Salaried | 20 | 13 |
| Majority Occupation | Casual Daily Wage Labour + Rickshaw Puller | Casual Labour + Rickshaw Puller + Cleaning Establishments |
| Number of Respondents | 185 | 77 |

Wages and Working Conditions

The data analysed in the districts highlights the need to invest in women's organisations and mobilisation of workers to improve wages and working conditions. The numbers suggest serious wage premiums for workers who are able to work longer hours, in more number of tasks and in certain types of tasks and localities. Any action intervention attempting to address livelihoods concerns of workers needs to invest in such abilities. Further, there are strong informal collectives

based on migrant and kin networks. These assist workers in setting wages and norms of work, and can be further used for awareness generation regarding certain basic rights and entitlements as workers. Currently, most women interviewed during qualitative investigation report the existence of standard locality wage norms. However, these norms are manipulated by employers, as a result of which most workers do not receive similar pay for similar work. In addition, majority of workers report working for extra time without payment. Women report feeble incomes whereby savings are difficult and holiday norms are based on oral flexible contracts.

Women in the district report earning an average of Rs 1448. Not much difference in the wage rates were seen based on migration pattern either.

| Characteristics | East | North East |
|--|-------------|-------------------|
| Number of Respondents | 65 | 33 |
| Average Number of Years as Domestic worker | 53 months | 40 months |
| Average Hours working | 5.2 | 7 |
| Average Number of Tasks per worker | 2 | 2.5 |
| Average Number of Households in which working | 4 | 3.2 |
| Percentage share who receive paid sick leave | 56 | 50 |
| Average number of holidays without wage cuts per month | 2.3 | 1.2 |
| Average per month income (in Rs) | 1450 | 1516 |
| Percentage who receive one holiday per week | 59 | 22 |

Majority of the surveyed domestic workers were employed by households in Dilshad Gardens, Mayur Vihar, Vivek Vihar and Seemapuri.

Only 25% of the domestic workers in the survey work for the evening shift ie after 4 pm. Minimum working hours per day vary between one to fourteen hours in a day. The mean hours for work in each district have been detailed in the table above. Workers report receiving 2 days paid holiday in a month. In North East Delhi, the norm settled around one holiday a month. A very large share of workers in East Delhi stated they received one holiday each week.

61% workers in East Delhi reported working for extra time, while the same estimate for North East Delhi was nearly 60.5%. While nearly 72% of those workers who worked for extra time were remunerated with extra cash income in NE Delhi; only 45% of such workers in East Delhi received payment for extra time.

11% and 6% in East and NE Delhi state they place another person when they go on holiday or visit their pre-migration home. 9% and 3% in East and NE Delhi state they have lost their jobs due to taking holidays to visit their homes and families.

| Statements | East | North East |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Wages have Increased | 60 (137) | 59(51) |
| Wages have Decreased | 24(56) | 19(16) |
| Wages are Constant | 15(34) | 21(18) |

A share of 60% of workers surveyed experienced an increase in their wages since starting their work as paid domestic labourers.

92% of the workers surveyed in the district stated that they lived in a locality where other domestic workers also lived. 68% of workers in East Delhi, who lived in proximity to other domestic workers stated that these neighbouring domestic workers helped them manage their occupation. The same estimate in NE Delhi was 85%. Amongst these persons, large majority of 95% in the district reported that other domestic workers helped them find work. 2% persons in East Delhi felt that domestic workers helped through cash loans.

68 persons had a personal bank account. Only 2 women are part of a formal savings group. 6 women stated that they possessed bank accounts in their own names.

18% women reported that they gave their income to another person. 1.27 % felt their participation in household decisions had improved after joining work.

Transport

Workers report an average time of 26 minutes to reach their place of work. Nearly 96% of domestic workers surveyed in these two districts walk to work. Those walking report travel hours between 5 minutes to 1.5 hours.

Child Care, Schooling and Health

One of the most shocking findings of the study is in relation to childcare. In the absence of any facilities for child care¹, proximity to work and reliance on social networks becomes even more significant. Sazid, a domestic worker from Gokalpuri made a clear link between wages and childcare. She said “*the number of households women are able to work in is dependent on the age of their children, the lesser the responsibility at home, the more work they are able to take.*” Such views were echoed by several other women interviewed. Rani who had four children (ages 8, 10, 15 and 17 years)

¹ The Delhi government scheme to provide basic amenities in JJ clusters also includes provision for shishu vaticas (child care centre), which do not exist.

said she would only work in one house in Gokalpuri and earn Rs 600, as opposed to working in more houses as she wanted to be near her children – two of whom were recovering from substance abuse.

| Characteristics | East | North East |
|---|---------------|----------------------------|
| Average Age of children (in yrs) | 12 | 12 |
| Percentage of children in school (in percentage share of respondents) | 47 | 45 |
| Majority Occupation for children above 15 years (based on percentage share of respondents) | Casual Labour | Unemployed + Domestic Work |
| Percentage of girl children in school (15 years and below--in percentage share of respondents) | 62 | 52 |
| Percentage of girl children working as domestic workers (percentage share of respondents by domicile) | 9 (26) | 18 (43) |
| Average number of children | 3 | 2 |
| Number of Respondents (Number of Children) | 224 (675) | 127 (225) |

Amongst the sample, close to 2% women report paying another person to care for their children or assist in domestic tasks. From the sample of married workers who have children at home, nearly 52% leave them on their own when leaving for work.

Occupational Health Hazards

29.4% of domestic workers surveyed felt they suffered certain health problems and diseases specifically due to the work process. The ailments reported by the respondents were body pain and fatigue due to work. 60% reported facing constant body pain, while 7% faced skin related problems. 29.4 % of the sample seeks treatment from private doctors or clinics. 32% report using government facilities. 62% stated that they had fallen ill in the past two years.

Perception relating to work

79% stated they were happy with their current work. 86% stated they planned to continue as a paid domestic worker. Majority 58% said they did not want their daughters to take up domestic work.

ACTION INTERVENTIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

- Skill development with strong negotiation and information components
- Childcare provisions
- Counselling and Supporting the growth of women’s collectives
- Generating awareness on working norms and building capacity and skills of workers to negotiate and bargain with employers
- Facilitating access to state initiatives, particularly the PDS and water facilities.

CHAPTER III

South Delhi

The district of South Delhi has witnessed rapid changes within its landscape with vast quantities of rural lands, being acquired for real estate development and urban land use. This district houses some of the youngest clusters in the city-state and reports an increasing number of JJ resettlement colonies. The profile of the district has also changed with delimitation, with certain elite colonies being marked within the New Delhi district.

The qualitative and quantitative data collected through the ISST study highlights how the emergence of the

Scope of Sample

A total of 7 ACs were selected. There were 8 ACs listed in the district. 6 of these wards were border wards. 5 of these were selected. As the district reported the largest share of female domestic workers, each of the 2 non-border ACs were included in the sample.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>45. Mehrauli</p> <p>46. Chattarpur</p> <p>47. Deoli</p> <p>48. Ambedkar Nagar</p> | <p>49. Sangam Vihar</p> <p>51. Kalkaji</p> <p>52. Tuglakabad</p> <p>53. Badarpur</p> |
|--|--|

5 slum clusters were also selected for qualitative investigation during a one year period.

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE IN SOUTH DELHI DISTRICT

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondents and listing | Total Number of clusters canvassed with responses | Number of respondents |
|---------------------|--|---|---|--|--|---|-----------------------|
| Mehrauli (45) | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Chattarpur (46) | 8 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 60 |
| Deoli (47) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 62 |
| Ambedkar Nagar (48) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 10 |
| Sangam Vihar (49) | 3 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 69 |
| Kalkaji (51) | 9 | 4.5 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 103 |
| Badarpur (53) | 7 | 3.5 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 81 |
| TOTAL | 37 | 19.5 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 16 | 385 |

Demography

The survey canvassed 385 domestic workers in South Delhi district. Surveyed workers belong to a vast range of age groups, with the youngest worker being 15 years old and the eldest nearly 68 years. The average age of women in the sample is 33.7 years. 82 % of the domestic workers surveyed are Hindu. This is followed by 18% who are Muslims. Sangam Vihar reverses the trend, with reporting Islam as a majority religion followed by the workers surveyed.

Education

Low levels of educational achievements were often cited by women during qualitative data collection as the key reason they joined domestic work. Ruchita, a Bengali domestic worker interviewed in Sangam Vihar said,

What other types of work can we illiterate women take up? I can read close to nothing and cannot hope for a better job.

The data corroborates the assertions made by the women. Women in South Delhi districts report minimal education and schooling. A large majority in different wards are uneducated, as indicated in the table below. Of the 385 women surveyed, only 14% state that they can sign their name, without schooling. While a small 8% report having completed some level of schooling. 2 women had completed class 12th and joined domestic work. Such trends of lower levels of education persist despite migration status.

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|---|------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| Average Age (in yrs) | 36 | 42 | 29 | 35 | 34 |
| Uneducated (no schooling + cannot sign name) (in percentage share of respondents) | 74 | 85 | 86 | 80.5 | 76.5 |
| Majority Religion (based on percentage share of respondents) | Hindu (96) | Hindu (90) Christian (24%) | Muslim (58) | Hindu (95) | Hindu (83) |
| Currently Married (in percentage share of respondents) | 95 | 76 | 96 | 85 | 89 |
| Migrant (percentage share of respondents by place of last residence) | 58 | 51 | 97 | 95.5 | 87 |
| Average Family Size | 4.8 | 5.3 | 4 | 4.2 | 5 |
| Majority Social Group | - | - | SC (62%) | SC (81.5%) | SC (92%) |

Nearly 87% of the sample is currently married. 9% are widows. Average family size of the respondent is 4.5 members. Family size varies from single female households to households with 8 family members.

Caste and Geography

42% of the workers surveyed did not provide their caste status. Amongst those who provided the ISST investigators such information; 74.5% belonged to SC communities. Majority report Namushudra and Dalit castes. Populations in Badarpur were from Jatav caste backgrounds. It is interesting to note the presence of general caste categories in the Sangam Vihar slum clusters. Nearly 35% of the workers surveyed in these clusters are from upper castes.

Housing and Habitat: Consolidation and Contestation

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ownership of House | 59 | 90 | 8 | 61 | 72 |
| Type of Housing | Kuthca - Pucca | Pucca | Kutch-Pucca | Kutch-Pucca | Pucca |
| Rent Paid (in Rs) | 770 | 800 | 187 | 937 | 343 |
| Access to Water | Communal Tap | Tap in households | Tap in households, Communal Tap | Communal Tap | Communal Tap provided by government |
| Sewage | Closed | Open | Open | Open | Closed |

Majority of workers in South Delhi own their houses in Delhi. An interesting trajectory was noted in Sangam Vihar, where workers were often married to waste pickers and garbage collectors who worked for a powerful contractor, who also owned the land they lived on. Thus, they paid close to no rent, where the cost of housing was deducted from their earnings. This was often an arbitrary process, with workers who were interviewed stating that it was difficult to know what the standard rent deduction from their husbands wages were. Majority of such workers usually paid no rent. Households living in Badarpur had been relocated from previous slum clusters, which had been demolished. 7% of workers in Kalkaji had been evicted from the Alaknanda land which was acquired for constructing new apartment complexes.

Poverty Cards, Identification and Access to State Services

14.5 % of the domestic workers surveyed in South Delhi reported possessing a BPL card. The share varies with close to 70% of the workers surveyed in Deoli reporting possession of BPL cards. Only 1.4% of workers surveyed in Sangam Vihar reported possessing BPL cards.

Only 5% have completed domestic worker registration with the police authorities. Qualitative data suggests that workers, particularly from Bengal and Bihar were fearful of the registration process, which yielded greater stress and harassment. The following account from our interviews in Sangam Vihar indicates the degree of humiliation certain workers were put through.

She tells me that the registration form requires the worker to sing a song. I enquire into what this means. She says that a group of workers were taken to the park in Greater Kailash Part 2, where registration was taking place. The police authorities are meant to note the workers residential details and visit to physical verify the details provided in the registration form. She says that the day the police came to her house was horrible. They rounded up her family and other families of domestic workers and accused them for lying about their address details. She says that there is no standard address system in the slums. These are not colonies and tried to explain the address to the police. They did not listen. Instead they asked her and the other families for money and asked them to sing songs as this was a question asked in the registration form. After this experience, everybody takes holiday from work, if the registration process is happening in the neighbourhood.

40% of the respondents possess identity cards, most of which have been issued by the local RWAs. 88% of these have been provided by the government in the form of voter cards or ration cards.

Entry and Exit

Of the migrants, 77% stated they had heard about paid domestic work from persons in their villages and pre-migratory homes. A majority had heard through relatives and this was closely followed by neighbours. Social Networks were moot in allowing women entry and access to work opportunities. Close to 40% state they found their first job as a domestic worker through another worker in the neighbourhood. 24% found their first job as a domestic worker through a friend in the city who belonged to her village or locality.

Migration

The survey asked respondents about migration through three separate questions – the first enquiring after their place of birth, the second about their place of last residence and the final was a direct question asking if they had migrated to Delhi or lived in Delhi since birth. Only 12% of the sample in South Delhi reports being born in the NCT. Majority 34% have been born in West Bengal, followed by 25% born in UP.

Only 13% of the respondents in South Delhi stated they had lived in Delhi since birth. Close to 18% of the respondents reported Delhi as their previous area of residence. From the remaining migrants as per the place of last residence definition, 33% reported West Bengal as their previous area of residence. This was followed by Uttar Pradesh which was reported by 27% of the surveyed workers in the district. 1.12% reported Bangladesh as their place of last residence.

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Majority place of birth | UP (29.5%) Haryana (1%) | UP (52) Rajasthan (21) | West Bengal (94.5) | Bihar (29.5) UP (29.5) WB (25) | WB (36) UP (14) |
| Majority place of last residence | UP (26%) Haryana | UP (52) Rajasthan | West Bengal (94.5) | Bihar (17) UP (15) | WB (38) UP (25) |

| | | | | | |
|---|-------------|------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| | (18%) | (21) | | | |
| Majority mother tongue | Hindi (90) | Hindi (96) | Bengali (93) | Hindi (68) | Hindi (60) |
| Percentage who migrated alone | 5.3 | 0 | 0 | 13 | 2 |
| Majority year of migration to NCT | 1988 | 1999 | 1998 | 1988 | 1988 |
| Percentage of Migrants (birth place) | 89 | 90 | 98 | 90 | 56 |
| Percentage of Migrants (place of last residence) | 85 | 93 | 99 | 54 | 67 |
| Percentage share of those who have lived in Delhi since birth (total number of persons) | 7(4) | 15 (11) | 3 (2) | 5(2) | 36(29) |

Only 3 % of the workers in the district have migrated to the city alone. 95% of the sample migrated from villages and rural areas. Of the 163 migrants, 41 reported 2 causes for migration to Delhi. Analysing primary responses we find that nearly 59% of the female migrants moved to Delhi in search of work. 22% migrated to Delhi with their families. Only 6% migrated to live with her post-marital family. Of the group of migrants, 10% report paying a middleman to help them migrate to the NCT. Of the pool of migrants, nearly 86% stated they were accompanied by their family members.

70% report family members who had migrated to Delhi prior to their own migration. 91% state that there are other persons from their pre-migratory homes living in the city. A majority live in close proximity. This was revealed through qualitative data collection and data on frequency of meeting. 71% of migrants who meet their migrant networks report receiving assistance such as finding employment and shelter.

Remittance

18.5 % of the female domestic workers surveyed in South Delhi stated that they remitted income to their homes outside Delhi. Based on primary responses approximately 52% did so through other migrants. This usually implied that migrants would deliver money personally upon visits. This is followed by nearly 20% who would use postal money orders.

Migrant in South Delhi would one an average remit income 2 times in a year. This estimate varies based on localities. On an average, migrants from South Delhi remit Rs 2729 each year. Remittances vary from Rs 200 per year to Rs 10,000.

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|--|------------|-------|--------------|---------|----------|
| Percentage of migrants reporting remittances | 10.53 | 3.45 | 34 | 10.5 | 12 |
| Average Number of times migrants remit in a year | 6 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 2 |
| Average amount in Rs remitted in one year | 4033 | 3129 | 1543 | 4250 | 4375 |

Nearly 45% of the migrants in the district do not report visiting their villages each year. 10.5% report losing their jobs after returning from such holidays.

Husbands Occupational Status

54% of domestic workers who are currently married state their husband' are engaged in casual labour. 30% report their husbands as being engaged in regular salaried work. Qualitative insights revealed that such work usually implied construction labour or work in building sites. In Sangam Vihar,92% of husbands of domestic workers were engaged in garbage collection.

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|--|--------------------|---|--|
| Unemployed | 13 | 17 | 1.6 | 11 | 5.3 |
| Casual Labour | 34 | 70 | 92.4 | 58.3 | 49 |
| Self Employed | 29 | 0 | 0 | 5.6 | 0 |
| Salaried | 24 | 13 | 5 | 22 | 46 |
| Majority Occupation | Casual Labour+ Rickshaw Puller | Casual Labour + Government Cleaning Contractor | Garbage Collection | Casual Labour + Personal Household Driver | Garbage Collection + Sweepers/Cleaners |

Wages and Working Conditions

Women in the district report earning an average of Rs 1922. Nearly 80% of the domestic workers in the survey do not work for the evening shift i.e. after 4 pm. Minimum working hours per house from a minimum of one hour to a maximum of 14 hour duty. Women working only one shift earn close to 1836, while those working evening shifts earn close to Rs 2264.

Monthly incomes reported by workers range from Rs 25 per month, earned by working in resettlement colonies in Sangam Vihar to Rs 5200 per month. Most had to work for extra time during the month. Due to the arbitrary nature of the working pattern and non existence of a written contract etching out time and duration of work and duties to be performed, many women work extra time and take on extra tasks without knowing it or being paid in cash or kind. 79 % workers report partaking in extra time work. Only 8% of those who undertake extra time are paid for their efforts.

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|--|------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| Average Number of Years as Domestic worker | 140 months | 141 Months | 29 months | 37 months | 53 months |
| Average Hours working | 3 | 3.4 | 4.5 | 3.15 | 4 |
| Average Number of Tasks per worker | 2 | 2.4 | 3 | 2 | 3.1 |
| Average Number of Households in which working | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Percentage share who receive paid sick leave | 26 | 7 | 98 | 71 | 97.5 |
| Average number of holidays without wage cuts per month | 1.3 | 1.4 | 2 | 1.4 | 3 |
| Average per month income (in Rs) | 1730 | 1734 | 1647 | 1560 | 2347 |
| Percentage who receive one holiday per week | 10 | 3.45 | 0 | 32 | 5 |

Child Care, Schooling and Health

55% of married domestic workers with children have no childcare support. 17% seek help from daughters, while 15% find help from husbands. Large majority leave their children by themselves. Women from evicted households changed their work arrangements and would engage in night shifts at their employer's home, to ensure they could stay at home during the day time and take care of their children. The other care strategies reported during qualitative interviews include admitting children to school earlier than necessary to ensure their safety; leaving them with neighbours, relatives, friends, where in some cases payment was involved. For example, Rachna, a

domestic worker in Biratia Camp would leave her one year old daughter with a friend and pay her Rs 600 per month.

47% of the children of domestic workers, above the age of 15 years were unemployed in Chatarpur. Intergenerational transfer of occupations is evident amongst families which were engaged in garbage collection. While a large majority of children of domestic workers in the South Delhi sample were adults; amongst them only 27% had attended any educational institution.

| Characteristics | Chattarpur | Deoli | Sangam Vihar | Kalkaji | Badarpur |
|---|-------------------|---------------|---------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|
| Average Age of children (in yrs) | 23 | 28 | 20 | 18 | 24 |
| Percentage of children in school (in percentage share of respondents) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Majority Occupation for children above 15 years (based on percentage share of respondents) | Unemployed | Casual Labour | Garbage Collection | Work in Shops | Domestic Duties + Garbage Collection |
| Percentage of girl children in school (15 years and below--in percentage share of respondents) | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Percentage of girl children working as domestic workers (percentage share of respondents by domicile) | 6 | 14 | 14 | 0 | 0 |

Occupational Health Hazards

15% of domestic workers surveyed felt they suffered certain health problems and diseases specifically due to the work process. The ailments reported by the respondents were body pain and fatigue due to work. 9% report bladder problems. Majority report using private health facilities.

Perception relating to work

80% stated they were happy with their current work. 87% stated they planned to continue as a paid domestic worker. 71% said they did not want to change their field of work. 72% did not want their daughters to take up domestic work.

ACTION INTERVENTIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

- Skill development with strong language component
- Childcare provisions

- Counselling and Supporting the growth of women's collectives
- Generating awareness on working norms and building capacity and skills of workers to negotiate and bargain with employers
- Facilitating access to state initiatives

NEW DELHI

The district of New Delhi has traditionally been host to political personalities, dignitaries, diplomats, government servants and important officers of the legislature and judiciary. Historical accounts of the political life of the city and the nation have reflected on the 'staff' employed by such households (Guha 2007). Recent studies on slum leadership also suggest that these linkages between political officials and their domestic help were a key path for slum recognition and legalisation (Rao and Walton 2004). The character of the district has undergone modification post delimitation, with few assembly constituencies from erstwhile South Delhi being added. The qualitative and quantitative data collected through the ISST study highlights how access to such powerful and wealthy employers mediates income, working conditions and livelihoods and influences the nature of action interventions required. The labour market, habitat and livelihood opportunities are different in this part of Delhi vis-à-vis other districts. This distinction may lie in the district hosting some of the oldest and well-off residential areas in the city. These colonies and

surrounding areas have seen exponential growth in their property value (Housing Bank 2002, Magic Bricks 2009, Delhi 99 Acres 2009). While the qualitative accounts and ethnographic data provided by the workers offer fascinating insights into the perception and social organisation of urbanisation, gentrification and contestation of urban space, the chapter, forthwith shall present an outline of the key findings from sample survey analysis. The final section shall outline key action recommendations for selected sites. The analysis of data and narratives suggests an increasing need for skill development with emphasis on language training, awareness generation, facilitation of access to larger state initiatives and child care provisions to equip female domestic workers in New Delhi district to improve working and living conditions.

SCOPE OF SAMPLE

This analysis draws upon the larger ISST sample of domestic workers. There are 7 Assembly Constituencies (ACs) enlisted by the Electoral rolls. **4 of these were included** in the sample. Okhla, was the only border AC and thus it was selected. Jangpura and Greater Kailash were part of South Delhi as per the Census enumeration. As the survey prioritized South Delhi district, following the Census division, these **two ACs were included in the sample**. Following the specifications mentioned in the methodology chapter, one i.e. 25% of the remaining 4 non border wards was selected from New Delhi.

40. New Delhi

41. **Jangpura**

42. Kasturba Nagar

43. Malviya Nagar

44. **RK Puram**

50. **Greater Kailash**

54. **Okhla**

The analysis relies on survey details noted from 238 female domestic workers across 9 slum and JJ clusters in the district and one urban village. The details are supplemented with interviews, case studies and ethnographic materials collected in 5 sites. 21 life and occupational histories have been collected. 2 Focus Group Discussions were held in Okhla and RK Puram.

DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE IN NEW DELHI DISTRICT

| Name | Number of Slum Clusters in Voter Rolls | Number of slum clusters included in Sample (50% of total slum clusters in the AC) | Number of slum clusters with listing and low incidence of paid domestic workers (no survey respondents) | Number of slum clusters with no listing or response (where investigators faced problems) | Number of slum clusters with respondent listings and listings | Total Number of clusters canvassed with responses | Number of respondents |
|---------------|--|---|---|--|---|---|-----------------------|
| Jangpura (41) | 6 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 65 |
| RK Puram (44) | 16 | 8 | 0 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 33 |
| GK (50) | 6 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 43 |
| Okhla (54) | 10 | 5 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 97 |
| TOTAL | 38 | 19 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 9 | 238 |

Demography

The survey canvassed 238 domestic workers in New Delhi district and a total population of 1016 persons. Majority of women surveyed belong to the age groups of 30 to 35 years. The average age of women in the sample is 33.7 years. 87 % of the domestic workers surveyed are Hindu.

Education

Education and literacy emerged as important factors influencing women's ability to procure work at higher paying neighbourhoods and households in the district. 41 % of the sample is uneducated, while 25% can sign their own names, despite no schooling. Only 2% of the domestic workers surveyed have completed class 12th. 9 % have completed schooling between classes 1 and 5, thus reporting some degree of primary education. In GK, nearly 30% of the domestic workers stated that they had never been to school, but could sign their names without any assistance. Nearly 21% of the workers had passed class 5th. Christian female domestic workers report better education outcomes, with nearly 25% completing class 10th. Only 7% of the domestic worker surveyed in Jungpura had passed class 5.

Nearly 15% of the domestic workers surveyed in RK Puram had passed class 10th. This was described as a positive attribute by women in RK Puram and Okhla during qualitative investigation.

Slums residents who lived near affluent colonies felt basic education and the ability to read and perform simple calculations could help them find higher paying jobs within their neighbourhoods.

It was also interesting to note, that the demand for such educated women was pushing many of the domestic workers in Taimur Nagar, a key site for qualitative research in Okhla, out of work. These groups used to work in large homes of industrialists and legal elites² in New Friends Colony, but were increasingly taking up work in small flats in a nearby low-income area called Zakir Nagar. The households in Zakir Nagar were inhabited by groups of single migrant Muslim men, usually migrating from UP in search of work in IT firms and factories in Okhla. The wages were much lower than those reported in NFC. The workers interviewed made reference to the increasing demand for educated girls in the neighbourhood. Rita, a 43 year old resident of Taimur Nagar said,

Women like us cannot work in New Friends anymore. They want smart girls, who can read lists for shopping and know what box or carton to open through reading. For us, who have barely studied, this is very difficult. Just because our jobs don't have interviews or ask for certificates does not mean that education is meaningless. Things have changed.

However, while discussing wages offered by employers in Vasant Vihar, Neha , a 33 year old Nepali domestic worker who had lived in Nepali camp, a slum adjacent to the neighbourhood since birth, said,

It is better to have studied if you want to work in these kinds of neighbourhoods. The employers are rich and big people; they want proper (dhang ki) women working for them. Girls who have been to school are better able to talk to the employer and understand what they want. These madam's want smart girls, they do not hire girls who are not dressed well, and know nothing.

Such comments suggest not only literacy but the perception of grooming and appearance were becoming significant for employers.

| Characteristics | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|---|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| Average Age (in yrs) | 31.3 | 32.6 | 36.46 | 34.26 | 34.52 |
| Uneducated (no schooling + cannot sign name) (in percentage share of respondents) | 63 | 60.6 | 18.6 | 30.93 | 41 |
| Majority Religion (based on percentage share of respondents) | Hindu (93.85) | Hindu (72%) Christian (24%) | Hindu (100%) | Hindu (87%) Muslim (12%) | Hindu (87.86%) |
| Currently Married | 77 | 84.85 | 81 | 86 | 85.14 |

² Women interviewed in Taimur Nagar stated they used to work for lawyers and their families in NFC.

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| (in percentage share of respondents) | | | | | |
| Migrant (percentage share of respondents by place of last residence) | 58 | 51 | 97 | 95.5 | 87 |
| Average Family Size | 4.26 | 4 | 1 | 4.8 | 4.2 |
| Majority Social Group | SC (31%) | SC (21%) | SC (65%) | SC (53%) | SC (50%) |
| Number of Respondents | 65 | 33 | 43 | 97 | 238 |

Neha, herself wanted to study more, but her families economic circumstances resulted in her being withdrawn from school to take care of her younger brother, while her mother would work as a domestic worker.

Caste and Geography

Domestic work has traditionally been viewed through the lens of rigid caste hierarchies and labour market stratification. While caste issues were difficult to investigate for the ISST team due to non response, short time span of qualitative visits in these areas and the focus on wages and action interventions, the preliminary data suggests preponderance of lower caste and vulnerable social groups such as scheduled castes in paid domestic work.

Non reportage was maximum in RK Puram, with 63% of those interviewed not reporting any caste categories; and minimum in Greater Kailash, where each respondent answered caste related queries. 6% of the respondents in Okhla did not answer questions relating to caste. No respondent in Vasant Gaon mentioned their caste identities. In Nepali camp, nearly 52% of the respondents did not report caste.

| Characteristics | Majority Religion | Average Age | Currently Married | Majority Social Group | Total Respondents |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Vasant Gaon | Hindu (50%) Christian (50%) | 32 | 75 | - | 8 |
| Nepali Camp | Hindu (80%) | 32.8 | 88 | SC (28%) | 25 |
| Subhash Camp | Hindu (100%) | 36.5 | 78 | SC (70%) | 23 |
| Jagdamba Camp | Hindu (100%) | 36.4 | 85 | SC (60%) | 20 |
| Rajasthani Camp | Hindu (100%) | 37.1 | 80 | SC (60%) | 10 |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------|------|----|---------------|----|
| Madanpur Khadar | Hindu (100%) | 36.2 | 90 | SC (55%) | 49 |
| Taimur Nagar, Pahari 1 | Hindu (100%) | 25.2 | 55 | | 9 |
| Taimur Nagar, Pahari 2 | Hindu (59%) Muslim (41%) | 33 | 93 | | 29 |
| Jal Vihar Jhuggies | Hindu (93) | 30 | 75 | General (29%) | 28 |
| Sardar Basti | Hindu (95) | 32.5 | 78 | SC (54%) | 37 |

In Greater Kailash, where there was full reportage, large majority of the workers were members of the Scheduled Castes. 60% of the respondents in Jagdamba camp and 70% in Subhash Camp were from the SC community. Subhash Camp reported 3 distinctive caste categories. There were 2 Nepali women who report their caste as Nepali. Second, survey data recorded a group of women from the Kashyap caste in Uttar Pradesh. This group hailed from Etawah, Kanpur and Mainpuri. Two other women in Subhash camp group were from the Pandit and Brahmin caste groups. 4 women are from Tamil Nadu, and moved to Delhi either directly or after a stay in Bombay. 29% of domestic workers in Jungpura stated they were SC. 25% belonged to the OBC categories and 18% were from general castes. 60% of the domestic workers surveyed from Rajasthani Camp were from scheduled castes.

Madanpur Khadar is a confluence of several castes and regional groups. 55% are from SC groups, while 22% report being from general castes. Bihari migrants from the Nai, Kurmi, Thakur, Yadav and Kewat castes were part of the sample. Migrants from West Bengal belonged to the Machuara, Sarkar, Bairagi, Thakur, Ari, Mahishya, Hazari and Shikari castes. Mandal caste group amongst Bengali female domestic workers was reported in the largest number. Many from this group did not answer the question and reported their castes as 'Bangali'³. From the Tamil Nadu in-migrants, most women belonged to the Nadar caste. From Uttar Pradesh, the Dhobhi caste group was largely reported. These families had migrated to Delhi from Kanpur, Lucknow and Agra. Other caste groups reported were Khatik, Krishi, Thakur, Balmiki, Dhiman and Harijan. In Taimur Nagar, Pahari number 1, the entire community is from the SC community. 7% of those from Pahari number 2 did not report any caste. 55% were from the general community.

Marital Status

85% of those surveyed reported being married, while 6% of the domestic workers were widowed. 3.4% stated being separated from their husbands. 1.14% were unmarried. Jungpura reported the maximum number of unmarried female domestic workers. 14.5% of the respondents were single, while 79% were married. 3% were separated. Separation and divorce are significant

³ 'Bangali' is classified as a SC in Uttar Pradesh.

phenomena, with close to 5% women stating that they were separated from their husbands. Widowhood and separation were seen as important causes for women to choose domestic work as it provided women income opportunities, in a situation where they could not rely on any other family members for survival and sustenance. Substance abuse emerged as a key problem within marriages and women interviewed mentioned how alcohol consumption and violence led them to separate from their husbands. Sheela and Shalini in Vasant Gaon stated that their husbands had left them after violence and drinking took their toll on the marriage.

Close to 6% of the women surveyed in RK Puram state that their husbands had left them. Accounts of marital problems were related to alcohol consumption and violence in one of two sites canvassed. Similarly, 7% of the domestic workers surveyed in GK stated their husbands had left them as well. 3% of the women in Jungpura stated they were separated from their husbands.

During interactions with Sheela and Shalini in Vasant Gaon, their narratives reflected the need for counselling and shelters for women facing abusive marriages. Many in the area felt that the increasing amounts of income earned from domestic work by women threatened men, who were often relying on their wives for income and job opportunities. Sheela's experience elaborates upon this.

We met while working at the same household. I was a full time domestic worker then and he used to also help in the house. Love happened and marriage. Soon after, the family we worked for left their home. This is common amongst these households (she means households where employers are foreign nationals). I soon found another job which paid me equally well, and he started working as a driver at another home. He was drunk one day and caused an accident – his employers asked him to leave. After that, he stopped working. I tried to get him to look for new jobs, as running the household was very difficult by myself. We had two daughters – but he refused. He suggested i get my elder daughter to work in households as well. I said no and we would keep fighting. I faced a lot of pain. One day, we fought so much – that he threw us out of his house. Soon after, i found a place to live with another friend and started saving money. My employer also helped us. Now i live on my own with our children. This is nothing new, most women who work here face these troubles.

Average family size of the respondent is 4.2 members. Muslim families in Taimur Nagar Pahari number 2 reported an average family size of close to 7 persons.

Housing and Habitat: Consolidation and Contestation

Housing conditions and infrastructure have a significant bearing on women's ability to work and earn more wages. The nature of water services, for instance, shape workers occupational arrangements ie the number of houses they can work in and the number of hours or tasks they can perform. In addition, poor public amenities imply greater workload for women workers.

On an average, domestic workers in New Delhi report living in their current habitat for the past 131 months, which implies close to 11 years. This does not vary too much between the ACs. While women in RK Puram stated that they had been living in their area for an average of 9 years, those in GK reported an average of 14 years and those in Okhla report living in their localities for 10 years. Women reported living in their current localities for an average of 18 years in Jungpura. There are

3 distinct typologies of shelter trajectories noted by field visits and ethnographic rounds of data collection in New Delhi.

The first relates to domestic workers in one cluster in RK Puram, who migrated to live in a basti located in an urban village, which has been gentrified over the past 20 years. The workers canvassed in Vasant Gaon had recently moved to their present residence. They reported living in their current home for an average of 4 years. Field visits and qualitative probing revealed that this short duration was due to the insecure tenure and maturing property market in the area. For women here, finding homes was becoming increasingly difficult as clusters were being gentrified, which was pushing up rental payments. Jyoti in Basant Gaon mentioned the difficulties in finding a house. While doing so she also articulates the linkages between shelter and working conditions.

She says,

When my mother moved here and we were young, finding a house was not so difficult. Nobody lived here and there were no property agents. You would find a house through neighbours and other friends. But nowadays, no one can help. The rents are always increasing and people would prefer to give houses to those who can pay more. Our landlord keeps fighting with us and says we must find another place to live as we cannot afford Vasant Gaon. Now i have contacted a property agent – lets see what we can find? We cannot leave this area – our work is here and you will not get other colonies where so many well-off people stay. Working in these households is good as we get good money and more holidays also. I have friends who have had to move from here and work in Vasant Kunj and other flats. They make half of what i make and get no holidays or leave for festivals. Here, i get all national holidays also.

The second shelter trajectory relates to those slum dwellers who had been evicted and resettled in the government built and recognised JJ colony in Greater Kailash. Women living in Madanpur Khadar JJ Colony stated they had been living in their current homes for 6 years. This is commensurate with the eviction drive and resettlement of people in the locality (Jagori 2006).

The third trajectory visible in Okhla's Taimur Nagar was far more tense. Women lived in an illegal squatter settlement alongside an open drain, opposite the New Friends Colony. Field investigators noted that the presence of police was common and this area had witnessed a mass fire, in which many home were burnt. Women living in Taimur Pahari number 1 stated that they had lived in the area for an average of 20 years. Those in Pahari number 2 had been residents for the past 14 years.

Narrative accounts from those interviewed also highlighted the trade-offs between legality, living conditions and livelihoods. Saniya, a 35 year old domestic worker had moved from Bengal to the recognised cluster of Seemapuri, in East Delhi, when she was 15 years old. She arrived in the city with her mother and was soon married to another resident in Seemapuri. However, despite the legal and recognised nature of their home, her family decided to move to Okhla and live in Taimur Nagar.

She says,

We had to come here. I was working in homes within Seemapuri and earning Rs 300 or Rs 200 per month, working in three homes. Now, in New Friends Colony or even Zakir Nagar i make more per household. My husband used to work in mechanic shop nearby and earned half of what he makes now. However, this area is

much worse. We live near a drain, there is no toilet and nobody keeps the area clean. The police keeps trying to burn the place down, but it is better here...for now.

78% of the domestic workers surveyed stated that their current residence was not their first home in Delhi. Only 20% of those who were not born in Delhi reported their current home as their first home in the city. Interviewed workers in Greater Kailash slums said the land belonged to a member of the Gujjar community who earned rent from all of them. The rental payments included electricity payments. Water was brought from taps in the nearby market and tankers. Save two sites, none of the areas visited had any assured water supply, drainage or electricity. Further, such amenities were becoming a source of contest between residents of nearby colonies and families of domestic workers, who lived in slums nearby.

Respondents in Nepali Camp, which is located at the heart of Vasant Vihar, stated that residents of the colony had built a tube well which blocked their access to water from a government pipe. As a result, the neighbourhood had no water supply. The families mobilised and met with local political representatives who assured water supply through tankers each evening. However, this ensured that women's ability to work two shifts in the colonies was restricted as they were responsible for securing water from the tankers.

Nearly 64% of the domestic workers in Nepali camp stated that this locality was their first and only home in the city. None of the respondents in Rajasthani Camp or the Taimur Nagar Jhuggies 2 stated that their current address as their first in the city. Close to 30% of those women living in Jal Vihar Jhuggies and Sardar Basti in Jungpura stated that these localities were their first home. None of respondents in GK, Okhla or RK Puram reported being evicted from their home. Eviction were only reported by women in Jungpura. 5 persons living in Ashram Sardar Basti said their homes had been evicted. These women had arrived in Delhi from Bihar and Maharashtra between 1998 and 2001. They were currently working in Ashram, Lajpat Nagar and Jungpura Extension.

Infrastructure and rental payments are a serious problem. 42% of the respondent's reports owning their own home, while 57 % pay rent. Average rent paid by these respondents is estimated to be Rs 1074 per month. 24 % of the rent paying respondents pays Rs 1000 per month. 9% pay rent of Rs 2000 and above. Minimum rent recorded is Rs500 in Madanpur Khadar, while maximum is Rs 2700 in Vasant Gaon.

| Characteristics | Jangpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------|
| Ownership of House | 61.5 | 36 | 37 | 45 | 42 |
| Type of Housing | Kuthca | Kutcha-Pucca | Kutcha-Pucca | Kutcha-Pucca | - |
| Rent Paid (in Rs) | 1299 | 1271 | 1388 | 843 | 1074 |
| Access to Water | Communal Tap | Tap in households | Tap in households, Communal Tap | Communal Tap | - |
| Sewage | Closed | Open | Open | Open (also called Nala Colony) | - |

Nearly 42% of the households own their houses in Delhi. For the larger 60%, the highest rent is paid by residents in Vasant Gaon. This group reports payments of close to Rs 2000 per month. None of the women here own their households. 78% of the households in Subhash Camp pay rent of close Rs 1500 . 90% of the residents of Rajasthani Camp pay average rent of Rs 900. None of the households in Taimur Pahari number 1 own their households. Many women in the FGDs said they had to start working as the payment for water and electricity had increased. 41% of migrants in the district own their homes, as compared to 56% non migrants. 51% of the migrants from Bengal own their houses, while the same estimate for those born in UP is 45%.

Poverty Cards, Identification and Access to State Services

Lack of identification documents and the affiliated problems is accessing state services was a crucial concern raised by workers. 5.2% of the domestic workers surveyed in New Delhi reported possessing a BPL card. ⁴. Close to 6% of the households surveyed in RK Puram possessed these cards, while 7% of the households in Okhla reported them as well. None of the households in GK assembly constituency reported possessing BPL cards. Rajasthani Camp was the cluster which reported maximum possession of BPL cards. 30% of the women surveyed reported an affirmative response. Half the migrant population which reported Bihar as its last place of residence reported possessing a BPL card. Amongst non migrants, close to 5% report owning BPL cards. For those born in Delhi, 7% own BPL cards.

Only 1.16% have completed domestic worker registration with the police authorities. These registrations have been completed in Okhla. A small number of respondents possess identity cards, most of which have been issued by the local RWAs. This estimate is close to 2.3% for the district. Of the 4 people who report identity cards, 2 live in Vasant Gaon, one each in Madanpur Khadar and Taimur Nagar, Pahari 2.

⁴ . Nearly 93% reported that they did not possess a BPL card. 1.8% of the sample did not answer this question.

In a few cases in the district, proximity to socio-politically endowed families meant that workers could have better access to schemes. Jyoti, a worker interviewed in Vasant Gaon, mentioned how her employer, who was a retired government servant helped her secure a ration card. In addition, she suggested how workers engaged in households of foreign nationals or inside embassy premises would receive identification cards.

None of the women surveyed in Jungpura reported having BPL cards. None reported being registered with the police either. Women interviewed complained about the registration process. Many said they did not feel the need for any dealings with the police as it entailed harassment. Accounts also revealed inherent tensions in subjecting a personal and reciprocal relationship between employer and employee to state scrutiny. Sheela, in Nepali Camp said,

If I have good relations with my employer, why does she need the police to be involved?

Arti had been working in Vasant Vihar for the past 7 years and was resistant to the idea of registration. She narrated how one of her employers had asked her to register with the police. They made 3 visits, but the authorities demanded more paper-work from her. She complained of harassment despite her possessing a ration card. The family finally gave up trying to register her.

My madams know that talking to them (police) only leads to trouble. After we decided to stop going to the station, they (police) came to my madam's house three times. Finally, after sir yelled at them and said that they had fired me, did they stop bothering us. Who can trust these people?

Entry and Exit

Of the 163 migrants, 43% stated they had heard about paid domestic work from persons in their villages and pre-migratory homes. From these 70 persons, 64 reported the contact through whom they heard about domestic work prior to migration. A majority had heard through relatives and this was closely followed by neighbours. 10 persons had heard from other migrant domestic workers when they returned. 7 persons stated they had heard from friends.

On an average, women joined the sector in this district when they were 26 years old. Close to 14% of the sample joined the sector before they turned 18 years old. Only 2 cases joined the sector before they turned 15 years old. The youngest age of entry into the sector is 10 years. Non migrants entered this form of work at an average age of 21 years, while migrants reported 26 years.

Social Networks were moot in allowing women entry and access to work opportunities. Close to 40% state they found their first job as a domestic worker through another worker in the neighbourhood. 24% found their first job as a domestic worker through a friend in the city who belonged to her village or locality.

Training

Only one person in the district reports receiving training in domestic work. She lives in Vasant Gaon and is also the only person who felt that entry into domestic work required training. However, such findings were contradicted during the qualitative rounds of discussion particularly in localities where women worked for foreign employers.

FGDs in Nepali Camp revealed the need for a course in technical skills related to appliances and basic language skills for workers. Thus, women requested training and certificate courses which could include modules on the English language and handling domestic appliances.

Migration

The survey asked respondents about migration through three separate questions – the first enquiring after their place of birth, the second about their place of last residence and the final was a direct question asking if they had migrated to Delhi or lived in Delhi since birth. Only 9.25% of the respondents in New Delhi stated they had lived in Delhi since birth. Close to 89% of the sample had migrated to Delhi or migrated from Delhi after work to eventually return. 7.5% of the domestic workers surveyed in the district were born in Delhi. A majority 46% of these women resided in Madanpur Khadar. The largest share of respondents was born in Uttar Pradesh followed by 4 percentage points by West Bengal. 3.5% were born in Bangladesh, and 0.5% were born in Nepal.

Close to 14% of the respondents reported Delhi as their previous area of residence. From the remaining migrants as per the place of last residence definition, 38% reported Uttar Pradesh as their previous area of residence. This was followed by West Bengal which was reported by 27% of the surveyed workers in the district. 3% reported Bangladesh as their place of last residence. Bihar was reported by 18%. Maximum in-migrants reported Uttar Pradesh and Jharkhand as their areas of previous residence in RK Puram. In Okhla, more than 41.3% in-migrants were resident in Bengal prior to Delhi. 10% of those living in Subhash Camp were resident in Bangladesh prior to the NCT. 48% of the migrant domestic workers in Taimur Pahari Number 1 used to live in Bengal prior to migrating to Delhi. In Vasant Gaon, a quarter of the domestic workers interviewed were born in Andhra Pradesh. Another quarter were born in Delhi. In Nepali Camp, only 4% of those surveyed were born in Delhi. A majority were born in Bengal. None of the domestic workers surveyed in Jagdamba Camp were born in Delhi. 90% reported being born in Uttar Pradesh. 13% of the domestic workers surveyed in Subhash camp were born in Delhi, while a majority re born in UP. None of the domestic workers in Rajathni Camp were born in Delhi. Nearly 60% were born in Bengal.

| Characteristics | Jangpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Majority place of birth | UP (29%) Tamil Nadu (17%) | West Bengal (18%) Jharkhand (18%) (Cross Border-12%) | Uttar Pradesh (67.4%) (Nepal-7%) | West Bengal (40%) | UP (30.64%) WB (26.01%) |
| Majority place of last residence | UP (34%) Tamil Nadu (29%) | Uttar Pradesh (22%) Jharkhand (22%) | Uttar Pradesh (75%) | West Bengal (41%) | UP (38%) |

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------|
| Majority mother tongue | Hindi (57%) Tamil (29%) | Hindi (48.5%) (Bengali - 21%) | Hindi (41.5%) Marathi (37%) | Hindi (56%) (Bengali – 39%) | Hindi (51.45%) |
| Percentage who migrated alone | 2.7 | 6.06 | 0 | 2.06 | 2.31 |
| Majority year of migration to NCT | 1988 | 1999 | 1998 | 1988 | 1988 |
| Percentage of Migrants (birth place) | 45 | 92 | 97 | 93 | 93 |
| Percentage of Migrants (place of last residence) | 48 | 51 | 97 | 95.5 | 87 |
| Percentage share of those who have lived in Delhi since birth (total number of persons) | 34 (22) | 21.21 (7) | 9.3 (4) | 5(5) | 9.25(16) |

39% of the women interviewed in Madanpur Khadar were born in Bengal. Majority 55.3% of those in Tauimur Pahari number 1 were born in Bihar, while close to 48% of those living in Pahari number state being born in West Bengal.

51% of the sample reports Hindi as its mother tongue. This is followed by Bengali which is reported by 26%. 30% of those in Suhash Camp report Tamil as their mother tongue, while 80% in Jagdamba Camp report Marathi as their mother tongue.

| Characteristics | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|--|----------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| Percentage share of migrants who moved To Find Work/Employment | 54 (20) | 66.67 (22) | 79.07 (34) | 45.36(44) | 57.80 (100) |
| Percentage share of migrants who migrated with Family | 35(13) | 12.12(4) | 13.95 (6) | 46.39 (45) | 31.79 (55) |
| Percentage share of migrants who migrated for Marriage | 5.4(2) | 0 | 0 | 3.09 (3) | 1.73 (3) |
| Percentage Share who migrated alone to Delhi | 2.7 (1) | 6.06 (2) | 0 | 2.06 (2) | 2.31 (4) |

| | | | | | |
|--|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Percentage who had members of family migrate to Delhi at any point of time prior to their migration | 27 (10) | 78.79 (26) | 9.30 (4) | 6.19(6) | 20. 81(36) |
|--|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|

91% of the ample migrated from villages and rural areas. Of the 163 migrants, 41 reported 2 causes for migration to Delhi. Analysing primary responses we find that nearly 58% of the female migrants moved to Delhi in search of work. 32% migrated to Delhi with their families. Only 2% migrated to live with her post-marital family. 37 women from the 41 who reported a second response stated they moved to Delhi in search of work and also migrated with their families. Female autonomous migration appears as an emerging trend based on life histories and qualitative probing.

It is important to note that 51% of the migrants came to Delhi with specific intentions to take up domestic work.

Of the group of migrants, only two cases report paying a middleman to help them migrate to the NCT. These were reported in the Nepali Camp cluster where these respondents had migrated from Uttar Pradesh. Only 2% of the female migrants had migrated alone to Delhi. Of the 160 migrant who answered questions regarding how they migrated to Delhi, 159 stated they were accompanied by their family members. Only one respondent said she had migrated with her friend from the village.

| Characteristics | UP | Bengal | Bihar | Cross Border | Total |
|--|------------|---------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|
| Percentage share of migrants who say there are other people from their village in Delhi | 75.57 (40) | 66.67(30) | 65.38(17) | 28.57 (2) | 67.30 (107) |
| Percentage share of migrants who are in communication with other migrants from their village | 92.5 (37) | 100 (30) | 88.24 (15) | 100(2) | 96 (105) |
| Average number of times respondents meet with other migrants from their village | 15.5 | 19.26 | 24.13 | 30 | 21.36 |
| Percentage Share who | 72.97 (27) | 63.3(19) | 40(6) | 0 | 66(68) |

| | | | | | |
|---|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|----------|---------------------|
| report receiving help and assistance from such networks | | | | | |
| Majority form of help received | To Find Work | To Find Work | To Find Work | - | To Find Work |
| Share of Migrants who were born in these states | 32.52 (53) | 27.61(45) | 15.95(26) | 4.29 (7) | - |

A majority of 41% of the migrants who state they meet other migrants from their village do so everyday. This indicates that they live in the same locality. Amongst migrants born in Uttar Pradesh, the number of days is smaller. 24.32% of these migrants state they meet these group everyday, while another 24.32% state meeting them only one day in the month. 80% of the migrants from Bihar who meet their village network do so everyday. Amongst the migrants born in West Bengal, 40% state they meet their village groups for one day a month, while 50% meet them everyday.

Remittance

24% of the female domestic workers surveyed in New Delhi stated that they remitted income to their homes outside Delhi. Interestingly this proportion was the weakest amongst migrants born in Bengal. Only 20% of this group reported remittances. 38% of the migrants born in UP remitted income. 6 cases reported remitting income through more than one means. Based on primary responses more than half of those remitting did so through postal money orders. 26% remitted through other means which usually implied that migrants would deliver money personally upon visits. Migrant in New Delhi would one an average remit income 3 times in a year. This estimate varies based on localities. Those surveyed in Nepali Camp would remit nearly 11 times in a year. Those in Taimur Pahari number 2 would remit nearly 7 times in a year. Subhash camp respondents reported remitting close to 2 times in a year. Migrants born in Benagl remit nearly 5 times a year, whereas those from UP would remit 2 times a year.

On an average, migrants from New Delhi remit Rs 5128 each year. Women working in Jagdamba Camp and Taimur Pahari 2 stated that they remitted Rs 7500 and Rs 8000 per year respectively. Migrants born in UP remit close to Rs 5375 per year. The same estimate for those bron in Bengal is Rs 6333. A Marathi domestic worker, born in Uttarakhand reports remitting Rs10,000 per year. She lives in Jagdamba Camp.

| Jungpura | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| Percentage of migrants reporting remittances | 10.8 | 6.45 | 52 | 17.4 | 24 |
| Average Number of times migrants remit in a year | 1 | 11 | 2.3 | 3.6 | 3 |
| Average amount in Rs | 1000 | 500 | 5904 | 4687 | 5128 |

| | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| remitted in one year | | | | | |
|----------------------|--|--|--|--|--|

Nearly 53% of the migrants in the district do not report visiting their villages each year. From those who report making these visits, 75% do so only once a year.

| Characteristics | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|------------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1967-1977 | 2.7(1) | 3(1) | 2.33(1) | 1.03 (1) | 3.47(6) |
| 1978-1982 | 16.2(6) | 9(3) | 9.3(4) | 7.22 (7) | 6.36(11) |
| 1983-1987 | - | 9(3) | 2.33(1) | 5.15(5) | 5.2(9) |
| 1988-1992 | 24.3(9) | 15(5) | 16.28(7) | 22.68 (22) | 19.65(34) |
| 1993-1997 | 13.5(5) | 30(10) | 25.58(11) | 19.59 (19) | 23.12(40) |
| 1998-2002 | 35.4(13) | 24(8) | 20.93(9) | 22.68 (22) | 22.54(39) |
| 2003-2007 | 2.7(1) | 3(1) | 16.28(7) | 14.43 (14) | 12.72(22) |
| 2008 | 0 | - | - | 2.06(2) | 1.16(2) |
| Not Applicable | 0 | 6(2) | 4.65(2) | 4.12(4) | 4.62(8) |
| Unanswered | 2 | | 2.33(1) | 1.03 (1) | 1.16(2) |

Close to 45% of the respondents migrated to Delhi between 1993 and 2002. 13% have migrated in the past 5 years. There are only 2 migrants who report arriving in Delhi in 2008. These women reside in Madanpur Khadar and another in Taimur Pahari number 2. Most areas report a scattered duration period of migrants. Residents of Taimur Nagar Pahari number 1 had all arrived in Delhi between 1988 and 1992. 40% of the domestic workers living in Rajasthani camp migrated to Delhi between 2003 and 2007. 92% of the sample migrated to Delhi and lived with their families and relatives upon arrival. Majority of the women in New Delhi report being 20 years old when they migrated to Delhi. The average age when they migrated to Delhi for the first time is 23 years old.

Husbands Occupational Status

Domestic work is emerging as significant source of stable income which pays consistent expenditures such as rents, children's education fees and user fees for amenities. Married women interviewed in New Delhi report a total of 304 sources of livelihoods. On an average, households rely on 2 sources of income for livelihoods. Of the total sources of livelihoods reported, 55% is accounted by domestic work. Casual labour makes up for 30%. 13.5% is accounted by other forms of work which includes regular salaried work. Households report an average of 2 earning members of the family.

24% of domestic workers who are currently married state their husband' are engaged in casual labour. Qualitative insights revealed that such work usually implied construction labour or work in building sites. 11% of the women stated their husbands were unemployed. 9% report husbands occupation as self employed.

| Characteristics | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla |
|-----------------|----------|----------|------|-------|
| Unemployed | 12.24 | 11.11 | 6.06 | 20.24 |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Casual Labour | 36.73 | 44.44 | 42.42 | 38.10 |
| Self Employed | 6.12 | 3.7 | 0 | 1.19 |
| Salaried | 41 | 40.74 | 42.42 | 36.9 |
| Majority Occupation | Work in Shops + Construction | Security/Guard | Construction+ Casual Labour | Construction+ Casual Labour |
| Number of Respondents | 48 | 27 | 33 | 87 |

Previous Work Experience

26 % of the women in this district said they had taken up other kinds of work prior to paid domestic work. Interestingly, only 9% stated that they earned more in their current jobs than they did in the previous ones. Nearly 63.5% stated that earned lesser than the previous occupation. 26% of women reporting previous work histories were engaged in piece rated work at home. This was followed by 22% women who had taken up agricultural labour. 16% were engaged in other forms of work. 12% reported working in factories. A majority of 30% had worked at home before. 16% had worked in a factory. These options appeared to be shaped by the local economic context. For instance, Okhla's industrial estate provided women with piece rated and factory labour opportunities.

4 persons in Jungpura had worked prior to domestic work. They all state that they earn more in their current jobs than previously. These women were engaged in piece rated work at home.

Asset Profile in Delhi

| Assets (Percentage share of those who own) | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|--|----------|----------|----|-------|-------|
| Agricultural Land | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1.16 |
| TV | 78.5 | 78 | 84 | 64 | 72 |
| House | 61.5 | 36 | 37 | 45 | 42 |
| Cycle | 9 | 12 | 48 | 32 | 33 |
| Cattle | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | - |
| Mobile phone | 3 | 30 | 42 | 37 | 37 |
| Radio | 3 | 6 | 14 | 12 | 12 |

Wages and Working Conditions

The data analysed in the districts highlights the need to invest in women's organisations and mobilisation of workers to improve wages and working conditions. The numbers suggest serious wage premiums for workers who are able to work longer hours, in more number of tasks and in certain types of tasks and localities. Any action intervention attempting to address livelihoods concerns of workers needs to invest in such abilities. Further, there are strong informal collectives based on migrant and kin networks. These assist workers in setting wages and norms of work, and can be further used for awareness generation regarding certain basic rights and entitlements as workers. Currently, most women interviewed during qualitative investigation report the existence of standard locality wage norms. However, these norms are manipulated by employers, as a result of which most workers do not receive similar pay for similar work. In addition, majority of workers report working for extra time without payment. Women report feeble incomes whereby savings are difficult and holiday norms are based on oral flexible contracts.

Women in the district report earning an average of Rs 2142. However, there is not much heterogeneity within this wage pattern. While the median wage rate reported in RK Puram is Rs 2500, the same statistic for GK and Okhla is Rs 2000 per month. Not much difference in the wage rates were seen based on migration pattern either. While the median rate for Bengali as their native tongue was Rs 2500, the same estimate for Hindi speakers was Rs 2000. Migrants received an average wage of Rs 2147, while non-migrants registered an average wage rate of Rs 2060.

| Characteristics | Jangpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|--|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Number of Respondents | 65 | 33 | 43 | 97 | 238 |
| Average Number of Years as Domestic worker | 46 months | 51 months | 43 months | 64 months | 56 months |
| Average Hours working | 3 | 4.6 | 3.4 | 2.9 | 3.4 |
| Average Number of Tasks per worker | | 2.6 | 3.3 | 2.1 | 2.32 |
| Average Number of Households in which working | 3 | 1.3 | 4.8 | 5.5 | 4.5 |
| Percentage share who receive paid sick leave | 55 | 81 | 95 | 94 | 93 |
| Average number of holidays without wage cuts per month | 1.8 | 2.4 | 1.4 | 1.8 | 1.8 |
| Average per month income (in Rs) | 1702 | 2554.5 | 2241.9 | 1957 | 2142 |
| Percentage who receive one holiday per week | 2 | 57 | 7 | 10 | 19 |

From the respondents, 46 report being employed for only one task. 33% of these women are either engaged in sweeping and mopping floors. 26% are employed to prepare food for the household.

24% clean utensils. These women on an average earn Rs 954 per household for one task. Women who take up washing floors earn close to Rs 734 per month. Those only cleaning utensils make Rs 663 per household. Those cooking make close to Rs 1558 per household. Those reporting cooking work for an average of 1.9 households. Those engaged in cleaning floors work for an average of 10 households.

| Tasks | Mopping Floors | Washing Utensils | Hand Washing and Drying Clothes | Food Preparation |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Per household Rate | 734 | 600 | 663 | 1558 |
| Hours of Work | 2.4 | 0.9 | 1.54 | 4.8 |
| No of households | 9.8 | 3.67 | 2.5 | 1.9 |
| Monthly Income | 1925 | 2350 | 1689 | 2183 |
| Working Duration | 28.4 months | 22.5 months | 50.5 months | 62.4 months |
| Number of Respondents | 15 | 6 | 11 | 12 |

One respondent worked for 12 hours a day at one house in Bharat Nagar and earned Rs 2500 for elderly care. Another respondent only cleaned toilets in New Friends Colony and earned Rs 800 per household. Her monthly income was Rs 2000 and she worked in 2 households for an average of 4 years. Her working day would last for 6 hours. She lived in Taimur Nagar Pahari number 2. Majority of 62 workers report 2 tasks only. 48 of these workers take up mopping floors and cleaning utensils. 4 take up mopping floors it hashing clothes. 2 take up mopping floors ith food preparation. 2 take up mopping floors with childcare. Only one person takes up dusting with kitchen assistance. Persons who take up dusting usually seem to take up more than 2 tasks.

| Tasks | Mopping Floors + Washing Utensils | Dusting + Mopping Floors + Washing Utensils | Mopping Floors + Hand Wash clothes + Wash Utensils | Dusting + Mopping Floors + Washing Utensils + Hand Wash Clothes |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Per household Rate | 739 | 1023 | 967 | 1520 |
| Hours of Work | 2.11 | 1.5 | 3.3 | 4.85 |
| No of households | 4.5 | 2.4 | 2.12 | 2.1 |
| Monthly Income | 1992 | 2258 | 1706 | 2470 |
| Working Duration | 53.4 months | 55 months | 77.4 | 31.6 |
| Number of Respondents | 48 | 17 | 17 | 10 |

For the 17 people who report dusting, cleaning floors and washing utensils, the average income is Rs 1023 per household. On an average they work in 2 houses and earn Rs 2285 per month. They work for 1.5 hours in each household. 16 persons report doing 4 tasks. 8 are doing 5 tasks. 1 is engaged in 6 tasks. 44 persons report engaging in 3 tasks.

| | One Task | Two Tasks | Three | Four | Five | Six | Total |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------|------|------|------|-------|
| Per household Rate | 954 | 921 | 1189 | 1968 | 2242 | 2500 | 1153 |
| Hours of Work | 2.9 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 4.8 | 6 | 14 | 3.4 |
| No of households | 6.9 | 5.5 | 2.1 | 1.87 | 1.5 | 1 | 4.5 |
| Monthly Income | 2007 | 2070 | 2108 | 2643 | 2642 | 2500 | 2142 |
| Working Duration | 42 months | 58 months | 67.5 | 54.9 | 53.2 | 24 | 56 |
| Number of Respondents | 46 | 62 | 43 | 16 | 8 | 1 | 176 |

In Jungpura, 20 domestic workers report engaging in 4 tasks. 5 persons report only one task. 2 of these are employed for food preparation. Average rate per house is Rs 1050 and average per month income is Rs 1925. They work for an average of 2.25 houses. 21 persons are engaged in 2 tasks only. They are all employed to wash floors and utensils. One person is engaged to take up cooking and childcare. Average income for 2 tasks is 1865, per household rate is Rs 652 and average number of houses is 3. For washing floors and dishes, average hh income is Rs 1883, per household rate is Rs 611 and average number of houses is 3.2. There are 21 persons doing 3 tasks and 10 of these are engaged in dusting, washing floor and dishes. This cohort gets – average income of Rs 1369, average rate per household is 400 and number of houses as 3.1. Only 5 persons are washing floors, dishes and clothes. The average income for this cohort is 1485, per household income is 885 and average number of houses is 2.

20 persons report 4 tasks, 16 take up dusting, washing clothes, dishes and floors. They earn Rs 600 per household and make Rs 1793 at an average, working for 3 households.

16 persons report 4 tasks. 8 persons report doing 5 tasks. One person undertakes 6 tasks.

Women in Madanpur Khadar work in the maximum number of houses. This estimate is 7 households per day for them. Women living in Vasant Gaon report working in one house only. Women born in Bengal work for an average of 7 households, whereas those from UP work in 4. Women born in Delhi work for 2 households. Migrant women work in 4.8 households per day, whereas women from Delhi work in 1.5 households. The median number of households is the same for both groups i.e one household.

Majority of the surveyed domestic workers were employed by households in New Friends Colony, Vasant Vihar and Sarita Vihar flats. A glance at average wage rates in the various neighbourhood highlights the role played by the nature of the employing area in determining wages for domestic work. Localities which had flats reported lesser wages than residential areas. Thus the wages in

Panchsheel Enclave, Sidharth Enclave and flats in Alaknanda were below Rs 2000, while colonies such as NFC, Panchsheel Park and Vasant Vihar reported average wages above Rs 2500.

Nearly 70% of the domestic workers in the survey do not work for the evening shift i.e. after 4 pm. Minimum working hours per house is 30 minutes to a maximum of 12 hours. Women working only one shift earn close to 986 Rs per household and work in 3 households. They report a monthly income of Rs 2019. Women working both shifts earn close to Rs 1549 per household and work in 2.3 households on an average. They report a monthly income of Rs 2477. On an average women report working for 27 days in the past month. Workers report receiving 2 days paid holiday in a month.

Monthly incomes reported by workers range from Rs 500 per month to Rs 5300 per month. 15% of the respondents report earning Rs 2000 per month. Most had to work for extra time during the month. Due to the arbitrary nature of the working pattern and non existence of a written contract etching out time and duration of work and duties to be performed, many women work extra time and take on extra tasks without knowing it or being paid in cash or kind. 53% workers report partaking in extra time work. Only 2% of those who undertake extra time or not paid for their efforts.

23% state they place another person when they go on holiday or visit their pre-migration home. Of these 39 persons, all state that the payment made to the replacement worker is incurred by the employer. A majority 36 of these cases state that the replacement worker is paid an entire month's wages. 10 women, making up 26% of this group state they have lost their jobs to replacement workers after they returned from their holidays or visits. All these cases live in Madanpur Khadar and work in Sarita Vihar and Alaknanda.

74% of the women surveyed in the district stated that paid domestic work was the first job they had ever taken up. Majority 37% of the domestic workers surveyed stated they heard about paid domestic work for the first time through another domestic worker.

| Statements | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|----------------------|----------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| Wages have Increased | 49 (32) | 9.09 (3) | 16.28(7) | 26.80(26) | 20.81 (36) |
| Wages have Decreased | 14(9) | 27.27 (9) | 27.91(12) | 31.96(31) | 30.06 (52) |
| Wages are Constant | 37(24) | 63.64 (21) | 55.81 (24) | 41.24 (40) | 49.15(85) |

Nearly half the respondents in the district stated that their incomes were constant since they entered the sector. 70% of the workers in Rajasthani Camp witnessed an increase in their wages.

95% of the workers surveyed in the district stated that they lived in a locality where other domestic workers also lived. Only 43% stated that these neighbouring domestic workers helped them manage their occupation. Amongst there 75 persons, 74 felt that domestic workers helped them

find work. 6 persons felt that domestic workers helped through cash loans. 35% stated that they offered help to other domestic workers. From this section of 61 persons, 56 said they helped domestic workers find jobs. 9 people said they helped domestic workers find shelter in the city.

56% of the respondents stated that savings were not possible from their incomes. Only 5 persons had a personal bank account. 10 women had savings in bank accounts held by family members. None of the women are part of a formal savings group. 13 women stated that they possessed bank accounts in their own names.

30% women reported that they gave their income to another person, while 70% kept their own income. 95% gave their income to their husbands, while 5% gave their income to their parents. A majority would give their entire income to their spouse. 35% felt their participation in household decisions had improved after joining work.

Transport

Workers report an average time of 36 minutes to reach their place of work. Nearly all domestic workers walk to work. 83% in the sample report walking to work, while 17% take the bus. 4% report using auto rickshaws. Those walking report travel hours between 5 minutes to 2 hours. While the women who travel by foot or cycle report no travel related expenditures, the remaining 29 women report spending between Rs 400 to Rs 530 for travel each month. The average expenditure is close to Rs 497.

Child Care, Schooling and Health

One of the most shocking findings of the study is in relation to childcare. Women often have to leave their children alone at home or in the care of a neighbour while they go to work. Many women interviewed stated that they took up work based on child care constraints. From the group of married women with children, nearly 68% left them alone when they left for work. 14% left their children in the care of their daughters. Narratives highlighted how women would work in colonies and households which were closer to their own homes, to allow them to be proximate to children, in cases of emergency. Women report caring for two children on an average in the district. The average age of children of domestic workers in New Delhi is 12 years old. Close to 16% of the children are below the age of 5 years. 19% of the children in RK Puram are below 5 years old. This estimate is 14% in GK and 10% in Okhla.

| Characteristics | Jungpura | RK Puram | GK | Okhla | Total |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| Average Age of children (in yrs) | 11 | 11 | 12.5 | 12.7 | 12 |
| Percentage of children in school (in percentage share of respondents) | 37 | 40.4 | 50 | 76 | 64 |
| Majority Occupation for | Student | Student | Factory | Student | Student |

| | | | | | |
|---|----------|---------|--------|---------|-----------|
| children above 15 years (based on percentage share of respondents) | | | Labour | | |
| Percentage of girl children in school (15 years and below--in percentage share of respondents) | 37 | 68 | 60 | 60 | 62 |
| Percentage of girl children working as domestic workers (percentage share of respondents by domicile) | 2 | 0 | 0 | 6.6 | 3.73 |
| Average number of children | 2.09 | 2.09 | 2.04 | 2.32 | 2.18 |
| Number of Respondents (Number of children) | 65 (136) | 33 (69) | 43(88) | 97(226) | 238 (519) |

Of the 197 children between the age of 5 and 14 years reported by 168 ever married domestic workers, 36 are not in school. This implies that close 81% of the children in this age cohort are in school. 22 of these 36 children who are out of school are girl children. 14 are boys. 2 of the girls who are out of school are currently working as domestic workers. Of the 80 adolescents between ages of 15 and 18 years, 31 are out of school. A larger share of the drop-outs is boys. While the percentage share of drop out for men in this age category is 37%, for girl this is 40%.

Of the 64 children of domestic worker who were adults, 51 were male and 13 were female. From the male group, 8 were married and were engaged as street vendors, office peons and construction workers. Amongst the 43 adult unmarried male children, the largest chunk of 13 (30%) were unemployed. 16% (7) were engaged as factory labour, whereas 14% (6) were construction workers. 7% (3) were employed as drivers to personal households. 5% (2) report working for guest houses. Amongst the 9 unmarried female adult children, 3 were still studying, while another 3 were working as domestic workers. One worked in a shop. Only one of the girls from the married cohort as working as a home based piece rated worker.

Occupational Health Hazards

13% of domestic workers surveyed felt they suffered certain health problems and diseases specifically due to the work process. The ailments reported by the respondents were body pain and fatigue due to work. 72% reported facing constant body pain. 53% of the sample seeks treatment from private doctors or clinics. 32% report using government facilities. Average health related expenditure is reported between Rs 10 to Rs 50 per month. 48% stated that they had fallen ill in the past two years. Of these 83 persons, only 59 responded to questions regarding the type of illness faced. A quarter suffered from fever. 20% suffered from body pain, while 13% stated they

faced dizziness and fatigue. In cases of injuries at work or accidents, workers did not request employers to incur expenses. Interviews suggested that the treatment costs would be borne by decent employers, whereas there were many cases, where workers would have to manage on their own.

Perception relating to work

92% stated they were happy with their current work. 94% stated they planned to continue as a paid domestic worker. 68% said they did not want to change their field of work. Amongst the 7 women who reported actively looking for alternative employment, 2 were looking for work in a school. 77.5% did not want their daughters to take up domestic work.

ACTION INTERVENTIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

- Skill development with strong language component
- Childcare provisions
- Counselling and Supporting the growth of women's collectives
- Generating awareness on working norms and building capacity and skills of workers to negotiate and bargain with employers
- Facilitating access to state initiatives

CHAPTER IV

West Delhi

The following chapter combines the findings from West, South West and North West districts. A large share of the clusters surveyed and investigated during the qualitative rounds of data collection have been present for more than a decade. West Delhi reports a more recent JJ resettlement colony, which was selected for survey and qualitative research.

Scope of Sample

This analysis draws upon the larger ISST sample of domestic workers. There were 8 ACs listed in the West Delhi district. None of these are border ACs, thus 50% of them were selected. **Thus 4 were included in the sample.**

- 11. Nangloi Jat
- 12. Mangolpuri
- 26. Madipur
- 27. Rajouri Gardens**
- 28. Hari Nagar**
- 29. Tilak Nagar
- 30. Janakpuri**
- 31. Vikas puri**

There were 8 ACs listed in the North West district. From the 3 border ACs, 2 were selected for listing. Mundka eventually did not record a good response rate for the survey. Of the remaining 5 non border ACs—the team selected one⁵. **Thus, a total of 3 ACs were included.**

- 1. Narela**
- 5. Badli
- 6. Rithala
- 7. Bawana
- 8. Mundka**
- 9. Kirari
- 10. Sultanpur Majra
- 13. Rohini**

There were 8 ACs listed in the South West district. From the 3 border ACs, the team canvassed 2 – of which only Bijwasan reported survey responses. Of the remaining 5 ACs—the team selected one area – Dwarka. **Thus, a total of 3 ACs were included.**

⁵ Following the 25% stipulation, we needed to select 1.25 AC. The team rounded off to 1.

- 32. Uttam Nagar
- 33. **Dwarka**
- 34. Matiala
- 35. **Najafgarh**
- 36. **Bijwasan**
- 37. Palam
- 38. Delhi Cantt
- 39. Rajinder Nagar

Demography

The survey canvassed 334 domestic workers in West, NW and SW Delhi district. Majority of women surveyed belong to the age of 35 years. The average age of women in the sample is 35 years. 90% of the domestic workers surveyed are Hindu. Nearly 80 % of the sample is uneducated.

| Characteristics | West | North West | South West |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Average Age (in yrs) | 36 | 34 | 36 |
| Uneducated (no schooling + cannot sign name) (in percentage share of respondents) | 85 | 84.5 | 67 |
| Majority Religion (based on percentage share of respondents) | Hindu (94%) | Hindu (88%) | Hindu (92%) |
| Currently Married (in percentage share of respondents) | 85.5 | 77.5 | 82 |
| Average Family Size | 5.2 | 5 | 5 |
| Majority Social Group | SC (89%) | SC (92%) | OBC (65%) |

82% of those surveyed reported being married. Average family size of the respondent is 5 members. While SC is the majority social group, within South West Delhi large majority of workers belong to OBC castes such as Jat communities.

Housing and Habitat

73% of the domestic workers surveyed stated that their current residence was not their first home in Delhi. Nearly 65% of the households own their houses in Delhi. The average rent paid approximates to Rs 676 per month.

Poverty Cards, Identification and Access to State Services

Lack of identification documents and the affiliated problems in accessing state services was a crucial concern raised by workers. 29 % of the domestic workers surveyed in New Delhi reported possessing a BPL card.

Only 4% have completed domestic worker registration with the police authorities. These registrations have been completed in Hastasal.

Migration

The survey asked respondents about migration through three separate questions – the first enquiring after their place of birth, the second about their place of last residence and the final was a direct question asking if they had migrated to Delhi or lived in Delhi since birth.

Only 13.5% of the respondents in New Delhi stated they had lived in Delhi since birth. Only 9% of the domestic workers surveyed in the district were born in Delhi. The largest share of respondents was born in Uttar Pradesh followed by Bihar.

91% of the sample reports Hindi as its mother tongue.

94% of the sample migrated from villages and rural areas. Analysing primary responses we find that nearly 45% of the female migrants moved to Delhi in search of work. 40% migrated to Delhi with their families. Only 4% of the female migrants had migrated alone to Delhi.

Only 2% of the female domestic workers surveyed in New Delhi stated that they remitted income to their homes outside Delhi. This was cited as an area where workers needed assistance, in addition to credit facilities.

Husbands Occupational Status

45% of domestic workers who are currently married state their husband' are engaged in casual labour. Qualitative insights revealed that such work usually implied construction labour or work in building sites. 7% of the women stated their husbands were unemployed. 30% report husbands occupation as self employed.

Wages and Working Conditions

Women in the district report earning an average of Rs 1507. Nearly 78% of the domestic workers in the survey do not work for the evening shift ie after 4 pm. On an average, women report

working for close to 3 hours. Minimum working hours range from one hour to a maximum of 17 hours. 53% workers report partaking in extra time work. Only 2% of those who undertake extra time or not paid for their efforts.

12 % state they place another person when they go on holiday or visit their pre-migration home. 46% of this group state they have lost their jobs to replacement workers after they returned from their holidays or visits. Nearly half the respondents in the district stated that their incomes were constant since they entered the sector. One third have experienced an increase.

Child Care, Schooling and Health

One of the most shocking findings of the study is in relation to childcare. Women often have to leave their children alone at home or in the care of a neighbour while they go to work. Many women interviewed stated that they took up work based on child care constraints. From the group of married women with children, nearly 76% left them alone when they left for work. 12% left their children in the care of their daughters.

Perception relating to work

78 % stated they were happy with their current work. 76% stated they planned to continue as a paid domestic worker. 88% said they did not want to change their field of work.

ACTION INTERVENTIONS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

- Childcare provisions
- Supporting the growth of women's collectives
- Generating awareness on working norms and building capacity and skills of workers to negotiate and bargain with employers
- Facilitating access to state initiatives particularly related to PDS and Slum Upgrading.
- Credit and Remittance Facilities

CHAPTER V

Key Findings from Survey of Live-Out Domestic Workers in NCT of Delhi

The ISST sample-survey on live-out domestic workers, conducted between September and December 2008, highlights certain key concerns which need to be addressed by activists and livelihood interventions. The study of 1438 domestic workers was carried out in 117 slum and JJ clusters in the National Capital Territory of Delhi, through use of the electoral rolls and a stratified three stage quota sampling design. Each of the nine districts of Delhi formed a stratum and the survey covered 36 of the 70 Assembly Constituencies in the state. A brief summary of the key findings follow.

Education and Skills Training

- From the sample of domestic workers surveyed, majority 72% are illiterate. Only 11% can sign their names and 8% have completed primary schooling. This was emerging as a serious constraint in finding better paid jobs in upper middle-class localities. Workers articulated the need to understand basic Hindi and English, in conjunction with the ability to manage a few basic calculations. Many felt such skills would help them get better work in New Delhi and South Delhi districts.
- Only 1.4% of the sample reported receiving any form of skills training prior to joining work. During qualitative rounds of investigation, workers in New Delhi district emphasised upon the changing nature of demand amongst employers in their localities. Interviews with workers highlighted the need for training for workers to manage modern appliances, cooking methods and house-keeping.
- 58% of the workers surveyed said they would prefer to find other types of work. Many younger workers in East and West Delhi were also trying to join training sessions for alternative livelihoods such as garment embroidery, computer training and beauticians courses.

Caste and Social Discrimination

- 88% of the sample is Hindu, with 11% Muslim persons being captured by the data.
- From the sample of 1438 persons, a majority are from the Scheduled Caste groups. These represent historically backward and discriminated communities. Narratives from workers also refer to issues surrounding caste and pollution as barriers to entry into certain types of domestic work such cooking. A few life histories also discuss how access to paid domestic work has allowed women to escape rigid caste roles.
- Nearly 7% of the domestic workers surveyed are from general caste groups. It is interesting to note that many of the problems perceived by the low status given to domestic workers has been voiced by many such women during qualitative investigation in

New Delhi, West and South Delhi. These groups complained about not being allowed to drink water or use toilets at their employers' home.

- Key caste groups reported by the survey data include Balmiki's and Namoshudras (from Bengal).

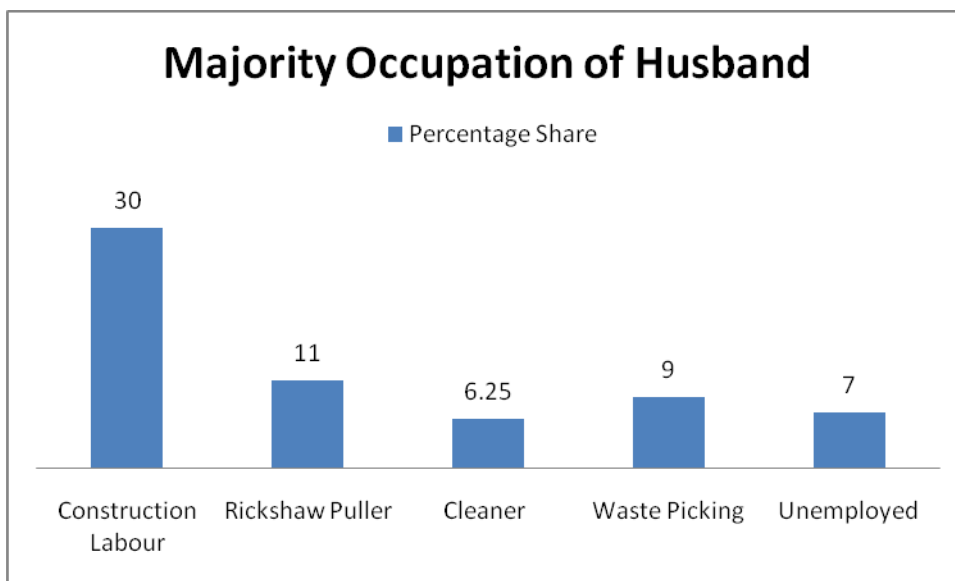
Migration, Social Networks and Remittances

- Domestic work is emerging as a key cause for migration into cities. The ISST survey data finds nearly 80 % (1153 persons) of the sample are migrants. From this migrant group, nearly 41% state they came to Delhi in search of paid domestic work.
- From the migrant group, close to 15% of households report owning land in their village or pre-migratory home.
- Nearly 55% of the migrant domestic workers surveyed stated they moved to Delhi in search of work or employment.
- A dominant share of migration for live-out domestic work is familial or facilitated through social networks. While a majority of women were accompanied by their family members during migration, 5% reported moving to Delhi without any companions. Only 5% migrants paid a neighbour or agent to help them migrate to Delhi.
- From the sample of workers, 39% reported UP as their previous state of residence, while 15% reported West Bengal. This was followed by approximately 10% who reported Bihar. Other states mentioned include Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Madhya Pradesh, Tripura, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand.
- The data also highlights the significance of social networks in finding work for migrants. 72 % of the migrant workers surveyed said they had first heard about domestic work through a person from their village. 79% state that they have friends and networks from their villages in Delhi. Data and discussions with workers revealed that many migrant households reside in close proximity to their village kin group. 65% of the migrant domestic workers said they received help in finding work in the city from these networks.
- 11% of migrants report making remittances. On an average, the respondents remit income 3 times in a year. Workers report remitting an average of Rs 3437 per year.
- Workers report going to their village between one or two times in a year. This is a source of work insecurity as 23.15% of the migrant sample reports losing jobs when they return from their holidays.

Livelihoods

- A key finding of the study is the increasing economic significance of paid domestic work as a form of stable income in the household.

- On an average, each household has 2 persons who are working. Majority 50% of the households surveyed relied on a mix of domestic work and other casual labour for primary income. Approximately 33.5% of households rely exclusively on domestic work to manage expenditures.



Majority (45%) of the respondents' state their husbands are engaged as casual labourers. 10% are unemployed, 26% have salaried jobs and 17% are self employed. A majority of the narratives offered by women on the causes pushing them to take up paid domestic work stressed on the variable nature of incomes brought home by their husbands. Thus, income from domestic work was seen as a stable source of money to tackle monthly expenditures.

Housing

- 64% of the sample report owning their own home. Qualitative investigation suggests that the profile of homes is kutcha-pukka, with the data also suggesting that workers pay monthly rent of Rs 725.

Identification and Access to Government Service

- Lack of identification emerged as a key concern which restricted access of workers to larger state services and benefits. Only 27% workers report owning any proof of identification as a resident of Delhi. 3.4% reported having completed the domestic workers police registration process. 5% own identification papers issued by the local colony association where they work.

- Qualitative research highlighted the numerous difficulties workers face in accessing government schemes and programmes.
- Majority of the areas visited during qualitative research reported weak access to public amenities such as water, sanitation and electricity. Many women had to make work related decisions based on such considerations. For example – women in 2 slums visited would avoid working in the evening shift as private tankers would supply water to the area at this time.

Savings and Credit

- 90% report no savings mechanisms as they had no savings from their income. For the remaining, 4% report personal bank accounts while 3% have joint family accounts.
- Workers report relying on other domestic workers and migrant networks for credit. Only 24% receive cash assistance from their employers. Workers receive cash assistance of a Rs 42 per month. It is important to note that 76% of workers do not receive such support.

Wages and Remuneration

- Women report earning Rs 620 in each household. Total Income is reported to be an average of Rs 1875 per month. *This varies based on the number of tasks, types of tasks, number of households and the locality where work is performed*, as indicated in the table below.

| Tasks | Mopping Floors | Washing Utensils | Hand and Washing and Drying Clothes | Food Preparation |
|-----------------------|----------------|------------------|---|------------------|
| Per household Rate | 413 | 380 | 485 | 983 |

- Close to 21% households where workers are engaged do not offer any gifts or cash during festival time. 76% provide festival allowance once in a year. The average amount given during festivals is reported to be Rs 93.
- Wage setting is based on informal norms and standards set by domestic workers in a particular locality. However, workers without access to such networks through family or friends are unable to negotiate with employers based on such information. Narratives from women and field observations suggest that such wage setting is also based on social networks, with different groups working in the same colony reporting different norms. These differences also appear to be a source of conflict between workers.

- 86% of the sample of workers walk to work. The average time taken by the journey is 32 minutes. Women taking public or private transport spend close to Rs 384 on monthly travel expenditure. Those in South and New Delhi report highest monthly expenses of Rs 450 and Rs 461 per month. Such payments were never factored into wage discussions with employers, amongst the domestic workers interviewed.

Informality and Working Conditions

- Working norms are purely based on oral contracts and bargaining between workers and employers. Unlike the case of wages, many domestic workers interviewed felt they were not sure on the minimum norms for holidays and sickness leave. Several workers also felt that they would risk losing their job if they made too many demands. Field observations suggested that while wage oriented discussions were common amongst networks of workers, norm setting for working conditions requires more awareness generation and organising.
- 98% workers do not have any contract papers.
- 28% report receiving one holiday each week.
- 65% work over time. From this group, only 20% receive payment for extra hours.
- 38.5% experience wage deductions if they take sick leave. Thus only 61.5% receive paid sick leave. On an average, workers receive 2.5 paid holidays a month.
- Apart from fever, majority women report bladder related problems. During interviews, workers reported not using toilet facilities at their employers home.
- 74% are happy with their work. 76% state they do not want their daughters to take up domestic work.
- 7 persons report violence with employer. 6% have heard of other domestic workers facing violence.

Child Care

- 4% report paying others for assistance in housework and childcare. These women report an average monthly payment of Rs 303. Of married women with children below the age of 15, 47% leave their children by themselves when they go to work. Other strategies include keeping children with neighbours or at school.
- Concerns regarding the safety and well-being of children mediate the working patterns of domestic workers i.e the distances they cover to go to work and the number of households they work in and the number of hours or shifts they work.

Organising

- 76% state receiving some form of support or help from other domestic workers who live in their locality.

- 45% of workers have found their first job through a local domestic worker who was a neighbour in their locality.
- 61% state they need reference from another domestic worker to find new jobs in the neighbourhood.
- Despite having networks, 60% state that they had to solve disputes situations themselves. This was an arena where women felt they needed skills training to manage disputes and negotiations with employers.
- Only 3 women sampled were members of a workers association. These were women working and residing in an army cantonment area.

CHAPTER VI

Key Findings from Case Studies of Live In Domestic Workers In NCT of Delhi

The ISST research team collected life histories from 66 live-in domestic workers. The interviews and interactions were conducted between June 2008 and March 2009. Live in workers were extremely difficult for the team to trace. The team procured a list of 54 agencies in the National Capital Territory, but only 7 of these were available on the contact details provided by an online directory. Snow ball sampling was used through 3 different routes:

1. 2 of the 7 agencies in (South Delhi and New Delhi) allowed the team to interview the agents and workers placed by them. These interviews and initial interaction allowed the research team to find and maintain contacts and communication with 36 live in domestic workers placed by these agencies. These workers were met on several occasions.
 2. Live-in Workers contacted through the previous method, allowed the team to also meet and contact other live in domestic workers who were acquaintances or friends. This group of 15 workers had not been placed by the two agencies mentioned above.
 3. ISST research team used personal contacts to pursue interviews with 11 live in workers.
 4. 4 live in workers were interviewed and contacted due to their social relationships with live-out domestic workers surveyed by the ISST team.
- The sample comprises of 23 women from Jharkhand, 33 women from Bengal, 4 men from Jharkhand, 3 men from Uttar Pradesh and 3 women born in Delhi (from Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand and Bengal). Migrant women interviewed have lived and worked in Delhi for an average of 8 years. 4 women interviewed were above the age 70 years and 2 reported being engaged as live-in domestic workers for nearly 35 years.
 - Commission rates were different for different workers, despite the employer being told that the commission rate was a one-time payment which would be Rs 5000 OR Rs 8000, for the two agencies investigated. **Workers interviewed stated that arbitrary commissions would be deducted from their monthly salaries, which could be half or more of the salary paid by the employers to the agencies.** In all cases where agencies supplied workers, wage payments were routed via the agent. A few employers stated that they provided extra cash in hand to workers to remedy such a situation.
 - The average wage reported by workers is estimated to be approximately Rs 4500 per month. **Detailed interaction with workers revealed varying income scales based on the number of years of work experience, the socio-economic profile of employers demanding workers, types of tasks performed, the nature of placement and education.**
 - Work experience appears to have an immense impact on the wages earned by live-in workers interviewed. On an average, the data provided suggests that women engaged in

their first job as live-in domestic workers earned close to 30% of the wages earned by women who had more years in work experience. For example, amongst women placed by an agency in B.D Park, 3 women who had been placed for the first time earned Rs 2500 per month, whereas 6 women who had been placed with more than one employer earned an average of Rs 5700.

- The ability to negotiate increased salaries from the second placement was a common reason given by workers from one of the agencies for leaving their previous employers willingly. **Workers, placed by agencies, stated that they were not allowed to discuss wage increase with their employers. Workers feared losing their jobs if they requested for an annual increase in payment.** Agents stated that they feared women being co-opted by employers and becoming autonomous workers, whereby the agency commission would be stopped.
- **The ability of workers placed by agencies to negotiate improved wages and working conditions appear dependent on the nature of social controls which can be imposed on the agents.** There were two different patterns observed through the occupational histories and interviews with agents. One agency, managed by a single agent who relied on personal contacts and social networks of the live-in domestic workers placed by him in specific villages and districts in Bengal, appeared more prone and responsive to bargaining with potential and current employers on behalf of placed workers for decent living conditions and wages. His reasons for taking up such demands from workers were couched in fear that a bad reputation for his agency would restrict the future supply of labour and hurt his personal relations with families of women he had placed. In situations where women were unhappy with wages or working conditions, they could apply pressure on the agent through shaming and asking their households to also make demands from the agency. On the other hand, the agency placing women from Jharkhand, operated through more depersonalised networks of large number of agents, who would facilitate the supply of labour for the agency. Once, in Delhi, the migrants or their families would rarely be in contact with the agent who brought them to Delhi. In cases where living or working conditions appeared extremely unsatisfactory to workers, they had no recourse than discuss with their employers themselves or run away. In a few cases, employers gave these workers extra cash in hand. The amounts ranged from Rs 800 to Rs 1000.
- **Women engaged in elderly care or patient care reported highest salaries amongst the live in workers interviewed, whereas those assisting in child-care, without helping in other household tasks reported minimum salaries.** The two agencies studied by the ISST team made a clear distinction between skilled and unskilled domestic workers, with those engaging in elderly or patient care being deemed 'skilled' and others 'unskilled' or 'semi-skilled'. Employer's complaints often related to problems with this skill notification devised by agents.
- Workers placed through agencies reported higher monthly earnings than those placed through familial or social networks. **However, interviews further revealed that only 5.5% (2) of the live in workers placed by the two agencies received the income promised to them by the agent.** The remaining received varying amounts of their income each month. Narratives highlight how agencies would deduct arbitrary amounts from the worker's salaries.

- **24 of the 36 (66%) workers placed by agencies reported that their salaries were completely withheld for at least one month.** Discussions with workers placed by the agency sourcing labour from West Bengal and Jharkhand revealed that the reasons for wages being withheld were usually related to remittances made directly by the agent to the workers families upon their request, debt or payment for facilitating migration. Workers also complained that the agents would dupe them by saying the money was being saved or remitted for them. However, at the time of payment or when girls would visit their villages, they would either not be handed over their savings or hear that their families did not receive the remittances.
- **The provision of interest-free credit from agents towards workers and their families resulted in wages being persistently being deducted. Women complained that they were unsure of how much was actually due to them.**
- **Only 8 of the women interviewed reported attending school. 6 of these women are from Jharkhand.**
- **The role of education and basic numeracy and record keeping skills are important.** In one agency, a woman who could perform such tasks said she was never duped as she would maintain records and calculate. However, other girls could not do so. Thus, when they argued with agents regarding wage disputes, the agencies would provide arbitrary explanations which cannot be disputed unless women look at their accounts.
- **Majority women did not have separate living quarters.** It is interesting to note that those with living quarters also reported the highest incomes amongst workers interviewed.
- **Wage and working norm negotiations were affected by the inability of female workers to access safe and affordable shelters, in cases where working conditions were becoming abysmal and immensely difficult to manage.** Women reported running away to the agent, but many felt unsafe in the shelter provided by agencies as well. Male live –in domestic workers did not face such problems as they could easily access the housing market, while single women could not do so.
- **Child domestic labour emerges as a significant issue. Nearly 33 % of the sample started work as domestic workers below the age of 15 years.** Agents said many employers would hire younger girls to play with their children. These girls families would be paid Rs 800 per month. Further interviews with workers suggested that many workers felt working at a younger age allowed one to apprentice and become more comfortable with domestic work and the employers families.
- **A majority of workers felt harassed due to long hours of work. On an average, female domestic workers reported working for nearly 12 hours daily.**
- **There is need for counselling and support for live in domestic workers. Many felt isolated and lonely, due to restrictions on mobility and their inability to maintain social relationships beyond communication at their workplace and agency.** In this regard, women from Jharkhand reported a stronger network due to church based meetings, which they were allowed to visit.