



THE INVISIBILISED INDUSTRY

DELHI'S RELATIONSHIP
WITH DOMESTIC WORKERS



NIRMANA
Building an Inclusive India

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-Chirayu Jain
Principal Investigator
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New Delhi

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FOREWORD



During the recent period there is an increasing level of general awareness that workers in the informal sector of India numbering about 93% of the total work force of nearly 500 million are grossly neglected and exposed to acutely unfair treatment in terms of a minimum standard of living and working conditions.

The pandemic and its accompanying exodus across hundreds of kilometres, loss of employment and related deprivation of wages, the stark shortages in terms of food, health, shelter and basic human needs has been widely noticed.

Even the Indian State has become uncomfortable. Commissioning the 'e-shram portal' is one such indicator. But this is accompanied with visible dilemma as evidenced by the fact that almost nothing accrues, as of now, after registering on the new portal. On the one hand India claims to be a world leader and on the other our land is known to be a place where there is continuous assault on its working people by myriad employers in multiple ways.

In the search for alleviation from these exploitative and harsh conditions of life all concerned turn to find out what policies are required and what laws should be applied and if there is no law what law should be enacted?

Domestic Workers constitute the third largest component of our work force coming next to agriculture and construction. They receive no protection whatsoever. It must be noticed, however, that there is a lot of self-activity of the domestic workers all across India. Different kinds of fora, including CSOs, Trade Unions, Researchers, Academicians and even the labour departments in different parts of India are part of a new effervescence in search of justice for this unfortunate lot. Against this background the present study carried out by Advocate Chirayu Jain is an important contribution to the ongoing struggle of domestic workers.

Chirayu and his fellow researchers have carried out a massive survey in Delhi, the capital city of India, reaching out to 768 workers of whom 764 are women—highlighting the leading characteristic of this sector of employment. This survey has reached out into 12 localities and taken note of the socio-economic status of residents in the said localities along with a special focus on three types of workers—many who are part-time, some who are full-time and a lesser number of those who are resident full time workers within the household. Interestingly accessing each of these categories of workers has its own tale to tell (with resident workers experiencing oppressive deprivation of the right to freedom of movement) especially because this empirical study is a high quality one with almost a hundred questions to each respondent for which responses have been sought.

A unique feature of this report is that the massive data collected has been analysed creatively for the benefit of the reader. The technique of developing sub-indices as an analytical tool gives

the reader very useful insights. The author has sub divided his analysis into four types and developed different sets of parameters to analyse each sub-set. In this manner a total of 38 parameters have been pressed into service with the help of which a ranking system also has been developed. We are therefore able to get a picture of what sort of deficits exist as shortages to attain “Decent Conditions at work”.

It is interesting, for example, to note how this analysis reveals particular deficits, even locality wise pertaining to the rate of wages varying from Rs.49.9/- per hour in Rohini area as compared to only Rs. 8.8/- in Tilak lane-in which area 26 workers are employed by bureaucrats. A pertinent information that surfaces through this technique of analysis is that 63.5% of domestic workers lack ration cards and 43.9% have no access to running water in their homes. The above examples are merely illustrative of innumerable striking features that are brought to our attention through this valuable study.

The broad sub-indices used that fall into four categories are those dealing with transparency in employment, working conditions, dignity and human relations in the period of the pandemic. It is interesting to note how this analysis reveals attitudes of different sections of society towards domestic workers. Sadly it is those in authority that reveal the worst of these tendencies.

It is by now well known that any good piece of legislation must be preceded by evidence based-data driven policies. This empirical study serves such a purpose in a very special way. Of course we already have the benefit of ILO literature on this subject including ILO Convention number 189. A quick glance at this Convention reveals how the said standard proceeds to draw up a treaty that is based on the specific features of the domestic workers as an occupational group. Article 14 of the said convention refers to the need to ascertain local conditions in order to come out with appropriate legal interventions. This study serves such a need also in a very efficient way.

All researchers, activists, trade unionist, sympathetic academicians and public authorities will do well to study this report in detail and use it as one more valuable input to espouse the cause of domestic workers in crying need of attention, intervention and alleviation.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the main survey, 768 domestic workers, found working at 12 localities in New Delhi were surveyed. That Main Survey comprised of two – Randomised Survey of 686 workers at 9 localities and Controlled Survey of 82 workers at 3 localities.

The Randomised Survey was conducted in an unbiased manner – the workers who were found working in the locality and who agreed to be interviewed, were covered. The Controlled Survey was conducted with assistance from Nirmala Niketan cooperative and Gharelu Kamgar Panchayat Sangam labour union.

Three types of domestic workers were identified:
a. part-time workers,
b. full-time workers and
c. in-house workers.

In nine of the twelve localities, the survey was conducted by interviewing workers who were found working in the said localities (randomised survey). In other three localities, the workers were approached through labour unions/cooperatives (controlled survey). Each worker was asked 99 questions. This survey was conducted in October–November 2021. It was followed by telephonic interviews and group discussions.

A shorter survey (listing survey) was carried out in December 2021 and March 2022. In this survey, 242 employers were interviewed in eight localities. This survey was undertaken to validate the data collected in the main survey only by identifying the patterns of employment, i.e., how many households employ which kind of domestic worker.

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND

 **764**
females

 **4**
males

35 YEARS
mean age

136
workers are of
35-39 years

27
workers are
children and
adolescents

37
workers are of
above the age
of 55 years

The survey shows that the religion plays a huge role in employability of domestic worker.

67.7%
are Hindus

30.8%
are Muslims

75.6%
belonged to
bahujan castes

20.8%
workers were
from upper caste
backgrounds

20.1%
belonged to
Hindu OBC

17.2%
to Muslim
backward
castes

27.9%
to Scheduled
Castes

2
belonged to
Scheduled
Tribes.



5%
workers were
non-migrants

44.4%
migrated
from Bihar

26.9%
migrated
from Uttar
Pradesh

Note: this data is from the Randomized Survey only.



Literacy

20.6%
workers know how
to read and write

1%
had studied beyond
schooling years

65.5%
workers never went
to school

2% had studied till
11-12th standards.



Precarious Family background

87~90%

workers largely come from families where the parents were engaged in informal sector such as agriculture, construction, domestic work, self-employment and casual labour.

22.4%

workers' parents are also domestic workers.

3%

workers' spouses are domestic workers as well

79.6%

are married.

6%

children of workers also work as domestic workers

80%

of married workers have spouses engaged in informal sector.



Dependents and financial contributions in the family

100

have been abandoned by their spouses or their spouses have passed away

53

are unmarried

90%

have children

a worker has 3.3 number of children and 4.4 number of dependents

3

are divorced

12.9%

workers are sole-earning members of their families

41%

is the average contribution to the family earnings

70%

of households had women domestic workers contributing more than 50% of total family earnings.

37.9%

workers live in self-owned accommodations

53%

live in rented accommodations

8.1%

live in houses provided by the employer



63.5%

cannot access public distribution system.



46%

own a television, which is the most common asset to be owned



43.9%

have no access to running water in their households.



66.8%

do not have even a single smartphone in their households.



74.1%

do not have toilets attached to their households, and they instead rely on community toilets in the area they live in.



9.5%

workers have never used LPG gas for cooking, they instead rely on coal and wood as fuels.



Child care

Amongst 454 workers who have young children, only 12 (2.6%) are allowed to bring their children to workplace, and only 2 (0.4%) rely on government/NGO-run creches.

Rest 285 (62.8%) leave young children unsupervised at home or under the supervision of an elder child (usually a female).

LIVING CONDITIONS

PATTERNS OF WORK

The most common tasks performed are sweeping and mopping (86.3%) and cleaning utensils (84.5%)

68%

of part-time workers work at 2-5 households concurrently and they work 5.4 hours a day and 6.5 days a week

**8.6 hours a day,
6.5 days a week**

is working duration for full-time workers on an average in the same household and they work

32.9%

workers are engaged solely for 'sweeping, mopping and cleaning utensils'.

**14 hours a day, 6.9
days a week**

is the working duration for In-house workers

Retention rates

95 workers have been working for more than 10 years and 101 have been working for more than 5 to 10 years at the same workplace. Majority secured their present employment through references from family or from friends/neighbours.

Wage Patterns

An average domestic worker earns **Rs. 5342 per month.** The average hourly wage rate in Delhi is Rs. 39.4/-. The hourly wage rate varies from Rs. 49.9/- in Sector 13 Rohini to Rs. 8.8/- in Tilak Lane. In Tilak Lane, 26 workers were found who are not paid a single rupee as wage by their employer, i.e., the bureaucrats.

How clearly do the workers know their terms of service or engagement?

Nine parameters are used to evolve a 'Transparency Sub-Index' (maximum attainable score = 27).

It was found that 269 workers do not know the basic details of their employer such as name, occupation etc.

There is lack of clarity regarding the wage rates payable and when the wages are payable.

41.6% do not have clarity regarding the number of hours they are supposed to work in a day.

36.4% are not aware regarding how many rest days they are entitled to in a month.

None of the workers were given their terms of service in writing.

The overall score for service transparency for Delhi was 11.72 on 27.

Highest score was attained by DLF Moti Nagar (16.90) and lowest score by Lajpat Nagar-II (5.56).

**TERMS OF SERVICE
TRANSPARENCY
SUB-INDEX**

How dignified are the working conditions for the workers?

This is the main sub-index as it provides the comparison of the actual working conditions in different localities. Fifteen parameters are used to develop the 'Working Conditions Sub-Index' (maximum score attainable – 45 points).

Parameters such as longevity of tenure, fixation of wages, regular wage increments, regular payment of wages, decent working hours/days, leave arrangements etc. were considered. It was found that nearly 1/5th workers had been working at their present work place for less than a year, and nearly half of the workers face regular delays in payment of wages.

More than half of the workers work for all seven days a week. And 1/4th workers are not paid for extra work carried out or overtime by their employers.

With regards to leave arrangements, nearly half (48%) do not get a paid weekly off, 74% do not get medical or festival leaves and 90% have not got maternity leaves.

The overall score for Delhi: 23.07 on 45

The highest score was achieved by Pitampura AU Block: 26.01

Lowest score by Tilak Lane: 13.90

All other localities had similar scores: between 21.34 and 26.01

WORKPLACE ABUSE, HARASSMENT AND 'DIGNITY SUB-INDEX'

How are the domestic workers of Delhi treated by their employers?

In this chapter an attempt is made to quantify the everyday casteist and discriminatory practices that domestic workers have to bear. Eight parameters have been used to develop the Dignity Sub-Index (maximum score attainable – 24).

Factors such as using same utensils, sitting on floor or on chairs, access to kitchens and toilets, wearing footwear was considered. It was found that domestic workers face casteism on regular basis. Half of the workers cannot use same utensils as their employers and are made to sit on floors.

Nearly 75% workers are made to remove their footwear before entering the houses of the employers. 451 (63%) workers are not allowed to use the same toilets and 145 (19%) are not allowed to drink filtered water.

The Overall score on the Dignity Sub-Index was 9.92 on 24.

Highest score was attained by Nirmala Niketan (18.06.) and poorest score was of Lajpat Nagar-II (6.18). The variation in the scores on this Sub-Index was significant. While 33 households scored zero (i.e., highly casteist), there were 34 households which scored the maximum attainable score (i.e., least casteist).

Discrimination, abuse and harassment: 41 workers reported having faced discrimination due to their socioeconomic background (at time of recruitment, during employment and at time of dismissal). 47 workers have faced abuse at workplace (5 of them reported having been physically assaulted and 4 of them had faced sexual abuse). There are strong reasons to believe that these numbers have been under-reported by the workers in the survey.

How respectful is the relationship between the employers and the workers?

For relationship sub-index, 6 parameters have been considered: tea, meals, casual leaves, advance on wages, impact of covid 19 pandemic etc. The maximum score attainable is 18.

Nearly 20% workers are provided neither tea nor meals at workplace, and only 20% are provided with both. 90% workers are not allowed to take a single paid casual leave in a year.

Only 55 (7.2%) said that they are able to easily get advance on wages from their employers.

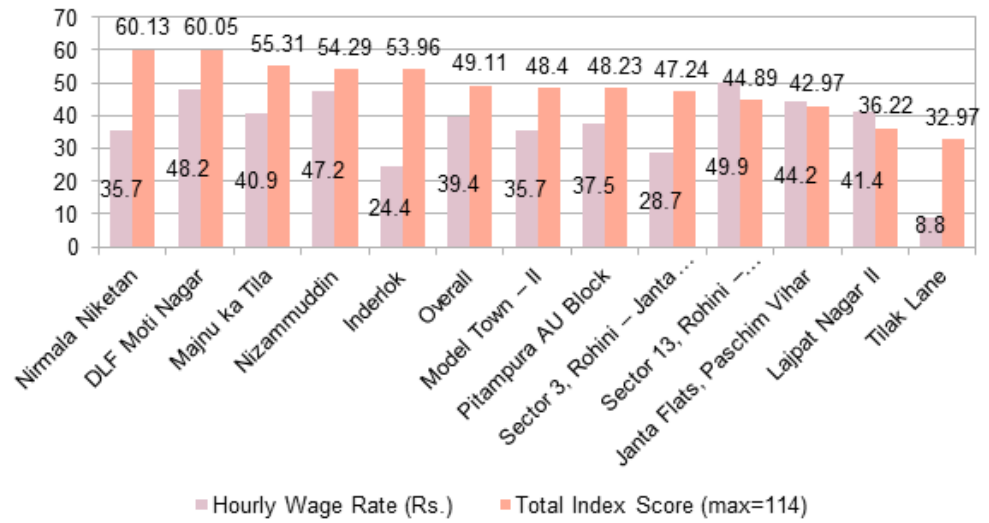
Overall score on relationship sub-index is 4.40 on 18, way less than the half way mark at 9.

Only Nirmala Niketan (9.67) scored higher than half-way mark, and Lajpat Nagar-II achieved the lowest score (2.90).

Impact of COVID'19 Pandemic:

449 (62.9%) workers faced wage loss during the pandemic period. 500 (78.2%) were unemployed for atleast six months and 139 (18.1%) were unemployed for eighteen months during the pandemic. Only 58 (8.1%) workers were such who were paid in full during lockdowns. 584 (76%) workers were not paid at all by their employers during the lockdowns imposed when CoVid'19 pandemic had taken over. During the entire pandemic period, only 29 (3.8%) workers were offered substantial financial assistance

RELATIONSHIPS SUB-INDEX AND IMPACT OF COVID'19 PANDEMIC



Total Index Score (max=114) and wage rates across localities

Locality	Wages Rank	Transparency Rank	Working Conditions Rank	Dignity Rank	Relationships Rank	Overall Index Rank
Nirmala Niketan	9	10	5	1	1	1
DLF Moti Nagar	2	1	4	2	5	2
Majnu ka Tila	6	3	2	4	6	3
Nizamuddin	3	2	6	6	2	4
Inderlok	11	6	3	3	3	5
Model Town - II	8	5	8	7	9	6
Pitampura AU Block	7	9	1	8	4	7
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	10	7	7	5	8	8
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	1	4	11	11	11	9
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	4	8	9	10	7	10
Lajpat Nagar II	5	12	10	12	12	11
Tilak Lane	12	11	12	9	10	12

Table 45: Locality-wise ranks for all sub-indices

CONCLUSION

- ***The best localities for domestic workers to work in Delhi are***
DLF Moti Nagar: 60.05
Majnu ka Tila area: 55.31
Nizamuddin: 54.29
- ***Worst localities to work in are***
Janta Flats Paschim Vihar: 42.97
Lajpat Nagar-II: 36.22
Tilak Lane: 32.97
- ***Wage wise, the highest wage rate is at***
Sector 13 Rohini: Rs. 49.9/-
DLF Moti Nagar: Rs. 48.2/-
Nizamuddin: Rs. 47.2/-
- ***The lowest wage rate prevalent is at***
Janta Flats Sector 3 Rohini: Rs. 28.7/-
Inderlok: Rs. 24.4/-
Tilak Lane: Rs. 8.8/-

The image features a light yellow rectangular sign held by two dark blue silhouettes of hands. The sign contains text in blue and black. The top part of the sign has a large, bold blue heading, and the bottom part has a smaller black paragraph. The background is a light purple gradient.

The overall score of Delhi on the Index is 49.11 out of 114.

The prevalent wage rate in Delhi is Rs. 39.4/- per hour for the domestic workers.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Background

A woman is not a human but a Goddess. A Goddess has no need for human-made laws and social protection. She must be omnipresent and ever-benevolent, and accept whatever may her disciples bring to her. She is a mother and the household with all its members – is her child. She must give and give, and have no expectations in return. Her indispensable contribution in the household shall always remain unacknowledged. And she must find her peace in that fact.

That is the convenient justification which we, as a society, have for overlooking the contributions of a woman in a household. The position of a domestic worker (invariably, a woman) is no different. We do not acknowledge the contribution of women in our households. Why is there a need to call our 'didis' and 'aayas' a domestic 'worker' then?

Because the woman who refuses to fall in line and accept what she is doled out, that is a woman who has strayed from the path. She who asks for her rights is the devil amongst us. She would misuse the so-called laws that are made for her protection. Nay, those laws are made for the protection of innocent women. Not for those who are ready to challenge patriarchy and make use of those laws. They are not for those who shout and scream (for else they will not be heard) and not for those who drag their husbands to police stations. Oh, have we not all heard of that woman who teamed up with their lawyer to falsely implicate their entire in-laws family under the laws against domestic violence? And ofcourse we all know of that colleague who took an innocent joke out-of-context and caused much ado about nothing. Then do we really need another law? Wouldn't that law also be misused? That too for domestic workers? Are they not doing this ('this' because we cant be

acknowledging their 'work') out of their free will and choice? Do they not get so many goodies and support from the households they serve? My family always gives our help so many old clothes and sweets each year. Why should we formalise the healthy informal relationship which we have which is mutually beneficial for both?

Because we must. For the two reasons which this report seeks to bring out.

Firstly, the CoVid'19 pandemic brought out the tattered and weak social security net in our country, and how inhumane and tone-deaf our lawmakers/bureaucrats can be. The social security measures are hardly meaningful with ever-increasing financial inequalities and privatisation of public goods making them inaccessible. Further, there are huge swathes of workers who are left intentionally uncovered by this half-hearted social security net. For instance, the building workers got some relief during the pandemic – they were able to get those because of their sector-specific legislation (Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996), the domestic workers got none. This report brings out the precarious existence of domestic workers in New Delhi where they lack proper accommodation, access to utilities and resources such as creches. These precarious conditions exist and perpetuate because of lack of social security measures for the workers. Domestic workers lose their ability to find work after a certain age and have no retirement benefits such as pension, provident fund or gratuity accruing to them. They do not have reinstatement rights or remedies against unfair dismissals. They have no one to turn to for their medical needs and basic requirements such as childcare, creches etc. There are no laws protecting them from casteism, abuse and harassment. They have no maternity leaves, bonuses, rights for exigencies such as marriages in the family and education expenses for their children. All they are expected to do is to be ever-dependent upon the 'graciousness' and 'benevolence' of their employers.

Secondly, as this report brings out, employers in Delhi do not treat domestic workers with dignity and misuse the power dynamics to ensure that the workers are always left insecure. Whether it is intentionally done so by the employers or it is out of ignorance and insensitivity – is beyond the purview of this Report. This Report brings out that the skewed power dynamics leave the workers in a position where they do not even know their working conditions such as hours and days of work, wage intervals etc. (Chapter 5). They have no rights to receive decent wages, leave systems, wages for overtime and extra work, fixed hours or fixed pay (Chapter 6). The wages are left to be decided by the market alone. And the remedies against false accusations of theft and arbitrary dismissals are none (Chapter 4). Given the fact that majority of the workers belong to lower castes, humiliating the workers with age-old casteist practices such as forcing the workers to sit on the floor, denying them filtered drinking water and access to toilets – still continues (Chapter 7). Even softer aspects of employment, such as providing advance on wages, paid casual leaves etc are left to the discretion, whims and fancies of the employer (Chapter 8).

In such a situation, a comprehensive legislation closely modelled on the Building and Other Construction Workers Act, 1996 that takes care of social security measures and regulates the conditions of employment by providing basic thresholds for all factors of working conditions is needed. This report provides the answer on what these basic thresholds must be, while highlighting the need to have the same.

Research Mandate and Design

In August 2021, I was given by Nirmana a broad mandate: to design a research which would help to advocate for the rights of domestic workers at the state level. No further instructions or directions were given.

At the very beginning, it was decided to quantitatively map the prevailing working conditions of domestic workers across different localities in Delhi. The first question that arose was to define 'domestic worker'. It was decided to limit the study to only those workers who work within the confines of residential households. Workers who do not work within the household but work for the household were excluded (these workers include for instance – drivers, gardeners, security guards, garbage collectors, launderer, locality cleaners etc.). Further, the workers who assist in similar capacities, but within the commercial/industrial spaces instead of residential households, have been excluded.

The study was confined to workers who work within the domestic households, irrespective of-

- whether they reside in the same household or not;
- whether they work part-time or full-time;
- whether they have been engaged for single or multiple tasks;
- how long they have been working with their current employer or how long they have been working as a domestic worker;
- whether they are working temporarily (defined tenure) or not; and
- whether they are remunerated for the services they provide or not.

Three categories of workers were identified. They were identified on the basis of how the employers and the workers themselves understand the variations amongst the

different kinds of domestic workers:

1. **Part time workers:** Meaning those domestic workers who work for eight or less hours at one household or those who work at multiple households in a day. That is, they may or may not work in multiple households, but these workers cater only for limited number of hours to one household;
2. **Full-time workers:** Although they are colloquially referred to as '12 ghante wali' (i.e., the workers who are on duty for twelve hours), for this research, all workers who work for more than eight hours or more a day at one household, but do not live within the household are categorised as 'full-time workers';
3. **In-house workers:** These workers are colloquially referred to as '24 ghante wali' (i.e., the workers who are on duty throughout the day). Throughout the day means that they have to be available for 24 hours a day, and may even be called for duty during their periods of rest and sleep. The workers who are expected to be available for twenty-four hours for their employers or the workers who live within the household or in the accommodation provided by the employers are categorised as 'in-house workers'.

Designing the questionnaire and pilot survey

In September 2021, the pilot survey was conducted in three localities - New Frieds Colony (South-East Delhi), Printers Apartment-Rohini (North-West Delhi) and Haiderpur (North-West Delhi). Eighty-three responses were collected from the domestic workers working in the said localities. The findings and the experience while conducting the pilot survey were used to settle the survey questionnaire.

The survey questionnaire was finalised on 29 September 2021.¹ Personal and work experiences of the survey team also

contributed immensely towards finalising the questionnaire.² The survey questionnaire was designed in a manner to know who the worker is (socio-economic and family background and their present living conditions), to understand the variety found in terms of employment in domestic work (current occupation details) and the resultant variations in their working conditions and experiences.

In total, 99 questions were asked from each worker and 17 additional questions were asked from the In-House Domestic Workers.

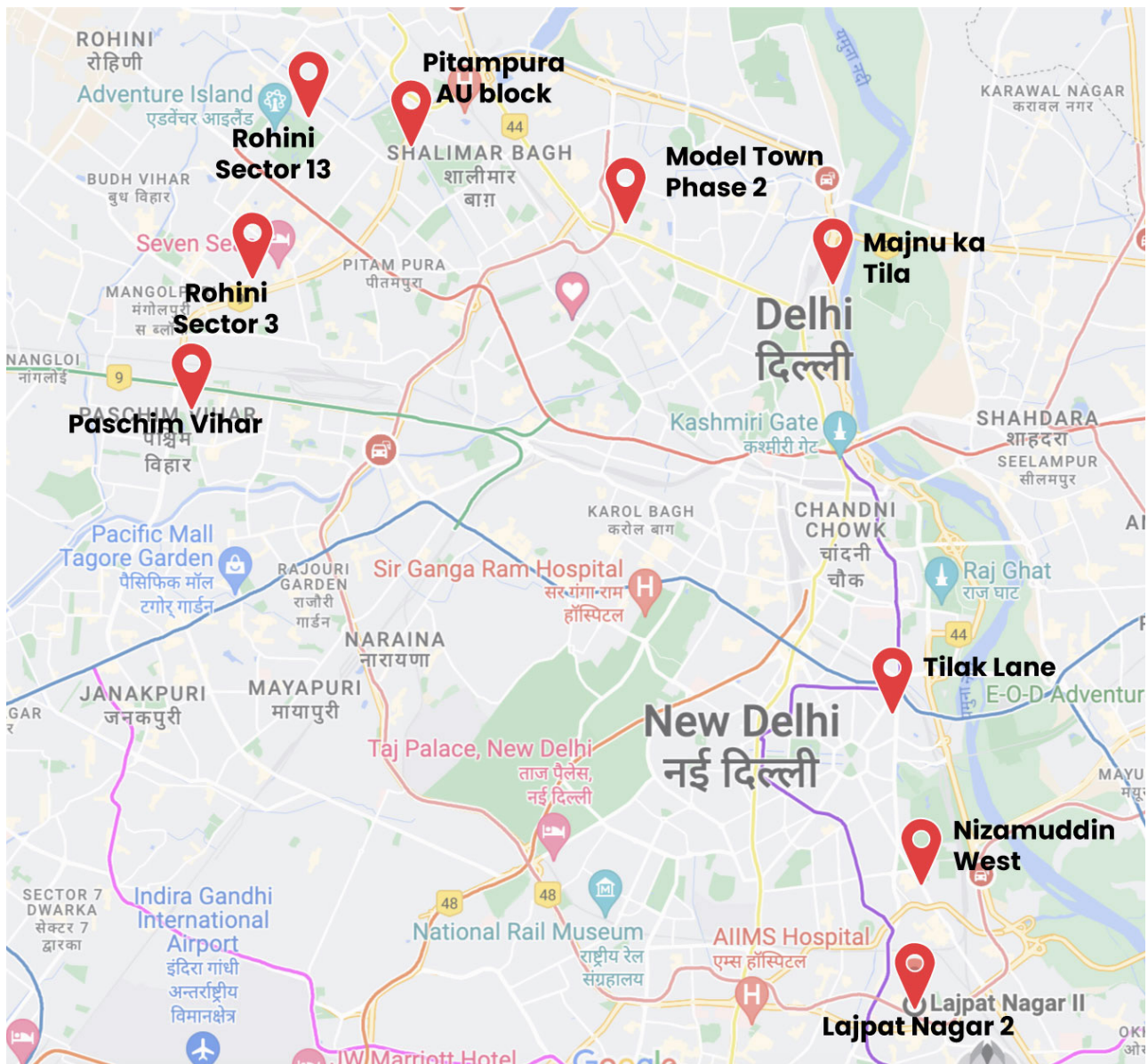


Figure 1: Map of Delhi showing the localities where the survey was conducted

For selecting the sites for the survey the idea was to take into account the demographic variations across localities. More than the geographical spread, the focus was to survey different localities with variation in their socioeconomic make-up and locality build type (freehold plotted residence versus apartment blocks). This was done in order to assess the influence of socioeconomic backgrounds of the employers on the working conditions for domestic workers. From each locality, it was

decided to conduct around 60 surveys. The localities were selected as below:

Locality Type	Locality	Number of workers
Highly-affluent areas	Model Town-II, North Delhi (plotted locality)	Part time - 62; Full time - 7; In-house - 5
	DLF Capital Greens - Moti Nagar, West Delhi (apartments)	Part time - 81; Full time - 3
	Nizamuddin West, New Delhi (plotted locality with sizeable Muslim ownership)	Part time - 76; Full time- 5; In house -3
Affluent areas	Lajpat Nagar-II, South Delhi (plotted locality)	Part time - 70
	Apartment Societies in Sector 13, Rohini, North-West Delhi [Rangrasayan Apartments, Bharat Apartments, Surya Apartments]	Part time - 83; Full time - 2; In house - 2
Budget areas	Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar, West Delhi (apartments)	Part time - 43; Full time - 4
	Janta Flats, Rohini-Sector 3, North-West Delhi (apartments)	Part time - 63; Full time - 1
	Inderlok, North-West Delhi (plotted locality with sizeable Muslim ownership)	Part time - 95; Full time - 5
	Majnu ka Tila area (including workers catering to Tibetan Colony, Civil Lines, Parasnath Apartments)	Part time - 72; Full time - 4
Control Group (workers approached through Nirmana/ Nirmala Niketan and Gharelu Kamgar Panchayat Sangam)	Workers placed by Nirmala Niketan	Part time - 1; Full time - 1; In house - 11
	Workers who reside in AU Block, Pitampura, North-West Delhi	Part time - 26; Full time - 1
	Workers residing in Tilak Lane, Central Delhi catering to government officials	In house - 41; Part- time - 1

Table 1: List of areas surveyed and the number of respondents at each site

Conducting the survey, group discussions and interviews

The survey was conducted from 07 October 2021 to 14 November 2021. In order to collect unbiased randomised data, the survey was administered in the localities where the workers were found working- either at the locality's entrances or streets or in the adjoining parks or in the bastis located close to work locations. All the interviews were conducted face-to-face, in Hindi language (and occasionally in other languages such as Kuduk, Sadri etc.). The data was collected and collated in real-time through the use of 'Google Forms'. In this manner, unbiased randomised interviews were conducted at nine localities of 686 workers (part time

workers - 645; full-time workers- 31; in-house workers 10).

A challenge was faced in conducting interviews amongst the Full-time domestic workers and especially with the In-House domestic workers. The Full-Time workers spend their entire days at the employer's household, thereby restricting the window available for conducting the survey. Whereas for the 'In-House domestic workers' given the severe restrictions on their movement, even that window is not available which is otherwise available in the case of Full-Time workers.

As such, upon completion of the survey at nine localities (the workers from Jharkhand placed by Nirmala Niketan cooperative in various households in Delhi were interviewed (n=13). In addition thereto, the workers in touch with or who are members of Nirmana, working as In-House workers for government officials in New Delhi district were also interviewed (n=42). Finally, workers who are members of Gharelu Kamgar Panchayat Sangam union, a union affiliated to International Domestic Workers Federation in North-West Delhi were also interviewed (n=27). In total, 82 number of interviews were conducted of workers (part time workers - 28; full-time workers- 2; in-house workers 52) who were approached through Nirmana and affiliated unions/bodies ["Control Group"].

Subsequent to the main survey, group discussion with the 'in-house workers' placed through Nirmala Niketan cooperative was conducted on 14 November 2021 (13 female and one male), in order to get deeper insight into their working conditions and living experiences. In-depth interviews of workers were conducted to learn about their experiences of role of placement agencies, work place disputes as well as abuse such as sexual harassment faced by them. On 18 December 2021, a programme was organised by the Nirmala Niketan Gharelu Kamgar Coop.

Labour and Construction Society where nearly 450 domestic workers participated. During the said programme, the workers, labour union office-bearers and other stakeholders placed their views regarding contemporary challenges in domestic work.

Shortcomings And Limitations

There is no objective method to identify the 'affluent', 'middle-class' and 'lower-income' localities in Delhi. Although, there is high stratification on economic and social lines of the residential areas, the categorisation of localities chosen for this Survey were largely based on the perceptions (based on market rent and sale prices of properties, popular perceptions about the localities etc.) instead of official government source.

Secondly, the localities of North-East Delhi, East Delhi and South Delhi such as Khajuri, Seelampur, Okhla, Khirki etc. where sizeable Muslim households are located, could not be surveyed due to limited resources. Further, given the recent history of North-East Delhi which was heavily disturbed due to organised riots in February 2020, a conscious decision was taken to not include the present Study. Localities in South-West Delhi such as Dwarka, Vasant Vihar, Vasant Kunj etc. also remained completely untouched.

Thirdly, the manner of conducting surveys in order to secure randomised and unbiased data, led to a disproportionate number of part-time domestic workers getting interviewed over their full-time and in-house counterparts. In total, only 41 (6% out of 686) workers (full-time and in-house) could be surveyed through the randomised and unbiased manner. It was difficult to survey the full-time workers also, since they were often found to lack time and patience for the survey, since they were largely in a rush to reach their own residences before their husbands did. The restrictions

on entry of outsiders into townships and apartment complexes presented challenges in contacting live-in domestic workers, as it meant that the surveys had to be conducted in the parks and open spaces adjacent to the entry of these societies. This was observed in DLF Moti Nagar and Model Town Phase 2 where live-in domestics were rarely allowed to step out of the society. Another reason observed for live-in workers' reluctance and refusal to participate in the study was the installation of CCTV cameras in the employer's house that made them fearful of backlash from the employer for talking to outsiders. Multiple visits were needed to be made to complete the survey in affluent, higher-income localities like Model Town because a lot more persuasion was required to overcome the trust deficits in the domestics working in these areas and instances of women resisting participation or dropping out to avoid jeopardising relations with their employers were high. Workers in New Friends Colony and Paschim Vihar too had a similar pervading sense of scepticism behind the intention of the interviews and agreed to participate in the survey conditional on withholding their identities.

Finally, by design of the study, other workers who work 'for households' such as drivers, gardeners, car washers, guards etc. (predominantly performed by men), were excluded from the survey. Even other workers such as garbage collectors, launderers, locality sweepers and cleaners etc., were also excluded from the survey due to their work being largely in the nature of self-employment and being outside the confines of the domestic household

Ethics Statement

The interviews were conducted after taking informed consent and voluntary participation of the workers, where the purpose and procedures of the study were explained to the participants and they were advised that they could choose not to answer any of the questions or withdraw from the interview at any time. Further, to ensure the safety and anonymity of the women with whom we spoke and overcome trust vacuums, participants were given the option to not to share their names and phone numbers. Confidentiality of the collected data is also safeguarded and anonymity is maintained, by limiting the persons who have access to the unredacted data sheets to only the author/contributors of the report.



CHAPTER 2

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND

Gender And Age

Out of the 768 survey respondents, 4 (0.5%) are male. The remainder (764, 99.5%) are females.

As per the Union Government's unorganised labour registration website - 'e-shram' data, out of 3,21,395 domestic workers in Delhi – 2,86,893 (89.3%) are females. Out of 2,78,19,590 domestic workers in India – 2,66,61,145 (95.8%) are females.³

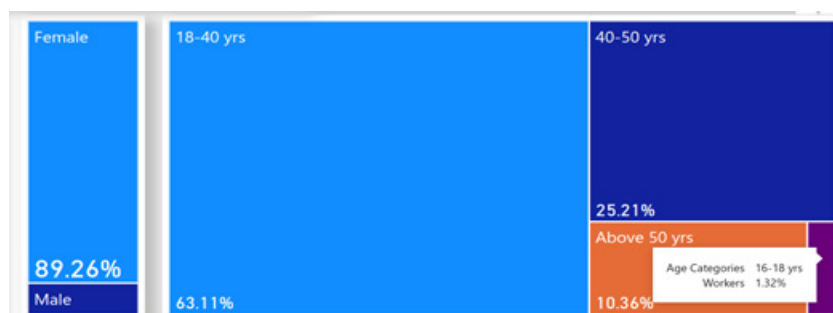


Figure 2: Demographic break-up of domestic workers in Delhi as per e-shram portal

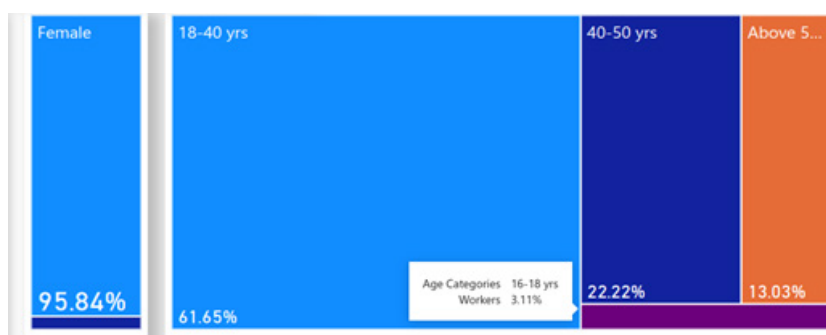


Figure 3: Demographic break-up of domestic workers in India as per e-shram portal

The mean age of the workers surveyed is 35 years. The youngest workers were 11 years old (n=5), and the oldest worker was 90 years (n=1). Majority of the workers fall within the age group of 35–39 years (136, 17.7%). There is a steep fall in the workers found working after the age of 45 years and thereafter, after the age of 55 years. This indicates the early loss in earning capacity due to aging. Pension schemes for domestic workers should take these age cut-offs into account.

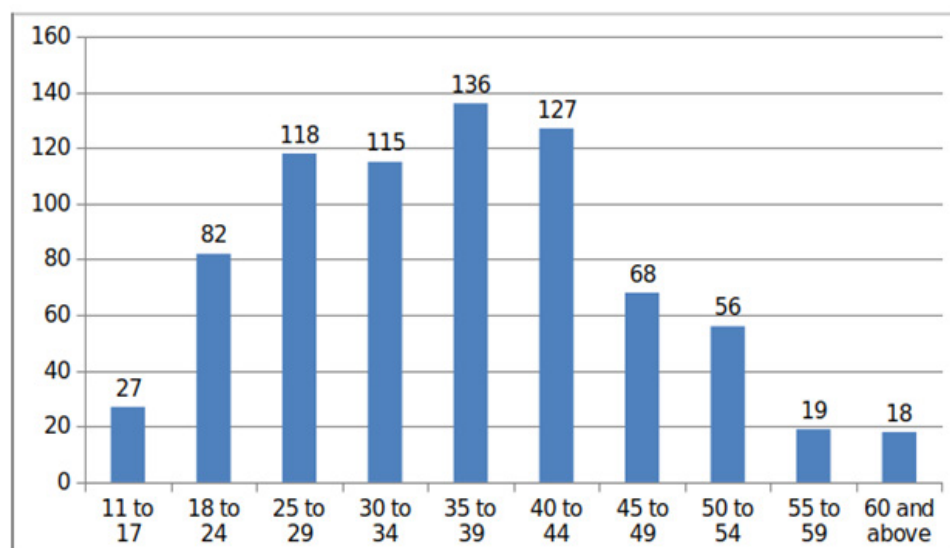


Figure 4: Age distribution of surveyed workers (n=768)

The average number of years worked by domestic workers based on their age range is as follows:

Ages (in range)	Number of years worked as domestic worker (average)	Ages (in range)	Number of years worked as domestic worker (average)
11 to 17	2.1	40 to 44	8.0
18 to 24	3.5	45 to 49	9.3
25 to 29	5.2	50 to 54	10.7
30 to 34	6.1	55 to 59	12.0
35 to 39	7.2	60 and above	9.9

Table 2: Age distribution of workers (in range) and average years as domestic worker (n=768)

Out of 37 workers who were above the age of 55, 30 (81.1%) work part-time, 3 (8.1%) as full-time and 4 (10.8%) as in-house workers. 9 (24.3%) of them are sole earners.

During the survey in Model Town-II, the team met one 90-year old worker. She had come to Delhi to work as a building worker about forty years back, and upon completion of the construction work, the house owner employed her as an in-house domestic worker. For forty years she worked at the same house, and was only provided food and accommodation. She was not paid any salary. At the time when the survey team met her, she had just lost her job and had been sleeping in the community park for the past two days. The employer told her that due to her advanced age she was not able to fulfil their requirements and asked her to look for employment elsewhere. The employer paid her no gratuity or severance pay, and unceremoniously threw her out of the house.

Out of 27 child workers (aged less than 18 years), 26 (96.3%) were found through the randomized survey. They are all females and were mostly found working in localities with a sizable Muslim population – Inderlok (15, 57.7%) and Nizammuddin West (6, 23.1%). 8 (30.8%) of them are less than 14 years of age, while the remaining 18 (69.2%) workers are between 14–17 years. 17 (65.4%) child workers have been working for more than one year as domestic workers, whereas 9 (34.6%) child workers have picked up domestic work less than a year ago (during 2020, as a consequence of financial difficulties caused by CoVid'19 pandemic and irregular functioning of schools).

The child workers stated that the precarious financial condition of their families was the main reason for taking up domestic work. Further, there is a demand for child workers by employers as they perceive child workers to be obedient and reliable. The mothers of 12 (44.4%) of the child workers also worked as domestic workers.

21 (80.8%) child workers work part-time (their average number of working hours are 4.4 hours). 4 (14.8%) of them work full-time and 2 (7.4%) child workers are in-house workers.

Some child workers interviewed in Inderlok use their income to pay for their tuition, while others use it to supplement their family's income.

The average earnings of the child workers who work part-time are Rs. 2500 per month. In Sector-13 Rohini, a seventeen year-old child worker who was interviewed stated that she was paid Rs. 1000/- for work,

whereas adult domestic workers performing the same work were paid at least Rs. 1500-2000/-.

Religion And Caste

In the randomised survey (n=686) conducted in the nine localities, 466 (67.7%) workers were Hindus, 210 (30.8%) workers were Muslims, 2 (0.3%) workers were Christians, 3 (0.4%) workers were Sikhs and 1 (0.1%) worker was Buddhist. The said nine localities are as follows: Apartments in Sector 13 Rohini, DLF Moti Nagar, Inderlok, Janta Flats (Paschim Vihar), Janta Flats (Sector 3 Rohini), Lajpat Nagar-II, Majnu ka Tila, Model Town-II and Nizammuddin.

Majority of the Muslim workers are employed in Inderlok (99, 99% of the workers interviewed in Inderlok) and Nizamuddin West (72, 85.7% of workers interviewed in Nizamuddin West). In Inderlok, the survey was conducted in the sub-localities which are known to have majority Muslim ownership of households; there, no non-Muslim worker was found.

Aside from the predominantly Muslim localities, 21 (24.1% of 87) workers in Sector 13 Rohini and 16 (19% of 84) workers in DLF Capital Greens were Muslims. Not a single Muslim worker was found during the survey in Paschim Vihar, Lajpat Nagar-II and Model Town-II.

In terms of caste grouping of the workers in the randomised survey (n=686), only 143 workers (20.8%) belong to upper castes and a majority of the workers (519, 75.6%) belong to bahujan castes, i.e., reserved castes and tribes. The 143 upper caste workers include 62 (9%) Hindu and Sikh workers and 81 (11.8%) Muslims workers.

138 (20.1%) workers belong to Hindu backward classes (OBC), 118 (17.2%) workers belong to Muslim backward caste groups (including Pasmada Muslims), 192 (28%) workers belong to scheduled caste communities, 2 (0.3%) workers belong to scheduled tribe communities and the exact caste groupings of 69 (10.1%) workers is not known but they do not belong to any unreserved upper caste groups.

Religion	No. of workers	Caste Identities	No. of workers
Hindu	466 (67.7%)	Upper castes (other than Muslims)	62 (9%)
Muslim	210 (30.8%)	Muslim upper castes	81 (11.8%)
Christian	2 (0.3%)	OBCs (other than Muslims)	138 (20.1%)
Sikh	3 (0.4%)	Muslim OBCs/backward castes/ Pasmada Muslims	118 (17.2%)
Buddhist	1 (0.1%)	Scheduled Castes	192 (28%)
Data Unclear	4 (0.6%)	Scheduled Tribes	2 (0.3%)
		Not from upper castes	69 (10.1%)
		Data unclear	24 (3.5%)
Total	686	Total	686

Table 3: Distribution based on religion and caste of respondents (randomised group, n=686)

The survey of the workers belonging to the 'control group' was carried out by interviewing workers who are already affiliated with Nirmana either directly or indirectly: i.e., the workers who were placed through Nirmala Niketan, workers in Pitampura AU Block who are members of Gharelu Kamgar Panchayat Sangam union ["GKPS"], a union affiliated to International Domestic Workers Federation and workers in Tilak Lane where Nirmana has been active in the past.

In the control group (n=82), 66 (80.5%) workers are Hindus, 3 (3.7%) workers are Muslims, 12 (14.6%) workers are Christians and the data of 1 worker is unclear. 66 (80.5% of 82 workers) workers belong to lower caste groups, 22 (26.8%) workers belong to scheduled castes, 17 (19.5%) workers belong to OBCs, 12 (14.6%) workers belong to scheduled tribes and 15 (18.3%) workers belong to other lower castes. As Nirmala Niketan works primarily with domestic workers from tribal background in Jharkhand, a large number of workers 11 (13.4%) in the control group belong to Christian scheduled tribes.

The dominance of bahujan caste groups in domestic work is well documented. Neetha N (2004) noted in her survey conducted in Delhi in 2002 that amongst 465 'live-out' workers (i.e. non in-house workers) – 80% belong to scheduled castes groups and 14.4% belonged to OBC groups. Whereas amongst the 110 'live-in' workers (i.e., in-house workers),

92.7% belonged to scheduled tribes background and 6% belonged to scheduled castes.⁴ Studies by Centre for Women Development Studies [“CWDS”] in 2010⁵ and in 2018⁶ also found pre-dominance of bahujan castes in the domestic work. In CWDS 2010 study conducted in Delhi: 40% workers belonged to scheduled castes, 27% to OBC groups and 1% to scheduled tribes. Later, in the 2018 study, CWDS noted 31.1% of the ‘live-out’ workers belonged to scheduled castes and 26.2% to OBC groups; and amongst the ‘live-in’ workers, it was noted that 37.5% belonged to scheduled caste, scheduled tribes and OBC groups collectively.

Similar dominance of bahujan castes in domestic work were noted by Raghuram (2001), Jagori (2010), ILO-IHD (2013) and ISST (2021) studies.⁷

The registration process on the union government’s ‘e-shram portal’ is only based on self-declaration process, i.e., the workers are expected to self-declare their professions truly and fairly (workers from informal unorganised and self-employed sectors who are expected to register). The incentive for a person to register on the ‘e-shram portal’ as a worker is to enable themselves to become eligible to receive social security benefits that might be announced by the union government in the future. The over-representation of workers from general category, i.e., the non-bahujan castes, amongst the domestic workers at 59.5% is inconsistent with the findings of the present study or of the various studies quoted above.

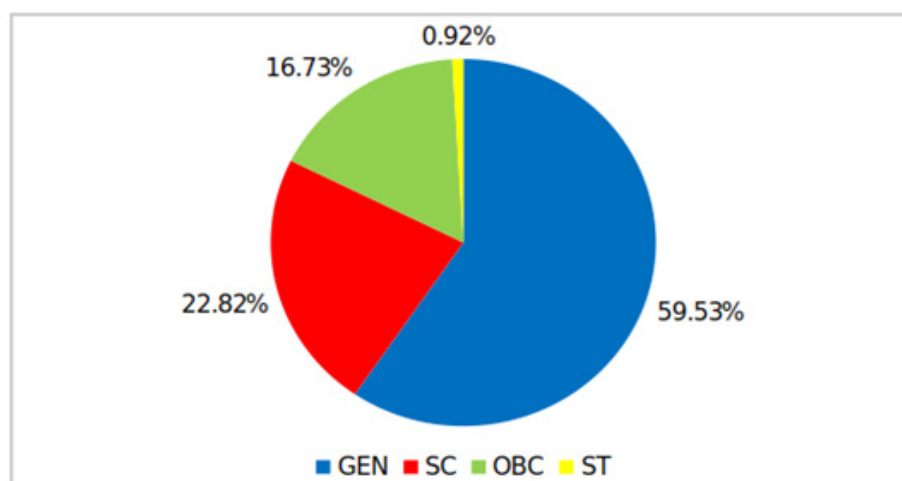


Figure 5: Caste distribution of domestic workers in Delhias per ‘e-shram data’

The workers were asked about the occupation history of their parents. Parents of 591 (77%) workers have never worked as domestic workers, whereas parents of 172 (22.4%) workers have worked as domestic workers at some point.

Out of 172 workers, mothers of 161 (93.6%) workers have also worked as domestic workers, the fathers of 3 (1.7%) workers have worked as domestic workers, and both parents (mothers and fathers) of 8 (4.7%) workers worked as domestic workers.⁸ Out of the said 172 workers, only 38 (22.1%) workers belong to upper castes, while the majority (77.9%) belong to bahujan castes.⁹

Common occupation categories of father	No. of workers	Common occupation categories of mother	No. of workers
Agriculture/Farm Work	218 (28.4%)	Agriculture/Farm Work	133 (17.3%)
Casual Labour (un-specified)	120 (15.6%)	Casual Labour (un-specified)	33 (4.3%)
Cleaner/Sweeper	6 (0.8%)	Construction Worker	4 (0.5%)
Construction Worker	62 (8.1%)	Domestic Worker	158 (20.6%)
Domestic Worker	7 (0.9%)	Homemaker	303 (39.5%)
Helper (unspecified)	2 (0.3%)	Salaried Job	27 (3.5%)
Salaried Job ¹⁰	84 (10.9%)	Self-Employed	13 (1.7%)
Self-Employed	118 (15.4%)	Permanently unemployed	2 (0.3%)
Permanently unemployed	8 (1%)		

Table 4: Distribution based on the occupations of parents of respondents (n=768)¹²

Amongst the married workers (n=611), the most common occupation category of the spouse is self-employed category (163, 26.7%). Only 18 (3%) workers stated that their spouse also works as a domestic worker (the spouses of all four male domestic workers who were surveyed also work as domestic workers).¹³

Out of the 697 workers who have children (including abandoned/widowed workers), children of 618 (88.7%) workers have never worked as domestic workers. Children of 42 (6%) workers also work as domestic workers. While children of 24 (3.4%) workers take up domestic work when the parent worker falls sick/unavailable, children of 8 (1.5%) workers take up domestic work when the employer asks the parent worker to bring their children along for additional assistance.¹⁷

Common occupation categories of the spouse	No. of workers
Agriculture/Farm Work	10 (1.6%)
Casual Labour (unspecified)	138 (22.6%)
Cleaner/Sweeper	2 (0.3%)
Construction Worker	72 (11.8%)
Domestic Worker	18 (3%)
Helper (unspecified)	12 (2%)
Salaried Job ¹⁴	126 (20.6%)
Self-Employed ¹⁵	163 (26.7%)
Permanently unemployed	36 (5.9%)

Table 5: Distribution based on the occupations of spouse of married respondents (n=611)¹⁶

Literacy

Only 158 (20.6%) workers know how to read and write (n=768). A vast majority of the workers 503 (65.5%) never went to school. Only 4 (0.6%) workers have pursued higher education beyond school, and 15 (2.3%) workers had atleast cleared their 10th standard examinations.¹⁸

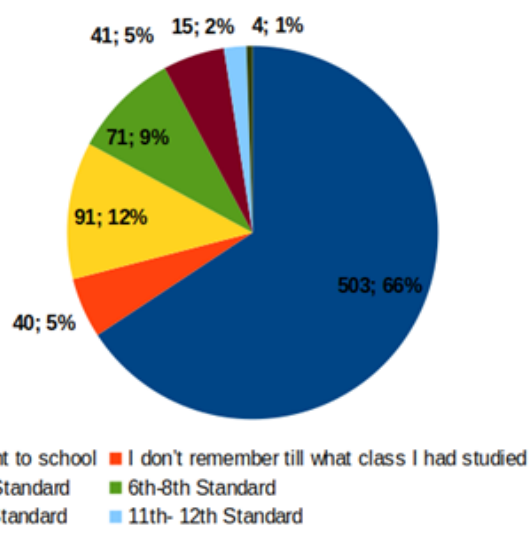


Figure 6: Distribution of workers on basis of formal education (n=765)

Of the 19 (2.5%) workers who had studied beyond the 10th standard, 17 (89.5%) workers belonged to lower caste groups, and 14 (73.7%) of the workers were Hindus, 3 (15.8%) workers were Christian and 2 (10.5%) workers were Muslims. Even in this sub-group, 3 (15.8%) workers had their mothers or both parents work as domestic workers – which is slightly lower than the overall percentage (22.4%). The mean age of this group is 29.4 years, while they work for 6.68 hours a day on an average for an hourly wage rate of Rs. 36.7/- compared to the overall average of Rs. 39.4/- per hour (for more details see Section 4.3 Wages and Earning Patterns in Chapter IV Patterns of Work).

Interviews were conducted with 5 of these 19 workers to understand why they took up domestic work over other occupations. 2 workers shared that they had earlier been holding salaried jobs in offices doing administrative and clerical work, but once they got married and had kids, they didn't try

to find salaried positions again. They instead preferred taking up domestic work as they found it more suitable for themselves, given the amount of work they were expected to do within the marital house as part of their 'family duties'. The reason for this preference is that domestic work seems to offer flexibility in working hours and the work is largely available near their residences. The remaining 3 workers preferred to work in salaried positions over domestic work – but they had taken up domestic work temporarily, in order to sustain themselves and their families.

Amongst the under-aged child workers (n=27), 7 had studied till 5th standard, 6 had studied till 6th – 8th standard and 7 till 9th – 10th standards. 6 had not received any formal education. These children cited financial constraints of the family as the primary reason to take up work along with the lack of support from their family. Some stated that even though their education was discontinued some of their siblings (mostly brothers) were still studying.

Regional Background

Out of the randomized survey (n=686), 490 (71.4%) workers had migrated from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. From Bihar, majority of the workers hailed from Darbhanga (85, 27.7%), Madhubani (77, 25.1%), Begusarai (24, 7.8%), Samastipur (14, 4.6%), Katihar (12, 3.9%), East Champaran (12, 3.9%), and in Uttar Pradesh from - Etah (14, 7.6 %) and Aligarh (11, 5.9%) in Uttar Pradesh.¹⁹

Origin State	No. of workers	Origin State	No. of workers
Assam	2 (0.3%)	Punjab	13 (1.9%)
Bihar	305 (44.5%)	Rajasthan	15 (2.2%)
Chandigarh	1 (0.1%)	Tamil Nadu	34 (5%)
Delhi	34 (5%)	Telangana	1 (0.1%)
Haryana	10 (1.5%)	Uttar Pradesh	185 (27%)
Jammu & Kashmir	1 (0.1%)	Uttarakhand	2 (0.3%)
Jharkhand	4 (0.6%)	West Bengal	47 (6.9%)
Madhya Pradesh	27 (3.9%)	Not known	4 (0.6%)
Odisha	1 (0.1%)		

Table 6: Distribution of workers based on the state of origin (n=686)

In the control group (n=82), 30 (36.6%) workers had come from Bihar, 16 (19.5%) workers from Uttarakhand and 14 (17.1%) workers from Jharkhand. All 14 workers from Jharkhand and all 16 workers from Uttarakhand are working as in-house workers in Tilak Lane.

Family And Dependants

611 (79.6% of 768) workers are married. The husbands of 100 (13%) workers had either abandoned them or passed away, 53 (6.9%) workers are unmarried, and 3 (0.4%) workers are divorced.²⁰

Out of the workers whose spouses had either abandoned them or passed away (n=100), 51 (51%) workers are sole earners in their families and only 13 (13%) of them are literate. 75 (75%) workers belong to backward and other non-upper caste backgrounds, and 69 (69%) are Hindus and 27 (27%) are Muslims.

Under whose supervision do you leave your child when you have to go to work?	No. of workers
Unsupervised at home	135 (31.8%)
Under the supervision of elder child	112 (26.4 %)
With family or relatives	111 (26.1%)
With neighbours	43 (10.1%)
Unsupervised at park near employer's household	12 (2.8%)
In open park	3 (0.7%)
Bal kendras/ anganwadis	2 (0.2%)
Take them to work	2 (0.5%)

Table 7. Distribution based on supervision of children while the worker is engaging in work (n=425)

691 (90%) workers have children. On an average, a worker had 3.3 number of children, and 4.4 number of dependants.²¹ Amongst part-time and full-time workers (n=706), 425 (60.2%) workers have young children. The workers were asked under whose supervision they leave their children when they have to go to work. Only 4 (less than 1%) leave their children at anganwadis or take them along to their employer's households. 150 (35%) workers leave their children unsupervised – either in their houses or in open parks.

Sole-earning Workers

99 (12.9% of 768) workers are the sole-earners in their families. 96 (97%) were sole earners even before the pandemic and 3 of the workers who are sole earners took up domestic work after the pandemic. 51 (51.5%) workers are either abandoned or widowed, 41 (41.4%) are married, 5 (5.1%) are unmarried and 2 (2%) are divorced. 5 (5.1%) workers work as in-house workers, 3 (3%) work as full-time workers, and the rest (91, 91.9%) work as part-time workers. On an average, these workers had 3.2 children. 3 (3%) of these sole-earning workers are below 18 years of age.

The part-time sole-earners work 5.3 hours a day and 6.7 days a week. A sizable number of these workers were found working at three localities: Nizamuddin (15, 15.2%), Inderlok (14, 14.1%) and Majnu ka Tilla (14, 14.1%).

Amongst the 41 married workers who are sole-earners, their husbands are largely self-employed (9, 22%) or work as casual labour (7, 17.1%) or had salaried jobs in the past but were no longer working (5, 12.2%). The husbands of 4 (9.8%) workers were permanently unemployed due to a disability on medical grounds or due to alcoholism.

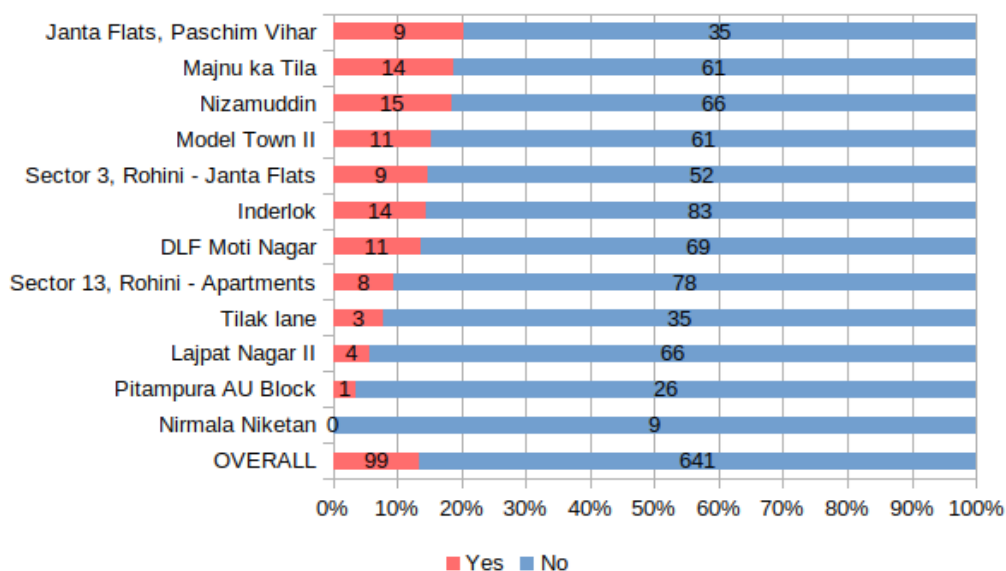


Figure 7: Whether the worker is a sole-earner in the family (distribution across localities)

37. Amongst the non-sole breadwinners (n=641), even otherwise, domestic workers contribute substantial amount to the total family earnings (41% on an average amongst non sole-earners). 23 (36.5%) belong to households where more than 75% of total family income is earned by the worker herself, and 211 (32.9%) belong to such households where more than 50% of total family income is earned by the worker herself



CHAPTER 3

**LIVING
CONDITIONS**

Household Types

291 (37.9% of 768) workers live in self-owned accommodations and 407 (53%) workers live in rented accommodations. 318 (41.4%) workers live in kaccha (semi-permanent) houses.²² Irrespective of type of pucca (permanent) or kaccha (semi-permanent) houses, a majority of the workers live in slum areas in Delhi. The slum areas are characterised by lack of basic amenities such as adequate roads, proper drainage systems and access to running water. The slum areas are covered by a central legislation – Slum Areas Act, 1956, under which the government officials have sweeping powers including the power to enter households without permission and power to order eviction. Such draconian and unchecked power adds to the financial vulnerability of the workers as neither the title to their land and housing is clear or permanent nor can they avail financial credit from formal lending institutions due to lack of property which could be collateralised.

Type of house	Total
In accommodation provided by the employer	62 (8.1%) [52 belong to the control group]
In accommodation provided to a family member	2 (0.0%)
Lives with relatives no rent is paid	2 (0.0%)
Rented jhuggi (kaccha)	160 (20.8%)
Rented house (pucca)	247 (32.2%)
Self-owned jhuggi (kaccha)	158 (20.6%)
Self-owned house/ jhuggi (pucca)	133 (17.3%)

Table 8: Distribution of workers based on type of household/accommodation they live in (n=768)

Across localities, other than in Paschim Vihar, Inderlok and Janta Flats–Rohini, majority of the workers live in rented accommodations. In the said three localities, workers reside primarily in self-owned accommodations/housing (see Figure 8).

717 (93.4%) workers reside with immediate and dependent family members including their spouse, children, parents and siblings. Amongst the remaining, 26 (3.4%) workers live alone and 18 (2.3%) workers live with extended family/relatives.²³

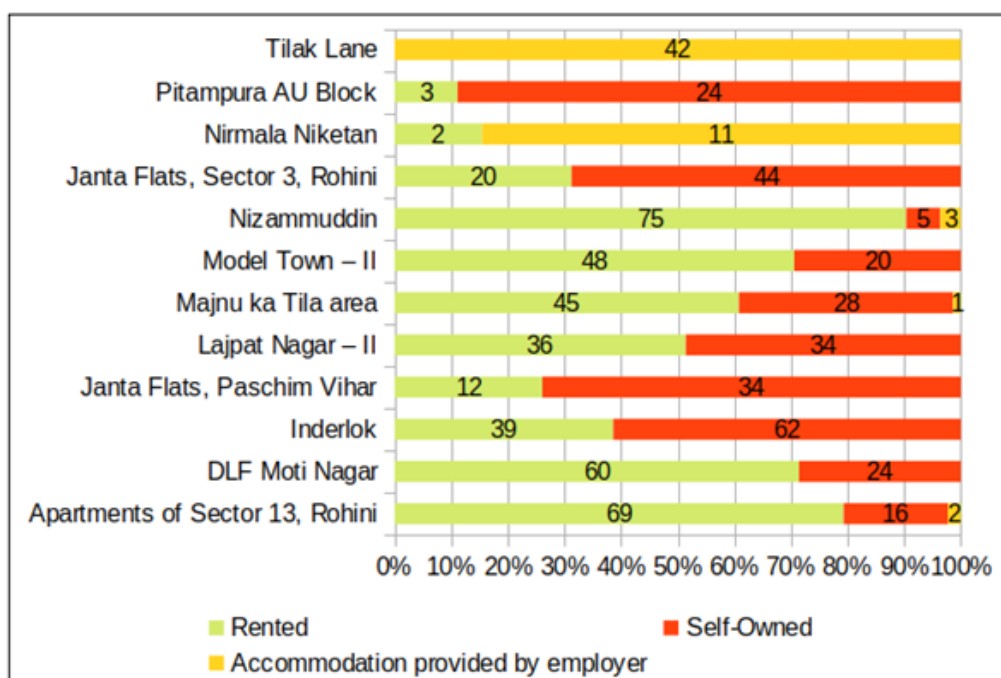


Figure 8: Distribution of workers based on type of house and location (n=768)

237 (30.9%) workers do not own any of the following assets: fridge, television, smartphone, active internet connection, two-wheeler, computer and desert cooler. Only 16 (2.1%) workers have five or more of the said assets.²⁴

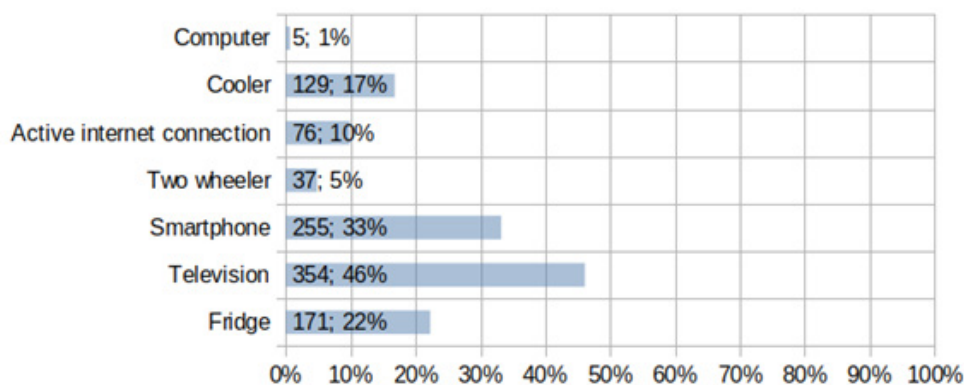


Figure 9: Assets owned by the workers (n=768)

Access To Utilities

Cooking Gas:

292 (38%) workers always use LPG gas while cooking for themselves and their families. 403 (52.5%) workers mostly use LPG gas, whereas 73 (9.5%) workers never use LPG gas.²⁵

Public Distribution System:

A majority of the workers 488 (63.5%) do not possess ration cards which are necessary to procure food grains from the public distribution system. Out of the remaining workers 280 (36.5%) who do possess ration cards: 7 (2.5%) workers possess 'Antrodya Anna Yojana' cards,

196 (70%) workers possess 'Below Poverty Line' ration cards, 49 (17.5%) workers possess Above Poverty Line ration cards and 1 (0.3%) worker possesses Priority Household card.²⁶ The amount of grains a person is entitled to receive is dependent upon the type of ration card the person possesses. The type of ration card also indicates the standing of the domestic worker and their family on the official poverty line.

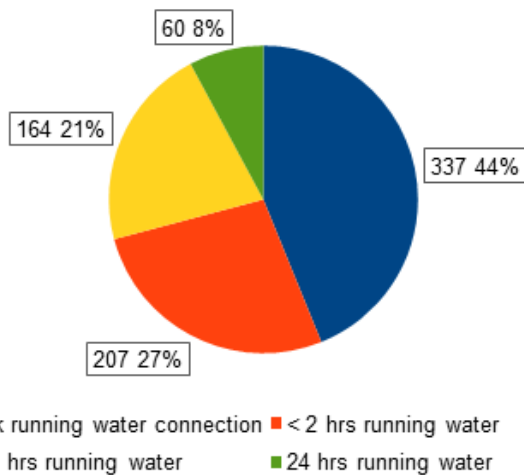


Figure 10: Distribution of workers based on those having a running water connection (n=768)

Running Water:

Nearly half of the workers 337 (43.9%) lack access to running water connection in their houses. Nearly one-third of the workers - 207 (27%) have access to running water for less than 2 hours a day.²⁷

Access to toilets:

Only one-quarter of the workers (199, 25.9%) have access to personal toilets that are attached to their household. The rest of the workers (569, 74.1%) rely on shared toilets, either in the building they reside in, or in the neighbourhood, including DUSIB toilets and Sulabh Shauchalaya toilets near their households.²⁸

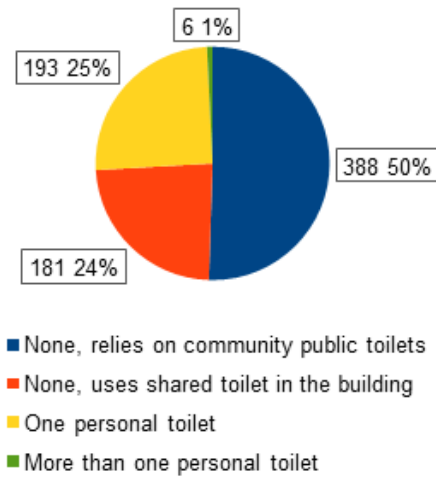


Figure 11: Distribution of workers based on those having a personal toilet (n=768)

Access To work

Commute to work

589 (76.7%) workers walk to their workplace. 143 (18.6%) workers use buses, 105 (13.7%) workers use rickshaws/e-rickshaws and 21 (2.7%) workers use autos and gamin sewas. Only 2 workers use private vehicles for commuting. The ease of access to the workplace from the household is often cited as the reason behind why the domestic work is preferred by some over other occupations. 644 (83.9%) workers use only 1 mode for commuting (514 workers simply walk to the workplace while rest 130 workers rely on a different mode), whereas 96 (12.5%) workers use multiple modes for commuting.²⁹

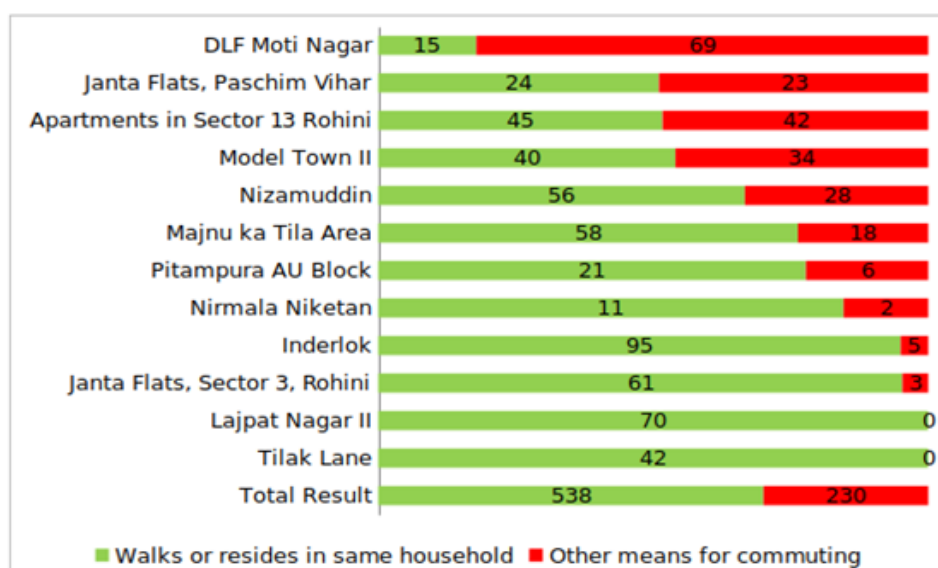


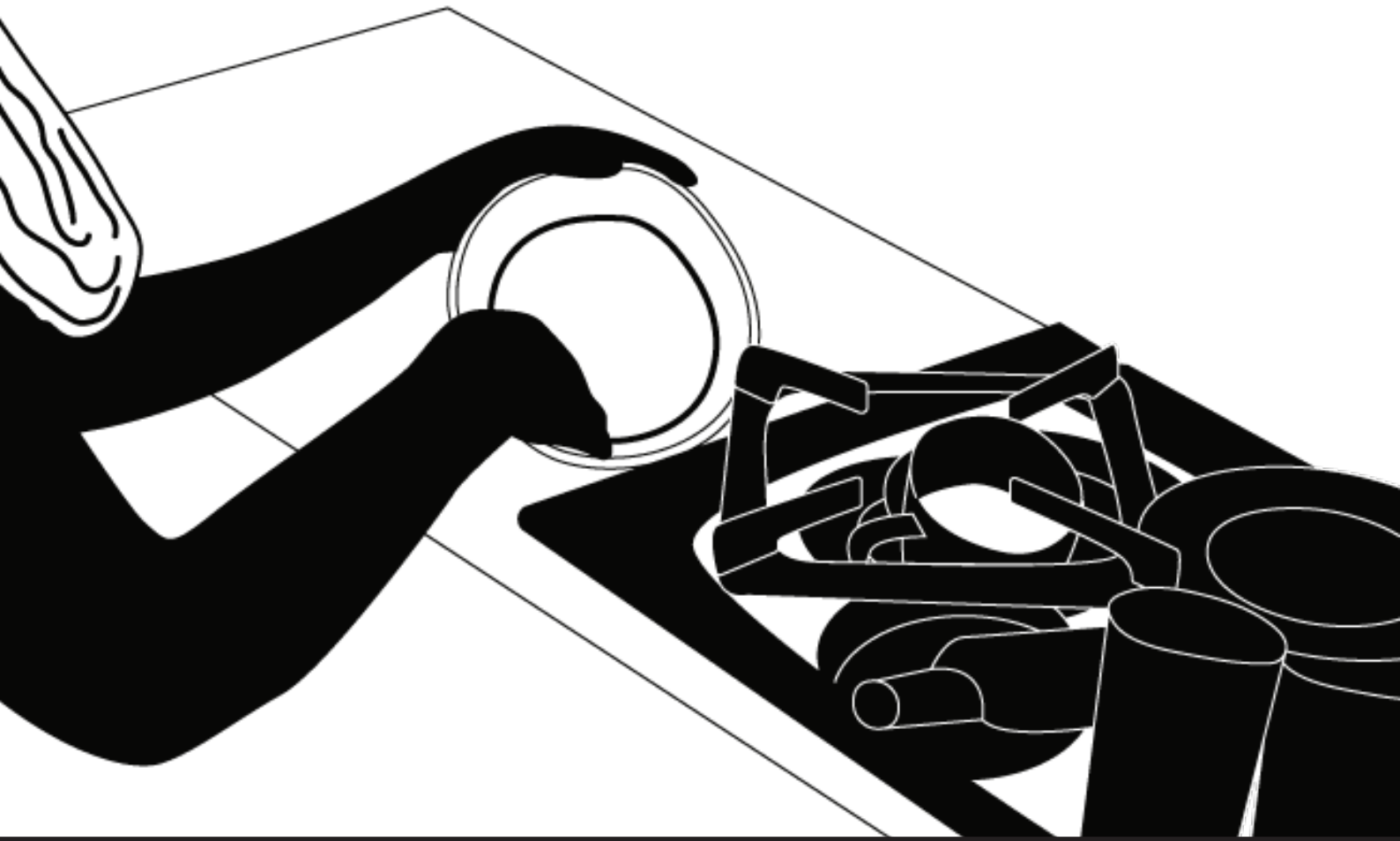
Figure 12: Locality-wise distribution of means for commuting to work

Childcare

454 workers have children who are young/minor (below the age of 18). Amongst these workers- 12 (2.6%) workers are allowed to bring their children to households of employers without any objections. However, only 3 (0.7%) workers take their children along to the workplace on a regular basis. 2 (0.4%) workers leave their children at government/ NGO-run bal kendras or crèche facilities. 285 (62.8%) workers are forced to leave their children at their homes – either unsupervised or under the care of the elder child (often at the expense of the elder female child's education).³⁰



Figure 13: Where do you leave your child when you and your spouse are at work (n=454)



CHAPTER 4

PATTERNS OF WORK



Figure 14: Locality-wise distribution of workers based on the number of years employed at the current workplace

Workplace Retention

The survey was conducted 1.5 years after the CoVid'19 Pandemic began. The pandemic had caused severe financial distress in the form of job losses and wage cuts, which pushed several women to become domestic workers. 55 (7.2%) workers had taken up domestic work just a year ago.³¹ Whereas, a majority of the workers (431, 56.1%) have been working as domestic workers for more than 5 years.

Number of years	Part time workers	Full time workers	In-house workers	Total
More than 10 years	188	9	40	237
5-10 years	174	12	8	194
1-5 years	262	10	10	282
Less than 1 year	49	2	4	55
Total	673	33	62	768

Table 9: Total number of years since when the worker has been working as domestic worker (n=768)

638 (96% out of 686 workers in the randomized survey) workers had taken up domestic work in Delhi, after having migrated from elsewhere, i.e., it was in Delhi that they started working as domestic workers for the first time.³² 4 (0.6%) workers found their first job through a placement agency/agent. In-house workers are typically hired at their place of employment through a placement agency/agent.³³ The placement agencies/agents remain outside the regulatory purview of the state which gives them immense decision-making power and control over the workers brought from far-flung villages, often from non-Hindi and non-English speaking backgrounds.

Source:	Part time workers	Full time workers	In house workers	Total
Cooperative Society or Domestic Workers Union	3	1	8	12
Directly from the employer	51	2	10	63
Family and relatives	373	19	26	418
Friends, neighbours and acquaintances	235	10	13	258
Placement agent/agency	1		3	4
Total	667	32	60	759

Table 10: How did the worker get their first job (n=759)

Retention rates

Overall, 159 (20.7%) workers have been working at their current workplaces for less than a year. 390 (50.7%) workers have been working for 1-5 years, 101 (13.2%) workers have been working for 5-10 years and 95 (12.4%) workers have been working for more than 10 years at their current work place (see Figure 14).³⁴

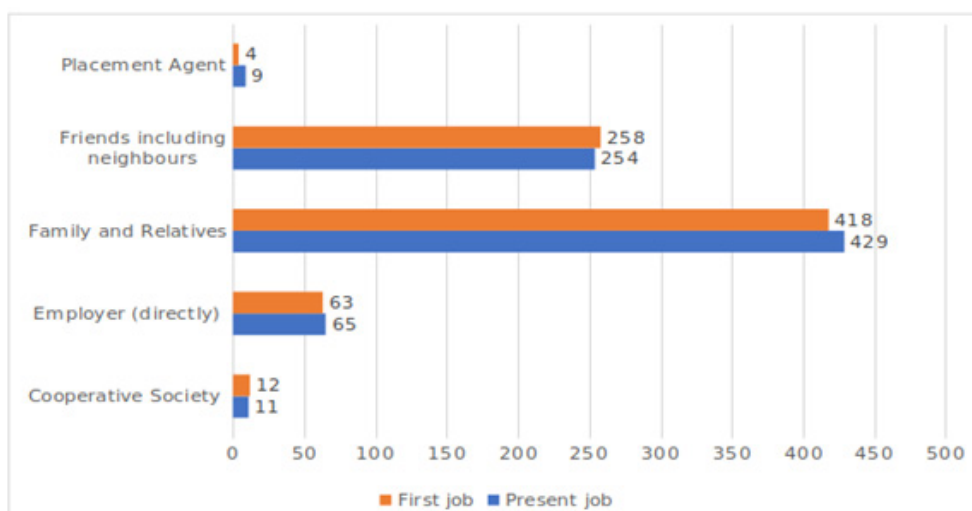


Figure 15: Source of getting present job vs first job

The pattern of retention at the same workplace is also reflected from the average number of years a worker has spent at each workplace. This average is directly proportional to the number of years worked as a domestic worker, that is, a worker who has spent more years as a

domestic worker, spends more years working at the same workplace. The inverse is also true. It is only the workers who have spent a lesser number of years as a domestic worker who have worked for a lesser number of years on average at each workplace.

This indicates that domestic work like any other industry has an element of worker retention. Thus, it ought not to be seen as a mere transitional/temporary form of work, but as one that has all the elements of work that are typically associated with a permanent industry/establishment. In industries/establishments, the years of work experience of a worker in an establishment are recognised while determining their right to continue working at the said establishment and for determining reinstatement rights and protections against unfair dismissal from such an establishment (including severance pay). Given the long duration of time that domestic workers have spent at each workplace, domestic workers, therefore, have credible reasons and grounds to seek similar rights of reinstatement and protections against unfair dismissal as well as to chalk out their claims for seeking gratuity/severance pay and some form of pensionary benefits at the time of retirement.

	Average number of years spent at each workplace			
		Less than one year	One to two years	More than two years
Total number of years spent as domestic worker	More than one year (n=713)	44 (6%)	232 (33%)	437 (61%)
	More than five years (n=431)	10 (2%)	75 (17%)	346 (81%)
	More than ten years (n=237)	5 (2%)	13 (5%)	219 (93%)

Table 11: Average number of years worked at one workplace vis-a-vis total number of years spent in the industry

Does longer retention translate into better wages and working conditions?

On the face of it there is a positive correlation between the monthly wages earned and retention rates. However, taking the working hours and days into account, what emerges is that the hourly wages that are paid to a worker who has been working for a longer duration of time is actually lesser than the hourly wages paid to a worker who has recently joined.

	[B] Avg. monthly wage	[C] Avg. working hours in a day	[D] Avg. working days in a week	[E] Estimate avg. Working hours in a month (C*D*4.5)	[F] Hourly wage rate (B/E)
[A] Total years spent working as domestic worker					
Less than 1 year	Rs. 4037.7	4.4	6.7	132.7	Rs. 30.4
1 to 5 years	Rs. 5187.6	5.3	6.5	155.0	Rs. 33.5
5 to 10 years	Rs. 5507.9	5.6	6.7	168.8	Rs. 32.6
More than 10 years	Rs. 5668	6.3	6.6	187.1	Rs. 30.3
[A] Average period of employment at each workplace					
Less than 1 year	Rs. 4491.2	4	6.4	115.2	Rs. 39
1 to 2 years	Rs. 5221	5.5	6.5	160.9	Rs. 32.5
More than 2 years	Rs. 5631.8	6	6.6	178.2	Rs. 31.6
[A] Years spent working at present workplace					
Less than 1 year	Rs. 4618.4	4.6	6.4	132.5	Rs. 34.9
1 to 5 years	Rs. 5375.1	5.6	6.5	163.8	Rs. 32.8
5 to 10 years	Rs. 5901	6.4	6.7	193	Rs. 30.6
More than 10 years	Rs. 5720.9	6.5	6.6	193.1	Rs. 29.6

Table 12: Average wages (monthly and hourly) across years spent working as domestic worker (n=768)

Characteristics Of Current Workplace

Locality	Average total years worked as domestic worker (max: 12.5 yrs)	Average total years at current workplace (max: 12.5 yrs)
DLF Moti Nagar	4.47	2.46
Sector 13, Rohini Apartments	5.37	3.37
Inderlok	6.02	4.43
Majnu ka Tila	6.43	4.12
Sector 3, Rohini – Janta Flats	6.48	3.58
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	6.62	4.75
Total (n=768)	6.89	4.29
Nizamuddin	7.21	5.19
Lajpat Nagar-II	7.8	4.3
Nirmala Niketan	8.62	3.12
Model Town-II	8.91	5.85
Tilak Lane	10.1	4.96
Pitampura AU Block	10.54	6.2

Table 13: Retention patterns across the localities (n=768)

Number of houses worked at

Majority of part-time workers (458, 68%) work at 2-5 households concurrently, and they work for 5.4 hours a day and earn wages of Rs. 5418.2 per month on average. Part-time workers who work only at 1 household (186, 27.6%), work for 4 hours a day and earn wages of Rs. 3948.8 per month on average. Part-time workers who work for more than 5 households concurrently, work 6.7 hours a day and earn mean wages of Rs 8103.4 per month on average. Although, the wages and working hours are directly proportional to the number of households worked at, there is no significant difference in the number of working days per week. With very little variation, all part-time workers work 6.5 days a week on an average.

Full-time workers who cater to only 1 household, work for 8.6 hours a day, 6.5 days a week and earn wages of Rs. 6809 per month

on average. In-house workers (excluding those from Tilak Lane), work for upto 14 hours a day, 6.9 days a week and earn wages of Rs. 10,764.7 per month on an average. Tilak Lane is a unique locality. The workers in Tilak Lane have been excluded from the said analysis due to the reason that the employers of 26 out of 42 workers do not pay the workers a single rupee as wages for the work performed by them.

Locality:	One house-hold	2 to 5 houses	More than 5 houses	Average no. of households served
Lajpat Nagar II	10	54	6	3.4
Sector 3, Rohini – Janta Flats	9	52	2	3.3
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	11	27	5	3.3
Sector 13, Rohini – Apartments	12	69	2	3.2
Model Town II	12	46	4	3.2
Nizamuddin	19	52	5	3.1
Pitampura AU Block	8	17	1	2.9
Total (n=673)	186	458	29	2.9
Majnu ka Tila	28	43	1	2.6
Inderlok	38	54	3	2.6
DLF Moti Nagar	37	44	-	2.4
Nirmala Niketan	1	-	-	1
Tilak lane	1	-	-	1

Table 14: Number of houses catered to at present by the part-time workers across localities (n=673)

Number of houses catered to:	Part-Time Workers:	Full-Time Workers:	In-House Workers:	Total:
Only one house	186	33	61	280 (36.5%)
2-5 houses	458	-	1	459 (59.8%)
More than 5 houses	29	-	-	29 (3.8%)

Table 15: Number of houses catered to at present (n=768) across localities (n=673)

730 (95.1%) workers work for atleast 1 household comprising a nuclear family and 17 (2.2%) workers work for atleast 1 household comprising a joint family.³⁷ Only 48 (6.3%) workers catered to households where employers did not live with their families: 19 (2.5%) workers worked in households where the employer lived alone, and 29 (3.8%) workers worked for households where bachelors/unmarried employers lived. 14 (1.8%) workers work in atleast 1 household where only men live.³⁸ Amongst

them, 1 worker works as an in-house worker whereas the remaining 13 workers work as part-time workers.

The most common response to the question regarding the tasks to be performed at work was 'sweeping, mopping and cleaning utensils' (253, 32.9%).³⁹ Even amongst the workers who perform other tasks, sweeping and mopping (663, 86.3%) and cleaning utensils (649, 84.5%) were the most common tasks performed.

Tasks:	Number of workers:
Sweeping and mopping	663 (86.3%)
Cleaning utensils	649 (84.5%)
Washing clothes	195 (25.4%)
Dusting	191 (24.9%)
Cleaning toilets	161 (21%)
Cooking	157 (20.4%)
Ironing clothes	31 (4%)
Chopping vegetables (not cooking)	25 (3.3%)
Caring for children and elderly	20 (2.6%)
Massage/Maalish	7 (0.9%)
Buying vegetables	2 (0.3%)
Gardening	1 (0.1%)
Car washing	1 (0.1%)
Table serving	1 (0.1%)

Table 16: Tasks performed by workers (n=768)

Wage Patterns

On average, a domestic worker in Delhi earns Rs. 5342 per month, works for 5.6 hours in a day, 6.6 days a week, 165.9 hours in a month and receives an hourly wage at the rate of Rs. 39.4 (excluding the 29 workers who do not get paid at all).⁴⁰

In the survey, there are 29 workers who are not paid any wages in lieu of their services. Out of these 29 workers, 26 of them are in-house workers residing in Tilak Lane, Central Delhi, catering to bureaucrats and

senior officials in government service. The employers reportedly believe that since the worker's family has been permitted to stay in the government allotted servant quarters for the duration of the course of employment, it amounts to payment of wages in kind. These 26 workers work 8.9 hours a day, 7 days a week, averaging nearly 282.9 hours a month and yet, are not paid a single rupee by the employers they serve.

	[B] Avg. monthly wage	[C] Avg. working hours in a day	[D] Avg. working days in a week	[E] Estimate avg. Working hours in a month (C*D*4.5)	[F] Hourly wage rate (B/E)
[A] Type of worker:					
Part-time (673)	Rs. 5098.2	5	6.6	148.5	Rs. 34.3
Full-time (33)	Rs. 6809.1	8.6	6.5	251.6	Rs. 27.6
In-house (62)	Rs. 4683.3	10.5	7	330.8	Rs. 14.2
In-house (excluding Tilak Lane workers) (21)	Rs. 9631.6	14	6.9	434.7	Rs. 22.2
[A] Caste group:					
Upper caste Hindu/Muslim (156)	Rs. 4690.1	5.5	6.6	163.4	Rs. 28.7
Not a forward caste (84)	Rs. 5288.1	5.5	6.5	160.9	Rs. 32.9
OBC Non-Muslims (153)	Rs. 5495.4	5.7	6.5	166.7	Rs. 33
OBC/Pasmanda Muslim (120)	Rs. 4567.5	5.3	6.7	159.8	Rs. 28.6
Scheduled Caste (214)	Rs. 5346.5	5.4	6.5	158	Rs. 33.8
Scheduled Tribe (14)	Rs. 7192.3	11.5	6.8	351.9	Rs. 20.4
[A] Vulnerable Groups					
Child Workers (27)	Rs. 3222.2	5.8	6.7	179.1	Rs. 18
Elderly (Above 55 years of age) (37)	Rs. 3724.3	5.9	6.7	176.6	Rs. 21.1
Abandoned/Widowed (100)	Rs. 5018	5.6	6.6	166.3	Rs. 30.2
Sole Earners (99)	Rs. 5395.8	5.53	6.69	166.4	Rs. 32.4
Illiterate (608)	Rs. 5090.26	5.6	6.5	163.8	Rs. 31
[A] Comparison between Highest and Lowest Earning Groups					
Highest Earning DWs on the basis of monthly earnings (10)% ⁴¹ (76)	Rs. 11,367.1	7.50	6.59	222.24	Rs. 51.2
Lowest Earning DWs on the basis of monthly earnings (10)% ⁴² (76)	Rs. 1602.6	3.99	6.58	118.05	Rs. 13.6
Highest Earning DWs on basis of hourly wage rate (10%) (76)	Rs. 7098.9	2.54	6.42	73.35	Rs. 96.8
Lowest Earning DWs on basis of hourly wage rate (10%) (76)	Rs. 2676.3	7.50	6.63	223.71	Rs. 12
[A] Overall					
Overall (768)	Rs. 5139.5	6	6.6	178.2	Rs. 28.8

Table 17: Average working hours, wages and hourly wage rates

There were 3 other workers (1 each in Majnu ka Tila, Model Town-II and Nirmala Niketan) who reported that they are not paid any wages by their employers. One of them is a worker placed through Nirmala Niketan. She works for 12 hours a day for 7 days a week, and receives no wages. She has been provided accommodation by her employer. The other worker is the one in Model Town is a 90 year old in-house worker, who had also been provided accommodation by her employer (a room on the terrace) in lieu of her 24 hours a day service for 7 days a week. She used to get a kharchi (liquid cash) of Rs. 100 as per her needs. At the time of the survey, she had been

dismissed from the service only two days ago. Since then, she had been sleeping in the community park. The third worker is a part-time worker in Majnu ka Tila. She works at 2-5 households for 4 hours a day and 6 days a week. She does sweeping, mopping, cleaning utensils and dusting for her employers. Even though the employers do not pay her nor do they provide her any kind of accommodation, she has been continuing to work without wages. Unlike the other two workers who had been provided accommodation, the reasons behind her continuing to work were not forthcoming.

[A] Locality	[B] Average monthly earnings (Rs.)	[C] Average working days in a week	[D] Average working hours in a day	[E] Estimate average working hours in a month (C*D*4.5)	[F] Estimate hourly wages earned (Rs.) (B/E)
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	Rs. 6271.4	6.4	5.4	155.6	Rs. 49.9
DLF, Moti Nagar	Rs. 5642.4	6.3	4.7	134.6	Rs. 48.2
Inderlok	Rs. 3489.5	6.8	5.0	154	Rs. 24.4
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	Rs. 6510.9	6.4	6.1	179.5	Rs. 44.2
Lajpat Nagar-II	Rs. 5807.2	6.4	5.2	151.6	Rs. 41.4
Majnu ka Tila	Rs.4920	6.6	4.7	137.7	Rs. 40.9
Model Town-II	Rs. 5606	6.8	5.9	177.4	Rs. 35.7
Nizamuddin	Rs. 5298.7	6.7	4.9	148.6	Rs. 47.2
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	Rs. 4484.1	6.5	6.3	182.4	Rs. 28.7
Nirmala Niketan	Rs. 10,100	6.8	11.1	340	Rs. 35.7
Pitampura AU Block	Rs. 4423	6.1	4.6	128.2	Rs. 37.5
Tilak Lane	Rs. 2369	7	8.6	270.9	Rs. 8.8
Tilak Lane (excluding 26 workers who are not paid at all)	Rs. 6218.8	7	8.8	277.6	Rs. 24.3
Overall	5342	6.6	5.6	165.9	39.4

Table 18: Locality-wise average working hours, wages and hourly wage rate

Wage Intervals and quantum

714 (93%) workers receive their wages on monthly intervals, 10 (1.3%) workers receive their wages at weekly intervals, 3 (0.03%) workers receive wages on a daily basis and 1 worker receives wages on a fortnightly basis. 2 workers did not have any fixed interval for wage payment.⁴³

The quantum of wages paid to 735 (95.7%) workers is fixed, whereas the wages for 33 (4.3%) workers varies on a month to month basis.⁴⁴ All workers in Lajpat Nagar-II and Janta Flats, Rohini (Sector-3) receive a fixed quantum of wages, and a high proportion of workers (15, 17.9%) in DLF Moti Nagar receive variable wages each month.

A majority of the workers (721, 93.9%) receive wages in cash, 6 (0.08%) workers receive wages through bank transfer or cheque and 3 (0.04%) workers receive wages in cash as well as through bank transfer.⁴⁵

Liquid cash or kharchi: A connected question

in the survey was whether the workers receive full wages at each wage interval or did they receive only a portion of their wages to cover their expenses, colloquially known as, 'liquid cash' or kharchi.⁴⁶ 10 (1.3%) workers receive only liquid cash or kharchi at each wage interval. The amount of liquid cash or kharchi varies between Rs. 100 to Rs. 3000 (Responses received - Rs. 100 (2), Rs. 500 (2), Rs. 1000 (2), Rs. 3000 (1) and undefined amount (3)).⁴⁷ For 7 out of these 10 workers the rest of the wages is paid to them at the end of their period of employment; for 1 worker, the remainder of her wages is transferred by the employer to the placement agent/agency to be given to the worker's family.⁴⁸

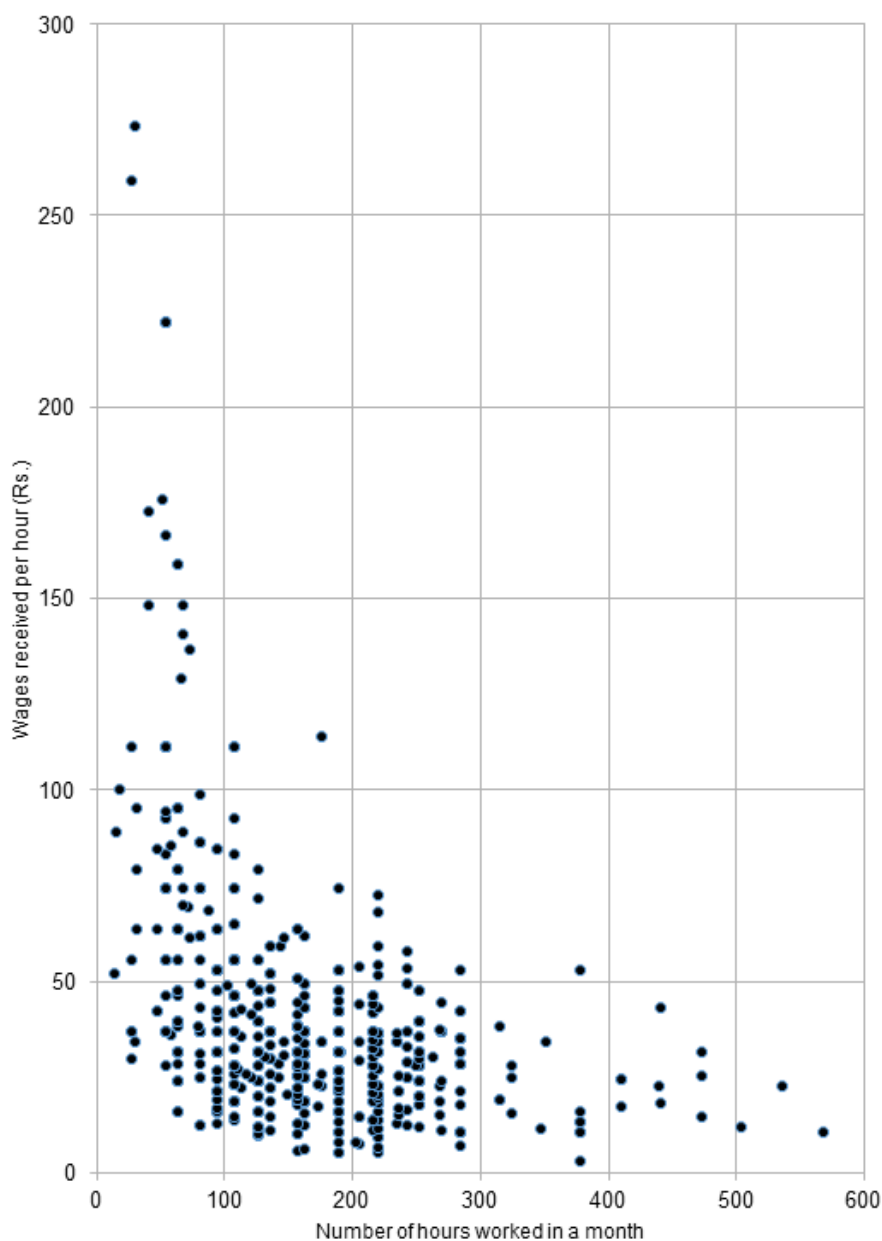


Figure 16: Distribution of hourly wage rate and number of hours worked (n=713)

7 out of the 10 workers who receive only kharchi, work as in-house workers and the remaining 3 workers work as part-time workers. 1 worker amongst them is a minor of 17 years of age and the rest of the workers are adults. They work in different localities: Apartments in Sector 13 Rohini (1), Inderlok (2), Model Town-II (2), Nizamuddin (1) and through Nirmala Niketan cooperative (4).

Medical Expenses

One limitation of the survey was that questions regarding expenditure patterns could not be asked in detail. They were limited only to medical expenses. 361 (47.8%) workers had delayed a medical diagnosis/treatment in the past due to costs associated with such diagnosis/treatment.⁴⁹ 307 (40%) workers had taken a loan at least on 1 occasion (either informal or formal) to finance medical expenses in the family.⁵⁰

Government's Role And Placement Agencies

Government verification

The idea of 'verifying' the personal details/ antecedents of domestic workers seems to be highly locality-specific. Overall, 283 (36.8%) workers were asked to submit their government identity proofs and 115 (15%) workers underwent a process of verification

of antecedents by the local police for at least 1 of their employers, before commencing work.⁵¹ Police verification/background checks are insisted upon only for the workers and no police verification/background checks are conducted on the employers hiring the domestic workers.

Locality	Govt ID asked for:	Locality	Verification of antecedents by police took place:
Apartments in Sector 13 Rohini	86 (98.9%)	DLF Moti Nagar	77 (91.5%)
DLF Moti Nagar	78 (92.9%)	Tilak lane	17 (40.5%)
Tilak lane	23 (54.8%)	Overall	115 (15%)
Nizamuddin	35 (41.7%)	Pitampura AU Block	2 (7.4%)
Overall	283 (36.8%)	Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	3 (6.4%)
Majnu ka Tila area	16 (21.1%)	Sector 3, Janta Flats, Rohini	4 (6.3%)
Lajpat Nagar 2	13 (18.6%)	Inderlok	5 (5%)
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	6 (12.8%)	Apartments in Sector 13 Rohini	3 (3.4%)
Sector 3, Janta Flats, Rohini	7 (10.9%)	Nizamuddin	2 (2.4%)
Model Town 2	7 (9.5%)	Model Town 2	1 (1.4%)
Inderlok	9 (9%)	Majnu ka Tila area	1 (1.3%)
Nirmala Niketan	1 (7.7%)	Lajpat Nagar 2	0
Pitampura AU Block	2 (7.4%)	Nirmala Niketan	0

Table 19: Number of workers whose personal details and antecedents were verified by employers (n=768)

Placement agencies/agents

A majority of the workers (722, 94%) have never been registered or been associated with any placement agency. Placement agencies took more than 6 months to place a majority (16 out of 41) of the workers

at various households. On average it took 5.1 months for the placement agencies to place each worker.⁵²

Placement agencies/agents play a greater role in placing in-house workers who migrate from outside of Delhi. In a group discussion held on 14 November 2021 with the workers who are members of Nirmala Niketan cooperative, several experiences with placement agents were narrated. One worker (who was presumably a minor), was sent to Delhi by her father when she was in 7th standard (11 years of age approximately) with unknown persons/placement agents. She was made to work at 1 household for 3 months, without pay, supposedly so that she could 'learn the work'. Later, she was placed at a different household where she was unaware about the name of her employer, address of the household and even the amount of wages that were payable to her. She was not even allowed to make phone calls to her family, despite repeatedly begging to do so.⁵³

Geeta (name changed), was effectively kept in confinement by the placement agents. She was a minor when she accompanied the placement agents from her village. The placement agents promised her wonderful work opportunities with proper regulations and good pay (without disclosing that it would be domestic work). She had not informed her family before commencing the journey. She was kept at the agency's office when she fell seriously ill. Geeta's older sister somehow found out the placement agency's address and tried to rescue Geeta. Geeta was asked to keep shut and stay inside when her sister had come to the agency's office; she

was not informed that her sister had come looking for her. Geeta heard her sister screaming her name, and that is when Geeta responded to her calls and came outside. The agents demanded payment of Rs. 10,000 for freeing Geeta. It was only when Geeta's sister's employer agreed to loan the amount, the payment could be made and Geeta was rescued from the agency's office.⁵⁴

Dismissals And Disputes Redressals

Majority of the workers (757, 98.6%) have never approached any authority or body for resolution of work disputes with their employers.⁵⁵ Amongst 11 (1.4%) workers who have tried to seek grievance redressal: 4 workers had approached domestic workers unions, 6 workers had approached neighbours, private persons or Resident Welfare Associations of the employers' localities for resolving disputes. 3 workers had tried their luck with the police and 1 worker had even tried to invoke remedy before a labour court.

Mary (name changed), who works in DLF Moti Nagar, had on account of an illness, taken 2 leaves and thereafter, wanted to stop work. Her employer refused to pay Mary for the days that she had worked which amounted to Rs. 4500. Mary tried to approach her employer on multiple occasions, but the employer asked the security guards at DLF Moti Nagar

to debar her from entering the society. Even though Mary was not able to recover her dues, the Residential Welfare Association and the society's security cooperated with her. Her 'entry card' to DLF Moti Nagar was not de-registered and she was able to work elsewhere in the same society.⁵⁶

The wages of 30 (3.9%) workers had been withheld by an employer at least once in the past and the wages of 2 workers had been withheld more than thrice in the past.⁵⁷

Sushmita (name changed), who works on a part-time basis (placed by Nirmala Niketan Cooperative), had to approach her union against unruly behaviour of her employer (who was a woman). The employer would repeatedly scream at Sushmita disrespectfully, not explain the work that needed to be done and then get angry when her expectations were not met. Sushmita approached the union to intervene in the matter and to talk to the employer to be more polite and patient. Sushmita was not sure whether it was because of the union or her husband or another family member's intervention that the same employer started being more patient and polite with her after sometime.⁵⁸

Shazia (name changed), a part-time worker in Inderlok, was once dismissed on the spot/at will because she was late in reporting to work. Although her wages were paid in full, Shazia had no recourse against the decision taken by her employer in the spur of the moment. Naturally, there was no other payment made to her such as severance or retrenchment pay. Another worker, Roshnara (name changed), who works as part-time worker in Inderlok, was dismissed on account of her having taken leave without intimation. Roshnara was only reinstated at her work when her employer was not satisfied with the work of 2-3 replacement workers she tried to hire. As Roshnara was not in a position to refuse work, she resumed work at the same household, without receiving any compensation or redressal against her prior

unfair dismissal.⁵⁹

Bimla Devi (name changed), a part-time worker in DLF Moti Nagar, has been dismissed twice due to Covid-19 pandemic. On the first occasion, her employer fired her at the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic and hired an in-house worker in her place. She was given only a week's notice. Later, at a different household, when she informed her employer that she had gone to the hospital to get vaccinated, the employer used the same as a pretext to fire her without any notice. The employer's justification was that since Bimla Devi had been exposed to the patients at the hospital, she could pass on the infection to the employer's family. Even though Bimla was paid the wages that had accrued, on both the occasions, she was not given any other form of compensation or severance pay for her unfair dismissal.⁶⁰

Aarti (name changed), an in-house worker in Tilak Lane, was accused by her employer's daughter of stealing jewellery, and was reported directly to the police. Aarti tried to explain that there were 4 other workers working within the same household, and Aarti needed to keep her employment since she was living in an accommodation provided by the government, solely, on account of her employment. Her dismissal from service would mean that Aarti's family would no longer be provided the accommodation. The daughter of her employer refused to listen to her, instead abused Aarti repeatedly, and pushed Aarti out of the household. Other workers were asked to throw Aarti's possessions out of the servant quarter. Ultimately, the employer did not register any complaint with the police, but Aarti was left without any recourse against the unproven allegation of theft. It took Aarti 3 months to find another workplace, during which time her family found it very difficult to survive.⁶¹

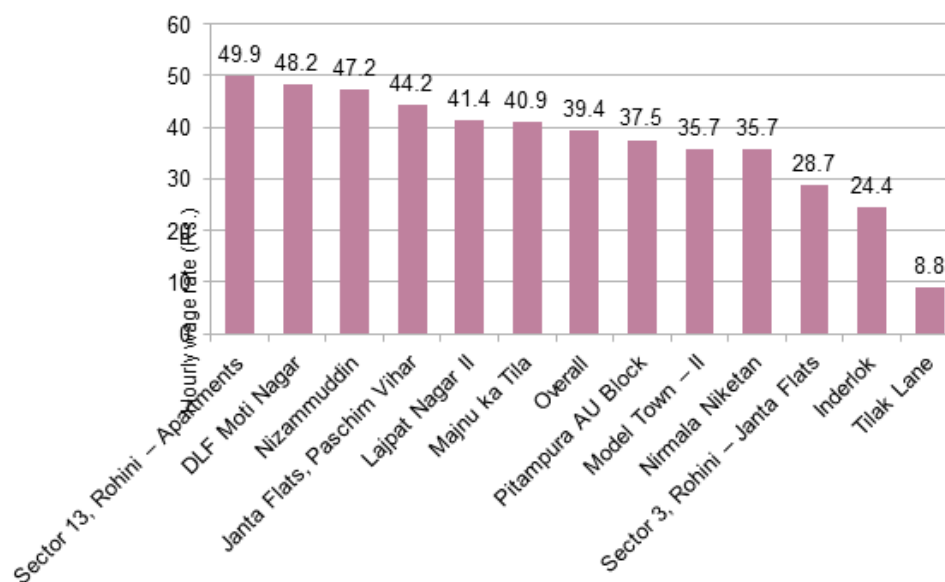
Similarly, Rita (name changed), was falsely accused of stealing a ring. Her employer alleged that she had left her ring in the kitchen

while cooking, whereas the fact was that her employer never cooked herself. Her employer did not involve the police or the resident welfare association, but the employer instructed the security for the residential society to restrain Rita from entering the society. Rita had to continuously make representations and speak to society's security and resident welfare association for a year, before she was allowed entry again into the society. The dismissal caused Rita dire financial distress as not only was she not paid any severance pay for her unfair dismissal but she was also unable to find alternate work in the same society as she was debarred at the behest of her employer, from entering the society, without any recourse.⁶²

Preeti (name changed), a part time worker, was dismissed by both of her employers when she took 4 days of leave for chhatt pooja. She worked as a cook and used to earn Rs. 10,000 cumulatively. Though she had taken permission from both her employers for the leaves and had been working for 8 months at both places, she was dismissed. Preeti is widowed, with 5 children who depend upon her financially. After her dismissal and at the time of this survey, she was earning only Rs. 1500 per month for sweeping, mopping and cleaning utensils.⁶³

Gyanwati (name changed), a part time worker, lost her employment in 3 households due to complications arising from childbirth. Due to complications during delivery, she suffered major blood loss, leaving her in an extremely weak condition, and unable to work on most days. Even when Gyanwati was pregnant, one of her 3 employers dismissed her on account of taking too many leaves, and did not pay her dues amounting to Rs. 800. Gyanwati was unable to follow up with the employer to recover the amount. Another employer dismissed her when Gyanwati after giving birth had gone to the hospital for a check-up due to heavy blood loss. The employer's family assumed that she contracted the coronavirus and dismissed her immediately. In the third household, the employer's family contracted the coronavirus and asked Gyanwati not to come to work from the next day. At the time of this survey, she had still not been reinstated at any of the households.⁶⁴

Figure 17: Overall distribution of localities on the basis of hourly wage rate





CHAPTER 5

TERMS OF SERVICE 'TRANSPARENCY SUB-INDEX'

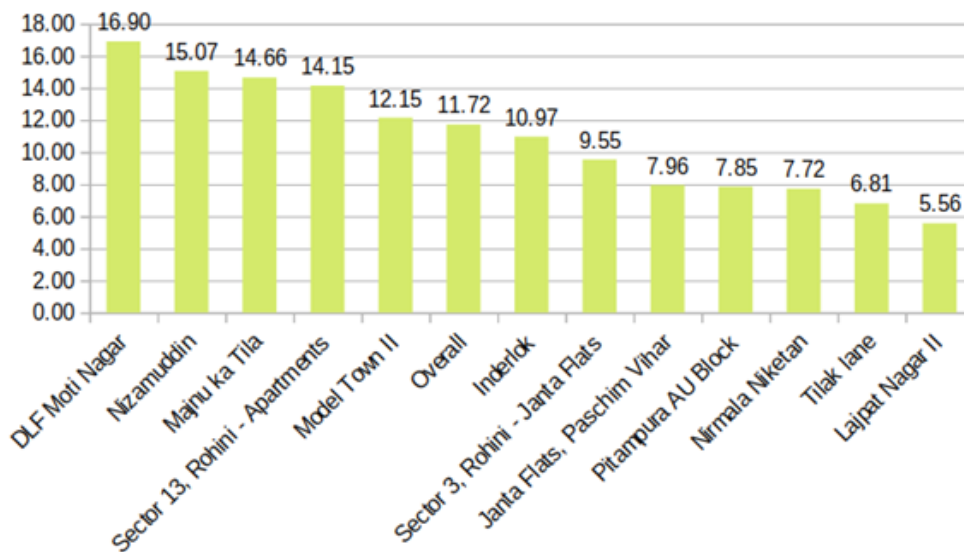


Figure 18: Overall rankings across localities based on Transparency Index (max=27)

In the previous Chapter it was noted 33 (4.3%) workers did not know the quantum of wages that is payable to them each month, and 2 workers did not have a fixed wage interval. These responses were not exceptions to the general pattern, but are reflective of the lack of transparency that pervades the domestic work sector. The vagueness and uncertainty in service conditions and work expectations, invariably, benefit the employer. The absence of defined terms of service makes it difficult for a domestic worker to know her rights and press for remedies. It also leads to the under-valuation of services rendered, which results in the

exploitation of the domestic worker in the form of unpaid extra work and overtime.

Other studies have also noted the lack of transparency in the service terms of domestic workers. In a 2010 study conducted by Centre for Women's Development Studies in Delhi, it was noted that working hours, wages and conditions of work were undefined, flexible and unorganized due to the fact that the workers have very limited say and bargaining power, which results in the workers accepting wages and working conditions as fixed by the employer.⁶⁵ In another study conducted by Jagori in 2010, it was noted that 14% of the part-time domestic workers who were surveyed lacked formal leave arrangements or even a clear understanding regarding their leave entitlements. The workers therein reported incidents of employers becoming angry on account of leaves availed without prior permission or intimation, even in cases of personal illness. The study further noted that the workers found it difficult to assert and claim extra remuneration for extra work done and overtime, as the terms of engagement for overtime and extra work are not always discussed (even verbally) at the time of recruitment.⁶⁶

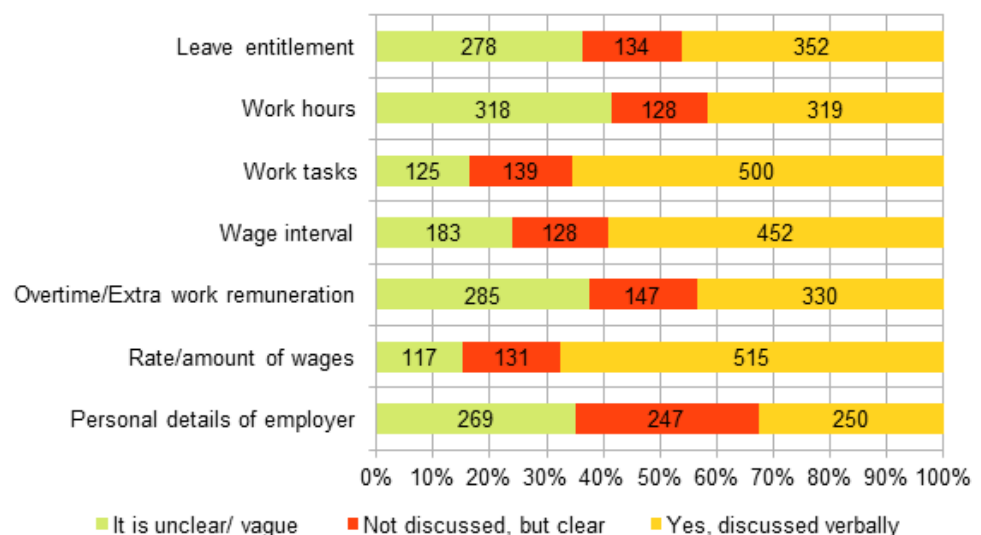
With regard to in-house workers, a study in 2011 conducted by Neetha N and Rajni Palriwala noted the practice of non-disclosure of vital terms by placement agencies in Delhi such as information regarding wages payable, as the placement agents would negotiate such terms directly with the employers without keeping the in-house workers in the loop. Illiteracy amongst workers also leads to lack of understanding of service terms. However, this study noted changes in the nature of domestic work in the last two decades, and indicated that there seems to be better clarity and understanding than before - in terms of hours of work and tasks to be performed.⁶⁷ Similarly, in the case of migrant domestic workers from Jharkhand who were mostly employed as live-in/in-house workers in Delhi, ILO (2015) observed that, out of 25 women even though

16 had signed tripartite agreements with the employer and agent specifying the period of their employment and the payment of wages to their agents, their agreements contained nothing about the hours and conditions of work. In fact, in most of the cases, workers were not even aware of the exact amount of their wages despite the agreements.⁶⁸

Child and adolescent domestic workers were found to be more vulnerable and unaware than adult domestic workers as per a study by ILO (2013) as, in most cases, due to their age at the time of recruitment, they were unable to negotiate the terms and conditions of their employment, were less aware of the exact terms of their work and were hardly ever given the minimum conditions of work even when guaranteed.⁶⁹

Indicators Of Workplace Transparency

In our survey, we asked 9 questions to understand the levels of transparency at work. These questions covered aspects ranging from the personal details of the employer, wage rate and amount of wages payable, amount payable for extra work/overtime, date of wage payment, work expected to be done, working hours and duration thereof to the entitlement to rest days in a month. Each question had 4 options: a. The terms are unclear/vague; b. Terms are not discussed expressly, but they are clearly understood by the worker; c. Terms have been told precisely, but verbally only; and d. Terms have been told precisely in writing. In addition to these questions, the workers were also asked questions to assess if their working hours and work days were actually fixed or not.



Details of employer

269 (35.1%) workers do not know the basic details of their employer such as - name, profession and other personal details. 247 (32.2%) workers know the details of their employers but were never told, and only 250 (32.6%) workers were expressly told the details of their employers, but verbally only.⁷⁰

The local and state government often encourage employers to get domestic workers verified from the police, and local Resident Welfare Associations often make the police verification a mandatory condition to be complied with before employing any person as a domestic worker. On the other hand, it is the workers who lack any knowledge regarding the details and nature of the employer. There is no requirement or even a policy recommendation for the employers to provide their full details to the workers. Even the antecedents, such as history of allegations/conviction under sexual harassment laws are not required to be disclosed by male employers to the workers, who are almost in all cases women.

Applicable wage rate

117 (15.3%) workers do not know the wage rate that was payable to them, whereas as noted before, 33 (4.3%) workers do not know the wages that they were entitled to at all. The difference between the two is that while 33 workers do not know the wages that they can claim, the remaining 84 workers do not know how their wages are calculated (the hourly wage rate, or wages for each task) – but they have clarity regarding the overall wages that they can claim.

131 (17.2%) workers stated that the wage rate was not discussed with them but they are aware of what they are entitled to. 515 (67.5%) workers were precisely told by the employers the wage rates that are payable to them, although verbally only.⁷¹

Overtime/ Extra work wage rate

For 285 (37.4%) workers, remuneration for overtime work and extra work is unclear/vague. For 147 (19.3%) workers, the remuneration was not discussed but the workers know the rate for overtime/extra work, and for 330 (43.3%) workers, it was expressly discussed with the workers, but verbally only.⁷²

Wage interval applicable

183 (24%) workers do not know when their wages became due and payable. 128 (16.8%) workers know their wage intervals but they were never expressly told, and 452 (59.2%) workers were expressly told, but verbally only.⁷³

Expected work tasks to be performed

For 125 (16.4%) workers, the tasks they are expected to perform were unclear and vague. For 139 (18.2%) workers, the tasks were not discussed but they know which tasks were to be performed, and for 500 (65.5%) workers, the tasks to be performed were expressly discussed with them but verbally only.⁷⁴

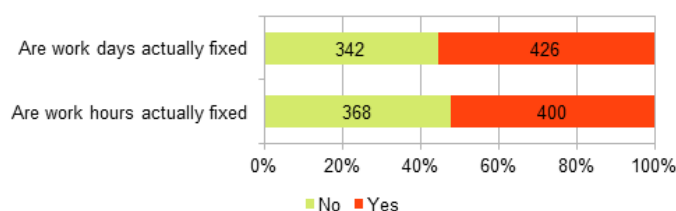


Figure 20: Whether the work hours/days actually are fixed and defined

Working hours

For 318 (41.6%) workers, the number of hours they are expected to work remained vague/undiscussed – that is, the employer has given no clarity regarding the work hours and off hours to the worker.

Only for an almost equal number of workers (319, 41.7%), the working hours were discussed verbally. 128 (16.7%) workers knew their working hours but the same was never discussed with them.⁷⁵

The working hours are fixed only for 400 (52.1%) workers and for the remaining 368 (47.9%) workers the working hours remain flexible.⁷⁶

The two questions have been given weightage of three points each, that is, whether the number of work hours has been discussed between the employer and the worker, and whether the work hours are actually fixed or not.

Working days

For 278 (36.4%) workers, details of rest days in a week/month were unclear and vague – that is, the employer has given no clarity regarding the work days and off days to the worker.

For 134 (17.5%) workers, the same was never

discussed but they knew. For 352 (46.1%) workers, the same was discussed and clarified verbally.

However, in practice, similar to working hours, the number of working days was not fixed for 342 (44.5%) workers. In the absence of labour laws that regulate the working hours, working days and rest days, less than 50% of the workers have some form of defined work hours, work days and rest days.

The two questions have been given weightage of three points each, that is, whether the number of work days has been discussed between the employer and the worker, and whether the work days are actually fixed or not.

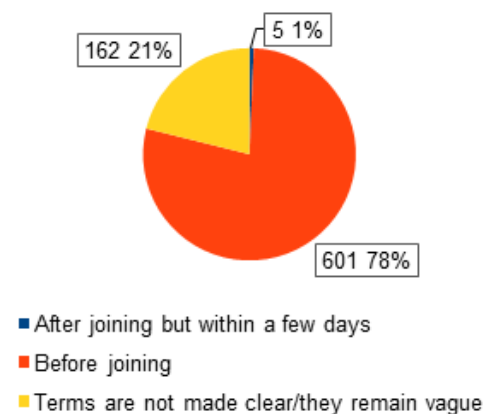


Figure 21: When were the terms of service discussed between the worker and the employer (n=768)

Transparency Sub-Index

For the Transparency Sub-Index, the above nine parameters have been considered. Each parameter has been given equal weightage of 3 points: 3 being for the most favourable condition for the worker and 0 being the least favourable. The maximum score attainable on Transparency Sub-Index is 27.

Out of 768 responses, two entries were invalidated because we did not get clear data for six out of nine parameters under the Transparency Sub-Index. One entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for four out of eight parameters under the Dignity Sub-Index. And one entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for seven out of fifteen parameters under the Working Conditions Sub-Index. These four entries have been excluded from all subsequent analysis in order to maintain parity.

Out of 29,184 data points that have been considered across thirty-eight parameters under the four Sub-Indices, 515 data points (1.8%) were marked as 'Data Unclear' due to lack of clarity regarding the response received. The accuracy percentage of the data is therefore 98.2%.

For the entries that have been included in the analysis, where the data point against a particular parameter was not clear, the weighted average score for the parameters under the particular sub-index has been used while calculating the Sub-Index score. For instance, if it is unclear how well the worker knows the details of her employer, the entry has been marked as 'data unclear'. While calculating the parameter score, the said entry has been excluded from analysis. That is, assuming out of n entries, the response of only one worker is unclear for this parameter, the score has been calculated for $n-1$ workers only. The score has not been calculated for the said worker. But for the purposes of calculating the score for the Transparency Sub-Index, the average of the gross total score has been used:

*(Gross total score on Transparency Sub-Index) / (9 - n)*9 = Net total score on Transparency Sub-Index*

where n = number of parameters for which data is unclear

No locality attained a score in the top quartile (20.25-27). This is because for 7 parameters, the highest score (3 points) was reserved for details of service terms being shared with the worker 'in writing' and not a single worker confirmed that their terms of service were confirmed in writing. Only 4 localities attained a score in the second quartile (13.5-20.25): DLF Moti Nagar (16.9), Nizamuddin (15.07), Majnu ka Tila area (14.66) and Sector 13, Rohini (14.15). Lajpat Nagar-II (5.56) and Tilak Lane (6.81) fared the worst on the Transparency Sub-Index. All the three localities belonging to the controlled group – Pitampura AU Block, Nirmala Niketan and Tilak Lane fared badly on this Sub-Index.

Location	Mean	Median	Max	Min
DLF Moti Nagar (84)	16.90	18	20	7
Nizamuddin (84)	15.07	18	20	2
Majnu ka Tila (76)	14.66	14	20	0
Sector 13, Rohini – Apartments (86)	14.15	18	20	4
Model Town II (74)	12.15	11	20	0
Overall (764)	11.72	13	20	0
Inderlok (98)	10.97	10.5	20	0
Sector 3, Rohini – Janta Flats (64)	9.55	13	20	0
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar (47)	7.96	6	20	0
Pitampura AU Block (27)	7.85	8	13	0
Nirmala Niketan (12)	7.72	7	13	2
Tilak Lane (42)	6.81	6	20	0
Lajpat Nagar II (70)	5.56	6	13.5	0

Table 20: Locality-wise Transparency Score

More than the years of work experience as a domestic worker, the classification of workers (full time, part-time, in-house) seems to influence the transparency score. Full-time workers seem to negotiate the terms of service most clearly (12.82 out of 27), compared to part-time workers (12.07 out of 27) and in-house workers (7.24 out of 21). In Table 21, the score is calculated for workers belonging to different groups depending upon their type of work, caste, religion, earning status, marital status, state of origin, total years of experience in domestic work and tenure period at present workplace(s). The numbers in brackets reflect the number of responses received against each category. A score for 671 part-time workers would be more reflective regarding the larger trend, whereas the score for merely 31 full-time workers or 2 workers from Assam cannot be said to speak for the general trend in Delhi.

	Score		Score
Classification of worker		State of origin:	
Full-time worker (33)	12.82	Assam (2)	16
In-house worker (60)	7.24	Bihar (333)	12.65
Part-time worker (671)	12.07	Chandigarh (1)	6
		Chhattisgarh (1)	13
Caste Group		Delhi (40)	13.08
General/ Upper Caste Hindu/ Upper Caste Muslim (155)	11.57	Haryana (10)	12.8
OBC Non-Muslim (152)	11.61	Jammu & Kashmir (1)	7
OBC Muslim/ Backward caste Muslim (119)	14.4	Jharkhand (17)	8.39
Scheduled Castes (214)	11.94	Madhya Pradesh (30)	10.93
Scheduled Tribes (13)	7.20	Odisha (1)	0
Not a forward caste (uncategorised) (84)	9.5	Punjab (13)	10.31
		Rajasthan (15)	15.4
Religion		Tamil Nadu (34)	5.21
Buddhist (1)	11	Telangana (1)	20
Christian (13)	7.05	Uttar Pradesh (196)	12.1
Hindu (531)	11.22	Uttarakhand (18)	6.33
Muslim (211)	13.17	West Bengal (46)	9.82
Sikh (3)	14.33		
		Total years in domestic work	
Sole Earner	Less than 1 year (54)	10.06	
Yes, since CoVid'19 (3)	13.33	1 to 5 years (282)	13
Yes, since before CoVid'19 (95)	12.57	5 to 10 years (193)	12.14
No (638)	11.65	More than 10 years (235)	10.23
Marital Status		Years spent at current work-place(s)	
Abandoned/ widowed (100)	12.52	Less than 1 year (158)	10.43
Divorced (3)	10.33	1 to 5 years (390)	12.09
Married (608)	11.78	5 to 10 years (101)	12.65
Unmarried (52)	9.77	More than 10 years (93)	11.26

Table 21: Groups wise score on Transparency Sub-Index

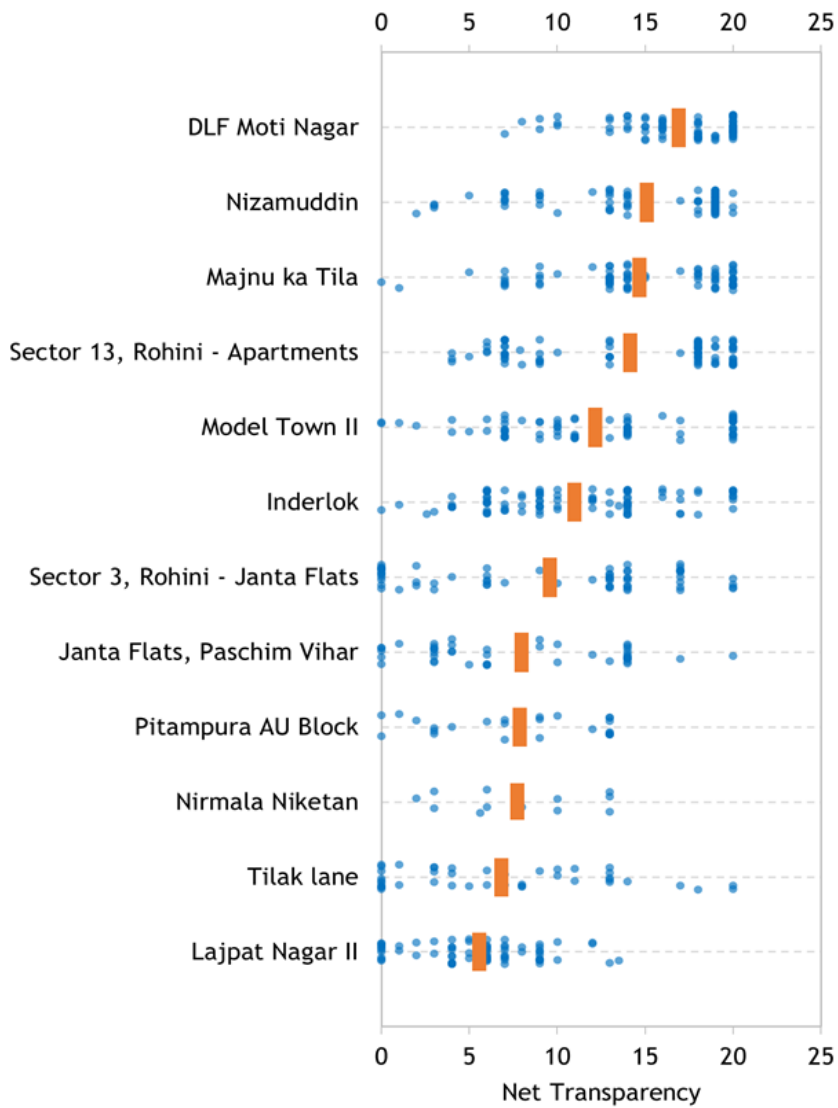


Figure 22: Household-wise distribution across localities on the Transparency Sub-Index

LOCATION	Details of Employer	Quantum of Wages Payable	Quantum of Overtime Rate	Wage Interval	Expected work tasks to be performed	Weekly leaves entitled to	Work hours	Work days actually fixed or not	Work hours actually fixed or not	Transparency Index score	Rank
DLF Moti Nagar	1.35	1.86	1.39	1.80	1.82	1.64	1.51	2.75	2.79	16.90	1
Nizamuddin	1.06	1.79	1.49	1.70	1.71	1.61	1.50	2.07	2.14	15.07	2
Majnu ka Tila	1.30	1.79	1.45	1.75	1.76	1.55	1.38	1.86	1.82	14.66	3
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	0.59	1.80	1.21	1.35	1.83	1.23	1.27	2.79	2.09	14.15	4
Model Town II	1.14	1.64	1.22	1.46	1.62	1.15	0.97	1.58	1.38	12.15	5
Overall	0.97	1.52	1.06	1.35	1.49	1.10	1.00	1.67	1.57	11.72	
Inderlok	0.99	1.48	1.08	1.45	1.41	0.88	0.93	1.32	1.44	10.97	6
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	1.03	1.03	1.03	1.02	1.06	1.06	0.95	0.94	1.45	9.55	7
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	0.77	1.15	0.77	0.87	1.11	0.83	0.74	0.96	0.77	7.96	8
Pitampura AU Block	0.81	1.19	0.48	0.96	1.04	0.74	0.41	1.11	1.11	7.85	9
Nirmala Niketan	1.17	1.58	0.36	1.00	0.92	0.73	0.33	1.00	0.75	7.72	10
Tilak lane	1.02	0.83	0.43	0.71	1.10	0.36	0.36	1.07	0.93	6.81	11
Lajpat Nagar II	0.43	1.34	0.26	0.93	1.25	0.26	0.11	0.73	0.26	5.56	12

Table 22: Locality-wise detailed break up of Transparency Sub-Index



CHAPTER 6

**WORKING
CONDITIONS
SUB-INDEX**

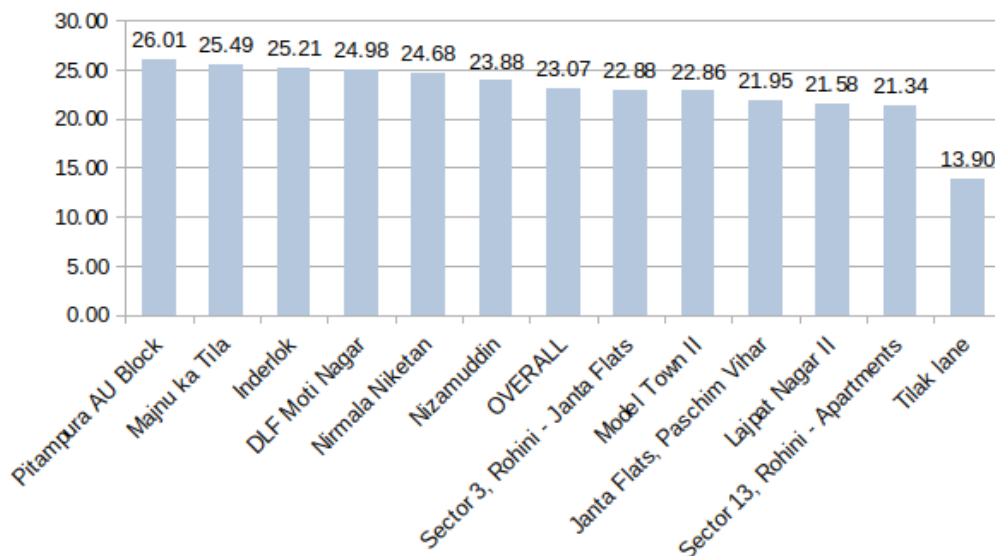


Figure 23: Overall rankings across localities based on working conditions sub-index (max=45)

As domestic work within households is not regulated by any labour laws, it becomes important for the workers and the policy/lawmakers to understand the prevailing conditions of work in different parts of the city in order to identify areas where an urgent intervention in the form of a state legislation is needed the most.

There is adequate literature on the subject which notes how the marginalized background of the domestic workers increases their workplace vulnerabilities and leaves them with limited bargaining power to secure better working conditions. This exploitation of workers also persists due to the intimate nature of domestic work being performed within the private setting of a household where the safety of the worker and compliance with fair working conditions are difficult to monitor. Even in states where domestic work has been included within the scope of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 (i.e., domestic work is included as an industry and the wages notified as 'minimum wages' by

the state governments – becomes a statutory right in the hands of the workers such as in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh) there is no clear methodology followed for calculation of wage rates and the prescribed rates are not high enough to meet the basic needs of workers.⁷⁷

In Delhi, a study from 2010 of 691 part-time domestic workers found that wage rates are usually determined as per the prevailing rates in the area for different tasks and that workers in need of work often agree to even lower wages than the market rates. The average monthly wage of workers was Rs. 2194 p.m. and wages varied from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 8000 p.m. In the absence of formalized leave arrangements, only 10% of the households gave 4 days of paid leave in a month to domestic workers. Thus, except for situations where it was absolutely unavoidable, the workers could not take any leaves whatsoever.⁷⁸

A later study from 2016 of 152 part-time female workers found the mean wages of part-time workers in Delhi to be approximately Rs. 2500 per month. The study also noted that 65% workers did not receive any increment or bonus, although 70% workers received festival gifts such as cash, clothes and sweets. Most workers were found to be working 8 hours or less a day, however, longer working hours had

no impact on the quantum of wages earned by a worker.⁷⁹

As per a 2013 study, which examined the conditions of 37 child and adolescent domestic workers in Delhi and Ranchi, it was noted that their young age enhanced their workplace vulnerability. The study noted that 38% of the said workers earned less than Rs. 1500/- a month and 46% earned between Rs. 1500/- and Rs. 3000/- a month only. Yet, these child and adolescent domestic workers on average, contributed majorly to their total household incomes. Their average share in the total household incomes was 52.2% - signifying that the child and adolescent workers in the two cities came from the households which severely lacked earning capacity/members.⁸⁰

Indicators of Working Conditions

In this study, to assess the patterns of working conditions, 15 questions have been used as parameters to formulate the Working Conditions Sub-Index selected on the basis of their universal applicability to all households and localities in order to understand how fair the conditions of work are. These parameters include: (i) longevity of tenure; (ii) fixed and variable wages; (iii) wage increments; (iv) delay in payment of wages; (v) working hours in a day; (vi) average workdays in a week; (vii) extra work and overtime; and (viii) leave arrangements.

Longevity of tenure

Overall, 159 (20.7%) workers have been working at their current workplace(s) for less than a year. 390 (50.7%) workers have been working for 1 to 5 years, 101 (13.2%) workers for 5 to 10 years, and only 95 (12.4%) workers have been working for more than 10 years at their current workplace(s).⁸¹ This parameter reflects the overall pattern in the locality, that is, whether the workers have some form of assurance regarding their job tenure or

whether the employers in the said locality change domestic workers very often, leaving them with no sense of job security. (See Figure 14 in Chapter IV for locality-wise distribution of workers based on the number of years employed at the current workplace).

For the purposes of the Index, the responses where the worker has worked for more than 10 years at current work place - 3 points have been allocated; for 5 to 10 years - 2 points; and for 1 to 5 years - 1 point.

Fixed and variables wages

For 33 (4.3%) workers the amount of wages paid after each wage interval is not fixed.⁸² In certain cases, the wages may be linked to extra work and overtime but the lack of concept of fixed wages makes it difficult for the workers to plan their budget and forecast their financial expenditure. For the remaining 735 (95.7%) workers, the amount of wage paid after each wage interval is fixed.

In the Index, 3 points have been allocated to responses where the worker has confirmed that the amount of wages is fixed; 0 points have been allocated to responses where the worker has confirmed that the amount of wages is not fixed and is variable. Workers who do not receive any wages (primarily those working at Tilak Lane) were also given 0 points as a score for this parameter.

Wage increments

As noted in Chapter IV, most domestic workers continue to work in the same households for a number of years, however, their long tenures do not translate into better wages (See Table 12 in Chapter IV). This is because workers rarely get any increments/hikes in their wages and annual/periodic increments are rarer. These factors contribute to the stagnation in income levels of the workers. Among the 740 workers who received wages in cash, a majority of the workers (521, 67.84%) have never received a pay raise. Out of these 521 workers, 179 (34.36%) workers have worked at their current workplace for less than 1 year, 267 (51.25%) workers have worked at their

current workplace between 1 to 5 years, and 58 (11.13%) workers have worked at their current workplace for 5 to 10 years.⁸³

While 122 (15.89%) workers had last received a pay raise nearly 2 years before the survey was conducted (in 2019), 54 (7.03%) workers received pay raise during the festival of Diwali in the year preceding the survey (in 2020) and 22 (2.86%) workers received a pay raise in the year in which the survey was conducted (in 2021). Only 20 (2.6%) workers receive a pay raise every year.

For the Working Conditions Index, 3 points were allocated to workers who received a raise every year; 2.25 points were allocated to workers who received a raise in the year 2021; 1.5 points were allocated to workers who received a raise during Diwali in the year 2020; 0.75 points were allocated to workers who received a raise more than two years ago; and 0 points were allocated to workers who have never received a pay raise. 0 points were also allocated to workers who do not receive any wages.

Delay in wage payment

The domestic workers contribute on an average nearly 51% of their family overall incomes. 99 (12.9%) workers are sole earners in their families (see Figure 7 in Chapter II – distribution of domestic workers by percentage shares of their contribution to the total family earnings). Timely payment of wages is of vital importance for the workers. The dearth of savings and non-existent credit support systems also increase the reliance of workers on their immediate earnings and there is no law that regulates the timely payment of wages to the domestic workers. Only about half of the workers, 408 (53.3%) workers are promptly paid wages by their employers without any delay.⁸⁴

407 (53%) workers stay in rented accommodations where monthly rent needs to be paid to the owner of the accommodation (see Table 8 in Chapter III – distribution of workers based on type of household/accommodation they live in).

The following two questions have been given weightage of three points each – average delay in payment of wages (in days) and how many employers delay the payment of wages:

Average delay in payment of wages (in days)	Number of workers (Percentage)	How many employers delay payment of wages	Number of workers (Percentage)	Points allocated for Index
No delay	408 (53.1%)	No employer causes delay	408 (53.1%)	3 points
1 to 7 days delay some-times	214 (27.9%)	Some employers occasionally delay	187 (24.4%)	2 points
1 to 7 days delay always	68 (8.9%)	Some employers always delay	48 (6.3%)	1 point
More than 7 days delay	11 (1.4%)	All employers always delay	58 (7.6%)	0 points

Table 23: Details of delay in payment of wages (n=768)

Working hours in a day

There are two criteria most suitable for differentiating between the domestic workers:

firstly, whether they live within the household of the employer, and secondly, the number of hours they are expected to work

Working hours in a day	Part-time	Working hours in a day	Full-time	Working hours in a day	In-house	Points for the purpose of Index
Less than 6 hours	389	Less than 8 hours	9	Less than 12 hours	34	3 points
6 and 9 hours	243	8 to 10 hours	19	Between 12 to 18 hours	19	1.5 points
More than 9 hours	38	More than 10 hours	4	18 hours and above	5	0 points
Range of working hours	0.5 to 13 hours	Range of working hours	6 to 15 hours	Range of working hours	3 to 24 hours	-
Mean working hours	5 hours	Mean working hours	7.8 hours	Mean working hours	10.4 hours	-
Total	670	Total	32	Total	58	-

Table 24: Distribution of workers based on the working hours in a day (n=768)

Full-time and in-house workers are colloquially referred to as '12-ghante wali' (12 hours worker) and '24 ghante wali' (24 hours worker) respectively. The number of hours they must be available to work in a day determines the nature of their work relationship and service conditions

The table above demonstrates that the working hours of in-house workers are invariably long. These hours are much higher than the stipulated norms of working hours under any labour legislation, and the workers further reported being at the 'beck and call' of their employers for all hours of the day and being called in to work even past midnight to carry out additional tasks.

Table 25: Distribution of workers on the basis of number of hours worked in a day (n=768)

Working Hours in a Day:	Part time workers	Full time workers	In-house workers	Total
1 hour	13	0	0	13
2 hours	76	0	0	76
3 hours	89	0	2	91
4 hours	110	0	2	112
5 hours	97	0	3	100
6 hours	118	4	9	131
7 hours	61	5	3	69
8 hours	63	10	6	79
9 hours	32	5	4	41
10 hours	6	4	3	13
12 hours	3	3	9	15
14 hours	1	0	4	5
16 hours	0	1	5	6
18 hours	0	0	6	6
24 hours	0	0	2	2

Working hours in a day

292 (38%) workers work for six days in a week on average, 29 (3.8%) workers work for 6.5 days, and 421 (54.8%) workers work for all 7 days in a week with no rest days. Apart from this, 8 (1%) workers usually work between two to five days a week.⁸⁵

For the purposes of the index, 0 points have been allocated to workers who are made to work 7 days a week; and 3 points have been allocated to workers who are provided at least half a day of rest.

Extra work and overtime

Work responsibilities that do not form a part of the work profile originally agreed to by the worker at the time of the commencement of services is referred to as 'extra work'. For instance, a domestic worker who is engaged as a cook is occasionally asked to clean the house, or a worker who is engaged only for sweeping, is occasionally asked to dust the furniture. . Similarly, 'overtime' is meant to describe occasions wherein a worker is asked to work for additional periods of time in a day or on additional days than originally agreed to at the time of joining. 'Extra work' and 'overtime' may be hard to regulate through law, but defining fixed working hours and wages payable through a statute would help the workers in negotiating the pay for extra work and overtime.

There are four questions that were asked regarding the terms and expectations of overtime/extra work. This parameter has accordingly been given a weightage of 12 points (3 points for each question).⁸⁶

Expectation of overtime/extra-work: 101 (13.2%) workers are asked by all their employers to work overtime and/or do additional tasks other than their daily duties (allocated 0 points for the Index); 51 (6.6%) workers are asked by most but not all of their employers to work overtime and/or do additional tasks (allocated 1 point for the Index); 204 (26.6%) workers are asked by some but not all of their employers to work overtime and/or do additional tasks (allocated 2 points for the Index); and 308 (40.1%) workers are never asked to any overtime and/or additional work (allocated 3 points for the Index). This sub-parameter indicates the kind of work expectations in a given locality, that is whether employers routinely ask workers to work beyond their originally agreed terms of engagement.

Frequency of extra work/overtime: 267 (34.8%) workers are asked to work extra/overtime 1 to 3 times in month (allocated 2 points for the Index); 41 (5.3%) workers undertake extra work/overtime work 4 to 7 times a month (allocated 1 point for the Index); and 48 (6.3%) workers undertake extra work and overtime on more than 7 occasions in a month (allocated 0 points for the Index). 308 (40.1%) workers are never asked to engage in extra work/overtime (allocated 3 points in the Index).

Payment for extra work: 197 (25.7%) workers were not paid by any of their employers for additional/extra work undertaken by them (allocated 0 points for the Index); 140 (18.2%) workers were paid by some, but not

all of their employers for additional/extra work undertaken by them (allocated 1.5 points for the Index); and only 123 (16%) workers were paid by all their employers for additional/extra work (allocated 3 points for the Index). 308 workers who are never asked to undertake extra work have also been allocated 3 points for the Index.

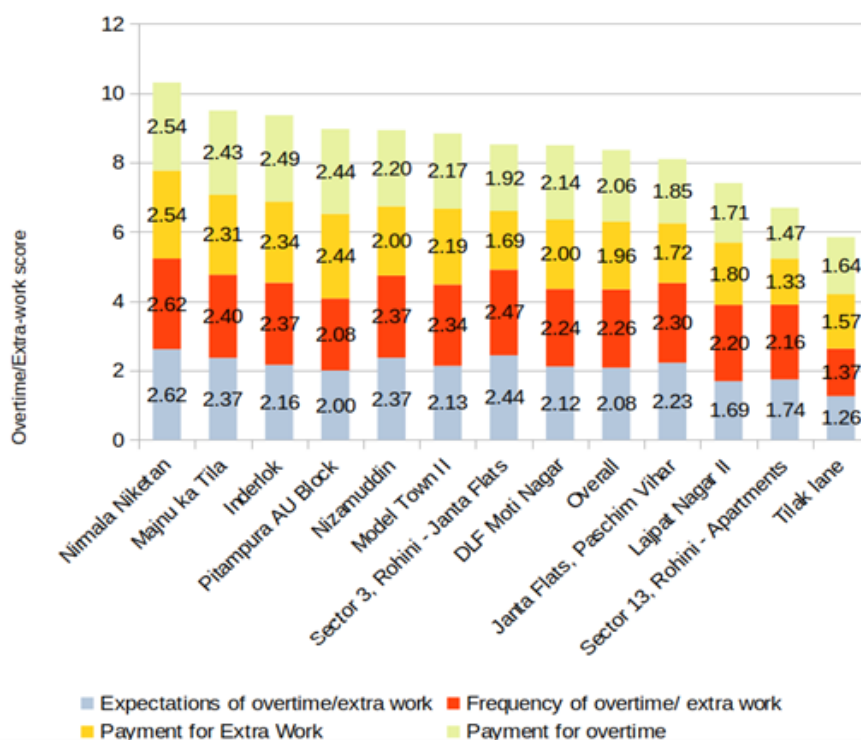


Figure 24: Locality-wise score for Overtime/Extra-Work indicators (max=12)

Payment for overtime: Similarly, for payment for overtime, 160 (20.8%) workers were not paid by any of their employers (allocated 0 points for the Index); 160 (20.8%) workers are paid by some but not all of their employers (allocated 1.5 points for the Index); and only 140 (18.2%)

workers are paid by all their employers for overtime work (allocated 3 points for the Index). Similar to the above parameters, 308 workers who are never asked to work overtime have been allocated 3 points for the Index

Location	Expectations of overtime/extra work	Frequency of Overtime/Extra work	Payment for Extra work	Payment for Overtime	Total (Max: 12 points)	Rank
Nirmala Niketan	2.62	2.62	2.54	2.54	10.31	1
Majnu ka Tila	2.37	2.40	2.31	2.43	9.50	2
Inderlok	2.16	2.37	2.34	2.49	9.36	3
Pitampura AU Block	2.00	2.08	2.44	2.44	8.97	4
Nizamuddin	2.37	2.37	2.00	2.20	8.93	5
Model Town II	2.13	2.34	2.19	2.17	8.84	6
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	2.44	2.47	1.69	1.92	8.52	7
DLF Moti Nagar	2.12	2.24	2.00	2.14	8.50	8
Overall	2.08	2.26	1.96	2.06	8.36	
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	2.23	2.30	1.72	1.85	8.10	9
Lajpat Nagar II	1.69	2.20	1.80	1.71	7.41	10
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	1.74	2.16	1.33	1.47	6.69	11
Tilak lane	1.26	1.37	1.57	1.64	5.85	12

Table 26: Overtime and Extra Work Sub-Index (max= 12 points)

Leave Arrangements

As noted above, the lack of apathy and neglect faced by domestic workers unfortunately also translates into lack of uniformity and structure for paid leaves granted to the workers. The arrangements/agreements for paid weekly rest days, sick leaves, maternity leaves and festival holidays, are rare and unfairly negotiated against the workers. As a result, the workers hardly get any rest days in a week or even in a year. Absence of protections against arbitrary dismissals and the right to be reinstated also makes it difficult for workers to secure leaves, whether paid or unpaid.

In total, this parameter has been given weightage of 12 points (3 points for each question that was asked) :⁸⁷

Weekly rest days: 369 (48.1%) workers did not receive paid weekly rest days by any of their employers (allocated 0 points for the Index); 206 (26.8%) workers were paid for weekly rest days by some, but not all their employers (allocated 1.5 points); and only 193 (25.1%) workers were paid by all their employers for weekly rest days (allocated 3 points).

Medical leave: 571 (74.3%) workers were not provided paid medical leave by any of their

employers (allocated 0 points); 97 (12.6%) workers were provided paid medical leave by some, but not all their employers (allocated 1.5 points); and only 100 (13%) workers were provided paid medical leaves by all their employers (allocated 3 points).

Maternity leave: A majority of the workers, (701, 91.3%) were not provided paid maternity leave by any of their employers (allocated 0 points); 36 (4.7%) workers were provided paid maternity leave by some but not all their employers (allocated 1.5 points); and only 31 (4%) workers were provided paid maternity leave by all their employers (allocated 3 points). This parameter is critical due to the fact that most domestic workers in the study were of reproductive age and had only their wages as a source of income available to them.

Festival leaves: 564 (73.4%) workers were not provided paid festival leaves by any of their employers (allocated 0 points); 117 (15.2%) workers were provided paid festival leaves by some, but not all their employers (allocated 1.5 points); and only 87 (11.3%) workers were provided paid festival leaves by all their employers (allocated 3 points).

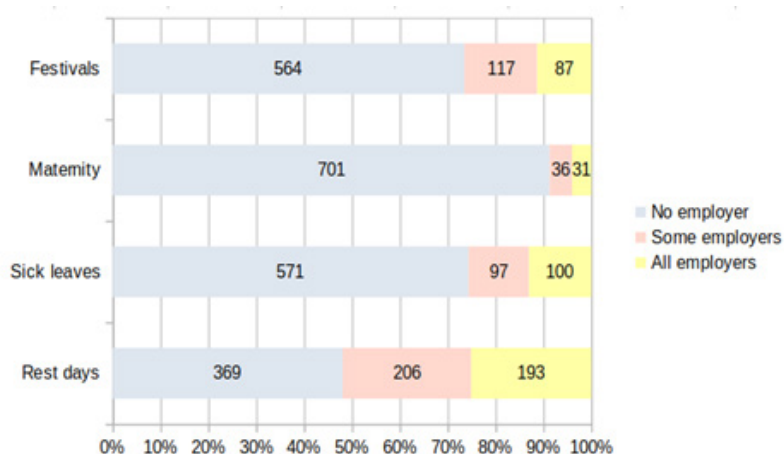


Figure 25: Leave Arrangements for domestic workers (n=768)

Location	Weekly rest day	Sick leaves	Maternity leave	Festivals leave	Leaves Score	Rank
Inderlok	0.92	0.95	0.66	1.18	3.70	1
DLF Moti Nagar	1.75	0.79	0.21	0.64	3.39	2
Nirmala Niketan	1.00	1.50	0.50	0.25	3.25	3
Majnu ka Tila	1.26	0.85	0.18	0.45	2.74	4
Overall	1.16	0.58	0.19	0.56	2.50	
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	1.22	0.28	0.10	0.89	2.49	5
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	1.34	0.51	0.13	0.51	2.49	6
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	1.52	0.30	0.07	0.56	2.46	7
Pitampura AU Block	1.33	0.56	0.06	0.22	2.17	8
Nizamuddin	1.43	0.55	0.04	0.09	2.11	9
Model Town II	0.67	0.49	0.18	0.49	1.82	10
Lajpat Nagar II	0.88	0.34	0.06	0.41	1.69	11
Tilak lane	0.14	0.36	0.07	0.21	0.79	12

Table 27: Leave Arrangements Sub-Index (Max=12 points)

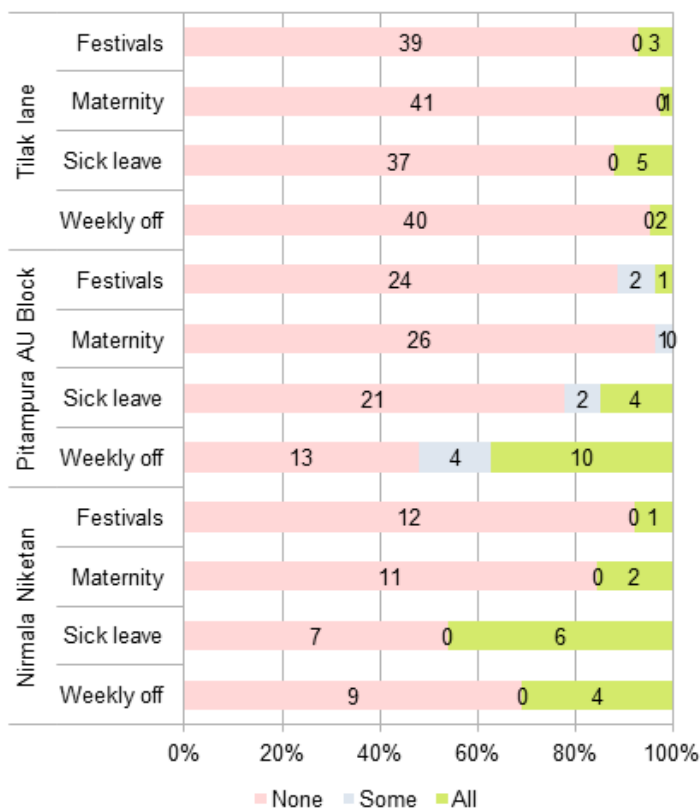


Figure 27: Locality wise distribution of employers who grant leaves to workers (controlled survey localities)

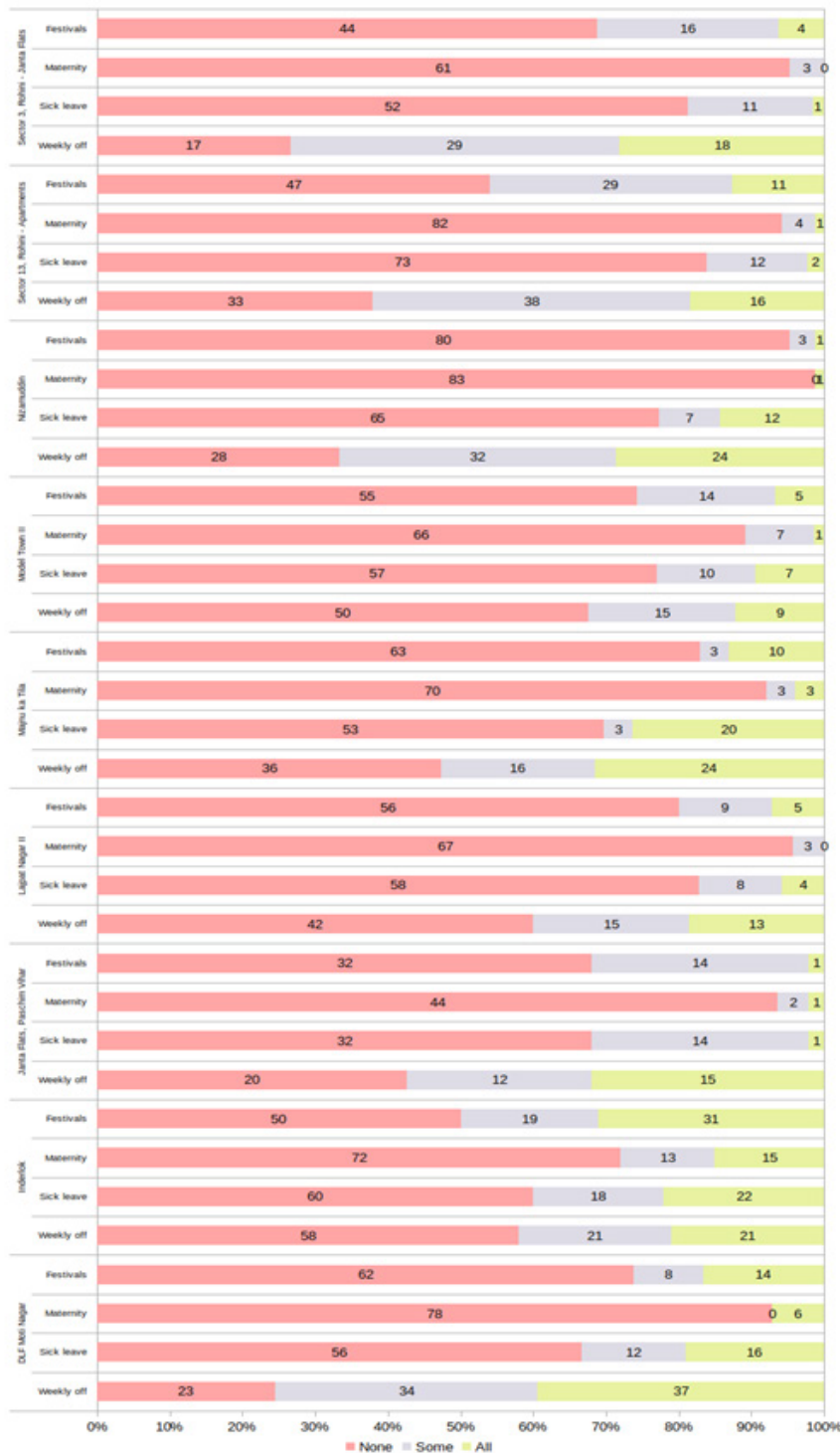


Figure 26: Locality wise distribution of employers who grant leaves to workers (randomized survey localities)

Developing the Working Conditions Sub-Index

For Working Conditions Sub-Index, the above fifteen parameters have been considered. Each parameter has been given equal weightage of 3 points: 3 being for the most favourable condition for the worker and 0 being the least favourable. The maximum score attainable on Working Conditions Sub-Index is 45.

Out of 768 responses, two entries were invalidated because we did not get clear data for six out of nine parameters under the Transparency Sub-Index. One entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for four out of eight parameters under the Dignity Sub-Index. And one entry was

invalidated because we did not get clear data for seven out of fifteen parameters under the Working Conditions Sub-Index. These four entries have been excluded from all subsequent analysis in order to maintain parity.

Out of 29,184 data points that have been considered across thirty-eight parameters under the four Sub-Indices, 515 data points (1.8%) were marked as 'Data Unclear' due to lack of clarity regarding the response received. The accuracy percentage of the data is therefore 98.2%.

For the entries that have been included in the analysis, where the data point against a particular parameter was not clear, average score for the parameters under the particular sub-index has been used while calculating the Sub-Index score. For instance, if it is unclear how when the worker received a raise, the entry has been marked as 'data unclear'. While calculating the parameter score, the said entry has been excluded from analysis. That is, assuming out of n entries, the response of only one worker is unclear for this parameter, the score has been calculated for $n-1$ workers only. The score has not been calculated for the said worker. But for the purposes of calculating the Working Conditions Sub-Index score, the average of the gross total score has been used:

$$\frac{(\text{Gross total score on Working Conditions Sub-Index})}{(15 - n) * 15} = \text{Net total score on Working Conditions Sub-Index}$$
where n = number of parameters for which data is unclear

Furthermore, while calculating the score for individual parameter 'Wage Increments' the workers who joined domestic work only a year ago have been excluded. However, for the purposes of calculating the overall score on Working Conditions Sub-Index, these workers have not been excluded.

Overall score on Working Conditions Sub-Index is 23.07, i.e., just above the half-way mark at 22.5. No locality attained a score in the top quartile (33.75-45). Eight localities attained a score in the second quartile (22.5-33.75): Pitampura AU Block (26.01), Majnu ka Tila (25.49), Inderlok (25.21), DLF Moti Nagar (24.98), Nirmala Niketan (24.68), Nizamuddin (23.88), Janta Flats Sector 3 Rohini (22.88) and Model Town-II (22.86). There is strong convergence in the scores across localities, meaning that the working conditions are largely similar across different localities. On the other hand, Tilak Lane (13.90) drags the overall average score down from 23.6 (excluding Tilak Lane) to 23.07.

Location	Mean	Median	Maximum	Min
Pitampura AU Block (27)	26.01	27.00	35.36	12.00
Majnu ka Tila (76)	25.49	26.13	42.50	10.38
Inderlok (98)	25.21	24.17	41.00	8.08
DLF Moti Nagar (84)	24.98	24.75	39.81	10.50
Nirmala Niketan (12)	24.68	23.25	37.77	14.00
Nizamuddin (84)	23.88	25.00	41.79	8.50
Overall (764)	23.07	23.65	42.50	2.50
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats (64)	22.88	23.50	32.00	8.37
Model Town II (74)	22.86	24.13	40.50	9.00
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar (47)	21.95	22.00	31.50	6.92
Lajpat Nagar II (70)	21.58	21.63	36.35	7.50
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments (86)	21.34	21.00	33.75	11.50
Tilak Lane (42)	13.90	14.50	31.25	2.50

Table 28: Locality-wise Working Conditions Score

The working conditions for in-house workers (16.7) are abysmal when compared to the conditions for full-time (27.37) and part-time (23.43) workers. The working conditions for upper-caste workers (24.59) are better than for the bahun workers, and working conditions for Muslim workers (24.2) are better than for the Hindu workers (22.6) – which is perhaps because both muslim-dominated localities (Inderlok – Rank 3 and Nizamuddin – Rank 6) fare better than the others. It is also noteworthy that the working conditions improve as the worker spends more number of the years working as a domestic worker (from 23.14 to 23.55) and also particularly when the worker continues to work at the same workplace (22.9 to 25.8).

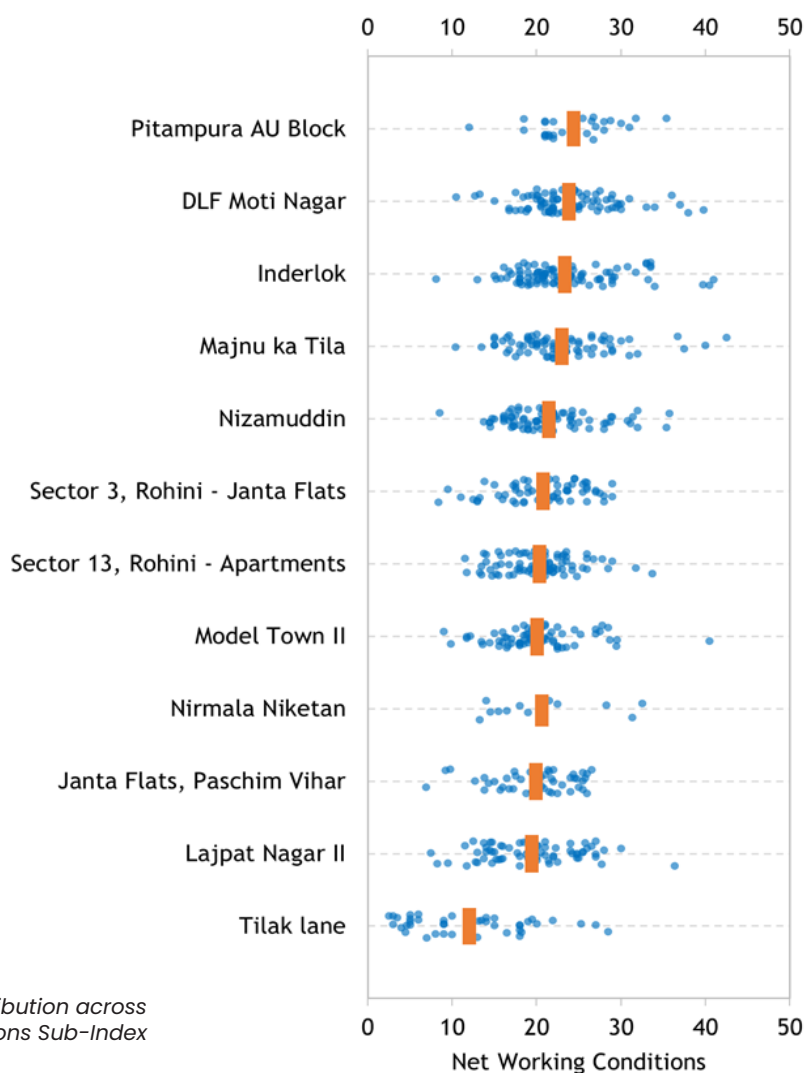


Figure 28: Household-wise distribution across localities on the Working Conditions Sub-Index

	Score		Score
Classification of worker		State of origin:	
Full-time worker (33)	27.37	Assam (2)	29.63
In-house worker (60)	16.7	Bihar (333)	23.74
Part-time worker (671)	23.43	Chandigarh (1)	22.5
		Chhattisgarh (1)	24
Caste Group		Delhi (40)	22.58
General/ Upper Caste Hindu/ Upper Caste Muslim (155)	24.59	Haryana (10)	22.57
OBC Non-Muslim (152)	22.88	Jammu & Kashmir (1)	25.5
OBC Muslim/ Backward caste Muslim (119)	22.68	Jharkhand (17)	22.81
Scheduled Castes (214)	23.01	Madhya Pradesh (30)	23.07
Scheduled Tribes (13)	23.75	Odisha (1)	27
Not a forward caste (uncategorised) (84)	20.92	Punjab (13)	24.12
		Rajasthan (15)	25.72
Religion		Tamil Nadu (34)	22.97
Buddhist (1)	29	Telangana (1)	34
Christian (13)	23.05	Uttar Pradesh (196)	22.9
Hindu (531)	22.56	Uttarakhand (18)	14.08
Muslim (211)	24.2	West Bengal (46)	21.3
Sikh (3)	26.17		
		Total years in domestic work	
Sole Earner	Less than 1 year (54)	23.14	
Yes, since CoVid'19 (3)	20.74	1 to 5 years (282)	23.22
Yes, since before CoVid'19 (95)	22.70	5 to 10 years (193)	22.27
No (638)	23.11	More than 10 years (235)	23.55
Marital Status		Years spent at current workplace(s)	
Abandoned/ widowed (100)	23.18	Less than 1 year (158)	22.9
Divorced (3)	26.25	1 to 5 years (390)	22.14
Married (608)	23.06	5 to 10 years (101)	24.4
Unmarried (52)	23.15	More than 10 years (93)	25.8

Table 29: Groups wise score on Working Conditions Sub-Index

Factors not included in Working Conditions Sub-Index Bonus

Like fixed wages and increments, 'bonus' is paid or withheld at the sole discretion of the employer, including those for special occasions/festivals. For the purpose of this report, 'bonus' was defined as a cash amount

of more than Rs. 1000. Petty cash (less than Rs. 1000) and gift items (usually given as sweets, and new or old discarded articles) were not considered 'bonus'. 672 (87.5%) workers had never received a bonus of more than Rs.

Locality	Tenure	Wage Fixation	Wage Increment	Timely payment of Wages	Delay by employers - Wages	Working hours	Working days	Over-time/ Extra work	Leave arrangement	Working Conditions Score	Rank
Pitampura AU Block	1.54	2.89	0.39	2.63	2.48	2.56	2.42	8.97	2.17	26.01	1
Majnu ka Tila	1.15	2.88	0.32	2.71	2.62	2.59	1.42	9.50	2.74	25.49	2
Inderlok	1.18	2.91	0.43	2.53	2.55	2.35	0.54	9.36	3.70	25.21	3
DLF Moti Nagar	0.76	2.46	0.19	2.81	2.84	2.45	1.98	8.50	3.39	24.98	4
Nirmala Niketan	0.58	2.75	0.68	2.55	2.09	1.77	1.00	10.31	3.25	24.68	5
Nizamuddin	1.40	2.93	0.19	2.79	2.74	2.34	1.19	8.93	2.11	23.88	6
Overall	1.17	2.78	0.39	2.37	2.26	2.26	1.32	8.36	2.50	23.07	
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	1.05	3.00	0.85	1.89	1.81	1.88	1.73	8.52	2.46	22.88	7
Model Town II	1.53	2.88	0.26	2.60	2.46	2.19	0.49	8.84	1.82	22.86	8
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	1.29	2.87	0.80	2.00	1.65	1.82	1.47	8.10	2.49	21.95	9
Lajpat Nagar II	1.17	3.00	0.56	2.04	1.78	2.22	1.80	7.41	1.69	21.58	10
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	1.01	2.97	0.26	2.20	2.11	2.07	1.78	6.69	2.49	21.34	11
Tilak lane	1.31	1.14	0.15	1.12	1.10	2.54	0.00	5.85	0.79	13.90	12

Table 30: Locality-wise detailed break up of Working Conditions Sub-Index

1000 in cash for festivals like Holi, Diwali or Eid, etc. 46 (5.99%) workers received a bonus only occasionally and 19 (2.47%) workers received a bonus from some but not all their employers. Only 31 (4.04%) workers received a bonus each year from all their employers.⁹⁰

Payment for other leaves

As leaves are not recognised as rights of workers, leaves taken by the worker results in deduction of wages. In the Working Conditions Index, four such leaves (weekly off, sick leave, maternity and festivals leaves) have been included. The following leaves have not been

included in the Index⁹¹ :

Leave encashment:

In terms of payment for unused weekly rest days, 565 (73.57%) workers were not paid leave encashment by any of their employers, 111 (14.45%) workers were paid leave encashment by some employers, and only 92 workers (11.98%) were paid leave encashment by all their employers.

Leaves taken to visit Hometown:

676 (88.02%) workers were not provided any leave with pay to visit their hometowns/States of origins. 54 (7.03%) workers were provided

leave with pay by some of their employers to visit their hometowns/States of origins, and only 38 (4.95%) workers were provided leave with pay by all their employers to visit their hometowns/States of origins.

Leave encashment for casual leaves:

697 (90.76%) workers were not provided leave encashment for casual leaves by any of their employers. 38 (4.95%) workers were provided such leave encashment for casual leaves by some of their employers, and only 33 (4.3%) workers were provided leave encashment for casual leaves by all of their employers.

Care and Assistance provided to Sick members of the Employers' household

As noted above, domestic workers are regularly asked to accommodate every and any need of the employers' with no provisions for payment. 48 (6.25%) workers in this study have been asked to care of sick/ injured family members of their employers' households atleast 1 to 3 times, and 20 (2.6%) workers have done so on more than 3 instances.⁹²



CHAPTER 7

**WORKPLACE
ABUSE,
HARASSMENT
AND ‘DIGNITY
SUB-INDEX’**

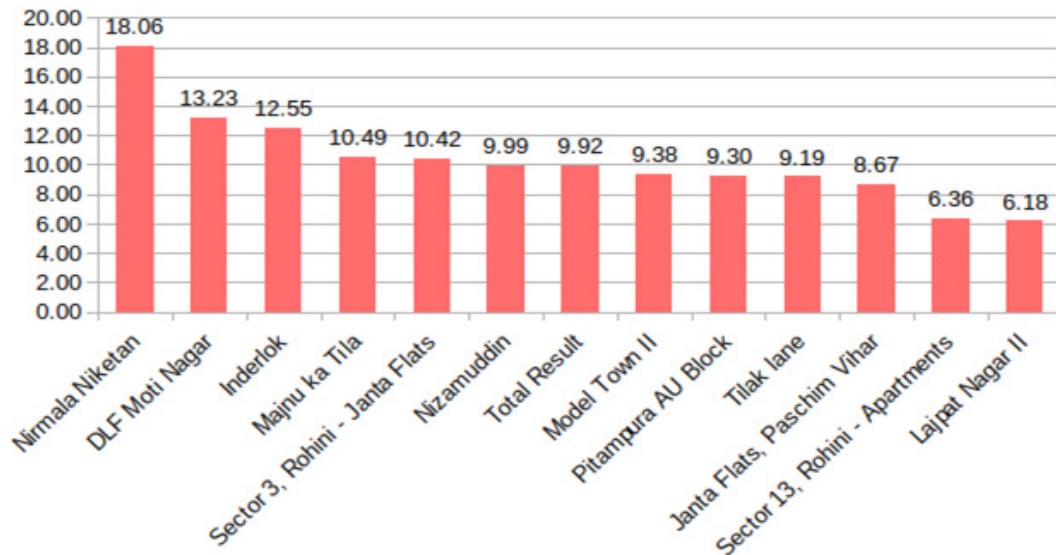


Figure 29: Overall rankings across localities based on Dignity Sub-Index (max=24)

Due to the highly personalised nature of the workplace, domestic work remains one area where casteism is not only brazen but is also practised in very visible forms. In the absence of protective laws such as the Sexual Harassment of Women at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act, 2013, and in the absence of redressal mechanisms (that take into account socioeconomic realities and power imbalances), domestic workers are left to fend for themselves. It would be imprudent to simply assume that domestic workers will band together and fight against abuse, harassment and indignities. The reality is far from it as domestic workers more often than not have to worry about keeping their jobs intact. As a result, they have to swallow their pride and bear constant abuse, harassment and indignities that they and their families are subject to.

The failure to assert rights at the workplace and the absence of adequate grievance redressal mechanisms to uphold and protect such rights, undermines the very existence of rights such that exploitation: be it economic, mental, physical or even sexual, becomes the norm and accepted practice. In a 2010 study, it was noted that 30% of workers were not allowed to access toilets within their employers' households. Amongst those who were provided access, 40% of the workers had to use a separate toilet and only 60% of the workers could use the same toilets as their employers. The study also found that in 22% of the households, separate utensils were used by the domestic workers, which were sometimes kept under the wash basin in the kitchen.⁹³

Other studies suggest a variation in the pattern of indignities suffered by part-time workers compared to full-time/in-house workers. In a 2013 study conducted amongst 213 child and adolescent workers in Delhi, it was noted that 91.5% of full-time/in-house child workers could use toilets within the employer's household, but a majority of the part-time child workers reported they were not granted the same right.⁹⁴

Patterns of Discrimination

Shireen (name changed), a Muslim

part-time worker, disclosed that at the time of recruitment, her current employer asked her to state her jaati (caste) and dharam (religion). Shireen was surprised by these questions, but later learnt that it is a common practise and has now become habituated to being asked the same.⁹⁵ Similarly, another Muslim part-time worker – Anisha (name changed), remembers at least 2 instances where her prospective employers asked her “Kaunsi jaat ki ho tum?” (“Which caste do you belong to?”) and inquired if she was a Hindu or a Muslim. Uncomfortable with such questions which were more often asked by Hindu employers, Anisha now chooses to work only in the houses of Muslim employers as they make her feel less discriminated and less unsafe.⁹⁶

Gita (name changed), a Hindu part-time worker, recalled an incident where she was working in a household and did not hear her employer’s calls from the other room. The employer, while berating her for the same, asked her whether ‘Gita’ was her real name or whether she was a Muslim pretending to be a Hindu. The employer asked Gita to bring her Aadhaar card so that they could verify her real name. Gita had to thoroughly convince her employer that she was not a Muslim but a Hindu belonging to the dhobi caste.⁹⁷ Another worker – Sheeba (name changed), a Muslim part-time worker, felt that her previous employers who were Hindus, used to treat her with extreme discrimination when compared to her other employers. She believes this was probably because of her religion. Sheeba would be repeatedly asked to stand at a distance, and was barred from sitting on

any chair, stool or sofa. She even feels that her dismissal from a particular household, without any pretext or notice, was solely on account of her religion.⁹⁸

Discrimination at time of recruitment

In total, 20 (2.6%) workers had been discriminated against at the time of recruitment at least 1 to 3 times because of their religion or caste.⁹⁹ All 20 workers were part-time workers. Out of the 20 workers, 11 workers were working in Model Town-II (a posh locality with a majority of Hindus) and 6 workers were working in Inderlok (a budget locality with a majority of Muslims). All 11 workers working in Model Town-II were Hindus and all 6 workers working in Inderlok were Muslims. However, 10 out of the 11 workers who reported being discriminated against in the past in Model Town-II, belonged to backward Hindu castes (2 – OBCs and 8 – Scheduled Castes).

Out of the 6 workers working in Inderlok, 3 workers belonged to upper castes, 2 workers belonged to Muslim OBCs and 1 worker belonged to Scheduled Caste Muslim. In total, 15 out of these 20 workers belonged to non-upper castes (9 Scheduled Castes, 3 Hindu OBCs, 2 Muslim OBCs, 1 could not be categorised, but was identified as not belonging to upper caste background. The remaining 5 workers belonged to upper castes).¹⁰⁰

Discrimination during the period of employment

17 (2.2%) workers felt discriminated against 1 to 3 times during their period of employment.¹⁰¹ 1 worker (who belonged to Scheduled Caste), felt discriminated against more than 3 times during her period of employment. The workers who faced discrimination during the period of employment belong primarily to lower castes (14 out of 18; 8 Scheduled Castes; 5 OBC Muslims; 1 Hindu OBC. The remaining 4 workers belonged to upper castes). Majority of these workers worked in Model Town-II (8 –all Hindus) and Inderlok (7 –all Muslims). All

the workers were part-time domestic workers.

Discrimination at the time of dismissal

4 (0.5%) workers felt discriminated against 1 to 3 times at the time of their dismissal from service.¹⁰² All 4 workers work in Model Town-II (2, both belong to Hindu Scheduled Castes background) and in Inderlok (2, both belong to the backward caste Muslim background). All the workers were part-time domestic workers.

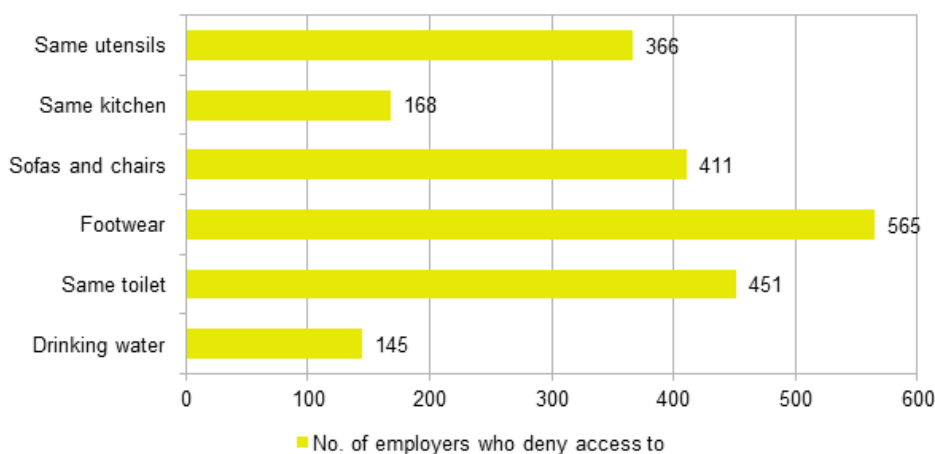
The workers who felt discriminated against at the time of dismissal fully overlap with the workers who responded that they felt discriminated against at the time of recruitment and during the period of employment. Similarly, 13 out of 20 workers who reported feeling discriminated at the time of recruitment overlapped with the 18 workers who reported feeling discriminated during the period of employment. This strong overlap between the responses, and the fact that a majority of the workers were from 2 localities, seems to indicate that the understanding of discrimination and realization of having felt discriminated may be obscure generally

amongst the workers. Only a particular minority of workers seems to have realized that they have been discriminated against. While the responses in relation to whether a worker 'felt discriminated' showed only a minority responding in the affirmative, the responses to questions regarding workplace indignity below which are based on facts and not feelings, presents a completely different picture.

Indicators of indignities and casteism

To assess patterns of indignities and casteism, we asked 11 questions, out of which 8 questions have been used as parameters for the Dignity Index. These 8 parameters have been selected due to their universal applicability to all households/localities. For the purposes of the Dignity Index, each parameter is given a maximum weightage of 3 (being most favourable to the worker) and a minimum weightage of 0 (being least favourable to the worker). The maximum score attainable in the Dignity Index is 24.

Figure 30: Parameters of discrimination



Same Utensils

Employers of 241 (31.4%) workers allow them to use the same utensils as used by the employers themselves. Some, but not all of the employers of 161 (21%) workers allow them to use the same utensils, whereas none of the employers for a majority of the workers, i.e., 366 (47.7%) workers, allow them to use the same utensils.¹⁰³

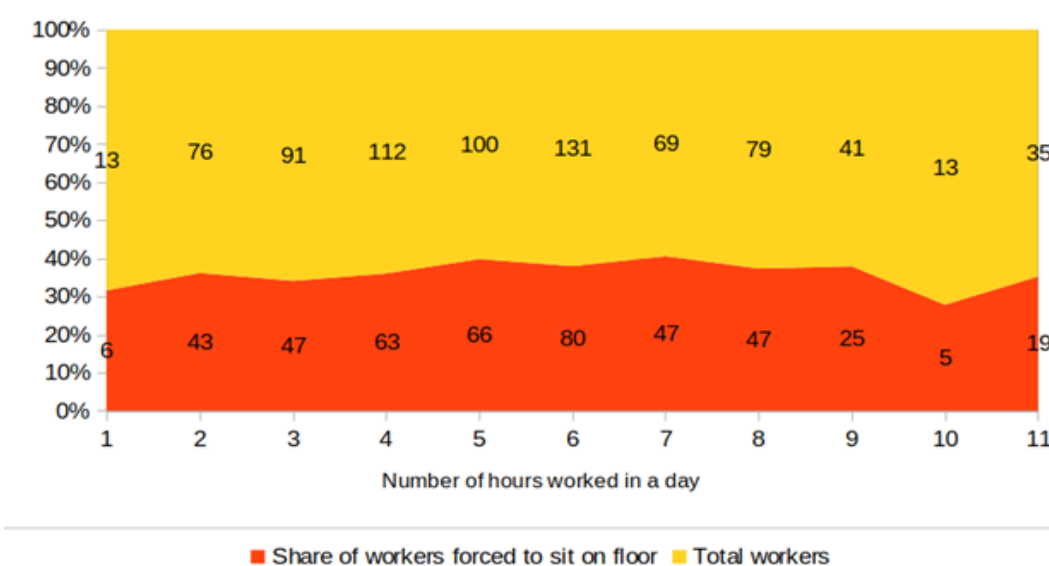
Same Kitchen

Employers of 389 (50.7%) workers allow the workers to use the employers' kitchens for the worker's personal needs. Some, but not all of the employers of 211 (27.5%) workers allow them to use the kitchen. and none of the employers for 168 (21.9%) workers allow them to use the kitchen.¹⁰⁴

Chairs and Sofas

None of the employers of 411 (53.5%) workers allow the workers to sit on the same chairs and sofas as used by the employers in their homes. Some, but not all of the employers of 140 (18.7%) workers allow the workers to sit on the same chairs and sofas, and all of the employers for 197 (26.3%) workers allow the workers to sit on the same chairs and sofas.¹⁰⁵

Figure 31: Share of workers who are forced to sit on the floor - distribution across number of hours worked (n=760)



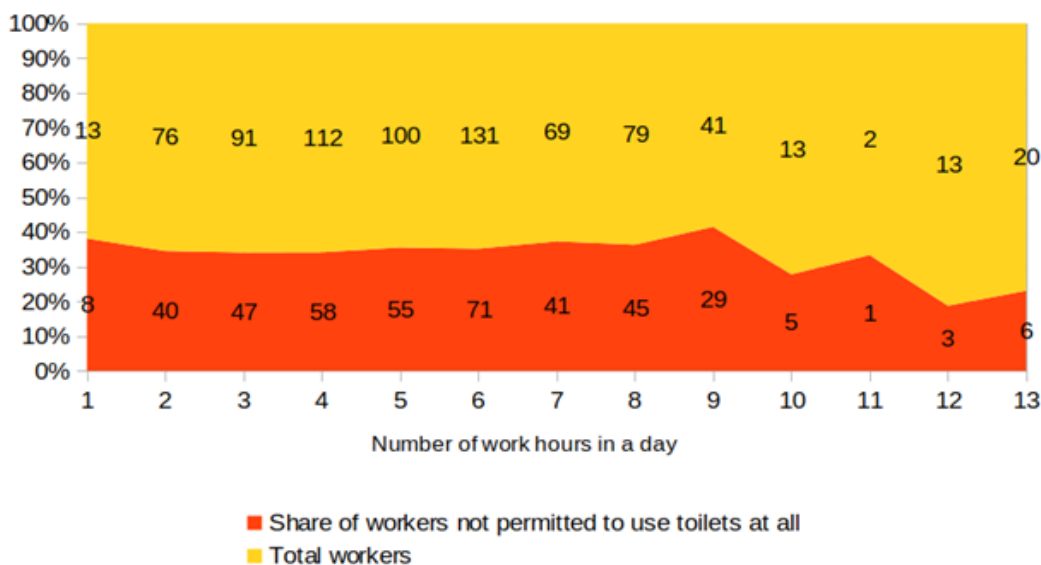
Own Footwear

In Delhi, arguably, it is normal in most households to wear footwear inside the house. Employers of 565 (73.6%) workers deny them the dignity to wear footwear inside the household. Some, but not all employers of 89 (11.6%) workers – allow them to wear footwear inside the house. Only the employers of 114 (14.8%) workers allow the workers to wear their footwear inside the households.¹⁰⁷

Access to Toilets

None of the employers of 451(62.7%) workers allow the workers to use the same toilets as those used by the employers themselves. However, some, not all employers of 121 (16.8%) workers do allow access to the same toilets. Only 147 (20.5%) workers work for employers who do not discriminate and freely allow access to the same toilets.¹⁰⁸

Figure 32: Share of workers who are not allowed to use toilets at all - distribution across number of hours worked (n=760)



Out of 572 workers who are not allowed to use the same toilets as those used by their employers, 158 (20.6%) workers use separate toilets at the employer's household and 411 (53.5%) workers are not permitted to use toilets at all. Instead, they are expected to use public toilets or facilities at the workers' homes only



Figure 33: Distribution of workers on basis of access to toilets (n=717)

Drinking water

Even with respect to having filtered drinking water, less than half of the workers (360, 46.9%) have access to filtered drinking water at each household they worked at. 263 (34.2%) workers have access to filtered drinking water only at some but not all the households.¹⁰⁹ 145 (18.9%) workers are denied filtered drinking water at all households. Out of 35 workers who work for more than 10 hours a day, 9 (25.7%) workers are denied filtered drinking water by all their employers.

In all, only 34 (4.3%) workers reported that they are not made to suffer any of the above identified indignities and incidents of casteism.

Dignity Sub-Index

For the Dignity Sub-Index, the above eight parameters have been considered. Each parameter has been given equal weightage of 3 points: 3 being for the most favourable condition for the worker and 0 being the least favourable. The maximum score attainable

on Dignity Sub-Index is 24.

Out of 768 responses, two entries were invalidated because we did not get clear data for six out of nine parameters under the Transparency Sub-Index. One entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for four out of eight parameters under the Dignity Sub-Index. And one entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for seven out of fifteen parameters under the Working Conditions Sub-Index. These four entries have been excluded from all subsequent analysis in order to maintain parity.

Out of 29,184 data points that have been considered across thirty-eight parameters under the four Sub-Indices, 515 data points (1.8%) were marked as 'Data Unclear' due to lack of clarity regarding the response received. The accuracy percentage of the data is therefore 98.2%.

For the entries that have been included in the analysis, where the data point against a particular parameter was not clear, average score for the parameters under the particular sub-index has been used while calculating the Sub-Index score. For instance, if it is unclear which toilet the worker can access, the entry has been marked as 'data unclear'. While calculating the parameter score, the said entry has been excluded from analysis. That is, assuming out of n entries, the response of only one worker is unclear for this parameter, the score has been calculated for n-1 workers only. The score has not been calculated for the said worker. But for the purposes of calculating the Dignity Sub-Index score, the average of the gross total score has been used:

$$\frac{(\text{Gross total score on Dignity Sub-Index})}{(8 - n) * 8} = \text{Net total score on Dignity Sub-Index}$$

where n = number of parameters for which data is unclear

Overall score on the Dignity Sub-Index is 9.92, i.e., substantially less than the half way mark at 12. No locality attained a score in the top quartile (18-24). Three localities attained a score above the half-way mark: Nirmala Niketan (18.06), DLF Moti Nagar (13.23) and Inderlok (12.55). Sector 13, Rohini (6.36) and Lajpat Nagar II (6.18) were the least scorers by far (see Table 31).

There was a great variation noticed. While 33 households scored zero, there were also 34 households which scored the maximum attainable score – 24 on the Index (see Table 32).

Location	Mean	Me-dian	Maxi-mum	Mini-mum
Nirmala Niketan (12)	18.06	21.25	24	6
DLF Moti Nagar (84)	13.23	15	24	0
Inderlok (98)	12.55	12	24	0
Majnu ka Tila (76)	10.49	9	24	0
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats (64)	10.42	9	24	1.5
Nizamuddin (84)	9.99	7.5	24	0
Overall (764)	9.92	8	24	0
Model Town II (74)	9.38	8	24	0
Pitampura AU Block (27)	9.30	7.5	22.5	1.5
Tilak Lane (42)	9.19	9	24	0
Janta Flats, Pas-chim Vihar (47)	8.67	7.5	21	0
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments (86)	6.36	4.5	24	0
Lajpat Nagar II (70)	6.18	4.5	21	0

Table 31: Locality-wise Dignity Score

LOCATION	No. of house-holds which scored 0	No. of households which scored 24
DLF Moti Nagar	5	5
Inderlok	3	6
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	5	0
Lajpat Nagar II	5	0
Majnu ka Tila	3	7
Model Town II	3	3
Nizamuddin	2	4
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	1	2
Tilak lane	6	1
Nirmala Niketan	0	5
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	0	3
Pitampura AU Block	0	0
Overall	33	36

Table 32: Dignity Score distribution – locality wise no. of households which scored minimum and maximum

The dignity score for part-time workers (9.55) is far less than the dignity score for full-time (14.65) and in-house (11.46) workers. The treatment for upper-caste workers (11.27) is better than the conditions for Bahujan workers generally. The high score for Scheduled Tribes (13.79), is largely because 11 out of 13 workers from Scheduled Tribes background work as in-house workers and 8 of them work through Nirmala Niketan and it has the highest score on the Dignity Index by far.

	Score		Score
Classification of worker	State of origin:		
Full-time worker (33)	14.65	Assam (2)	6.25
In-house worker (60)	11.46	Bihar (333)	9.92
Part-time worker (671)	9.55	Chandigarh (1)	7.5
		Chhattisgarh (1)	22.5
Caste Group	Delhi (40)	13.05	
General/ Upper Caste Hindu/ Upper Caste Muslim (155)	11.27	Haryana (10)	8.7
OBC Non-Muslim (152)	10.68	Jammu & Kashmir (1)	0
OBC Muslim/ Backward caste Muslim (119)	8.81	Jharkhand (17)	15.48
Scheduled Castes (214)	9.06	Madhya Pradesh (30)	9.17
Scheduled Tribes (13)	13.79	Odisha (1)	12
Not a forward caste (un- categorised) (84)	8.71	Punjab (13)	9.04
		Rajasthan (15)	8.23
Religion	Tamil Nadu (34)	6.97	
Buddhist (1)	16.5	Telangana (1)	24
Christian (13)	14.59	Uttar Pradesh (196)	10.66
Hindu (531)	9.53	Uttarakhand (18)	8.25
Muslim (211)	10.72	West Bengal (46)	6.38
Sikh (3)	10.5		
		Total years in domestic work	
Sole Earner	Less than 1 year (54)	12.13	
Yes, since CoVid'19 (3)	9.00	1 to 5 years (282)	9.96
Yes, since before CoVid'19 (95)	9.93	5 to 10 years (193)	8.46
No (638)	9.94	More than 10 years (235)	10.57
Marital Status	Years spent at current workplace(s)		
Abandoned/ widowed (100)	8.92	Less than 1 year (158)	11.19
Divorced (3)	13.50	1 to 5 years (390)	9.10
Married (608)	9.79	5 to 10 years (101)	9.84
Unmarried (52)	13.22	More than 10 years (93)	11.51

Table 33: Groups wise score on Dignity Sub-Index

Locality	Uten- sils	Kitchen	Chairs and Sofas (A)	Chairs and sofas (B)	Toilets (A)	Toilets (B)	Own foot- wear	Drink- ing Water	Dignity Sub-In- dex	Rank
Nirmala Niketan	2.75	2.75	1.75	1.75	1.50	1.71	2.00	3.00	18.06	1
DLF Moti Nagar	1.91	2.36	1.67	1.63	1.20	1.07	1.07	2.18	13.23	2
Inderlok	1.39	1.81	1.44	1.56	1.66	1.71	0.72	2.27	12.55	3
Majnu ka Tila	1.40	1.89	1.09	1.66	0.61	1.16	0.45	1.88	10.49	4
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	1.15	1.43	1.28	1.33	1.27	0.89	1.13	1.88	10.42	5
Nizamud-din	1.09	2.04	0.94	1.05	0.83	1.33	0.54	1.91	9.99	6
Overall	1.25	1.93	1.06	1.19	0.86	0.95	0.61	1.92	9.92	
Model Town II	1.28	1.68	1.06	1.63	0.59	0.80	0.43	1.78	9.38	7
Pitampura AU Block	1.44	2.22	0.94	1.00	0.69	0.58	0.33	2.00	9.30	8
Tilak lane	1.54	2.25	0.84	0.80	0.61	0.55	0.68	1.86	9.19	9
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	0.67	1.31	1.05	1.28	1.01	1.26	0.35	1.72	8.67	10
Sector 13, Rohini - Apart-ments	0.87	1.97	0.49	0.31	0.41	0.34	0.30	1.66	6.36	11
Lajpat Nagar II	0.66	2.10	0.53	0.49	0.22	0.20	0.24	1.61	6.18	12

Table 34: Locality-wise detailed break up of Dignity Sub-Index

Abuse and harassment at workplace

False accusations

11 (1.4%) workers have been falsely accused of theft/wrongdoings by their employers – 1 to 3 times.¹⁰ 4 (0.5%) workers have been falsely reported for wrongdoing by their employers to the police/Residential Welfare Association (RWA) etc. in the past. 1 worker amongst them has been falsely accused and reported to the police/RWA more than 3 times.¹¹

Arbitrary dismissals:

44 (5.7%) workers have been dismissed in the past by their employers without any pretext or notice. Amongst the 44 workers who were dismissed, 7 (0.9%) workers have been dismissed in such arbitrary fashion more than 3 times.¹²

Abuse and slurs

38 (5%) workers have been verbally abused by their employers, amongst whom 5 (0.7%) workers have been verbally abused more than 3 times.¹¹³ 7 (0.9%) workers have been called religious/casteist slurs by their employers,¹¹⁴ and 11 (1.4%) workers have been called ethnic/regional slurs.¹¹⁵ 8 (1%) workers have been discriminated against on account of their dietary habits by their employers, 2 workers amongst them have reported that

they have been discriminated against more than 3 times.¹¹⁶

Assault and Sexual Harassment:

5 (0.7%) workers have been physically assaulted by their employers in the past, 1 worker amongst them has been assaulted more than three times.¹¹⁷ 4 (0.5%) workers have faced sexual harassment at workplace(s), 1 amongst them has faced sexual harassment more than 3 times.¹¹⁸

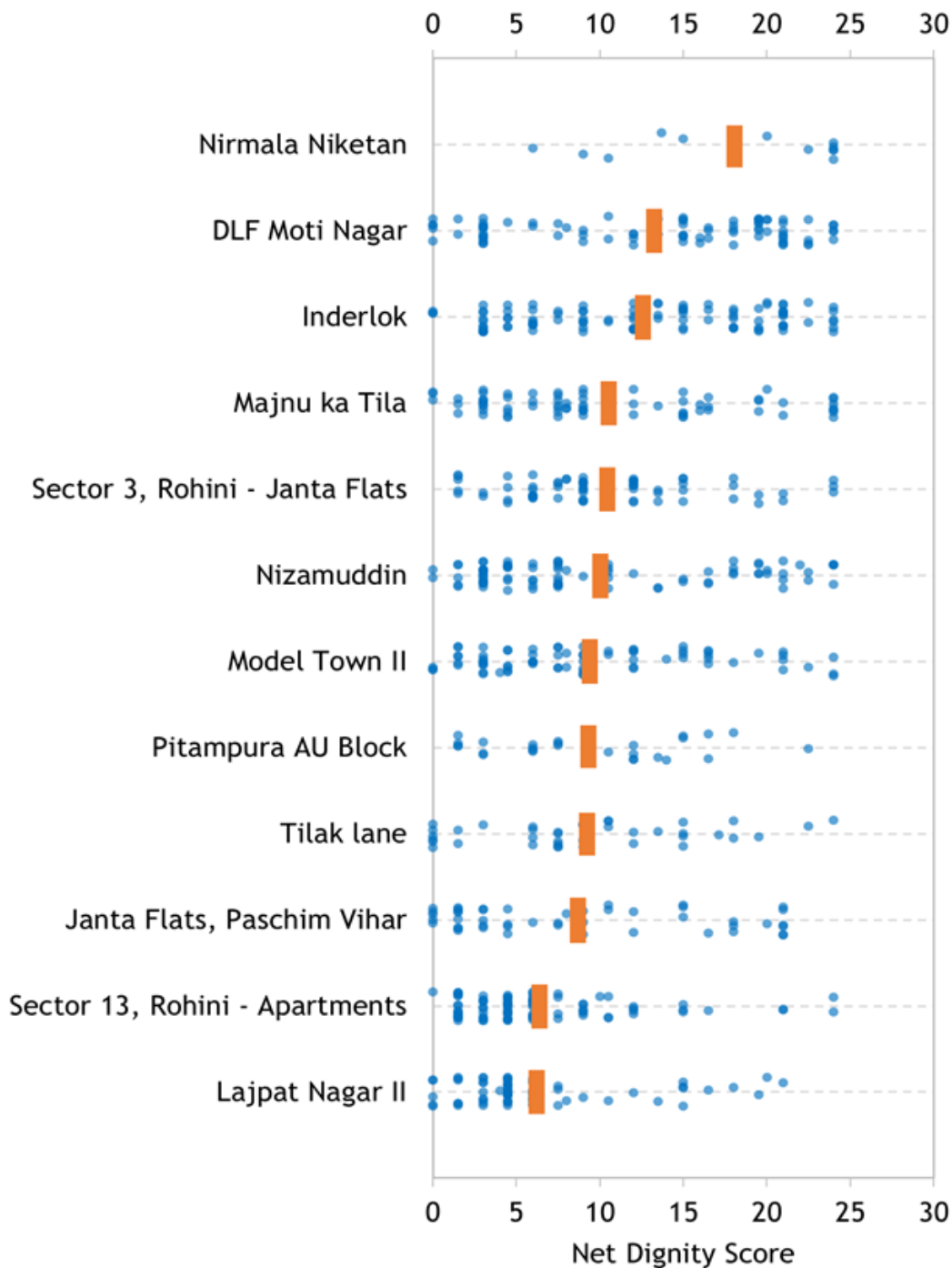


Figure 34: Household-wise distribution across localities on the Dignity Sub-Index



CHAPTER 8

**RELATIONSHIPS
SUB-INDEX
AND IMPACT
OF COVID'19
PANDEMIC**

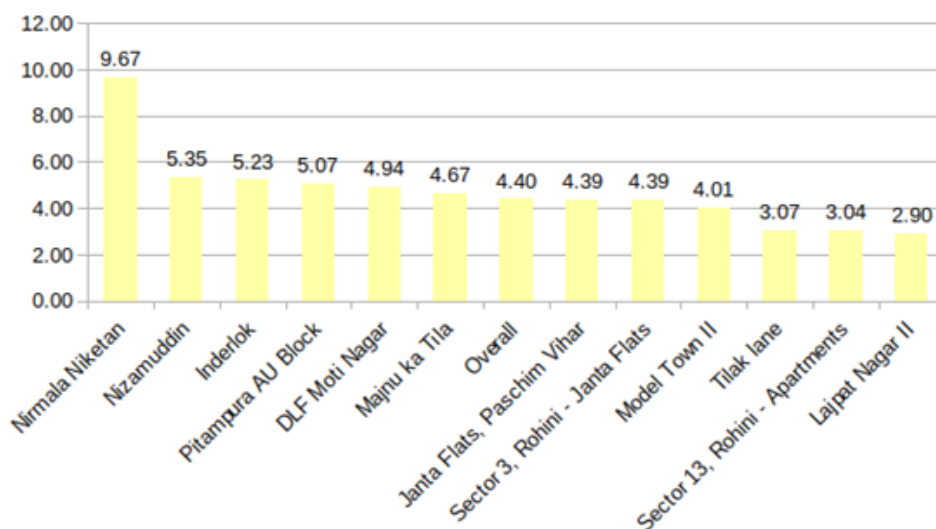


Figure 35: Overall rankings across localities based on Relationship Index (max=18)

Above and beyond working conditions, transparency and dignity, there are other aspects of a working environment which need to be taken into account, while assessing the working environment of domestic workers. Simple benefits such as providing tea and meals to the workers to other more critical benefits such as paid medical care and compensation for workplace injuries have been factored in to determine the working environment. In addition, provision of credit in the form of advance on wages has also been assessed as this is a critical benefit for many workers who lack access to formal credit and are dependent on borrowing from informal sources in order to meet exigencies (often at extremely high interest rates and unfavourable terms).

In addition, socioeconomic realities of domestic workers have also been taken into account while determining the conditions of work. The fact remains that a majority of workers (723, 94.1%) are not from Delhi, and it is only upon reaching Delhi for the first time that they undertake domestic work to make ends meet (638, 83.1%). In a majority of the cases, workers live alone or with their immediate families (spouse and children only) in the city (741, 96.5%), while their extended families continue to reside at their home villages. To maintain healthy family

relationships, the workers need their share of casual leaves in addition to regular rest days.

Finally, in this chapter, the impact of Covid'19 pandemic on the relationship of the workers with their employers is also examined. Some other studies have noted the severe impact of the pandemic on the livelihood of domestic workers. A study by ISST and Chetnalaya (2020) reported that 83% of the domestic workers had faced a severe to moderate economic crisis since the onset of the pandemic and were anxious about their job security.¹¹⁹ A 2021 study by the same institutions also noted that close to 80% workers had experienced loss of jobs in the period of the nationwide lockdown. Only 15% workers were able to find work again and even then the wages are much lower than the pre-pandemic wage rates.¹²⁰ In all, only 6% of the domestic workers had continued to work in the same households they worked in before the lockdown was announced and were receiving regular payment for their work. The study also noted that 86% of the domestic workers stated that the fear of Covid'19 was the primary reason why employers were reluctant to hire domestic workers and terminated them from services.

Another study by Centre for New Economics Studies (CNES), O.P. Jindal Global University noted the steep decline in the households of

domestic workers from 3.09 households pre-pandemic on an average to 1.96 households post the Covid'19 pandemic. The pandemic-induced job loss also led to a fall in wages. 140 respondents in the study were earning between Rs 3000 to Rs 6000 before the pandemic. After the pandemic, a lot of them were out of work or earning less than their pre-pandemic wages. Only 57 respondents were earning in the same range.¹²¹

Indicators of decent relationship

Out of the questions asked, 6 questions which pertain to conditions of work at the current workplace have been used as parameters for the Relationship Index. Whereas the rest of the questions have been asked to understand the pattern of relationships that the worker has endured with their employers in the past.

Tea and Meals

Domestic workers are refused clean drinking water, access to toilets and access to kitchen (See Chapter 7) in the employer's household. These are visible forms of casteist practices within the urban households. In addition to above, 141 (18.4%) workers are provided neither tea (including small snacks) nor meals by the employers. Out of these 141, 22 workers work for more than eight hours a day. Often, the workers are provided stale and leftover food,¹²² which could, unfortunately, not be taken into account in this study.

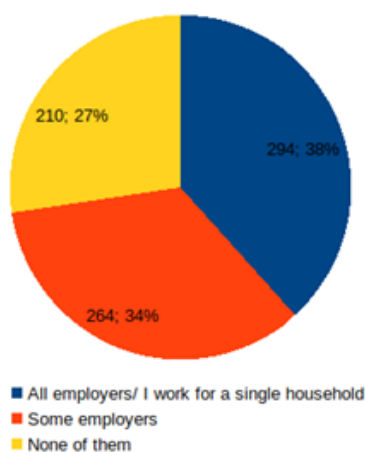


Figure 36: How many employers provide you with the following: Tea. (n=768)

210 (27.3%) workers are not provided tea and small snacks at their workplaces during the work hours. Some, not all of the employers of 264 (34.4%) workers provide them tea and small snacks and 294 (38.3%) workers are provided tea and small snacks by all their employers.¹²³

328 (42.7%) workers are not provided meals at the workplace during working hours. Some, but not all of the employers of 218 (28.4%) workers provide meals and 222 (28.9%) workers are provided meals by all their employers.¹²⁴

There are 141 (18.4%) workers who are provided neither tea nor meals by any of their employers. On the other hand, there are 151 (19.7%) workers who are provided both meals and tea. Even amongst the workers who work for more than eight hours a day (n=89), only 32 (36%) workers are provided meals and tea at their workplaces, 22 (24.7%) workers are provided neither.

For the purposes of the Index, the workers who get tea or meals from all their employers are given 3 points each, the ones who get tea or meals from some employers are given 1.5 points for each response and those who do not get tea or meals from any employer have been given zero points.

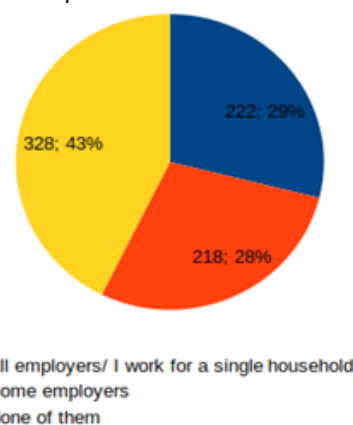


Figure 37: How many employers provide you with the following: Meals. (n=768)

Casual Leaves

Apart from weekly leaves (if any), annual 'casual leaves' become important for migrant workers in urban areas. These are the leaves that are not used for rest but are utilised in visiting villages/hometowns, to re-connect and retain familial ties with ones' parents, siblings, spouse and children.

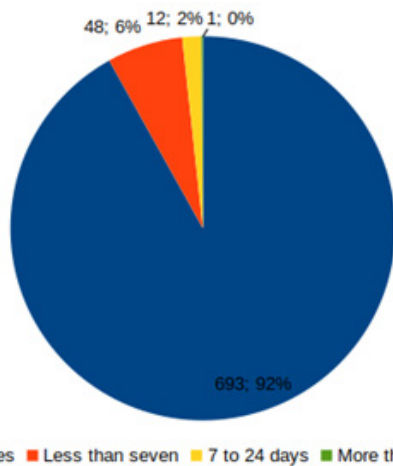


Figure 38: Do you get a definite number of casual leaves in a year aside from weekly rest days? If yes, how many

Almost all workers are not allowed to take a single casual leave in a year (693, 90.2%). While 48 (6.3%) workers can take upto 7 casual leaves in a year, and only 12 (1.6%) workers can take more than 7 and upto 24 days of leaves in a year. 1 worker reported taking 45 days leave in a year. This question was limited to whether the workers are permitted to take casual leaves or not, questions about whether the workers get paid for the casual leaves which they take stands covered in Chapter 6.

Out of 693 (90.2%) workers who do not get any casual leaves, 374 (54%) workers work seven days a week, without a single day of leave in a week. And 27 (3.9%) workers get only two days off in a month.

The workers who do not get any casual leaves have been given 0 points in the Index. The ones who get less than seven are given 1.5 points and the ones who get more than seven have been given 3 points.

Advance on Wages

Domestic workers largely lack access to formal sources of credit. One of the main reasons for the same is lack of assets that can be mortgaged/pledged as collateral. For religious ceremonies and medical exigencies, the workers often have to depend upon either informal sources for credit or on their employers for advance.

Out of 768 workers, 445 (57.9%) workers have never asked their employers for wages/cash in advance of the due date/informal loan.

Amongst the remaining 295 workers, 72 (9.4% of total 768) workers have never been given an advance. 146 (19%) workers have been given advance by some of their employers in the past, 23 (3%) workers have been given advance by most of their employers in the past. Only 55 (7.2%) workers have been given advance by all their employers in the past.¹²⁵

The workers who have been given advance by all their employers have been given 3 points for the Index. The workers who have been given advance by most but not all employers have been given 2 points, the workers who have been given by some employers have been given 1 point. Remaining have been given zero points.

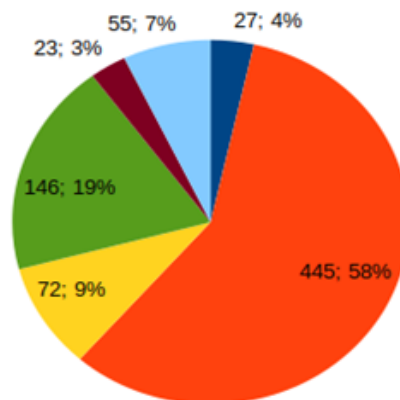


Figure 39: Are you allowed to take an advance on your wages? (n=768)

Assistance during CoVid'19 Pandemic

During the lockdowns imposed by the governments on all civilian-socioeconomic activities due to the surge in the number of infected cases due to CoVid'19 pandemic, domestic workers were laid off in large numbers – citing both health and financial constraints as reasons.

During lockdowns, 584 (76%) workers were not paid at all by their employers, 120 (15.6%) workers were paid less than their full wages and only 64 (8.3%) workers were paid their full wages. Of the 64 workers who were paid full wages, only 53 workers were paid on time and there was delay in payment of wages for the

remaining 11 workers.¹²⁶

The workers who were fully paid on time have been given three points. The workers who were paid fully but with delay have been given two points. The workers who were paid partially have been given one point and the remaining workers who were not paid have been given zero points.

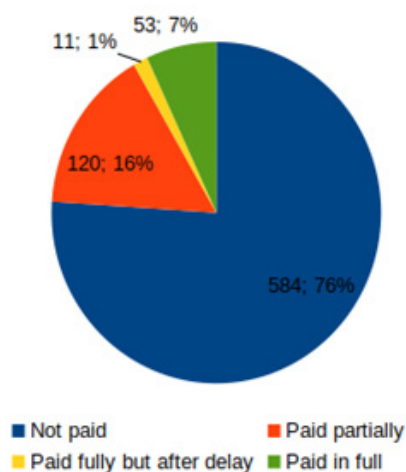


Figure 40: Were you paid during the nation-wide lockdowns? (n=768)

During the entire pandemic period, Only 29 (3.8%) workers were offered substantial financial assistance from multiple employers. 163 (21.2%) workers were offered meagre assistance from some employers and 576 (75%) workers were not offered any assistance at all.¹²⁷

The workers who got substantial assistance have been given three points on the Index. The ones who got meagre assistance from some employers have been given 1.5 points, and the remaining have been given zero points.

Developing the Relationships Sub-Index

For the Relationships Sub-Index, the above six parameters have been considered. Each parameter has been given equal weightage of 3 points: 3 being for the most favourable condition for the worker and 0 being the least favourable. The maximum score attainable

on Relationships Sub-Index is 18.

Out of 768 responses, two entries were invalidated because we did not get clear data for six out of nine parameters under the Transparency Sub-Index. One entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for four out of eight parameters under the Dignity Sub-Index. And one entry was invalidated because we did not get clear data for seven out of fifteen parameters under the Working Conditions Sub-Index. These four entries have been excluded from all subsequent analysis in order to maintain parity.

Out of 29,184 data points that have been considered across thirty-eight parameters under the four Sub-Indices, 515 data points (1.8%) were marked as 'Data Unclear' due to lack of clarity regarding the response received. The accuracy percentage of the data is therefore 98.2%.

For the entries that have been included in the analysis, where the data point against a particular parameter was not clear, average score for the parameters under the particular sub-index has been used while calculating the Sub-Index score. For instance, if it is unclear whether the worker is allowed to take an advance on wages, the entry has been marked as 'data unclear'. While calculating the parameter score, the said entry has been excluded from analysis. That is, assuming out of n entries, the response of only one worker is unclear for this parameter, the score has been calculated for n-1 workers only. The score has not been calculated for the said worker. But for the purposes of calculating the Relationships Sub-Index score, the average of the gross total score has been used:

$$\frac{(\text{Gross total score on Dignity Sub-Index})}{(8 - n) * 8} = \text{Net total score on Dignity Sub-Index}$$

where n = number of parameters for which data is unclear

Furthermore, while calculating the score for individual parameters under the assistance during CoVid, i.e., whether the wages were paid during lockdowns and whether the employers offered substantial financial help - the workers who joined domestic work only a year ago have been excluded. For the purposes of calculating the overall score on Relationships Sub-Index, these workers have not been excluded.

Overall score on the Relationships Sub-Index is 4.40, i.e., way less than the half-way mark at 9. No locality attained a score in the top quartile (13.50-18). Only Nirmala Niketan (9.67) achieved

Location	Mean	Median	Max	Min
Nirmala Niketan (12)	9.67	10.5	13	6
Nizamuddin (84)	5.35	5.5	15	0
Inderlok (98)	5.23	4.5	15	0
Pitampura AU Block (27)	5.07	5	15	0
DLF Moti Nagar (84)	4.94	4.75	13.5	0
Majnu ka Tila (76)	4.67	4.5	15	0
Overall (764)	4.40	4	18	0
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar (47)	4.39	3	12	0
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats (64)	4.39	4	10.5	0
Model Town II (74)	4.01	4	13.5	0
Tilak Lane (42)	3.07	3	13.5	0
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments (86)	3.04	3	18	0
Lajpat Nagar II (70)	2.90	2.5	9	0

Table 35: Locality-wise Relationships Sub-Index Score

a score higher than the half-way mark. The six localities were in the last quartile including the overall score. These six localities are Janta Flats Paschim Vihar (4.39), Janta Flats Sector 3 Rohini (4.39), Model Town II (4.01), Tilak Lane (3.07), Sector 13 Rohini (3.04) and Lajpat Nagar II (2.90) (See Table 35). While 131 households scored zero, there was only one household which scored the maximum attainable score - 18 on the Index (see Table 36).

LOCATION	No. of households which scored 0	No. of households which scored 24
DLF Moti Nagar	16	0
Inderlok	10	0
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	4	0
Lajpat Nagar II	12	0
Majnu ka Tila	18	0
Model Town II	15	0
Nizamuddin	14	0
Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments	20	1
Tilak lane	18	0
Nirmala Niketan	0	0
Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats	3	0
Pitampura AU Block	1	0
Overall	131	1

Table 36: Relationships Score distribution - locality wise no. of households which scored minimum and maximum

The relationships score for in-house workers (4.69) is heavily influenced by Tilak Lane (2.99). For the in-house workers, excluding those working at the Tilak Lane, the score is 8.3. The high score for Scheduled Tribes (6.85), is largely because 11 out of 13 workers from Scheduled Tribes background work as in-house workers and 8 of them work through *Nirmala Niketan*; the said locality has highest score on this Index by far. The workers from Delhi (5.35) are treated better than those from elsewhere than Jharkhand (8.18). The high score for workers from Jharkhand is again influenced by the fact that eleven of them work through *Nirmala Niketan* – which by itself has a high score. The number of years spent at a workplace does seem to have a positive correlation with the score on Relationships Index.

	Score		Score
Classification of worker		State of origin	
Full-time worker (33)	7.13	Assam (2)	4.5
In-house worker (60)	4.69	Bihar (333)	4.69
Part-time worker (671)	4.24	Chandigarh (1)	6
		Chhattisgarh (1)	12
Caste Group	Delhi (40)	5.35	
General/ Upper Caste Hindu/ Upper Caste Muslim (155)	4.38	Haryana (10)	2.7
OBC Non-Muslim (152)	4.53	Jammu & Kashmir (1)	1
OBC Muslim/ Backward caste Muslim (119)	4.69	Jharkhand (17)	8.18
Scheduled Castes (214)	4.21	Madhya Pradesh (30)	3.22
Scheduled Tribes (13)	6.85	Odisha (1)	3
Not a forward caste (uncategorised) (84)	3.81	Punjab (13)	3.89
		Rajasthan (15)	4
Religion	Tamil Nadu (34)	3.01	
Buddhist (1)	6.5	Telangana (1)	3
Christian (13)	7.65	Uttar Pradesh (196)	4.56
Hindu (531)	4.16	Uttarakhand (18)	2.19
Muslim (211)	4.87	West Bengal (46)	2.65
Sikh (3)	4.33		
		Total years in domestic work	
Sole Earner	Less than 1 year (54)	4.68	
Yes, since CoVid'19 (3)	7	1 to 5 years (282)	4.09
Yes, since before CoVid'19 (95)	4.92	5 to 10 years (193)	3.96
No (638)	4.27	More than 10 years (235)	5.08
Marital Status	Years spent at current workplace(s)		
Abandoned/ widowed (100)	4.74	Less than 1 year (158)	4.27
Divorced (3)	7	1 to 5 years (390)	3.96
Married (608)	4.25	5 to 10 years (101)	4.84
Unmarried (52)	5.46	More than 10 years (93)	6.04

Table 37: Groups wise score on Dignity Sub-Index

LOCATION	Meals	Tea	Casual Leaves	Advance on Wages	CoVid'19 (A)	CoVid'19 (B)	Relationships Sub-Index Score
<i>Nirmala Niketan</i>	3.00	3.00	0.00	0.92	2.18	0.82	9.67
<i>Nizamuddin</i>	1.48	1.71	0.00	0.39	0.78	1.01	5.35
<i>Inderlok</i>	1.58	1.99	0.25	0.64	0.35	0.31	5.23
<i>Pitampura AU Block</i>	1.56	1.89	0.00	0.78	0.41	0.44	5.07
<i>DLF Moti Nagar</i>	1.14	1.84	0.13	0.63	0.54	0.71	4.94
<i>Majnu ka Tila</i>	1.46	1.74	0.04	0.49	0.53	0.46	4.67
Overall	1.29	1.66	0.15	0.47	0.39	0.44	4.40
<i>Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar</i>	1.37	1.31	0.52	0.53	0.30	0.34	4.39
<i>Sector 3, Rohini - Janta Flats</i>	1.66	1.57	0.43	0.27	0.11	0.36	4.39
<i>Model Town II</i>	1.34	1.64	0.10	0.39	0.33	0.21	4.01
<i>Tilak lane</i>	0.71	1.50	0.00	0.19	0.20	0.38	3.07
<i>Sector 13, Rohini - Apartments</i>	0.78	1.40	0.17	0.22	0.19	0.29	3.04
<i>Lajpat Nagar II</i>	0.75	1.24	0.00	0.59	0.13	0.19	2.90

Table 38: Locality-wise detailed break up of Relationships Sub-Index

Other factors regarding quality of relationship

Medical care:

In Chapter 4, it was noted that 361 (47.8%) workers had delayed a medical diagnosis/treatment in the past due to the costs involved, and 307 (40%) workers had taken a loan at least on 1 occasion (either informal or formal) to finance medical expenses in the family.

This is because for 678 (88.3%) workers, the employers (including present and past

employers) have never paid for medical treatment for treating sickness or an injury of a worker. The employers of 53 (6.9%) workers have paid for medical treatment in the past on 1-3 occasions and the employers of 13 (1.7%) workers have paid for medical treatment on more than 3 occasions. The employers of only 24 (3.1%) workers have always paid for the medical treatment of the workers.¹²⁸

There is a correlation between the number of years a worker has worked at their current workplace and the coverage of medical needs/expenses of the worker, but the correlation hardly inspires any confidence. The employers of only 3 (1.9% of 159) workers

who have worked for less than a year and the employers of only 8 (2.1% of 390) workers who have worked for 1-5 years at their current workplace have attended to all the medical expenses of the workers. The numbers rise up marginally with an increase in years of service: the employers of 4 (4% of 101) workers who have worked for 5-10 years and the employers of 9 (9.5% of 95) workers have paid for all the medical expenses of the workers.

In-house workers are treated substantially better on this front. Barring in-house workers working at Tilak Lane, the employers of 9 (40.9% of 22) in-house workers take care of all medical expenses of the workers. Whereas, in Tilak Lane, the employers of just 2 (5% of 40) of the in-house workers take care of all medical expenses of the workers.

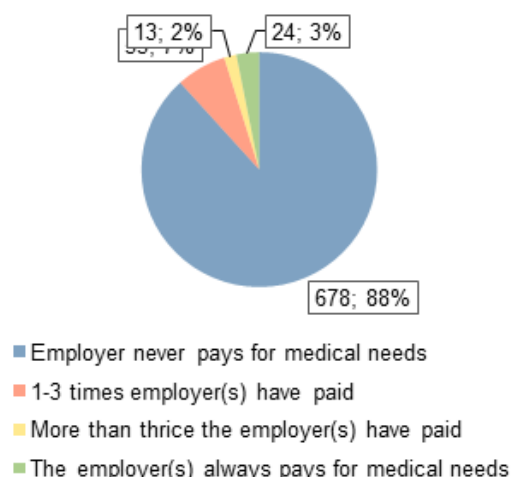


Figure 4: If you get sick/injured, is medical care paid for by your employer(s)?

Injuries and compensations

Out of 768 workers, 48 (6.3%) workers have suffered serious injuries at their workplaces such as fractures, burns etc. Amongst them, 7 (0.9%) workers have suffered such incidents more than three times in the past.¹²⁹ Yet out of the said 48 workers, only 13 (27.1%) workers were paid compensation (beyond medical expenses) by their respective employers for the injuries suffered at the workplace.¹³⁰

Ever been injured at workplace?	Compensation not paid	Compensation paid
Never been injured	581	0
1-3 times been injured	28	13
Injured more than thrice	7	0

Table 39: Whether the worker has been compensated for injuries suffered at workplace? (n=768)

Children at workplace

Out of 454 workers who have children that are not yet 18 years of age or above, employers of only 12 (2.6%) workers allow them to bring their children to the workplace without any objection. Employers of 22 (4.9%) workers allow workers to bring children only in cases of emergencies/unforeseen circumstances. On the other hand, the employers of 6 (1.3%) workers allowed the workers to bring their children only when the employers expected and asked for the workers' children to also contribute by working as assistants to their mothers.¹³¹

As noted in Chapter 3, 285 (62.8%) workers are forced to leave their children at their homes or parks near their homes, and often under the supervision of the elder child (117 (25.8%), who is usually a female child).

Supervision at work

The domestic workers are viewed by their employers with constant suspicion and work in an environment of mistrust. Hence, the workers were questioned on how closely their employers monitor the work being done by them – which could at times be uncomfortably close. Out of 768 workers, the employers of 290 (37.8%) workers never monitored their work and the employers of 405 (52.8%) workers monitor occasionally and the employers of 73 (9.5%) workers monitored very closely. At times, the employers have installed CCTV cameras inside the houses to monitor the

workers' and their movements. Out of the said 73 workers, 17 (23.3%) workers work in Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar and 13 (17.8%) workers work at DLF Moti Nagar.¹³²

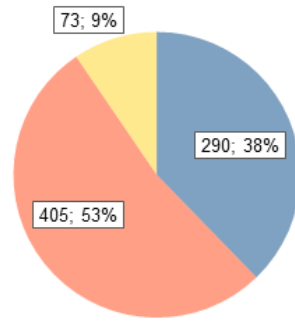


Figure 42: How much attention does your employer(s) pay to your work? (n=768)

■ Never monitors
 ■ Monitors occasionally
 ■ Keeps a very close watch/ has CCTVs installed

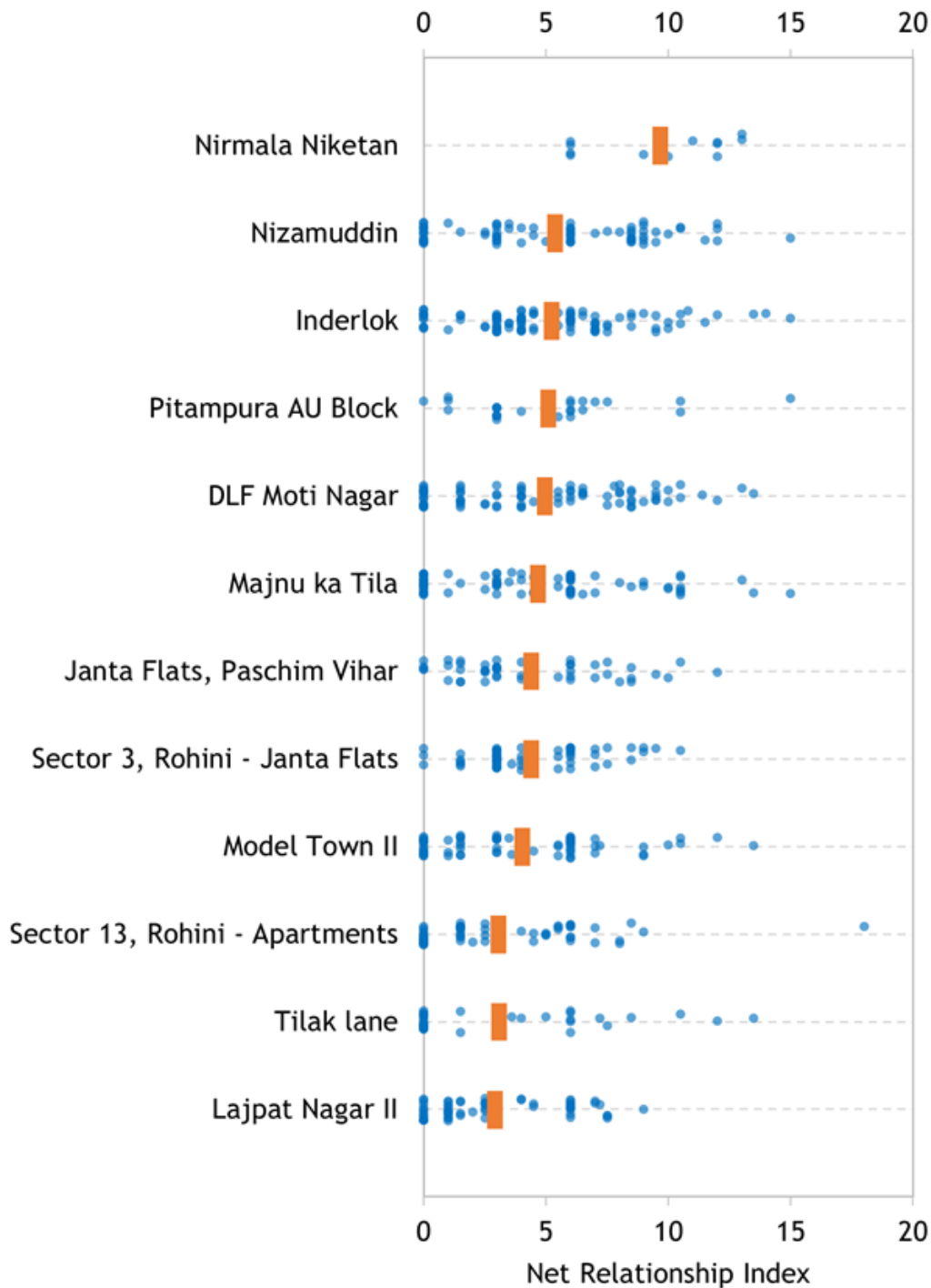


Figure 43: Household-wise distribution across localities on the Relationships Sub-Index

Impact of Covid'19 pandemic

The pandemic had wreaked havoc for domestic workers whose financial conditions were further debilitated due to the non-payment of wages and immediate termination from work without severance pay or notice.

Out of 713 workers who had been working as domestic workers for more than a year, 449 (62.9%) workers faced wage loss during the pandemic (the workers were asked how did the CoVid'19 pandemic impact their wages. For data regarding whether the workers were paid during the lockdowns which were imposed intermittently during the pandemic – See Figure 40 of this Chapter).¹³³

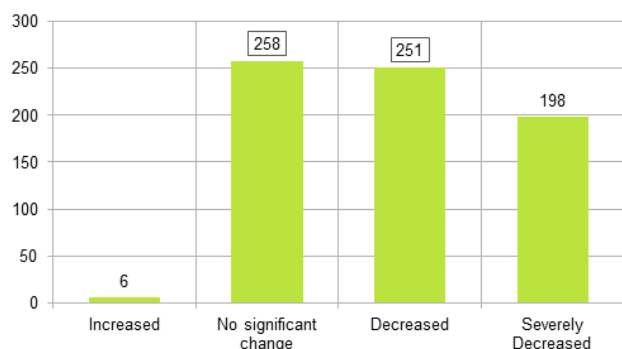


Figure 44: Whether wages increased or decreased due to CoVid'19 pandemic?

While the working hours/work days remained unaffected for 299 (41.9%) workers, 148 (20.8%) workers were asked to work a reduced number of work hours/days by their employers, and 266 (37.4%) workers were asked to discontinue work completely

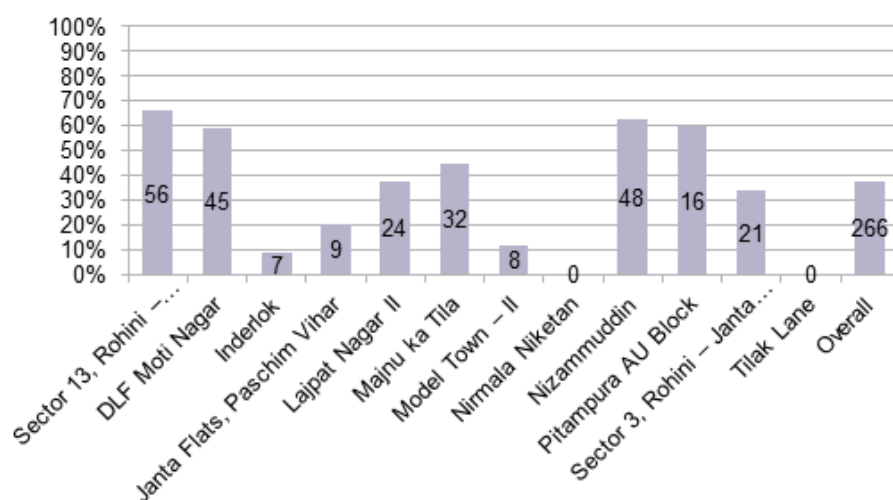


Figure 45: Workers laid off during lockdowns across localities (n=713)

Yet, even amongst 299 workers who were asked to put in the same number of hours/days as before the CoVid'19 pandemic, wages of 54 (18.1%) workers were marginally reduced by the employers, and wages of another 12 (4%) workers were grossly reduced by the employers.

Workers also reported facing severe hardships in finding work during the pandemic and had to spend months unemployed. Out of the 639 (83.2%) workers who had spent atleast a month being unemployed since March 2020, 500 (78.2%) workers had been unemployed for upto 6 months and 139 (18.1%) workers had been unemployed for upto 18 months (1.5 years).¹³⁴

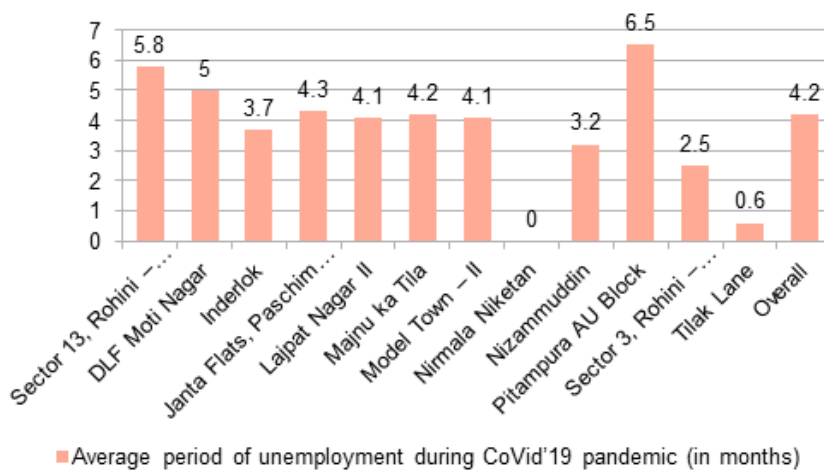


Figure 46: Average period of unemployment across localities during CoVid'19 Pandemic (till September 2021)

This was highlighted during the telephonic interviews where a lot of workers emphasized the impact of the pandemic on their employment and how employers used it as an excuse to improperly dismiss the worker without any intimation.

One worker, Parvita (name changed), was dismissed by her employer without any notice for an indefinite period of time as the employer feared the spread of Covid-19 virus by her, leaving Parvita in a complete state of shock and confusion. Similarly, Yasmin (name changed), who also spoke in in a public conclave,¹³⁵ said that 2 of her employers have dismissed her since 2020 stating “kaamwali se corona hota hai” (“one gets coronavirus from domestic workers”). Yasmin also narrated how whenever her employers foresaw a lockdown being announced, they quickly dismissed the domestic workers from services to discontinue paying the workers for a single day that the worker could not work due to the lockdown.

Mehnaz (name changed) shared that her most recent employer dismissed her for an indefinite period of time as they wanted to take precaution against the Covid-19 virus and told her that they will let her know if they wished to call her again. Reeti (name changed) was also dismissed twice in a similar fashion by her employers without any notice. The reason cited by her employer was that since she was working at multiple households, they were scared of Reeti transmitting the coronavirus to them. Although Reeti was paid her wages for the days she had worked, she was not paid any sort of severance allowance for her dismissal. The wages that she was paid were completely inadequate for Reeti to sustain herself. It took Reeti more than a month to find new employment.

Poorvi's (name changed) difficulties have been gravely exacerbated by the pandemic as she had been dismissed by at least 3 of her employers. Once when Poorvi had visited the

hospital to get treated for a small injury she had suffered, her employers asked her not to continue services from the next day. Although she was paid the full amount of wages for the days she had worked, she was not paid any severance pay. The family of her last employer was infected by coronavirus and they asked Poorvi not to report to work from the next day. Again, Poorvi was paid only for the days she had worked and was not paid any severance pay. Poorvi thought that her last employer would call her soon to resume work but the employer never did.

Only 6% workers had continued to work in the same households as they worked before the lockdown was announced and were receiving regular payment for their work. The study also noted that 86% domestic workers stated that the fear of Covid'19 was the primary reason why employers were reluctant to hire domestic workers and terminated them from services.

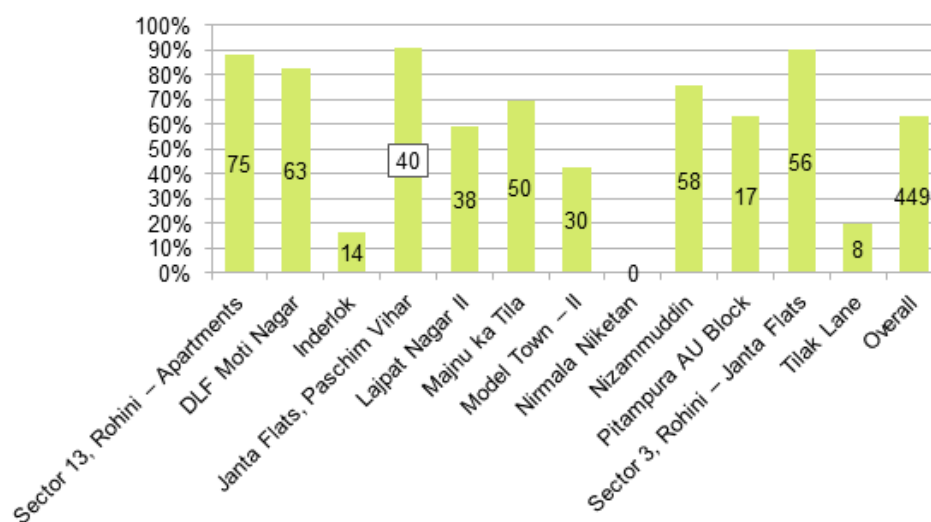
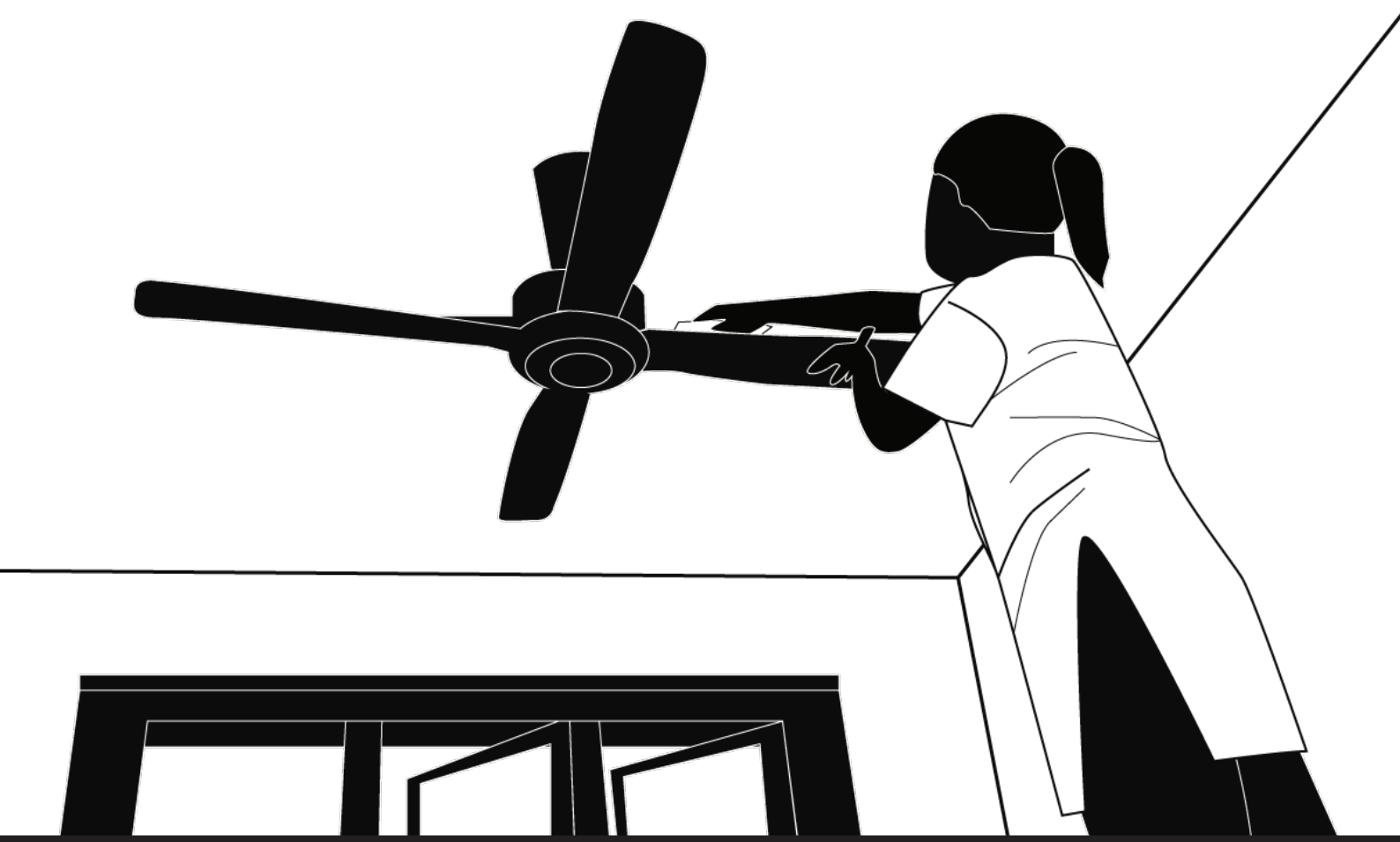


Figure 47: Workers who faced wage loss during CoVid'19 Pandemic across localities (n=713)

Localities	Workers who were laid off during lock-downs	Workers who faced reduction in work availability	Average period of un-employment (months)	Workers whose wages fell	Workers who were paid full wages during lock-downs	Workers who received substantial financial assistance
Apartments in Sector 13 Rohini (85)	56 (65.9%)	21 (24.7%)	5.8	75 (88.2%)	3 (3.5%)	3 (3.5%)
DLF Moti Nagar (76)	45 (59.2%)	17 (22.4%)	5	63 (82.9%)	6 (7.9%)	2 (2.6%)
Inderlok (84)	7 (8.3%)	6 (7.1%)	3.7	14 (16.7%)	8 (9.5%)	3 (3.6%)
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar (44)	9 (20.5%)	23 (52.3%)	4.3	40 (90.9%)	2 (4.6%)	0
Lajpat Nagar II (64)	24 (37.5%)	13 (20.3%)	4.1	38 (59.4%)	2 (3.1%)	1 (1.6%)
Majnu ka Tila (72)	32 (44.4%)	8 (11.1%)	4.2	50 (69.4%)	9 (12.5%)	3 (4.2%)
Model Town II (70)	8 (11.4%)	16 (22.9%)	4.1	30 (42.9%)	6 (8.6%)	2 (2.9%)
Nirmala Niketan (12)	0	0	-	0	8 (66.7%)	3 (25%)
Nizamuddin (77)	48 (62.3%)	9 (11.7%)	3.2	58 (75.3%)	9 (11.7%)	9 (11.7%)
Pitampura AU Block (27)	16 (59.3%)	3 (11.1%)	6.5	17 (63%)	1 (3.7%)	1 (3.7%)
Sector 3, Janta Flats, Rohini (62)	21 (33.9%)	27 (43.6%)	2.5	56 (90.3%)	2 (3.2%)	0
Tilak lane (40)	0	5 (12.5%)	0.6	8 (20%)	2 (5%)	2 (5%)
Overall (713)	266 (37.3%)	148 (20.8%)	4.2	449 (62.8%)	58 (8.1%)	29 (4.1%)

Table 40. Locality-wise impact of CoVid'19 Pandemic upon workers who had been working as domestic workers for more than a year (n=713)



CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

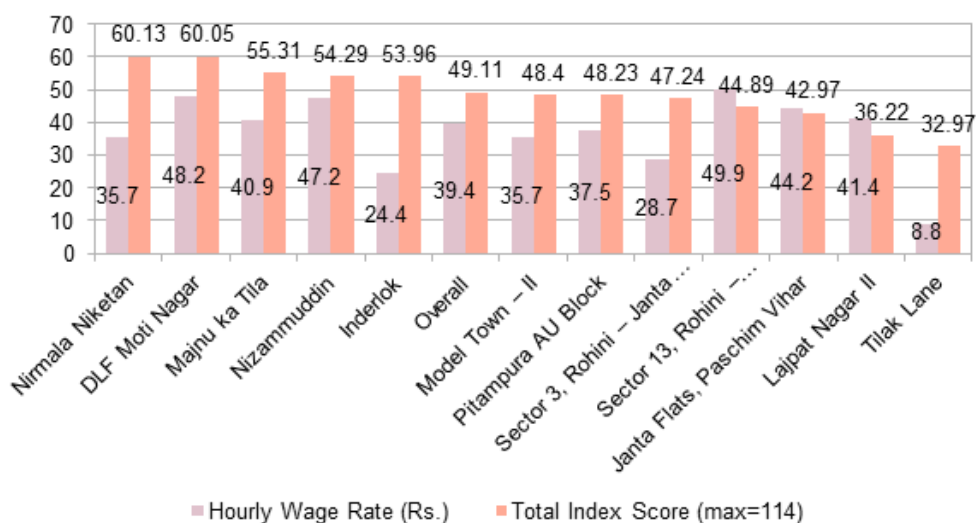


Figure 48: Total Index Score (max=114) and wage rates across localities

A bare-look at the above graph is sufficient to advise a domestic worker to try seeking employment at DLF Moti Nagar, Majnu ka Tila and Nizamuddin; and to avoid working in Central Delhi (Tilak Lane) altogether.

Listing Survey Of The Employers

The limitation of the study was in the inability to interview adequate number of in-house and full-time workers. Out of 768 workers, only 62 (8.1%) in-house workers and 33 (4.3%) full-time workers could be interviewed. In the randomised survey (n=686), the inability to reach the in-house workers was even more stark: only 10 (1.5%) in-house workers and 31 (4.5%) full-time workers could be interviewed.

In order to assess the estimated percentage share of in-house and full-time workers vis-a-vis the part-time workers in the domestic workers labour market, the 'Listing Survey' was conducted in eight of the twelve localities which formed part of the Main Survey.

The Listing Survey was conducted from December 2021 to March 2022 (interrupted by the third wave of CoVid'19 Pandemic

in January 2022) and 242 responses were collected from the employers. This survey was conducted by visiting the households door-to-door to ask limited questions regarding number of domestic workers employed; type of domestic workers employed; their gender; and tenureship period of the workers. Out of 242 entries, 15 entries were invalidated.

	Listing Survey (n=227)	Main Survey (n=768)
No worker employed	50 (22%)	-
Full-time worker	5 (2.2%, or 2.8% of 177)	33 (4.3%)
In-house worker	36 (15.9%, or 20.3% of 177)	62 (8.1%)
Part-time worker	136 (59.9%, or 76.8% of 177)	673 (87.6%)

Table 41: Classification of workers in the Listing Survey versus Main Survey

The above comparison with the Listing Survey data indicates that in the main survey, the full-time workers and part-time workers have been slightly over-reported by 1.5% and 10.8% respectively, whereas the in-house workers have been under-reported by 12.2%.

Localities	Full time	In house	Part time	None
Inderlok (47)	0	0	20	27
Janta Flats Paschim Vihar (31)	0	0	31	0
Lajpat Nagar II (32)	0	6	19	7
Model Town II (34)	2	19	13	0
Nizamuddin (28)	3	8	15	2
Sector 13 Rohini (21)	0	0	21	0
Sector 3 Rohini (23)	0	0	11	12
Tilak Lane area (9)	0	3	4	2
Data Unclear (2)	0	0	2	0
Overall (227)	5	36	136	50

Table 42: Locality-wise distribution of categories of workers in the Listing Survey (n=227)

Multiple domestic workers

34 (15%) households in the Listing Survey employed multiple domestic workers. 7 (3.1%) households employed three workers, and 27 (11.9%) households employed two workers. Not a single household was found employing more than three workers.

Localities	Number of households with multiple workers	Average number of domestic workers in each household
Inderlok (47)	0	0.43
Janta Flats Paschim Vihar (31)	0	1.00
Lajpat Nagar II (32)	2 (6.3%)	0.84
Model Town II (34)	19 (55.9%)	1.68
Nizamuddin (28)	5 (17.9%)	1.11
Sector 13 Rohini (21)	8 (38.1%)	1.52
Sector 3 Rohini (23)	0	0.48
Tilak Lane area (9)	0	0.8
Data Unclear (2)	0	1
Overall (227)	34 (15%)	0.96

Table 43: Locality-wise data of households employing multiple domestic workers (Source: Listing Survey)

Even in the listing survey, 164 (92.7%) out of 177 households that employed workers, employed women. 5 (2.8%) households employed both males and females. Only 8 (4.5%) households employed men exclusively. This distribution closely matches with the data on gender in the Main Survey.

Tenureship at current workplace	Listing Survey	Main Survey
Less than a year	33 (18.6%)	159 (20.7%)
1 year upto 5 years	82 (46.3%)	390 (50.7%)
5-10 years	33 (18.6%)	101 (13.2%)
10 or more years	28 (15.8%)	95 (12.4%)

Table 44: Number of years worked at current workplace - Listing Survey vs Main Survey

Table 44 demonstrates that even the distribution of workers according to the number of years they have worked at current workplace, broadly matches between the Listing Survey and Main Survey.

The methodology for collecting the data in the Main Survey was objective and neutral. In nine localities, workers who were found working on the spot and who were willing to be interviewed – were included (randomised survey). For the remaining three localities due disclosures have been made in the beginning of the report. These are the localities where the workers were either approached through the labour union (Nirmala Niketan), or were approached in the areas where coordinate unions are already active (Tilak Lane and Pitampura AU Block).

The Listing Survey was conducted as an additional check to test the veracity of the data collected in the Main Survey. The data collection methodology was intentionally varied. The findings of the Listing Survey vindicates the data collected in the Main Survey. Aside from undercounting of in-house workers in the Main Survey, there is no other noticeable variation between the data collected in the two surveys. This shortcoming of the Main Survey which is a consequence of the methodology followed for the data collection, has been duly highlighted. Nevertheless, the final sub-section highlights the overall rankings of the localities on the basis of how they treat and how they pay the domestic workers

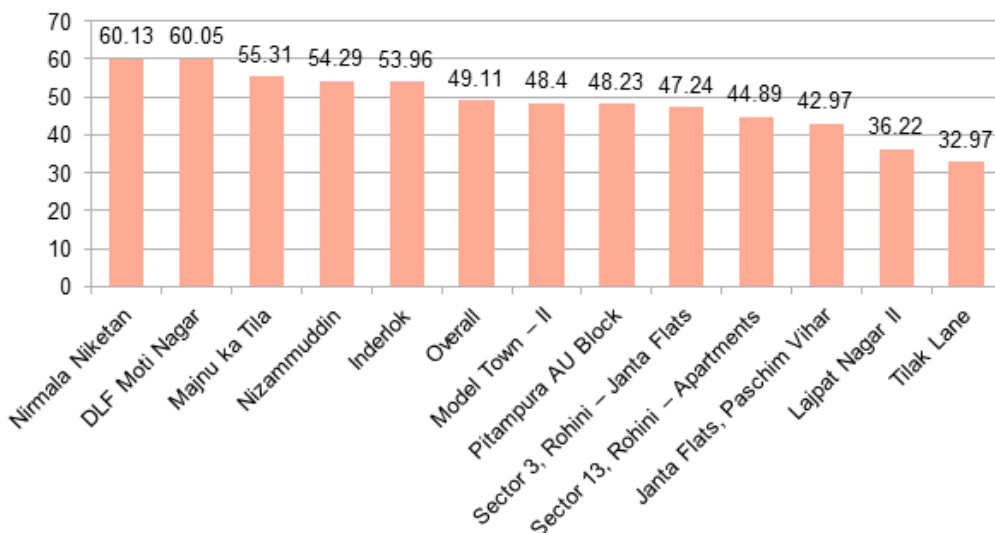


Figure 49: Total score on the overall Index (max=114)

The variation between the total score of Nirmala Niketan and DLF Moti Nagar is marginal. However, the following graphs and tables show that Nirmala Niketan performs poorly on the wages and transparency, and makes it up in its Dignity and Relationships scores. Whereas, DLF Moti Nagar performs largely well across all sub-indices. On the other hand, Tilak Lane and Lajpat Nagar-II perform poorly across all sub-indices. Although Lajpat Nagar-II ranked decently on the wages (5th).

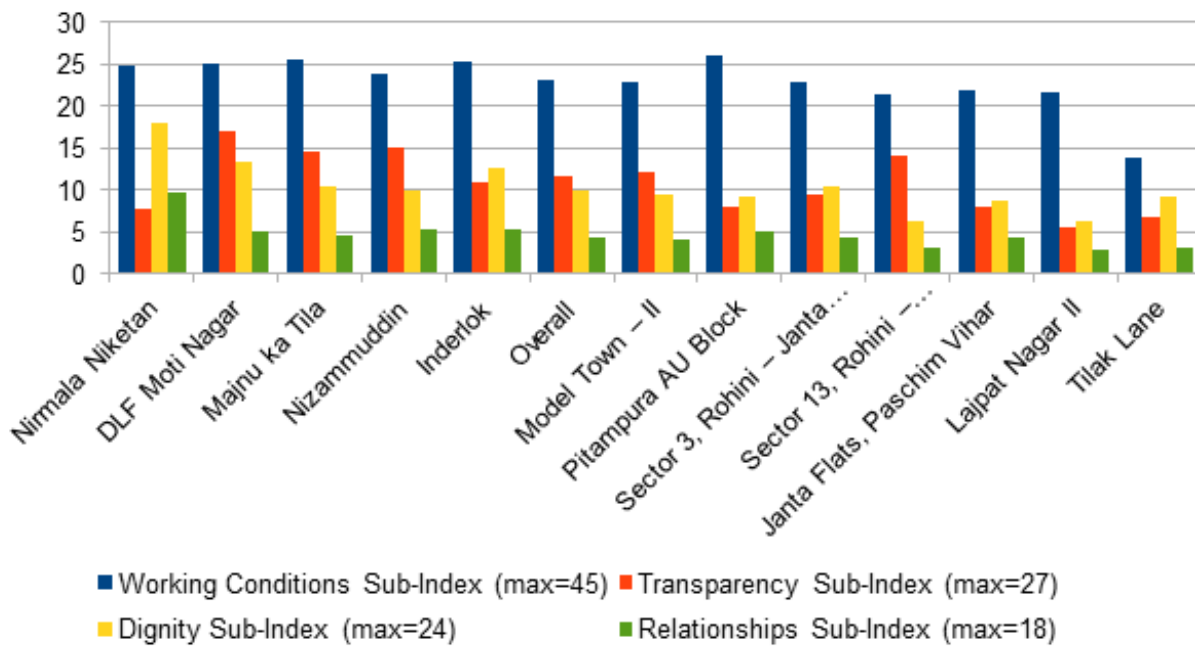
Locality	Wages Rank	Transparency Rank	Working Conditions Rank	Dignity Rank	Relationships Rank	Overall Index Rank
<i>Nirmala Niketan</i>	9	10	5	1	1	1
<i>DLF Moti Nagar</i>	2	1	4	2	5	2
<i>Majnu ka Tila</i>	6	3	2	4	6	3
<i>Nizamuddin</i>	3	2	6	6	2	4
<i>Inderlok</i>	11	6	3	3	3	5
<i>Model Town – II</i>	8	5	8	7	9	6
<i>Pitampura AU Block</i>	7	9	1	8	4	7
<i>Sector 3, Rohini – Janta Flats</i>	10	7	7	5	8	8
<i>Sector 13, Rohini – Apartments</i>	1	4	11	11	11	9
<i>Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar</i>	4	8	9	10	7	10
<i>Lajpat Nagar II</i>	5	12	10	12	12	11
<i>Tilak Lane</i>	12	11	12	9	10	12

Table 45: Locality-wise ranks for all sub-indices

The ranks in Table 45 are based on the scores assessed for each locality in the previous chapters. Following Table 46 provides a snapshot thereof:

Locality	Hourly Wage Rate (Rs.)	Trans- parency Sub-Index (max=27)	Working Conditions Sub-Index (max=45)	Dignity Sub-Index (max=24)	Rela- tionships Sub-Index (max=18)	Total In- dex Score (max=114)
Nirmala Ni- ketan	35.7	7.72	24.68	18.06	9.67	60.13
DLF Moti Nagar	48.2	16.9	24.98	13.23	4.94	60.05
Majnu ka Tila	40.9	14.66	25.49	10.49	4.67	55.31
Nizammud- din	47.2	15.07	23.88	9.99	5.35	54.29
Inderlok	24.4	10.97	25.21	12.55	5.23	53.96
Overall	39.4	11.72	23.07	9.92	4.4	49.11
Model Town - II	35.7	12.15	22.86	9.38	4.01	48.4
Pitampura AU Block	37.5	7.85	26.01	9.3	5.07	48.23
Sector 3, Ro- hini - Janta Flats	28.7	9.55	22.88	10.42	4.39	47.24
Sector 13, Ro- hini - Apart- ments	49.9	14.15	21.34	6.36	3.04	44.89
Janta Flats, Paschim Vihar	44.2	7.96	21.95	8.67	4.39	42.97
Lajpat Nagar II	41.4	5.56	21.58	6.18	2.9	36.22
Tilak Lane	8.8	6.81	13.9	9.19	3.07	32.97

Table 46: Locality-wise scores on all sub-indices



50: Break-up of each locality on the basis of the scores received in the four sub-indices

Through the sub-indices and scoring of different localities of Delhi on the Index, the intention was to assess the prevalent working conditions in the absence of any regulatory and social welfare legislation. The author acknowledges that while the overall ranks and scores in this Concluding Chapter somewhat shifts the focus and trivialises the lived experiences of the domestic workers, it is hoped that the reader does take pain to read the preceding chapters to get the real picture of how bad the working conditions are for the domestic workers. From not knowing the wages they are entitled to, the hours/days they are expected to work, pay intervals etc. to having no tenureship rights and losing their earning capacities beyond the age of 45 with no provision for pension in such cases. The domestic workers are amongst hundred other kinds of unorganised workers in the urban landscape who are treated miserably. Despite being indispensable to the households, they bear the brunt of everyday casteism and inhumaneness, which sometimes manifests as identifiable sexual/physical abuse as well. With no recourse to arbitrariness on part of the employers who can, on their whims and fancies, falsely accuse the workers of crimes and bar them from entering entire localities – it can only be hoped that atleast someone in the government would wake up to their miseries. Because the majority of those who are in the government themselves, are busy being the worst, casteist and most apathetic employers to their own domestic workers (read ‘Tilak Lane’).

1. See ANNEXURE for copy of the survey questionnaire.
2. Some of the researchers had themselves worked as ‘in-house domestic workers’ at some point in their lives. They had been associated with Nirmana and similar organisations for considerable number of years.
3. E-Shram Portal Dashboard, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA MINISTRY OF LABOUR & EMPLOYMENT available at <https://app.powerbi.com/view?r=eyJrjoiNTNjOTIwN2E0Y2Y4LTUyMTY3YmM2ZDQ2MSJ9> (Last visited on: 01.11.2022).
4. Neetha, N. 2004. “Making of female breadwinners: Migration and social networking of women domestics in Delhi”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 39, No. 17, pp. 1681–88.
5. The survey therein was conducted in 2002. 465 ‘live-out’ or ‘part-time’ workers were interviewed from three squatter settlements in Delhi – Trilokpuri, Nizamuddin and Yamuna Pusta. It is important to note that Neetha N. had conducted her survey amongst the 110 live-in workers (i.e. in-house workers) by interviewing the workers placed through organisations: Yuvati Seva Sadan, Nirmala Niketan and Yuvati Niwas. The common organisation in Neetha N.’s and the present study is Nirmala Niketan – which perhaps might be a factor contributing to a skewed over-representation of workers belonging to scheduled tribes background.
6. Neetha N and Indrani Mazumdar (2010): Chapter “Trapped between the Public and the Private Domestic Workers in Delhi” in “Conditions and Needs of Women Workers in Delhi”, Centre for Women’s Development Studies, Delhi and Delhi Commission for Women, Government of NCT Delhi.
7. Mazumdar, Indrani (2018): Chapter “Domestic Workers in Delhi” in *Labour Law and the Migrant Worker*, Centre for Women’s Development Studies, Delhi. See Mehrotra, S.T. (2010). “Conditions, Rights and Responsibilities: A Study of Part-time Domestic Workers in Delhi” in “A Report on Domestic Workers”, (New Delhi, Jagori). The Jagori study was conducted in Delhi in 2010. It noted 61% of domestic workers as belonging to scheduled caste groups, 5% to OBCs and 1% to scheduled tribes. The 2013 study of ILO-IHD in Ranchi and Delhi surveyed the child and adolescent domestic workers. The study found 50.4% workers in Delhi as belonging to scheduled castes, 6.2% to OBCs, 4.4% to scheduled tribes, 16.8% as Muslims and only 12.4% as belonging to upper castes. See International Labour Organisation (ILO) and Institute of Human Development (IHD) (2013), ‘Focus on Child and Adolescent Domestic Workers in Delhi and Ranchi, India’, ILO- IPEC and IHD: Geneva and New Delhi. The ISST study was conducted in order to gauge the impact of pandemic on the domestic workers in Delhi. That study also found 34% of workers as belonging to scheduled castes, equally 34% belonging to OBCs and 40% belonging to scheduled tribes. See ISST, Chetnalaya and Saathi: Emerging from the Lockdown: Insights from Women Domestic Workers’ Lives in Delhi by Monika Banerjee (2021). Even within the domestic work, caste continues to play a role in determining the task which a worker gets to performed. A non-scheduled caste worker has better chances of getting employed as a ‘cook’, whereas upper caste workers often refuse to do toilet cleaning and disposal of household wastes. P. Raghuram (2001) study notes that these tasks of toilet cleaning and disposal of household wastes remains the exclusive domain of balmiki women, as these tasks are seen as polluting by upper caste workers. It also noted that scheduled caste domestic workers are largely into cleaning work such as sweeping, mopping and washing utensils and clothes, while domestic workers who belonged to upper caste groups dominated the higher paying tasks such as cooking. See Raghuraman, Parvati, 2001, “Caste and gender in the organization of paid domestic work in India”, in *Work, Employment and Society*, Vol. 15, No. 3, pp. 607–617. However, the Jagori (2010) study noted a departure in this regard, wherein it noted 55% of the cooks as belonging to scheduled castes. See supra Note 7, Mehrotra S.T. (2010).
8. Question asked: ‘Did your father/mother ever work as a domestic worker?’. Options given: a. Neither of them worked as domestic workers; b. Father; c. Mother; and d. Both parents.
9. Scheduled castes – 45 (26.2%), OBC Muslims – 33 (19%), OBCs – 32 (18.6%), Scheduled Tribes – 2 (1.5%). Rest 18 (10.5%) could not be identified as to which exact group within the backward castes they belong to.
10. Occupations classified as salaried jobs (mother): an-ganvadi worker (1), salaried job in government (7), teacher (1), factory worker (16).
11. Occupations classified as salaried jobs (father): Accountant (1), Army (1), Care-taker (1), Conductor (1), Driver (7), Factory Worker (17), Munshi (1), Policeman (1), Postman (1), Press-reporter (1), salaried job including clerical work (24), salaried job in government (11), security guard (10), teacher (3), telephone operator (1), works in hotels (3).
12. Occupations classified as ‘self-employed’ (mother): Beggar (2), dhobi (1), street vendor (3), Potter (2), Tailor (2), shopkeeper (2), milk-woman (1).
13. Occupations classified as ‘self-employed’ (father): Auto-driver (5), Barber (2), Cobbler (6), Dhobi (4), Potter (3), Presswale (3), Rickshaw puller (42), Food vendor/vegetable seller (33), tailor (9), Vehicle washer (1).
14. Question asked: ‘Did your father/mother ever work as a domestic worker?’. Options given: a. Neither of them worked as domestic workers; b. Father; c. Mother; and d. Both parents.
15. Supra Note 4. Neetha N. (2004) also noted that the male household heads of ‘live-out’ domestic workers majorly engaged as casual wage labourers (66%) or in other informal sector activities such as hawkers (17%), rickshaw pullers (19%), factory workers (9%), fish vendors (5%), petty trade (7%) and other activities (9%). Although in her study, it was noted that the husbands of 42.3% of the domestic workers were unemployed.
16. Occupations classified as salaried jobs (spouse): Clerk (2), Army (1), Policeman (1), Driver (28), Factory Worker (35), salaried job in government (6), security guard (9), other salaried jobs (33), works in hotels (4).
17. Occupations classified as ‘self-employed’ (spouse): Auto-driver (13), Barber (3), Vehicle washer (9), Cobbler (6), Rickshaw puller (83), food vendor/vegetable seller (24), Tailor (7).
18. Question asked: ‘If you are married, what work did/ does your spouse do?’.
19. Question asked: ‘Do any of your children work as domestic workers?’. Options given: a. Never; b. Yes, the employer asks them for help; c. Yes, but only sometimes when I am sick or unavailable; and d. Yes, they work as domestic workers themselves.
20. Questions asked: (1) ‘Do you know how to read and write?’. Options given: a. Cannot read or write; b. Can sign name; and c. Can read and write both.
21. (2) ‘Did you ever go to school?’. Options given – a. Not formally educated/ I never went to school; b. I dont remember till what class I had studied; c. Upto 5th standard; d. 6th–8th standard; e. 9th–10th standard; f. 11th–12th standard; g. Graduate; h. Vocational training; and i. Others.
22. Questions asked: ‘Have you always lived in Delhi?’. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No. And ‘If not, where did you migrate from?’.
23. Question asked: ‘What is your marital status’. Options given: a. Married; b. Unmarried; c. Abandoned/Widowed and d. Divorced.
24. Questions asked: ‘How many sons do you have?’, ‘How many daughters do you have?’ and ‘How many of your family members are financially dependent on you?’.
25. i. Question asked: ‘What kind of house do you live in Delhi?’. Options given: a. In accommodation provided by the employer; b. Rented house (pucca); c. Self-owned house/jhuggi (pucca); d. Rented jhuggi (kaccha); e. Self-owned jhuggi (kaccha) and f. Others. While asking the said question, the workers were asked what kind of roof do their households have? If they replied it was cemented, the response was categorised as ‘pucca’ or ‘permanent’. If they responded otherwise, then the response was categorised as ‘kaccha’ or temporary.
26. ii. Question asked: ‘Who are you living with in Delhi?’. Options given: a. Alone; b. With immediate and dependent family; c. With extended family/relatives; and d. Others.
27. iii. Question asked: ‘Which of the following household assets do you have?’. Options given: a. Fridge; b. TV; c. Smartphone; d. Two-wheeler; e. Cooler; f. Computer; g. Active internet connection or WiFi; and h. None of them.
28. iv. Question asked: ‘Do you use LPG/Gas for cooking?’. Options given: a. No; b. Yes, mostly; and c. Yes, always.
29. v. Question asked: ‘What kind of ration card do you have?’. Options given: a. I do not have a ration card in Delhi; b. Not aware of the kind of ration card I have; c. Above

- Poverty Line (APL); d. Below Poverty Line (BPL); e. Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY); and f. Priority Household (PHH).
30. vi. Question asked: 'How many hours of running water supply do you get in your house?'. Options given: a. I do not have a water connection. Water is supplied through a tanker or common tap; b. Less than 2 hours of running water; c. Between 2 and 24 hours; and d. 24 hours of running water.
 31. vii. Question asked: 'Do you have a personal toilet in your house?'. Options given: a. None, I use public toilets not in my home or building; b. There is a shared toilet in the building; c. One; and d. More than one.
 32. viii. Question asked: 'How do you commute to work everyday?'. Options given: a. Bus; b. Private vehicle (cycle, scooter etc.); c. Auto; d. Gramin seva; e. Rickshaw/E-Rickshaw; f. Walk; and g. Other.
 33. ix. Question asked: 'When you and your spouse are at work, under whose care do you leave your children?'. Options given: a. I don't have any children/not applicable; b. My kids are major/old; c. Family and relatives; d. Neighbours; e. Under the care of the elder child; f. Government bal kendras and anganwadis; g. Take them to work; h. Unsupervised at home; i. Unsupervised at local park near the employer's house; and j. Others.
 34. Question asked: 'Since how many years have you been doing domestic work?'. Options given: a. Less than 1 year; b. 1 to 5 years; c. 5 to 10 years; and d. More than 10 years.
 35. Question asked: 'Were you also doing domestic work in your hometown before you migrated to Delhi?'. Options given: a. No; b. Not applicable as I am from Delhi; and c. Yes.
 36. Question asked: 'How did you get your 1st job as a domestic worker?'. Options given: a. Placement Agent/Agency; b. Cooperative Society or Domestic Workers Union; c. Employer (directly); d. Family and Relatives; e. Friend/Acquaintance; and f. Others.
 37. A connected question that was asked: 'How did you get to know about availability of work at your current workplace?'. Options given: a. Placement Agent/Agency; b. Cooperative Society or Domestic Workers Union; c. Employer (directly); d. Family and Relatives; and e. Friend/Acquaintance.
 38. Question asked: 'Since when have you been working at your current workplace(s)?'. Options given: a. Less than 1 year; b. 1 to 5 years; c. 5 to 10 years and d. More than 10 years.
 39. DLF Moti Nagar, a newly-constructed upscale apartment complex, has the lowest retention rate amongst all the localities as the flat owners were given possession of their flats over the course of the last few years only.
 40. Question asked: 'How many places do you currently work at?'. Options given: a. Only 1 house (full-time); b. Only 1 house (part-time); c. 2 to 5 houses; and d. More than 5 houses.
 41. Question asked: 'What kind of place(s) do you currently work at?'. Options given: a. Employer lives alone; b. Employer lives with friends/Bachelor; c. Employer lives with a nuclear family; and d. Employer lives with joint family.
 42. Question asked: 'Do you work at any place where only men reside?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No.
 43. Question asked: 'Which domestic tasks do you do?'. Options given: a. Sweeping and mopping; b. Cleaning utensils; c. Cleaning toilets; d. Caring for children or elderly; e. Washing clothes; f. Cooking; g. Chopping vegetables; h. Ironing clothes; i. Dusting; and j. Others.
 44. Questions asked: 'What are your individual monthly earnings?'; 'How many hours do you actually work each day on an average?'; and 'How many days in a week do you actually work on an average?'.
45. This includes the highest earning 76 workers whose wages range between Rs. 9000 to Rs. 20,000 p.m.
46. This includes the lowest earning 76 workers whose wages range between Rs. 700 to Rs. 2,000 p.m.
 47. Question asked: 'What is the frequency of payment of your wages?'. Options given: a. Daily; b. Weekly; c. Monthly; and d. Others.
 48. Question asked: 'Is the amount of wages paid to you fixed or is it variable?'. Options given: a. Fixed; and b. Variable.
 49. Question asked: 'How do you receive your wages?'. Options given: a. Cash in hand; b. Bank transfer; c. Cheque; and d. Others.
 50. Question asked: 'Are you paid the full wages, or only the amount of Kharchi/liquid cash?'. Options given: a. Full amount; and b. Only kharchi.
 51. Question asked: 'What is the amount of kharchi received by you?'.
52. Question asked: 'Is the rest of the amount sent back to your family, or will it be paid after you finished your period of employment?'. Options given: a. I get full wages/not applicable; b. Sent back to my family directly; c. Will be paid when I finish the period of employment; and d. Sent to the placement/private agent to be given to my family.
 53. Question asked: 'Have you ever delayed a health-care visit/medical expenses due to the cost?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No.
 54. Question asked: 'Have you ever taken a loan to finance medical expenses?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No.
 55. Question asked: 'Were you asked to submit your government ID before joining?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No. Connected question asked: 'Did police verification take place before joining?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No.
 56. Question asked: 'If you came through a placement agency, how long did it take for the agency to place you?'. Options given: a. Did not come through a placement agency/agent; b. Less than 1 month; c. 1-3 months; d. 3-6 months; and e. More than 6 months.
 57. Group discussion with domestic workers who are members of Nirmala Niketan cooperative, held on 14.11.2021.
 58. Id.
 59. Question asked: 'Have you ever approached anyone about a dispute with your employer?'. Options given: a. I have never approached anyone; b. I have approached society officers, RWA, neighbours, private persons to help; c. I have approached a domestic workers union; d. I have approached a labour court; and e. I have approached the police.
 60. These interviews were conducted over phone after the survey had been conducted. The interviews were conducted in December 2021-January 2022.
 61. Question asked: 'Have your wages ever been withheld by your employer(s)?'. Options given: a. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; b. More than 3 such incidents have happened; and c. Never.
 62. Supra note 56.
 63. Supra note 56.
 64. Supra note 56.
 65. Supra note 56.
 66. Supra note 56.
 67. Supra note 56.
 68. Supra note 56.
 69. Supra note 5, Neetha N and Mazumdar (2010), page 73.
 70. Supra note 7, Mehrotra ST (2010), page 23.
 71. Neetha N. and Rajni Paliwala (2011) "The Absence of State Law: Domestic Workers in India".
 72. Minimum wage setting practices in domestic work: an inter-state analysis / International Labour Office, Inclusive Labour Markets, Labour Relations and Working Conditions Branch. - Geneva: ILO, 2015 (Conditions of work and employment series ; No. 66).
 73. Supra note 7, ILO-IHD (2013).
 74. Question asked: 'Are the following terms clear/unclear?: Name, profession and other personal details of your employer(s)'. Options given: a. It is unclear/vague; b. Not discussed expressly, but it is clear; c. Yes, precisely told verbally; and d. Yes, precisely told in writing.
 75. Question asked: 'Are the following terms clear/unclear?: Rate/amount of your wages which you will be paid?'. Options given: a. It is unclear/vague; b. Not discussed expressly, but it is clear; c. Yes, precisely told verbally; and d. Yes, precisely told in writing.
 76. Question asked: 'Are the following terms clear/unclear?: Rate/amount at which you will be paid for overtime and extra work'. Options given: a. It is unclear/vague; b. Not discussed expressly, but it is clear; c. Yes, precisely told verbally; and d. Yes, precisely told in writing.
 77. Question asked: 'Are the following terms clear/unclear?: Date on which the payment of wages shall be made'. Options given: a. It is unclear/vague; b. Not discussed expressly, but it is clear; c. Yes, precisely told verbally; and d. Yes, precisely told in writing.
 78. Question asked: 'Are the following terms clear/unclear?: The tasks that will have to be done'. Options given: a. It is unclear/vague; b. Not discussed expressly, but it is clear; c. Yes, precisely told verbally; and d. Yes, precisely told in writing.
 79. Question asked: 'Are the following terms clear/unclear?: The number of working hours for which you will have to work at the employer's house'. Options given: a. It is unclear/vague; b. Not discussed expressly, but it is clear; c. Yes, precisely told verbally; and d. Yes, precisely told in writing.

80. Question asked: 'Do you have a defined number of hours that you are expected to work in a day?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No.
81. Minimum wage setting practices in domestic work: an inter-state analysis / International Labour Office, Inclusive Labour Markets, Labour Relations and Working Conditions Branch. - Geneva: ILO, 2015 (Conditions of work and employment series ; No. 66).
82. Supra note 7, Mehrotra ST (2010), page 23-25.
83. Decent work deficit in domestic work: A focus on part-time women workers in Delhi, Sudipta Sarkar, (2016) page 512 to 514.
84. Supra note 7, ILO-IHD (2013).
85. Question asked: 'Since when have you been working at your current workplace(s)?'. Options given: a. Less than 1 year; b. 1 to 5 years; c. 5 to 10 years; and d. More than 10 years.
86. Question asked: 'Is the amount of wages paid to you fixed or variable?'. Options given: a. Fixed; b. Variable.
87. Question asked: 'When did you receive your last pay raise?'. Options given: a. Have never received a raise; b. More than 2 years ago; c. On Diwali (last year i.e. 2020); d. In 2021; and e. Employer increases it every year.
88. Question asked: 'Is there ever a delay in payment of your wages?'. Options given: a. There is never a delay; b. 1-7 days delay sometimes; c. 1-7 days delay always; and d. More than 7 days delay always. Question asked: 'How many employer(s) delay payment of your wages?'. Options given: a. None of them; b. 1-2 occasionally do; c. 1-2 always do; and d. All of them.
89. Question asked: 'How many days in a week do you actually work on an average?'. Options given: a. Never; b. By some employers; c. By most employers; and d. By all employers; and Question asked: 'How many times are you asked to do extra work and/or overtime on average?'. Options given: a. Never asked to do overtime; b. 1-3 times in a month; c. 4-7 times in a month; and d. More than 7 times in a month.
91. Question asked: 'How many employers pay you for the following?'. 1. Extra/Additional work (other than your regular duties) 2. Overtime (for special occasions like parties) 3. Weekly Rest Day 4. Days you are sick or injured 5. When you go on maternity leave 6. Leaves taken for festivals. Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
92. See Table 26.
93. See Table 27.
94. Question asked: 'Do you get a bonus in cash for festivals like Diwali, Holi, Eid and Christmas (bonus means more than Rs. 1000 as cash)?'. Options given: a. I have never received a bonus; b. I receive it each year from some employers; c. I receive a bonus only occasionally; and d. I receive it each year from all employers.
95. Question asked: 'How many employers pay you for the following?'. 1. Unused Weekly rest days (leave encashment) 2. Leaves taken to visit hometown 3. Annual/Yearly leaves 4. Unused annual/yearly leaves (leave encashment). Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
96. Question asked: 'Has your employer ever asked you to take care of their sick family members?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened.
97. Supra note 7, Mehrotra ST (2010).
98. Supra note 7, ILO-IHD (2013).
99. Supra note 56.
100. Supra note 56.
101. Supra note 56.
102. Supra note 56.
103. Question asked: 'Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your religion or your caste, when? At the time of recruitment?'. Options given: a. Never felt discriminated; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened.
104. 75% of total respondents in the Survey were also non-upper castes. However, the Scheduled Castes who otherwise formed 27.8% of the respondents (214 out of 768), form 45% (9 out of 20) amongst those who stated having been discriminated at the time of recruitment.
105. Question asked: 'Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your religion or your caste, when? During the period of my employment?'. Options given: a. Never felt discriminated; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened.
106. Question asked: 'Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your religion or your caste, when? At the time of termination?'. Options given: a. Never felt discriminated; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened.
107. Question asked: 'How many of your employers allow you to use the following: Same utensils?'. Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
108. Question asked: 'How many of your employers allow you to use the following: Same kitchen?'. Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
109. Question asked: 'How many of your employers allow you to use the following: Same sofa and chairs?'. Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
110. Question asked: 'Do you sit on chairs or on the floor at your employer's household?'. Options given: a. Floor; b. Chairs, sofa.
111. Question asked: 'How many of your employers allow you to use the following: Wear own shoes/footwear inside the house?'. Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
112. Question asked: 'How many employers provide you with the following: Filtered drinking water?'. Options given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; and c. All employers.
113. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-False accusation for theft or wrongdoing?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
114. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Reported your alleged wrongdoing to the Police/RWA/society's security agency?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
115. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Dismissal without a proper notice or reason?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
116. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Used abusive words?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
117. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Called any religious or casteist slurs?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
118. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Called any ethnic or regional slurs?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
119. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Discriminated you on the basis of your ethnicity, eating habits or region/state of your origin?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
120. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Physical violence?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
121. Question asked: 'Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following-Sexual harassment?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened with me.
122. ISST and Chetnalaya: Impact of CoVid'19 National Lockdown on women domestic workers in Delhi by Anwe-shaa Ghosh and Ashmeeta Kaur Bilkhu (with support from Shiney Chakraborty) (2020)
123. Supra note 7, ISST Study (2021).
124. Centre for New Economics Studies (CNES), O.P. Jindal Global University: Gauging the Impact of a Pandemic on the Lives and Livelihoods of Female Domestic Worker Across Indian Cities by Deepanshu Mohan, Richa Sekhani, Advaita Singh, Vanshika Mittal, Jignesh Mistry, Sunanda Mishra, Shivani Agarwal (published in the International Journal of Health Sciences (IJHS).

125. Meenakshi Tewari, 'The Silence that Shrouds the Abuse and Exploitation of Domestic Work', THE WIRE (07 June 2018) available at <https://thewire.in/rights/domestic-helps-abuse-exploitation> (Last visited on: 18 September 2022).
126. Question asked: 'How many employers provide you with the following: Tea'. Options Given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; c. All employers/ I work for a single household.
127. Question asked: 'How many employers provide you with the following: Meals'. Options Given: a. None of them; b. Some employers; c. All employers/ I work for a single household.
128. Question asked: 'Are you allowed to take an advance on your wages?'. Options Given: a. I have never asked for an advance b. I have never been given an advance c. By some employers d. By most employers e. By all employers
129. Question asked: Were you paid during the nationwide lockdowns?. Options given: a. Not paid; b. Paid partially; c. Paid fully but after delay and d. Paid in full.
130. Question asked: 'Did your employer(s) offer any financial assistance to you during covid?'
131. Options Given: a. No one offered any help; b. Some employers offered meagre assistance; c. Multiple employers offered substantive assistance.
132. Question asked: 'If you get sick/injured, is medical care paid for by your employer(s)?'. Options given: a. The employer never pays for my medical care; b. 1-3 times the employer has paid for my medical care; c. More than 3 times the employer has paid for my medical care; d. The employer always pays for my medical care.
133. Question asked: 'Have you ever sustained serious injuries like fractures, grave burns while working?'. Options given: a. Never; b. 1-3 such incidents have happened with me; and c. More than 3 such incidents have happened.
134. Question asked: 'Does your employer(s) compensate you for the injuries sustained by you at work?'. Options given: a. Yes; and b. No.
135. Question asked: 'Does your employer(s) allow you to bring your children to work?'. Options given: a. Never; b. Only in case of emergencies; c. Only if the employer asks them to help; and d. Has no objections.
136. Question asked: 'How much attention does your employer(s) pay to your work?'. Options given: a. Never checks in; b. Checks in sometimes; and c. Keeps a very close watch/ has CCTV cameras installed.
137. Question asked: Did your wages increase or decrease during covid?. Options given: a. No significant change; b. Decreased; c. Severely decreased and d. Increased.
138. Question asked: How many months since March 2020 were you completely unemployed?.
139. The Domestic Workers Conclave organized by Nirma-la Niketan Gharelu Kamgar Coop. Labour and Construction Society Ltd. on the occasion of International Migrants Day on 14.12.2021.

– Questionnaire to assess the socio-economic and working conditions of Domestic Workers in Delhi

A. BASIC DETAILS ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEE			
1. Your name (optional)			
2. Your age			
3. Your gender	Male	Female	
4. Your current address in Delhi including the name of the Basti			
5. Your contact number (optional)			
6. Are you a part-time domestic worker at multiple houses, a full-time worker at one house or an in-house worker?	Part-time worker at multiple houses	Full-time worker at one house	In-house worker in the employers house
7. Are you a member of any domestic workers' union or association? If so, please provide the name of the Union.			

B. DETAILS ABOUT SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND FAMILY BACKGROUND			
1. What is your Family Religion?			
2. Caste Grouping	General/ Upper Caste Hindu/Upper Caste Muslim		SC
	ST		OBC
	OBC/ Backward Caste/Pasmanda Muslim <input type="checkbox"/>	Not aware of caste grouping	Other: _____
3. What is your caste or tribe?		4. What is your sub-caste?	
5. Literacy/ Do you know how to read and write?	Cannot read or write		Can sign name
	Can read and write both		Other: _____
6. Formal Education/ Did you ever go to school?	Not formally educated/I Never went to school	I don't remember till what class I had studied	<u>Upto</u> 5th Std.
	6th-8th Std.	9th-10th Std.	11th- 12th Std.
	Graduate	Vocational Training	Other: _____
7. What work did/does your father do?			
8. What work did/does your mother do?			
9. Did your father or mother ever work as a domestic worker?	Neither of them worked as DWs		Father
	Mother		Both Parents
10. What is your marital status?	Married		Unmarried
	Abandoned/ Widowed		Divorced
11. If you are married, what work did/does your spouse do?			
12. How many sons do you have?			
13. How many daughters do you have?			
14. Do any of your children work as domestic workers?	Never		Yes, the employer asks them for help

	Yes, but only sometimes when I am sick or unavailable		Yes, they work as domestic workers themselves
15. Are you the sole earning member of your family?	No, I am not the sole earner of my family	Yes, since before corona	Yes, since after corona
16. What are your individual monthly earnings?	Rs. _____ per month [combined from all houses]		
17. What are your total family earnings?	Rs. _____ per month [combined from all sources]		
18. How many of your family members are financially dependent on you?			
19. Have you ever delayed a health-care visit/medical expenses due to the cost?	Yes		No
20. Have you ever taken a loan to finance medical expenses?	Yes		No
21. When you and your spouse are at work, under whose care do you leave your children? <i>(check all that apply, only for part-time workers)</i>	I don't have any children/ Not applicable	My kids are major/old.	Family and Relatives
	Neighbours	Government bal kendras and Anganwadis	Under the care of the elder child
	Take them to work with you	Unsupervised at home	Unsupervised at local park near the park in employer's house

C. DETAILS ABOUT LIVING CONDITIONS

1. Have you always lived in Delhi?	Yes		No
2. If not, where did you migrate from? (Permanent Address/Hometown)	State: District:		
3. What kind of house do you live in Delhi?	In accommodation provided by the employer		Rented house (pucca)
	Self-owned house/jhuggi (pucca)		Rented jhuggi (kaccha)
	Self-owned jhuggi (kaccha)		Other: _____
4. Who are you living with in Delhi?	Alone		With immediate and dependent Family
	With extended family/Relatives		Other: _____
5. How do you commute to work everyday? <i>(check all that apply)</i>	Bus		Walk
	Auto		Gramin Sewa
	Private vehicle (cycle, scooter etc.)	Rickshaw and E-rickshaw	Other: _____
6. Do you use LPG/ Gas for cooking?	No	Yes, mostly	Yes, always
7. What kind of a ration card do you have?	I do not have a ration card in Delhi		I am not aware of the kind of ration card I have
	Above Poverty Line (APL)		Below Poverty Line (BPL)
	Antyodaya Anna Yojana (AAY)		Priority Household (PHH)
8. How many hours of running water supply do you get in your house?	I do not have a water connection. Water is supplied through a tanker or common tap.		Less than 2 hours of running water
	Between 2 and 24 hours		24 hours of running water

9. Do you have a personal toilet in your house?	None, I use public toilets not in my home or in the building.		There is a shared toilet in the building
	One personal toilet		More than one personal toilet
10. Which of the following household assets do you have? (check all that apply)	Fridge	TV	Smartphone
	Two wheeler	Cooler	Computer
	Active internet connection or WiFi		None of them

D. DETAILS ABOUT OCCUPATION OF THE INTERVIEWEE				
1. Since how many years have you been doing domestic work?	Less than 1 year		1 to 5 years	
	5 to 10 years		More than 10 years	
2. How did you get your 1st job as a domestic worker?	Placement Agent/ Agency		Friend or any other known person	
	Cooperative Society/ Domestic Workers Union		Employer (directly)	
	Family and Relatives		Other: _____	
3. Who did you learn the work from?	Immediate Family		Employer	
	Placement Agent or Agency		Other: _____	
4. Were you also doing domestic work in your hometown before you migrated to Delhi?	Yes	No	Not applicable as I am from Delhi	
5. How many years on average do you work at each household?	Less than 1 year	1-2 years	More than 2 years	
6. How many places do you currently work at? (only for part-time workers)	Only 1 house (full-time)		Only 1 house (part-time)	
	2 to 5 houses		More than 5 houses	
7. Which domestic tasks do you do? (check all that apply)	Sweeping and mopping	Caring for children or elderly		Cooking
	Cleaning Utensils	Chopping Vegetables		Cleaning toilets
	Washing clothes	Ironing Clothes	Dusting	Other: _____
8. Since when have you been working at your current workplace(s)?	Less than 1 year		1 to 5 years	
	5 to 10 years		More than 10 years	
9. Are the following terms clear/unclear?				
a. Name, profession and other personal details of your employer(s)	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing
b. Rate/amount of your wages which you will be paid	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing

c. Rate/amount at which you will be paid for overtime and extra work	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing
d. Date on which the payment of wages shall be made	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing
e. The tasks that will have to be done	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing
f. The number of rest days that you will get in a week or month	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing
g. The number of working hours for which you will have to work at the employer's house	It is unclear/ vague	Not discussed expressly, but is clear	Yes, precisely told verbally	Yes, precisely told in writing
10. Are these terms generally shared with you before or after you join your work?	Terms are not made clear/ they remain vague	Before joining		After joining but within a few days
11. Were you asked to submit your government ID before joining?	Yes		No	
12. Did police verification take place before joining?	Yes		No	
13. How did you get to know about the availability of work at your current workplace?	Placement Agent/ Agency		Friend	
	Cooperative Society/ Domestic Union		Employer (directly)	
	Family and Relatives		Other: _____	
14. Are you registered with a Placement Agency? If so, please provide the name.				
15. If you came through a placement agency, how long did it take for the agency to place you?	Did not come through a placement agency/ agent		Less than 1 month	
	1 -3 months	3- 6 months	More than 6 months	
16. What sum did you have to pay the Placement Agency to join the work?				
17. Are you registered with the unorganised workers social security board?	Yes		No	
18. Have you received benefit of any government welfare scheme? If so, please provide the name.				

E. DETAILS REGARDING WORKING CONDITIONS		
1. What kind of place(s) do you currently work at?	Employer lives alone	Employer lives with a nuclear family
	Employer lives with joint family	Employer lives with friends/ Bachelor
2. Do you work at any place where only men reside?	Yes	No
3. Do you have a defined number of days that you are expected to work in a week?	Yes	No
4. How many days in a week do you actually work on an average?		
5. Do you have a defined number of hours that you are expected to work in a day?	Yes	No
6. How many hours do you actually work each day on an average?		

7. Do you get a definite number of casual leaves in a year aside from weekly rest days? If yes, how many?				
8. What is the frequency of payment of your wages?	Daily	Weekly		
	Monthly	Other: _____		
9. Are you paid the full wages, or only the amount of Kharchi/ liquid cash?	Full-amount	Only Kharchi		
10. What is the amount of Kharchi received by you? (optional)	Rs. _____ per month			
11. Is the rest of the amount of your wages sent back to your family, or will it be paid after you finished your period of employment?	I get full wages/ Not Applicable	Sent back to my family directly		
	Will be paid when I finish the period of employment	Sent to the placement/private agent to give to my family		
12. Is the amount of wages paid to you fixed, or is it variable?	Fixed	Variable		
13. When did you receive your last pay raise?	Have never received a raise	In 2021	On Diwali (last year)	
	Employer Increases every year	More than 2 years ago		
14. Are you asked to do extra work/overtime?	Never	By some employers	By most employers	By all employers
15. How many times are you asked to do extra work and/or overtime on average?	Never asked to do overtime	1-3 times in a month	4-7 times in a month	More than 7 times in a month
16. How many employers pay you for the following:				
a. Extra/Additional work (other than your regular duties)	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
b. Overtime (for special occasions like parties)	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
c. Weekly Rest Day	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
d. Unused weekly rest days (leave encashment)	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
e. Days you are sick or injured	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
f. When you go on maternity leave	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
g. Days when you visit your hometown	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
h. Leaves taken for festivals	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
i. Yearly casual leaves	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
j. Unused yearly casual leaves (leave encashment)	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
17. How do you receive your wages?	Cash in hand		Bank Transfer	
	Cheque		Other: _____	
18. Is there ever a delay in payment of your wages?	There is never a delay	1-7 days delay sometimes	1-7 days delay always	More than 7 days delay always
19. How many employer(s) delay payment of your wages?	None of them		1-2 occasionally do	
	1-2 always do		All of them	
20. Are you allowed to take an advance on your wages?	I have never asked for an advance		I have never been given an advance	
	By some employers	By most employers	By all employers	

21. Do you get a bonus in cash for festivals like Diwali, Holi, Eid and Christmas? (<i>bonus means more than Rs. 1000 as cash</i>)	I have never received a bonus	I receive it each year from some employers	I receive a bonus only occasionally	I receive it each year from all employers
22. Has your employer(s) ever withheld your wages?	Never		1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened
23. Has your employer ever asked you to take care of their sick family members?	Never		1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened
24. If you work part-time, what other work do you do besides domestic work? (<i>only for part-time workers</i>)	I do not do any other work	Salaried Job	Casual labour	
	Vendor/ Self-employed		Other: _____	
25. How many employers provide you with the following:				
a. Meals	None of them	Some employers	All employers/ I work for a single household	
b. Filtered drinking water	None of them	Some employers	All employers/ I work for a single household	
c. Tea	None of them	Some employers	All employers/ I work for a single household	
26. If you get sick/injured, is medical care paid for by your employer(s)?	The employer never pays for my medical care		1-3 times the employer has paid for my medical care	
	More than 3 times the employer has paid for my medical care		The employer always pays for my medical care	
27. Have you ever sustained serious injuries like fractures, grave burns while working?	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me	
28. Does your employer(s) compensate you for the injuries sustained by you at work?	Yes		No	
29. How much attention does your employer(s) pay to your work?	Never checks in		Checks in sometimes	Keeps a very close watch/ Has CCTVs installed
30. Do your employer(s) allow you to bring your children to work? (<i>only for part-time workers</i>)	Never	Only in case of emergencies	Only if the employer asks them to help	Has no objections
31. Have you ever approached anyone about a dispute with your employer?	I have never approached anyone		I have approached society security guards, RWA, neighbours , private persons to help.	
	I have approached a Domestic Workers Union		I have approached a Labour Court	I have approached the police

F. DETAILS REGARDING DISCRIMINATIONS AND ABUSE FACED AT THE WORKPLACE

1. Do you sit on chairs or on the floor at your employers' house?	Floor	Chairs, Sofa		
2. Can you go to the temple room of your employers' house?	Yes	No	There is no temple room/ Not applicable	
3. How many of your employer(s) allow you to use the following:				
a. Same utensils as them	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
b. Same kitchen as them	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
c. Same chairs and sofas as them	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
d. Same building and society entrances as them	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
e. Wear own shoes/footwear inside the house	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
f. Same toilets as them	None of them	Some employers	All employers	
4. Which toilet do you use while at work?	The employer does not permit me to use a toilet. I have to go outside to use the public toilets		The toilets used by the employer and me are separate	
	I use the same toilets as the employer			

5. Are you allowed to use the lift in the employer's house or building?	No lift is available	Lifts are available but I am not allowed to use it	
	Separate service lifts are there for the staff	By all employers/ There is only 1 lift	
6. Has your employer(s) ever committed any of the following:			
a. Dismissal without proper notice or reason	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
b. False accusation for theft or wrongdoing	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
c. Reported your alleged wrongdoing to the Police/RWA/society security	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
d. Used abusive words	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
e. Called any religious or casteist slurs	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
f. Called any ethnic or regional slurs such	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
g. Discriminated you on the basis of your ethnicity, eating habits or region/state that you belong of your origin	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
h. Physical violence	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
i. Sexual Harassment	Never	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
7. Have you ever felt discriminated against because of your religion or your caste?			
a. At the time of recruitment	Never felt discriminated	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
b. During the period of my employment	Never felt discriminated	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me
c. At the time of termination	Never felt discriminated	1-3 such incidents have happened with me	More than 3 such incidents have happened with me

G. ADDITIONAL SECTION (TO BE FILLED ONLY FOR IN-HOUSE DOMESTIC WORKERS)			
1. Is your religion the same as that of your employer?			
2. If not, does your employer allow you to freely and openly practice your religion inside the house? For instance, to visit your place of worship, wear clothing or accessories associated with your religion, take time to pray, put up idols, and pictures etc.	No, I have to hide my faith from my employer.	No, restrictions are often imposed in this regard	Yes, openly and without any restrictions and interruptions

3. Which of the following are provided to you by the employer for your personal use? (check all that apply)	A private room	A cupboard to keep your belongings	A bed
	Access to a separate toilet and washroom		None of them
4. Are you allowed to lock your room and/or cupboard when you go out?	Yes	No	I have not been given a private room or a cupboard.
5. Which of the following are you allowed to use in the employers' house? (check all that apply)	<input type="checkbox"/> Fridge	<input type="checkbox"/> TV	<input type="checkbox"/> Internet/WiFi
	<input type="checkbox"/> Microwave	<input type="checkbox"/> Geyser	<input type="checkbox"/> AC
6. Does your employer deduct money from your wages for shelter or food?	Shelter	Food	
	Shelter and food, both	No money is deducted for either	
7. Do you have the same meals as your employer or do you cook for yourself separately?	I have the same meals as my employer	I cook for myself separately	
8. If you cook for yourself separately, do you use a kitchen and amenities different from your employer or can you use the employer's kitchen, groceries, kitchen appliances and LPG?	I have a stove in my room and I purchase my own amenities.	I have been provided with a separate kitchen to cook in and I purchase my own amenities.	
	I can use the employer's kitchen and all the groceries and appliances I want.		
9. Does the employer ask you to work more than 12 hours in a day?	Never	Once or twice a month	
	Once or twice a week	More than twice a week	Every single day
10. Do you get sufficient time to patiently have your meals each day?	Yes	No	
11. Do you get at least 30 mins to 45 mins of tea or toilet break everyday at a fixed time?	Yes	No	
12. Do you have a fixed time at which you retire to bed everyday?	Yes	No	
13. Does your employer ask you to work after you have retired for the day?	Never	Once or twice a month	
	Once or twice a week	More than twice a week	Every single day
14. Are you ever asked to work at the households of relatives or friends of your employer?	Never	Once or twice a month	
	Once or twice a week	More than twice a week	Every single day
15. Are your spouse and children allowed to visit you in the employers' house?	No, they are not allowed to visit at all	Yes, they are allowed to visit but rarely	
	Yes, they are allowed to visit anytime and without any restrictions	My spouse and children permanently reside with me in the employers' house	
16. How frequently do you visit your family members residing in the same city?	I have never been allowed to visit them	Once or twice a year	
	Once or twice a month	More than twice a month	
17. Are you allowed to leave the premises of the employers' house on your rest days or off-hours?	I am not allowed to leave the house at all.	I can only leave to go to the market to buy the employer's amenities.	
	I can go out occasionally after taking permission	I can only leave to meet my family under the supervision of the employer	
	I can go out anytime without taking permission		

H. IMPACT OF COVID			
1. Were you paid during the nationwide lockdowns?	Not paid		Paid partially/ partly
	Paid fully but after a delay		Paid in full
2. Did your wages increase or decrease during covid?	No significant change		Decreased
	Severely Decreased		Increased
3. Did your employer(s) reduce the number of your workdays or ask you to discontinue working?	No significant change	Reduced the number of workdays or hours	Asked not to continue work
4. Did your employer(s) offer any financial assistance to you during covid?	No one offered any help	Some employers offered meagre assistance	Multiple employers offered substantive assistance
5. How many months since March 2020 were you completely unemployed?			

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR LISTING SURVEY	
1.	Name of the Locality
2.	House number and Block number
3.	Kind of Household? <input type="checkbox"/> Employer resides with nuclear family <input type="checkbox"/> Employer resides with joint family <input type="checkbox"/> Employer resides alone <input type="checkbox"/> Employer resides with friends and colleagues
4.	Number of residents in the house
5.	How many domestic workers have you employed? (NOT INCLUDING drivers, gardeners and security guards in this)
6.	Gender of the domestic worker(s) employed <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Both Male and Female <input type="checkbox"/> I have not employed any domestic worker
7.	What is the classification of the domestic worker hired? <input type="checkbox"/> Part-time domestic worker (works less than 9 hours) <input type="checkbox"/> Full-time domestic Worker (works more than 9 hours in 1 house but does not reside with the employer) <input type="checkbox"/> In-house domestic Worker (resides with the employer) <input type="checkbox"/> I have not employed any domestic worker
8.	Since how many years has the present domestic worker been working at your house?
9.	How did you find them?
10.	Name of the surveyor

