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DISCUSSION PAPER 13

Working and Living Conditions of Women Domestic Workers: Evidences from Mumbai

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Working and Living Conditions of Women Domestic Workers: Evidences from Mumbai

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Abstract

This paper, exploring primary data collected from 1510 women domestic workers in Mumbai, evidently brings out that domestic work as a feminine occupation in a global city like Mumbai is a epitome of critical deficits in human development, a vicious situation of lack of core entitlements which are required to enjoy freedom guaranteed by the democratic society. Based on the findings, we argue why it is important to create a comprehensive social security system for domestic workers in India, against the backdrop of working and living conditions of labour belonging to this occupational category. The study covers themes such as basic demographic features, nature of services, work profile of the domestic workers, access to social security, consumption of edible items, consumption under PDS system, health, union awareness, time use, household assets and liability, habitat, attitude of domestic workers towards gender and domestic violence.

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1. Introduction

In this paper, we argue why it is important to create a comprehensive social security system for domestic workers in India, against the backdrop of working and living conditions of labour belonging to this occupational category. In the emerging global economic order, characterized by global cities, new forms of division of labour and change in demographic composition, paid domestic work, mainly supplied by the poorer families, in particular women, tends to substitute unpaid production activities and services within a family such as cooking, cleaning utensils, washing clothes, caring children and old aged and so on. This makes domestic work as a pivotal occupation in determining the linkage between family and the dynamics of open economy. Across the globe, although this linkage is quite vivid, reflected in ever-expanding demand from families for domestic worker's service, provision of entitlements to this occupational category varies across countries. While there are countries, especially those countries which are located in West Europe, having systems of social security for domestic workers, some of large transition economies such as India are yet to come up with system of entitlements for domestic workers.

In Indian context, the enormity of informal work is quite a discernible phenomenon; approximately 93% of workforce is engaged in paid work in farming and non farming activities, for which they are not entitled to any of social security benefits. Moreover, these workers tend to receive relatively lower wages than formal workers get. Going by patterns generated from employment data published by National Sample Survey Organization, Government of India, persons with more years of schooling (close to ten years), appear to have higher chances of getting formal work which makes them eligible for entitlements like social security, while persons with less years of schooling may end up in lower echelons of labour market, earning lower wages and that too without social security. Quite importantly, the dichotomy of formal-informal work co-exists with glaring low labour force participation of women. Although across age

groups, female work participation rate is much lower than male work participation rates, in some occupations female far exceeds male. For instance, this is quite evident for the occupational category 'domestic work'. As it appears from data, domestic work seems to be a feminine occupation for which significant part of demand for labour comes from the urban sector. Domestic work seems to be the destiny of significantly huge number of women workers in India who seek employment opportunities in urban sector, often rendering an invisible workforce who are not paid well, and deprived of rights to ensure decency in work. Reflecting on indecent working and living condition of women domestic workers, National Commission for Enterprises in the Unorganized Sector (NCEUS, 2007, p. 86) views: "Working in the unregulated domain of a private home, mostly without the protection of national labour legislation, allows for female domestic workers to be maltreated by their employers with impunity. Women are often subjected to long working hours and excessively arduous tasks. They may be strictly confined to their places of work. The domestic workforce is excluded from labour laws that look after important employment-related issues such as conditions of work, wages, social security, provident funds, old age pensions, and maternity leave."

It is important to note that there were active initiatives to mobilize domestic workers in India, paving way for lobbying for rights such as minimum wage. In 1959, New Delhi based All India Domestic Workers Union (AIDWU) called for a one-day solidarity strike which received a thumping response from domestic workers. Interestingly, this initiative attracted legislators' attention; two bills –on minimum wages and the timely payment of wages, maximum working hours, weekly rest and annual leave periods, as well as the establishment of a servant's registry to be maintained by the local police, in deference to employers- were introduced. However, these bills were withdrawn later. Further, the development of organizing workers had a major setback when Supreme Court of India ruled that isolated workers cannot form organized labour, implying that occupational categories like domestic work is not entitled to the status of organized labour (ILO, 2010a). In fact, discrete outcomes of this nature punctured the organic growth in organizing domestic workers, one of the reasons why domestic work remains as an occupation not entitled to rights such as minimum wage and social security. However, ongoing legislative initiatives such as Unorganized Sector Workers' Social Security Bill, which covers a broad range of security schemes for workers in the

informal sector, including domestic workers, is a major break-through with a potential for desirable improvements in working and living condition of domestic workers.

While pervasive deficits in working and living conditions remain scary, inducing voices of dissent against lack of volition from the state to assure decent work for domestic workers, India lags behind other nations in extending rights to domestic workers. As shown in ILO (2010a), India is yet to provide core entitlements for decent work like maternity benefit. On the other hand, 26 nations, including developed and developing countries provide 12-14 weeks of maternity leave for domestic workers[4]. Moreover, national minimum wage act 1948 excludes domestic workers from its purview. However, states, members of federal union, may fix minimum wage for domestic workers within their territory[5]. Another important deficit is lack of social security to domestic workers in India while there have been noteworthy initiatives by other countries to provide different types of social security to domestic workers – occupational safety and health, workers' compensation for employment injuries, general health care, pension and unemployment insurance-. In fact, for women engaged in domestic work, in particular in urban India, even generating subsistence level income entails a complex process of scheduling of activities since they tend to work with multiple employers, who prefer flexible forms of labour contracts like part-time engagement of domestic workers. Unfortunately, these workers, incurring the risk of working in indecent conditions, are enmeshed in a system with excess supply of workers; they tend to offer services to relatively well-off households, who are likely to have much better availability of rights and entitlements.

Against this backdrop, we discuss fundamental socio-economic aspects of female domestic workers in urban India, with special reference to sprawling urban agglomeration, 'Mumbai'. First, we discuss basic socio- economic features of domestic workers in India, using National Sample survey 61st Round. Second, we present a case of domestic workers in Mumbai, based on data generated from a sample survey of

[4] These countries include Germany, Switzerland, Sri Lanka, Bolivia, Columbia, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua , Panama , Paraguay , Peru , Uruguay, Barbados ,Trinidad and Tobago, Islamic Republic of Iran , Israel, Burkina Faso , Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia , Kenya , Mali , Namibia , Niger , Senegal , United Republic of Tanzania , Zimbabwe .

[5] The states of Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Bihar and Rajasthan have set minimum wage rates for domestic work.

1510 domestic workers in Mumbai, which was conducted between September, 2009 and March, 2010.

This paper is organized into five sections. Section 2 gives a descriptive account of domestic work in India, covering demographic, socio-economic and labour market characteristics of domestic workers. Section 3 presents the case of domestic work in Mumbai, delineating living and working conditions of women domestic workers in Mumbai. Discussion in section 3 is based on the sample survey of domestic workers, outlining basic demographic features, nature of services, work profile of the domestic workers, access to social security, consumption of edible items, consumption under PDS system, health profile and present status, union awareness, time use, household assets and liability, habitat profile, attitude of domestic workers towards gender and profile of domestic violence. Section 4 links larger scholarly debate with the present study. Section 5 gives concluding remarks.

2. Profiling Domestic Worker in India

As an occupation, the field of domestic work is quite diverse covering profiles such as child care, cooking, cleaning and hospitality at home. Viewing the focus of this paper-women domestic worker in urban sector-, we need to lay focus on occupational profiles which are compatible with characteristics like 'being woman', 'domestic work being a core activity rather than a subsidiary activity' and 'mainly urban based occupation'. In this section, we outline salient features of domestic workers in India, mainly demographic, socio-economic and labour market related aspects. For this, we extracted unit level data from National Sample Survey 61st Round (2004-2005). As part of the data generation, we followed a multi-step process. First, we merged household and personal level data across states. Second, we did a search for domestic work related occupation profiles from National Classification of occupation (NCO) 1968. We found that eight (codes)[6] occupational titles which carry at least some elements of paid work which substitutes household chores. Out of these, after assessing gender, nature of activities and sector–rural and urban- composition, we narrowed down our search to the occupational category 'Domestic Servant' (NCO 1968

[6] House Keeping (510), Cook (520), Bearer Cook (529), Ayah(530), Domestic Servant (531), Steward /Hostess (539), Care Taker (540), Cleaner/Sweeper/ Scavenger (541),

code - 531). Third, we filtered out occupational categories other than 'domestic servant' from the database. Finally, the database consisted of household and personal information of persons who belong to this occupation, with a sample size of 1849 workers who are from different state of India. Here, we present percentage distribution of the following variables: sector, sex, age, marital status, religion, social group, educational attainment and features of employment. Moreover, we give estimated percentages, after extrapolating sample based proportions to population level using multipliers given by national sample survey, which represent the aggregate workforce belonging to 'domestic servant' in India.

As shown in table 1, more than 70% of domestic workers are based in urban sector. Close to 90% of these workers are women. Viewing the enormity of women in this occupational category, we further narrowed down to women domestic workers who form a sample size of 1633. While the youth, defined as workers in the age group of '15-34', forms two fifth of the workforce, one-tenth of them belong to dependency age groups –'below 15' and '60 and above'- (Table 2). 47% of them are currently married, while 30% of them are widowed/divorced/ separated. As shown in table 2, four fifth of them follow Hinduism, while one-tenth are Muslims. Approximately two fifth of them are from socially disadvantaged categories like schedule caste (SC) and schedule tribe (ST), while one third are from other backward class (OBC). Close to three-fifth of them are illiterates, while just two percent have studied up to secondary level.

Table 1: Sector and Sex of Domestic workers (NCO 531) in India

Sector	**Sample percentage**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
Rural	19.15	28.44
Urban	80.85	71.56
Total	100 (N= 1849)	100.00
Sex	**Sample percentage**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
Male	11.68	11.17
Female	88.32	88.83
Total	100 (N= 1849)	100.00

Source: Computed from unit level data of National Sample Survey (NSS) 61st Round (2004-2005)

Table 2: Age Interval, Marital Status, Religion, Social Group and Educational Attainment of Women Domestic workers (NCO 531) in India

Age Interval	**Sample percentage (N=1633)**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
0-14	4.8	4.1
15-34	41.9	38.2
35-59	46.4	50.3
60 and Above	6.9	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Marital Status	**Sample percentage (N=1633)**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
never married	22.2	20.0
currently married	46.9	46.5
widowed	25.0	26.1
Divorced & separated	5.9	7.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Religion	**Sample percentage (N=1633)**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
Hinduism	80.5	82.3
Islam	9.6	10.0
Christianity	7.5	5.6
Sikhism	0.5	0.3
Jainism	0.1	0.3
Buddhism	1.5	1.5
Zoroastrianism	0.1	0.2
Others	0.2	0.0
Total	100.0	100.0
Social Group	**Sample percentage (N=1633)**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
Scheduled Tribe	10.8	7.1
Scheduled Caste	27.9	31.2
Other Backward class	34.8	33.7
Others	26.5	28.1
Total	100.0	100.0
Educational Attainment	**Sample percentage (N=1633)**	**Estimated percentage based on extrapolation**
Not Literate	57.6	58.1
Just Literate	15.9	16.2
Primary	13.1	12.9
Middle	10.9	10.4
Secondary	1.8	2.1
Higher Secondary/Diploma	0.7	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Computed from unit level data of National Sample Survey (NSS) 61st Round (2004-2005)

Table 3 outlines basic features of employment of women domestic workers in India. As shown in the table, almost all domestic workers are not entitled to any form social security benefits. Although, 84% of them get regular monthly salary, 88% of them are not entitled to provisions like paid leave. Almost all of them work without any written job contract.

Table 3: Features of Employment of Women Domestic workers (NCO 531) in India

	Sample percentage (N=1633)	Estimated percentage based on extrapolation
No written job contract	98.3	97.7
No Paid Leave	87.8	86.6
Regular monthly salary	84.1	84.4
Informal work (work without any form of social security)	99.1	99.6

Source: Computed from unit level data of National Sample Survey (NSS) 61st Round (2004-2005)

The basic descriptive statistics given above, though, sketches basic demographic socio-economic labour market features for domestic workers in India, this hardly generate useful cues about core aspects of working and living conditions of them, such as nature and type of domestic services, issues at work place, consumption of necessities and food grains, health profile, allocation between market and non-market time, and assets and liabilities, habitat profile, and gender relations and domestic violence. In section 3, viewing the limitations of data bases like national sample survey, we bring out principal aspects of working and living conditions of domestic workers in sprawling agglomerations like Mumbai with an objective of setting a context for articulating the need for a comprehensive social security for domestic workers in India.

3. Domestic Workers in Mumbai: Working and Living Condition

This section presents findings from Adecco TISS Labour Market Research Initiative (ATLMRI) field survey, which was conducted between September, 2009 and March, 2010, in collaboration with *Jagrut Ghar Kamagar Sanghatan (JGKS)*, Mumbai. The core objective of this survey was to collect data on domestic worker who are members of JGKS, covering demographic profile, nature of service, consumption, health status, time use, assets and liability, habitat, gender profile and domestic violence. The JGKS

is a membership based trade union working for the cause of women domestic workers in Mumbai, with a membership base of 12,000. Primarily, we, by conducting survey on domestic workers, were more concerned about articulating the need for a state supported social security for women domestic workers which are adequately supported by the data on various aspects of living and working condition. Viewing this scenario, we designed a research methodology. First, following important socio-economic surveys, in particular National Sample Survey (NSS), we prepared a schedule of enquiry which contains the following: *personal and household Profile, demographic profile of the domestic workers, work profile of the domestic workers, access to social security, frequency of consumption of edible items, consumption under PDS system, health profile of the domestic workers, present health Status, union awareness profile of domestic Workers, time use Profile of the domestic workers, household assets and liability of the domestic workers, habitat profile, gender profile,* and *domestic Violence* (appendix 1). Second, ATLMRI and JGKS jointly organized one day workshop to discuss the suitability of schedule of enquiry to concerns shared by members of the trade union, which led to refining the schedule incorporating relevant suggestions made by representatives of union. Further, this workshop brought out approaches to sampling and data collection. There was consensus on limiting data collection to a sample size which varies between 1000 and 2000. Another important concern was about manpower and resources for data collection. Assessing the extent of resources required for data collection, we found that conventional strategies like sending a team of statistical investigators to the field might need resources which are beyond our means, requiring appropriate alternatives to have a feasible project of data collection. The workshop generated a consensual view that select union members could collect the data if they would be trained in the schedule of enquiry and data collection. Third, we organized a second workshop for training 30 select members of JGKS, which gave them basic orientation in schedule of enquiry and data collection. Following this, a pilot survey of 30 respondents was conducted. Fourth, based on experiences during pilot survey, we brought minor changes to the schedule of enquiry. Finally, the survey was launched which took approximately 7 months to complete, covering 1510 respondents who live across Western Suburbs of Mumbai, in areas like Andheri, Jogeshwari, Bandra, Mahim, Vileparle, Malad, Borivali, and Goregaon.

Distribution of Variables extracted from Schedule of Enquiry

We present frequency distribution of variables contained in schedule of enquiry. Each variable is represented in a tabular form, consisting of four columns: categories which form the variable, observed frequency which includes responses and no responses, percentage distribution of observed frequencies and percentage distribution of frequencies which is adjusted for no responses (called valid percentage).

Demographic profile

Table 4 shows distribution of domestic workers with respect to age interval. Leaving 'no response' apart, 40% respondents belong to age interval '18-34', while close to half of the respondents are in the category '35-59', this pattern is quite similar to the data for all India (see Table 2). Three-fifth of them were born in the urban areas. As shown in Table 5, while, after correcting for 'no responses', a half of them migrated into Mumbai and another half were born in Mumbai. It is important to note that a half of them migrated from rural areas. This pattern is plausible viewing the increasing labour mobility between rural and urban areas, in particular, in the context of ever expanding urban agglomerations like Mumbai. As viewed by Sassen (2006), when cities generate more high-wage jobs, primarily emanating from globalization process, the demand for support human resources specializing in domestic services is likely to go up, generating a subsistence wage class who form the base for 'survival circuits' in the city. As shown by distribution of valid percentage, while one-third of domestic workers migrated to Mumbai due to marriage, two-fifth of them came to Mumbai in search of work. Out of 1352 domestic workers who responded to the question on years of their stay in Mumbai, 70% said that they have stayed at least 20 years in Mumbai.

As shown in Table 6, Hindus (53%) and Muslim (30%) constitute four-fifth of the sample. This pattern shows discernible difference from the pattern obtained from unit level data of National Sample Survey (Table 2) in which four fifth of domestic workers are Hindus. Perhaps, this difference arises from bias in sample selection since we restricted our survey to members of JGKS. On enquiring if this pattern is credible, viewing the role of communal preference in hiring domestic workers, union office bearers commented that Muslim domestic workers are likely to be hired by employers from the same community. This shows the possibility that our sample deviates from

the sample which is 'representative' of population. It is important to note that, considering the invisibility of feminine occupations like domestic work, arriving at a credible estimate of domestic workers' population appears to be a daunting challenge, calling for more resources and time. We failed to generate a credible distribution of the caste primarily due to the enormity of no response and the response category 'do not know'. Going by valid percentage, after adjusting for two categories-no response and 'do not know'-close to 30% of respondents belong to Schedules Caste (SC) and Scheduled Tribe (ST). Most of them are married (71%), while 20% of them are widows[7] (Table 7); this pattern is discernibly different from National sample survey data given in Table 2 which show that currently married women just constitute 50% of domestic workers. Out of 1356 domestic workers who responded on educational status, a half of them are illiterates, while persons with post secondary education merely forms 2% (Table 8). Compared to this pattern, National sample survey data shows (Table 2) that three-fifth of domestic workers are illiterates. Combining patterns revealed by tables 5-8, it may be argued that socio-economic disadvantages, amply reflected in different indicators covering identities and socio-economic status, perhaps act as push factors that drag these women to paid domestic work in an agglomeration like Mumbai.

Table 4: Domestic Worker's age and Nature of Birth place

Domestic Worker's age	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
18-34	583	38.6	40.2
35-59	707	46.8	48.8
60 and above	159	10.5	11
No Response	61	4	-
Total	1510	100	100
Nature of Domestic worker's birth place	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Urban	863	57.2	59.85
Rural	579	38.3	40.15
No response	68	4.5	-
N	1510	100	100

Source: Primary Data

[7] The proportion of widows in NSSO data is one-fourth.

Table 5: Domestic Worker's Migration

Source of migration	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Migrated into Mumbai	649	43	50.19
Born in Mumbai	644	42.6	49.81
No Response	217	14.4	-
N	1510	100	100
Source of migration	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Urban	485	32.1	50.05
Rural	484	32.1	49.95
No Response	541	35.8	-
N	1510	100	100
Reasons for migration	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
In search of work	416	27.5	41.2
Marriage	339	22.5	33.6
Due to father or mother's migration	167	11.1	16.6
Due to husband's migration	66	4.4	6.5
Other	21	1.4	2.1
No Response	501	33.2	-
N	1510	100	100
Domestic workers stay in Mumbai	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
0-10 years	176	11.7	13
11-20 years	243	16.1	18
20 years and above	933	61.8	69
No Response	158	10.5	-
N	1510	100	100

Source: Primary Data

Table 6: Domestic Worker's religion

Religion	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Hindu	805	53.3	53.3
Muslim	457	30.3	30.3
Sikh	8	0.5	0.5
Neo Buddha	127	8.4	8.4
Christian	21	1.4	1.4
Others	92	6.1	6.1
N	1510	100.0	100.0
Social Category	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Scheduled Caste (SC)	138	9.1	15.30
Scheduled Tribe (ST)	116	7.7	12.86
Other Backward class (OBC)	253	16.8	28.05
Other	395	26.2	43.79
do not know	258	17.1	-
No Response	350	23.2	-
	1510	100.0	100.0

Source: Primary Data

Table 7: Domestic Worker's marital status

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Unmarried	93	6.2	6.36
Married	1045	69.2	71.43
Widow	285	18.9	19.48
Divorced	23	1.5	1.57
Separated	17	1.1	1.16
No response	47	3.1	-
N	1510	100	100

Source: Primary Data

Table 8: Domestic Worker's educational status

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage
Not Literate	703	46.6	51.84
Literate without formal schooling	173	11.5	12.76
Below Primary	128	8.5	9.44
Primary	144	9.5	10.62
Middle	104	6.9	7.67
Secondary	77	5.1	5.68
Higher Secondary	24	1.6	1.77
Diploma or Certificate courses	3	0.2	0.22
No Response	154	10.2	-
N	1510	100	100

Source: Primary Data

Nature of Service

On investigating the nature of service of domestic workers, we collected information on employment status, number of houses they work, and type of domestic services. Almost all of them are employed at present as domestic worker (Table 9). While one-fourth of them works just in one house, the remaining three-fourth of them works in multiple houses. Three-fifth of them works in 2-3 houses every day and close to one-sixth of them works in more than 4 houses. This pattern points to the flexibility of labour market for low wage invisible work, almost resembling perfectly competitive labour market scenarios where labour is wage taker. As shown by Chen et.al (2006), while informal work (which may be valid for paid domestic work as well) offers tremendous flexibility in terms of working hours, this opportunity co-exist with indirect costs which emanate from poor working and living conditions. Moreover, "psychological and emotional costs – in terms of a worker's self esteem and dignity – associated with many forms of informal work" (Ibid, p.2133). We asked respondents about nature of services they do, covering services like cooking, utensils cleaning, cloth washing, floor cleaning, toilet and bathrooms cleaning, children caring, old age care, Marketing activities, gardening, disability caring and animal care. Summary statistics of responses are presented in Table 10. More than three-fourth of domestic workers are engaged either in utensils cleaning or in cloth washing or in floor cleaning, while just two-fifth of them are employed for cooking services. Close to 30% of them are engaged in cleaning of toilets and bathrooms. Rest of the services shows

lower response rates. Quite interestingly, the organization of domestic work as prevalent in 1940s in Mumbai, narrated by Khanderia (1947), appeared like exhaustive basket of tasks in one day schedule as prevalent among live-in male domestic workers, whilst women domestic workers in our sample tend to be engaged in select tasks as prevalent in part time live out domestic work.

Table 9: Present employment status and coverage of Houses

Domestic workers	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Yes	1476	97.75	99.39
No	9	0.60	0.61
No Response	25	1.66	-
N	1510	100.00	100.0
No of Houses covered	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
1 House	351	23.25	23.70
2 House	561	37.15	37.88
3 House	335	22.19	22.62
4 House	131	8.68	8.85
5 House	78	5.17	5.27
6 House and above	25	1.66	1.69
No Response	29	1.92	-
N	1,510	100.00	100.0

Source: Primary Data

Table 10: Type of Domestic services

Domestic services	Domestic Workers Working in Single House	Domestic Workers Working in more than one House	Domestic Workers Working in at least one House	Percentage of domestic workers engaged in services = (column 4/N)* 100, Where N= 1510
1	2	3	4	5
Utensils Cleaning	480	832	1312	86.9
Cloth washing	465	752	1217	80.6
Floor Cleaning	435	748	1183	78.3
Cooking	326	266	592	39.2
Toilet & Bathrooms Cleaning	234	208	442	29.3
Children caring	62	3	65	4.3
Old age care	36	3	39	2.6
Marketing activities	19	7	26	1.7
Gardening	17	6	23	1.5
Disability caring	17	0	17	1.1
Animal care	9	0	9	0.6

Source: Primary Data

Work Profile of Domestic Worker

From our survey, domestic work appears to be regular employment with monthly pay received by workers. As shown in Table 11, close to two-third of domestic workers, who responded to the question on their wages, do not earn more than Rs. 2000 per month, while just one percent earn more than Rs. 5000 per month. One tenth of them do not earn even Rs 1000 every month. On an average, they earn Rupees 1964 which is much lower than national minimum wages such as the wage prevalent under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA). This indicates at the enormity of poor people who are entrenched in the trap of low wage equilibrium which is widely prevalent across the globe[8]. Table 12 shows that 97% of them get pay monthly basis and they are paid in cash (94%)[9]. Only one-fourth of them get food to eat at the workplace, while four-fifth of them works even in holidays. Contrary to this, as reported by Khanderia (1947), live-in male domestic workers in Mumbai were provided with food by employers. Even they were entitled to benefits such as free housing. The core differences between our data and patterns shown by Khanderia seem to have been the outcome of structural changes which happened to Mumbai as an agglomeration, evolving from a central business district based city to a suburban based urban sprawl, which brought fundamental changes in commuting within the city and the nature of division of work at the home. For instance, families of salaried spouses who live in suburban Mumbai tend to spend considerable amount of time for market activities such as jobs and commuting, entailing the domestic chores to be outsourced to women who are pushed to low wage-flexible-part-time work.

As revealed by the data, probing if they are susceptible to discriminatory treatment by employers, only 3% of domestic workers in our sample have ever been suspected for theft by the employers. Most of them (90%) never faced sexual harassment at the work place. However, we see this pattern with a pinch of salt, doubting underreporting of the sexual harassment at work place[10]. Answering to our question whether these

[8] "The persistence of poverty worldwide is a major challenge of the 21st century. More than one billion people struggle to survive on less than $1 a day" (Chen et.al, 2006)

[9] This is quite consistent with the data shared by Khanderia (1947). Describing the case of live-in male domestic workers in Mumbai, she found that the wages were paid monthly.

[10] On this issue, we probed activists who work for the cause of domestic workers. They were of view that this figure lacks credibility. Moreover, ILO (2010a) observes "Sexual harassment and abuse also appear to

workers are engaged in any subsidiary form of work, close to 90% respondents said that they are not engaged in any form of subsidiary activities. Almost all respondents work without a written contract of employment. This is consistent with figure given in Table 3 which is based on NSSO unit level data, showing same proportion of workers without any job contract. Interestingly, Kantor et.al (2006), investigating employment security of informal workers in Surat, based on a sample of 86 women workers, reports that 95% of them have no job contract. Similarly proportion of same magnitude never received any advance notice from the employer before they get terminated. 90% of them do not have fixed weekly holidays and only 13% of them get overtime payment (Table 13). Four fifth of them reach work place by walking (Table 14). This is not necessarily a characteristic of domestic workers in typical urban agglomeration. An important reason for this result is that most of the respondents in our sample live in western suburbs of Mumbai like Andheri where slums co exist with habitat units like apartments, forming a continuum between labour market pool and domestic workers and potential employers. As given in the Table 15, more than three fourth of domestic worker possess ration cards and three fifth have Voter ID while only four percent has LIC policies. This pattern is quite consistent with status of social security for other informal workers, showing the critical deficit in entitlements which are required for leading a decent life. Based on the data collected from Karnataka, Rao et.al (2006), showing multi dimensional vulnerability of informal sector workers including domestic workers, argues the urgency of social security programmes which cater to specific needs of occupations. In fact, this gap has been existing for long, spanning over eight decades. As observed by Khanderia (1947) there is dire need for "a social security programme, comprising of (a) Unemployment Insurance, *(b)* Sickness Insurance, and (c) Old Age Insurance" (p.171). Although, 60% have ration cards, as revealed by the respondents, baring a few exceptions, rest of the ration cards are above poverty-line cards. Surprisingly, below poverty line ration card remains a mirage for a vast majority of domestic workers in Mumbai. On this issue, we probed further on why low wage occupational category like domestic workers are identified above poverty line, by interacting with activists and office bearers of trade union who pointed out that the apathetic attitude of state, amply reflected in lackadaisical approach

be prevalent and this, like all abuse, can have serious long-term repercussions of the domestic workers' health, especially when the victims are young girls".

towards efficient enforcements, as prime factor accounting for this injustice of denying below-poverty-line status to domestic women workers who live in abject poverty.

Table 11: Wages of domestic worker (frequency distribution)

Wage interval	frequency	Valid percentage
less than 1000	182	12.47
1000-1500	428	29.34
1501-2000	326	22.34
2001-2500	175	11.99
2501-3000	184	12.61
3001-3500	56	3.84
3501-4000	63	4.32
4001-4500	21	1.44
4501-5000	8	0.55
above 5000	16	1.10
No response	51	
Total	1510	100.00
Average wage	1964	
Standard Deviation	1096	

Source: Primary Data

Table 12: Payment mechanism

Payment frequency	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Daily basis	31	2.05	2.09
Weekly basis	15	0.99	1.01
Monthly basis	1,438	95.23	96.9
No Response	26	1.72	
N	1,510	100	
Forms of payment	**Frequency**	**Percentage**	**Valid Percentage**
Cash payment	1,374	90.99	93.72
Paid in advance and adjusted with monthly salary	87	5.76	5.93
Others	5	0.33	0.34
No Response	44	2.91	
N	1,510	100	
Sum	1,466		

Source: Primary Data

Table 13: Issues faced by Domestic worker at workplace

	Yes	No
Getting food to eat in the work place?	374 (25.41)	1,098 (74.59)
Working even on holidays	1209 (82.53)	256 (17.47)
Suspected of theft by the employer	41 (2.8)	1423 (97.2)
Faced sexual harassment at the work place	31 (2.24)	1,355 (97.76)
Involved in any subsidiary work besides working as a Domestic Worker	182 (12.79)	1241 (87.21)
Have a written contract with any employer	6 (0.41)	1449 (99.59)
Getting any notice period before termination of employment	30 (2.07)	1417 (97.93)
Enjoy fixed weekly holidays	13 (0.89)	1446 (99.11)
Getting overtime payment	193 (13.22)	1267 (86.78)

Note: Figures in the parenthesis give no response adjusted valid percentage where N= 1510
Source: Primary Data

Table 14: How does Domestic Worker travel to her work place? What is the mode of travel?

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Bus	134	8.87	9.1
Local train	120	7.95	8.15
Walk	1217	80.6	82.62
Shared rickshaw	2	0.13	0.14
No Response	37	2.45	-
N	1510	100.00	100.0

Source: Primary Data

Table 15: Types of Social Securities

	Frequency	Percentage
LIC	65	4.3
Ration card	1,192	78.94
Voter ID	922	61.06
Elderly Card	44	2.91
Saving Account	179	11.85
Photo Pass	115	7.62
Other Forms of Social security	13	0.86
N	1,510	100

Source: Primary Data

Consumption of necessities

Table 16 gives percentage distribution of consumption of edible items other than food grains with respect to a frequency scale which ranges between daily and never. While three-fourth of respondents consume tea, coffee and milk daily, close to two-fifth of them eat pulses along with their meal daily. 48% of them consume Green leafy vegetables at least once a month. However, most of them consume fruits, eggs and meat not regularly. As shown in Table 17, just 30% of them buy more than 5 kilograms of rice every month from ration shops, 64% of them by more than 5 kilograms of wheat every month from ration shops. Almost all of them buy less than 5 kilogram of sugar. The same pattern is valid for pulses as well. 44% of them procure up to 5 litres of kerosene every month from ration shops. Tracing back to several decades, Khanderia (1947) observes glaring discrimination in providing food to live-in male domestic workers by employers. "As a member of the household, all food requirements of the servant are supplied to him by the employer. In 30 cases, however, discrimination is shown in the food given to the servant. He is given lower quality of rice and only one vegetable. Lesser quantity of ghee is applied to his *chapati* and he is not provided with milk or curds. The predominance of rice makes it an unbalanced diet lacking in proteins, salts and vitamins" (p.165-6). As revealed by table 16 and 17, even after eight decades domestic workers' food consumption appears to fall short of desirable levels of quality in terms of content and nutrition. As noticed by Kantor et.al (2006) based on a response base of 86 casual women workers, all informal women casual workers are not entitled to food at work. As reflected in table 17, although food supply through public distribution system is solace for domestic workers who suffer cumulative disadvantages, as mentioned previously, they do not get adequate provisions which they would have got had they had below-poverty-line status.

Table 16: Consumption of Edible items other than food grain

	Tea, Coffee and Milk	Curd	Pulses	Greenleaf vegetable	Fruits	Eggs	Fish	Chicken and other Meat	Tobacco	Alcohol
Daily	75.9	1.5	38.1	21.2	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	10.3	2.8
Weekly	3.7	22.4	17.5	26.6	8.7	22.2	13.6	14.4	0.8	0.7
Sometimes	16.3	69.2	43.2	51.4	86.1	73.2	77.6	69.7	4.9	4.5
Never	4.1	6.8	1.2	0.8	4.6	4.0	8.3	15.5	83.9	92.0
Valid Percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1483	1476	1478	1484	1479	1478	1476	1473	1451	1446

Source: Primary Data

Table 17: Consumption under PDS system

Quantity consumed via PDS by Dw's family (Kg/Litre)	Rice	Wheat	Sugar	Kerosene*	Pulses
Upto 5	69.72	35.25	98.44	44.47	98.66
6 - 10	17.24	41.32	1.07	22.91	0.24
11- 15	5.93	14.23	0.00	22.52	0.00
16- 20	6.68	7.01	0.19	8.64	0.36
20 and above	0.43	2.20	0.29	1.46	0.73
Valid percentage Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	928	956	1027	1030	822

* In litre

Source: Primary Data

Health considerations of Domestic Workers

Four-fifth of respondents said that they access health services from government or municipal hospital, while one-sixth of them avail health services from private clinic (Table 18). As shown in Table 19, most of people –two-third to four fifth- access health facilities due to illnesses such as headache, giddiness, body pain, cough & cold and back Pain, while one–sixth of people visit health facilities because of diarrhea. Responding to our question "Do you have any serious diseases?" 47% of respondents said that they do not know whether they suffer from any diseases. One-fourth of them said that they suffer from Blood Pressure (BP) and other cardiac diseases, while responses in respect of other diseases show much lower frequencies (Table 20). Apart from disease reported here, as shown by Zechter et.al (1987), domestic workers are prone to occupational hazards which emanate from sources like pests, flammable

trash piles, non-electrical safety hazards, garbage and frayed electrical cords. Further, work related injuries and back pain are commonly noticed among women domestic workers. It is important to note that *headache* and *giddiness,* as shown in table 19 as a reason for seeking health care, though shared by majority of workers, these two categories of illnesses, instead of being the actual diseases, may be the proxy for pain which emanate from internal discomforts due to more serious diseases. It appears that in the absence of appropriate health insurances grave diseases which affect these workers are likely to be masked by simple forms of illnesses like fever, headache and so on.

Table 18: Available health facilities to Domestic Worker

	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
Government/municipal hospital	1,204	79.74	80.64
NGO/trust hospital	25	1.66	1.67
Private clinic	240	15.89	16.08
Mobile clinic	13	0.86	0.87
Medical store	11	0.73	0.74
No Response	17	1.13	-
N	1,510	100.00	100.0
Sum	1,493		

Source: Primary Data

Table 19: Reasons (illnesses) for seeking health care

	Frequency	Percentage out of N=1510
Headache	1,238	81.99
Giddiness	980	64.90
Body pain	1,236	81.85
Cough & Cold	1,007	66.69
Diarrhea	264	17.48
Back Pain	1,214	80.40
Pregnancy related issues	19	1.26
Children health	180	11.92
Sexual life related issues	2	0.13
TB	5	0.33
Authorities	52	3.44
Cataract	27	1.79
Others	15	0.99
		100.00

Source: Primary Data

Table 20: Types of Diseases Frequencies

	Frequency	Percentage out of N=1510
Cancer	39	2.58
Blood Pressure (BP) and other cardiac disease	381	25.23
Diabetes	102	6.75
Asthma	114	7.55
Tuberculosis (TB)	26	1.72
Gynaec Problems	36	2.38
Physical or mental Disability	26	1.72
Others disease	20	1.32
Do not Know	706	46.75
		100.0

Source: Primary Data

Union Awareness of Domestic Workers

We ask respondents "what are the benefits for being a union member?". Four-fifth of them associated three benefits –law for domestic workers, ration card availability and ration availability against the ration card- with union membership (Table 21). Two-fifth of them associated health information with union membership, while one third and one-fourth of them associated awareness about children education and political awareness with union membership, respectively. Quite importantly, one-sixth of respondent sees linkage between protection from police and awareness about women empowerment and union membership. ILO (2010a) shows the pivotal role unions play in bringing decency to domestic work through appropriate collective bargaining strategies and timely interventions. In metropolises like Mumbai vast majority of women who work in informal sector, in particular domestic workers are not unionized, leaving tremendous potential for trade unions and supportive organizations to come up for up-holding the quest for social justice in the context of entrenched inequalities that suppress low order occupations. As reflected by Chen et.al (2006) "The representative voice of workers – especially informal workers both women and men – in the processes and institutions that determine economic policies and formulate the *rules of the (economic) game* needs to be increased. This requires building and supporting organizations of informal workers and extending the coverage of existing trade unions, cooperatives, and other worker organizations to include informal

workers. This also requires making rule-setting and policy-making institutions more inclusive to include representatives of the working poor" (p. 2138). Further, Khanderia (1947) emphasizes the relevance of trade union in "inculcating civic, economic and national consciousness" (p.166). As shown in table 21, respondents in the study view that trade union has brought enormous awareness on certain pertinent issues, for instance, making these workers aware about the domestic workers' law, helping domestic workers in acquiring ration card and ensuring the availability of ration against ration card, and health information through trade union are few examples to imply how the role of trade union becomes vital in the process of fighting for social justice, with given enormity of political resistance towards bringing reforms to the life of domestic workers, the role of trade union becomes very clear.

Table 21: Benefits for being a Union Member

	Responses*	Percentage out of N=1510
Law for Domestic Workers	1272	84.24
Ration card availability	1250	82.78
Ration availability against the ration card	1226	81.19
Protection from Police	252	16.69
Political awareness	390	25.83
Health Information	608	40.26
Information about Police system and security	177	11.72
General Information	128	8.48
Overall Education	131	8.68
Awareness about women empowerment	234	15.50
Awareness about children's education	492	32.58
Awareness work place culture	139	9.21
Other benefits	2	0.13
		100.00

Source: Primary Data

Time use of Domestic Worker

Going by conventional labour statistics practices, population is classified into labour and not-in-labour force. While labour force includes employed and unemployed, not in labour force is an aggregate which consists of persons who are engaged in unpaid

domestic work, children and aged persons and so on. A fundamental criticism raised against this decomposition of work, mainly by feminists, points out that valuing a work solely based on whether it generates pay is tantamount to devaluing some of the core unpaid voluntary works which are vital for the sustenance of the families. Further, this view questions the veracity of activity approach to measuring employment, saying employment is essentially a paid activity during a given period, while the view expressed by feminists for alternate valuing of work in terms of the nature of time use[11]. It is important to note that decomposing work on the basis of time use tends to generate three categories: sleeping, work for pay (quite similar to market activities as used in time use literature), and unpaid domestic work (including personal activities). This is a major departure from the received view of valuing work in terms of paid work. In the study, Table 22 shows average time spent on different activities by domestic workers in a day. These activities include sleeping, market activities and non-market activities. Further, non market activities are classified into: self grooming, preparing meals or snacks, eating and drinking, cleaning own house and kitchen, washing clothes, grocery shopping, attending religious activities including temple visits, mosque, church etc, watching television and caring own kids. On average respondents in the sample sleep seven hours a day, while they spend four and half hours for paid activities which earn wages/compensation for them. For unpaid activities, average time spent is twelve hours. As shown in table 23, 80% of them sleep at least eight hours. For activities which generates wage, three-fifth of domestic workers spend 2-6 hours daily. Almost all of them spend less than four hours on each unpaid domestic activities. Time allocation pattern of this nature is primarily due to increasing flexibility of domestic work in cities like Mumbai wherein the labour market in domestic work is relatively more competitive with wage taking employment seekers who charge wages according to the nature of task rather than wages set against hours they spend in employers' home.

[11] For a conceptual outline of time use see Hirway, Indira on http://data.undp.org.in/hdrc/thematicResource/gndr/Indira_metho_issues.pdf

Table 22: Average time use for different activities per day

Time use	**Average time spend per day**
Sleeping	7 hours 11 minutes
Paid Work	4 hours 30 minutes
Unpaid Work (includes personal work)	12 hours 2 minutes
grooming (self)	1 hour 18 minutes
Preparing meals or snacks	1 hour 39 minutes
Eating and drinking	1 hour
Cleaning your own home and kitchen	1 hour 25 minutes
Washing clothes	1 hour 29 minutes
Grocery shopping	1 hour 13 minutes
attending religious activities	1 hour 7 minutes
watching TV	1 hour 16 minutes
caring your own kids	1 hour 36 minutes

Source: Primary Data

Table 23: Time interval of different activities

	Sleeping	**Paid Work**	**Unpaid Work (includes personal work)**								
			grooming (self)	**Preparing meals or snacks**	**Eating and drinking**	**Cleaning your own home and kitchen**	**Washing clothes**	**Grocery shopping**	**attending religious activities**	**watching TV**	**caring your own kids**
Less than 2 hours	0.20	7.35	63.54	45.37	90.55	61.36	54.34	80.19	87.93	73.92	51.19
2 hours - Less than 4 hours	2.98	35.30	35.84	54.50	9.45	38.43	45.11	19.60	11.65	25.41	46.59
4 hours - Less than 6 hours	9.68	27.02	0.62	0.14	0.00	0.21	0.55	0.21	0.42	0.67	2.22
6 hours - Less than 8 hours	42.56	22.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
8 hours - Less than 10 hours	40.12	6.23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
10 hours and more	4.47	1.99	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	1478	1510	1448	1457	1461	1452	1452	1444	1425	1039	1305

Source: Primary Data

Household Asset and Liabilities of Domestic Worker

As shown in Table 24, while more than half of domestic worker have their own houses and own Television, one-third of them have gas connection. Almost all of them do not

own durable goods like computer and vehicle, while just 5% own fridge at home. 70% of them have outstanding liabilities. Only 5% of them have borrowed from formal credit sources like banks. On the other hand, four-fifth of them borrowed money from informal sources like money lenders and relatives. As shown by Rao et.al (2006) domestic workers, in comparison with other informal sector workers like construction workers, are worse off in the ownership of assets.

Table 24: Household Asset and Liabilities profile of Domestic Worker

Assets	**Have**	**Don't have**
Own House	795 (53.25)	698 (46.75)
Personal ornaments	243 (19.29)	1017 (80.71)
Gas connection	547 (36.88)	936 (63.12)
Television	883 (59.46)	602 (40.54)
Fridge	76 (5.15)	1401 (94.85)
Vehicle	14 (1.00)	1383 (99.00)
Computer	25 (1.70)	1444 (98.30)
Liabilities	**Have**	**Don't have**
Outstanding loan(s)	1002 (71.27)	404 (28.73)
Borrowed from Bank	58 (4.87)	1132 (95.13)
Borrowed from Money Lender	359 (24.05)	833 (55.79)
Borrowed from Employer	101 (8.47)	1092 (91.53)
Borrowed from Relatives	284 (23.79)	910 (76.21)
Borrowed from Friends	151 (12.70)	1038 (87.30)
Borrowed from Self Help Groups (SHGs)	14 (1.17)	1179 (98.83)
Borrowed from informal Fund *(Bhishi)*	93 (7.80)	1099 (92.20)
Borrowed from Others	27 (2.27)	1163 (97.73)

Source: Primary Data

Nature of Habitat

As shown in Table 25, 95% of domestic workers who responded to our questions on habitat said that they stay in tiny houses with living space ranging between 25 and 100 sq. ft. 96% of respondents who provided data on number of rooms in their houses living settlements having one room. Most of them -90% of respondents- live without toilet facility, depending on public toilet facility. In a city where real estate is increasingly turning out to be more speculative, which makes decent habitat units beyond the reach of poor people, domestic workers who earn below subsistence wages destine to live in urban slums where they live without basic facilities such as toilet. Although, the state, through slum rehabilitation projects, has been making efforts to provide 'decent' living, these entitlements are not provisioned to 'invisible' population who live in the city.

Table 25: Habitat profile of domestic worker

Length and width of house(sq. ft)	Frequency	Valid Percentage
25-100	1398	94.91
101-175	72	4.89
176-250	2	0.14
476-550	1	0.07
No Response	37	-
N	1510	100.0
Number of Rooms	Frequency	Valid Percentage
only one room	1430	96.95
two rooms	44	2.98
three rooms	1	0.07
No Response	35	-
N	1510	100.0
	Frequency	Valid Percentage
Without toilet facility	1329	89.56 (N=1484)
Use public Toilet	1298	88.72 (N=1463)

Source: Primary data.

For assessing the role of female domestic workers in making decisions at home, we cross tabulated sources of decisions -husband, self (domestic worker who responded to the question), both husband and self, head of the family, father/mother in laws, others in laws, son and daughter- types of decisions, covering major household purchases, purchases of daily household needs, visits to family/relatives/friend,

spending your earned money and number of having children. While 71% of women said that they take decisions of purchase of household needs, just 19% of them make decision on number of children to be born. Moreover, half of the women do not make decisions on spending their own money. In deciding number of children, 39% of respondents viewed that decision is jointly made by husband and wife. As viewed by 40% of respondents, husband's take decision of major household purchases (Table 26).

Table 26: Gender Profile: Attitudes of Domestic worker towards gender

Who Makes decision	major household purchases	purchases of daily household needs	Visits to your family, relatives, friend	spending your earned money	Number of having children?
My Husband	39.93	18.86	24.98	26.03	38.53
Myself	46.78	71.14	32.04	50.14	18.81
Both	8.65	6.88	33.66	18.41	38.79
Head of the Family	1.11	1.09	4.80	1.65	0.90
Father/Mother In-laws	1.59	0.54	1.27	1.58	0.39
Other In-laws	0.00	0.00	0.28	0.14	0.26
My Son	1.59	0.95	2.12	1.65	1.29
My Daughter	0.35	0.54	0.85	0.41	1.03
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
N	1445	1469	1417	1456	776

Source: primary Data

Domestic violence

We asked questions to respondents about forms of domestic violence, circumstances and safeguards which they experienced at home, covering verbal abuse, fight with husband, alcohol as a reason for abuse and quarrel, physical abuse by husband, sex without consent, sexual abuse by other family members, forced to return parents home, seeking police protection and response of police. As shown in table 27, for these questions, counts of responses varied between 912 and 1149. Out of women domestic workers who responded, two-third said that they faced verbal abuse at home. Out of 1107 respondents, half of them said that their husbands drink alcohol. Out of 1057 respondents, 36% said that their husbands behave differently after the drink and 60% out of 1062, think intoxication is a reason for abuse and quarrel. Further out of response base of similar magnitude, 28% said that they have to give money for

husband's drink and out of 1079 response base, half were physically abuse by husbands. Out of 1004 respondents, 31% had sex with their husbands without their consents, while 10% of 912 respondents, were sexually abused by other family members at least once. Out of 1018 respondents, 37% were sent back their parents home. While out of 1084 respondents, 50% had sought police protection when they faced domestic violence, out of response based of similar magnitude, just one third said that police responded to their complaints. As shown in Table 28, going by responses husband appears to be the principal source of domestic violence. Although patterns on domestic violence which we discuss clearly convey that 'husband' emerges as pivotal factor in determining the extent of domestic violence, as viewed by our respondents, most of them tend to tolerate these hardships by adopting coping strategies such as 'Keep Quite', 'no attention', 'leave house' and 'cry' (Table 29). As shared by some respondents, insufficient earning by them often caused abuse by husband (Table 30).

Table 27: Types of Domestic violence, circumstances and safeguards

	Yes	No	N
Verbal abuse	63.97	36.03	1149
Fight with husband	65.28	34.72	985
Does your husband drink alcohol?	51.40	48.60	1107
Does your husband behave differently when he drinks	36.05	63.95	1057
Do you think intoxication of drink is a reason for abuse and quarrel	59.51	40.49	1062
Do you have to give money for his drink?	27.51	72.49	1047
Are you ever Physically Abused by your Husband	49.30	50.70	1079
Ever Had Sex with your Husband without your Consent?	31.08	68.92	1004
Ever Sexually Abused by other Family Member	10.53	89.47	912
Ever sent back to your Parents' Home	36.84	63.16	1018
Did you seek police protection, in case of domestic violence?	49.54	50.46	1084
Did police respond to you well?	31.56	68.44	1109

Source: Primary Data

Table 28: Source of Abuse

	Frequency	Percentage out of N=1510
Husband	643	42.58
Father-in-law	83	5.50
Mother-in-law	104	6.89
Son	61	4.04
Daughter	10	0.66
Sister-in-law	11	0.73
Brother-in-law	2	0.13
Others	31	2.05

Source: Primary Data

Table 29: Reaction to harassment by husband and relatives

	Reaction to husband	Percentage out of N=1510	Reaction to relatives	Percentage out of N=1510
Answer back	276	18.28	194	12.85
Keep Quite	399	26.42	338	22.38
No attention	284	18.81	288	19.07
Leave house	128	8.48	166	10.99
Cry	235	15.56	198	13.11
Seek neighbours help	22	1.46	56	3.71
Seek police help	14	0.93	63	4.17
Hit him	3	0.20	1	0.07
Take family help	20	1.32	73	4.83

Source: Primary Data

Table 30: Husband abuse reason

	Frequency	Percentage out of N=1510
Dowry	158	10.46
Less income	580	38.41
Do not give money to husband	292	19.34
Bad health	117	7.75
Parents	29	1.92
Others	133	8.81

Source: Primary Data

Combining figures presented in Tables 26-30, it is important to argue that there is a dire need of capacity building and appropriate interventions towards safeguarding fundamental rights and freedom of women domestic workers through institutional arrangements like collectives such as trade union, which can be catalyst to transformational processes for attaining the critical mass of entitlements by honoring the dignity and autonomy of identities, context and culture in the backdrop of a cohesive democratic society. ILO (2010a), citing select cases from different countries, emphasizes the importance of institutional initiatives, combining state and society, to combat trends like violence against women, generate awareness about rights and empowerment, and occupation related skill development.

4. Linking larger debate on Domestic work to the present Study

Viewing the nature of domestic work in ancient India, Greece and Rome, Khanderia (1947) traces roots of domestic work to slavery and colonial features. Further pointing

out how caste system in India emerged as a result of dominance from the Aryans who invaded India during 3000 BC, Khanderia explains that the invasion of Aryans lead to stratification of society into four colors- Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras- which is present even today's modern India. Through the stratification of people into Aryans and non-Aryans, hierarchy of work was created where higher order works were made available to higher strata of the society, and lower order works for Sudras. Even today, despite the changing economic scenarios, we see the slavery, which is very well termed as "modern slavery under globalization" (McGovern, 2003) in the form of domestic work. The scenario of modern slavery is not only visible in developing world, but also very clearly visible in highly developed geographies such as Europe. In the form of domestic work cruel forms of slavery like forced labour or servitude is part of elite societies (Mantouvalou, 2006). Domestic work in the recent literature and policy debates appears to be a "different" (Peterson, 2007) form of work. This recurrent framing of domestic work as 'different', in fact, legitimizes while pointing at precarious working conditions, as a lineage from the colonialism, and servitude approach of the society (Ibid). Domestic work is not only a most heinous nature of work, but also remains a devalued sector with a precarious working conditions, to an extent, why today, domestic work still remains a low valued and invisible work has a roots in the capitalistic and patriarchal discourses (Francois, 2008). Further, in this context, low wage scenario in domestic work segment is very well understood, owing to the reason that domestic work was traditionally considered to be an unpaid activity, mainly performed by female members of the family. This gender relations in the context of domestic work, as ILO defines "gendered" family responsibilities in private homes (ILO, 2010a), offers a convincing argument for low wage offered in this labor segment.

Further, the domestic work also produced racial, gender and class discrimination in society (Ibid). Importantly, racism and discrimination based on migrant status, especially in so called 'democratic and secular' lands like United Kingdom (Anderson, 2007) remains as an example to argue why domestic workers across the globe are in need of an appropriate state intervention. In recent days, the ILO (2010a) report compares the domestic work to more of "master-servant" relationship that takes our thinking and imaginations once gain back to many centuries. It is apparent from this expression that employee-employer relationship suffers many deficiencies, especially contractual nature of the work, migrant status of the employee, and formal nature of

interactions do not allow a healthy relationship to develop between employer and employee (Chan, 2005). Interestingly, racism scenario doesn't only confine to the migration status, colour of the skin, or religion of the person, given the nature of co-existence of people from multiple religions (Table 6), multiple castes within these religions, sub castes within a caste, and different community identities within a sub caste makes the analysis more complex.

In a traditional description, domestic work was considered to be an unpaid work performed mainly by females in the family. In the given changing socio-economic scenario such as increasing ageing population, occupations in industries becoming more lucrative with changes "in the organization of work and the intensification of work" (ILO, 2010a), prompting participation of women, especially women from middle class families (Platzer, 2006), in labor market , hence the so called 'un-paid non-market activity', domestic work remains out of the purview of list of occupational options for educated persons, while raising the importance of outsourced domestic work as a separate occupation, mainly performed by migrant workers or economically weaker sections of the society. Partly, this phenomenon leads to a crucial role in making domestic work a segment of employment choice for millions of workers across the world (ILO, 2010a).

Quite predominantly, domestic workers in urban agglomerations are likely to emerge from lower echelons of society characterised by lower educational attainment and social backwardness in terms of caste (Table 8). In case of India, it is more often rural to urban migration that forms large chunk of domestic workers in cities like Mumbai. A comparison of views prior to independence[12] and today as shown in our study nearly 50 percent of domestic workers are migrants, especially from villages (Table 6). This reveals that there is no discernable change in trends which were existing during 1940s (Khanderia, 1947) and today. Taking international scenarios, especially developed countries, into account what we see today is a noteworthy surge of domestic workers from poor or developing societies into developed societies in Europe and elsewhere (McGovern, 2003, Peterson, 2007).

Domestic workers are quite often subject to physical and verbal abuse in their work places (ILO, 2010b). In addition, domestic workers have also exploited by hiring

[12] With reference to Khanderia's (1947) work.

agencies leading to *traumatic incidences* (Neetha, 2008). In the recent years, in metropolitan cities of India, number of domestic work hiring agencies has gone up, while raising concerns over genuinity over broad agendas of these agencies and underlying exploitation of migrant women workforce in the country. Quite predominantly, "job insecurity, a high vulnerability to ill-health, low wages and exploitation including sexual" harassment (EPW, 2009) both within their own house (Table 27) and outside the house (work place) (Table 13) are the increasing scenarios in the life of domestic workers. Scenario of this kind, in informal labour market like domestic work, calls for states intervention and appropriate regulations (Neetha, 2008).

Quite an interesting scenario observed in domestic workers' labour market is that domestic workers are seen as a threat to class status of the employer because of their frequent in-out mobility, and work in multiple households (Table 9) make employers feel that there is a possibility of leakages of information from one household to other, in turn this may cause damage to their class and social image. As Chan (2005) clearly observes "This means that interactions within the family are no longer restricted to family members, but have extended to that between employers and employees, which necessarily constitute asymmetry in power and status between these two parties". In addition, domestic workers who come from lower strata of the society are viewed as contrast to the "ideal cleanliness, order, and hygiene" of the class conscious society (Dickey, 2000). Domestic work remains a "fragmented nature (of work with) different tasks and multiplicity of employers" (Table 6) (Neetha, 2008). The sector's precariousness continues in the form of no state intervention in providing "regular and fair wages, holidays, safe (working) conditions, pension and other (social security) benefits" (Hamid, 2006).

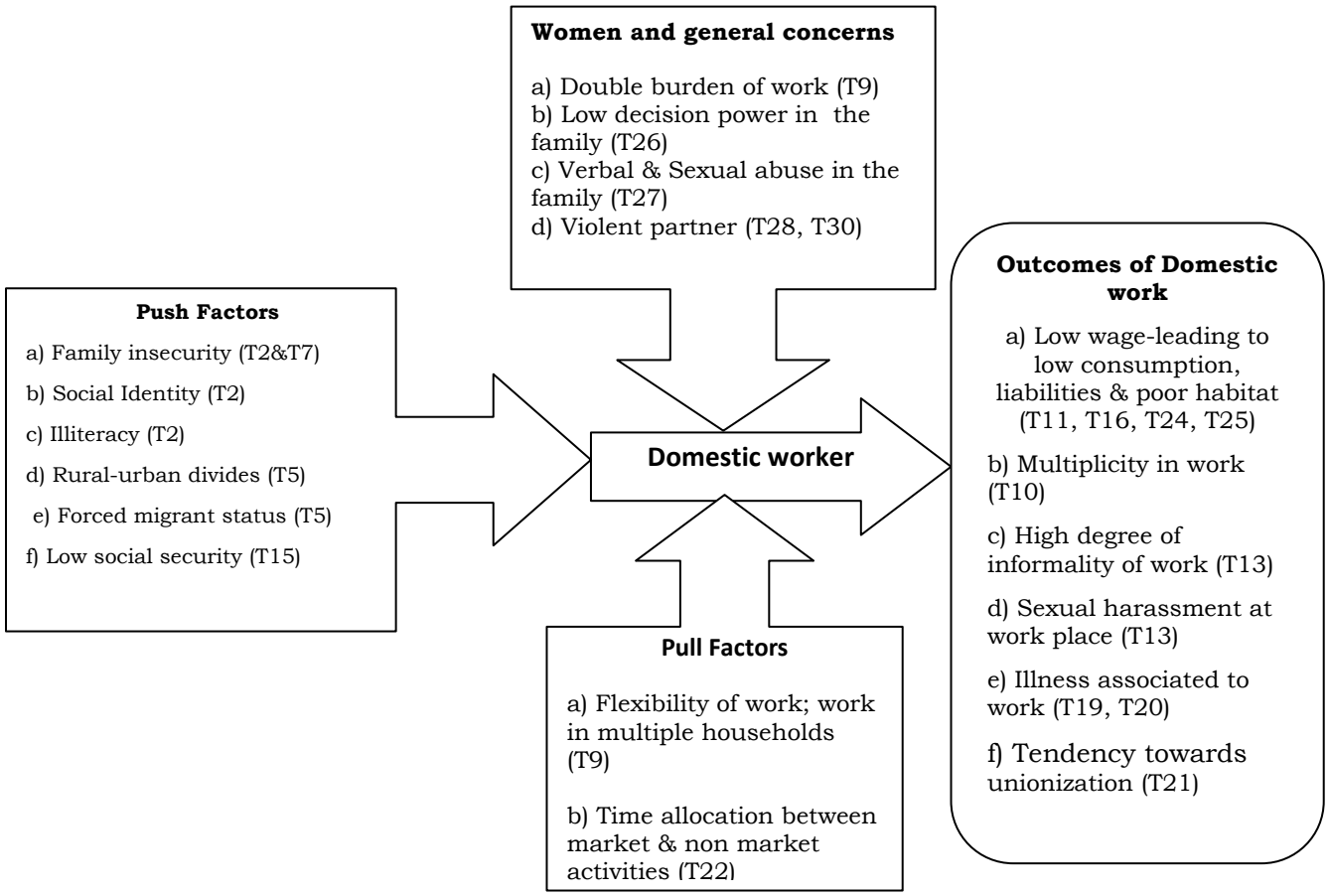
Ailments like racism, ethnicity, indigenous status, color based hiring, and caste based discrimination in the contexts like India are going to make this theme, domestic work more relevant than ever before for further exploration. It is further clear that occupation like domestic work has inherent features, which are not quite obvious from quantitative studies of the present nature, mainly encompassing through features such as wage (Table 11), time consumption, food consumption patterns, and nature of work. Clearly indicating that constructs such as race, color of the skin of a potential

employee, language and nationality of domestic worker become quite a deciding factors in the persuasion of employment in domestic work segment. In case of country like India, with a low level of educational attainment and diversity in cultural elements, including language, caste, color, and regions, it is quite clear that studies covering these qualitative considerations may throw light on some of the pertinent socio-cultural dimensions of domestic work.

5. Concluding Remarks

This paper, exploring primary data collected from women domestic workers in Mumbai, evidently brings out that domestic work as a feminine occupation in a global city like Mumbai is a epitome of critical deficits in human development, a vicious situation of lack of core entitlements which are required to enjoy freedom guaranteed by the democratic society and the necessity of appropriate alternatives to bring a positive social change, impacting lives of hapless domestic workers and their families. We have illustrated the complexity and embeddedness of interrelated phenomena in figure 1, bringing push, pull, women and general concerns, and outcomes together. As illustrated, the outcomes are indeed affected by combinations of push, pull and general concerns. An escape from the outcomes which are deeply entrenched in vicious structural forces which self generate deeper inequalities entails proactive and flexible institutional arrangements which can provide critical mass of entitlements to women domestic workers in a sustained manner so that they can experience visible changes in their social life, well reflected in outcome such as transition of their future generation to better attainments and self and family being protected from future contingencies that may thwart the very existence of life.

Figure1: Domestic work: push, pull, general concerns and outcomes



Note: 'T' in parenthesis refers to Table.

Taking cues from the content presented in figure 1, we present a normative model of institutional arrangement, which can work towards sustained provisioning of core entitlements to women domestic workers in India. For this process, we use insights from Khanderia (1947), ILO (2010a) and contents from different sources which are relevant to the present context. Viewing that a major proportion of women domestic workers are invisible, whose work tends to be muted in increasing labour market flexibility due to competition in urban agglomeration, it is very important to generate capacity building for fostering collectives of them, with a view to organise them to combat against oppression and shield their rights. Once collectives such as trade unions have been brought, these workers tend to be organised with apparent identities. Meanwhile, the state in collaboration with workers' collectives should engage in institutional building process which will transform this occupation into

more visible and decent. Further, this can lead to processes of initiating dialogue between collectives of workers and the state to set up resource base for provisioning critical entitlements like social security, essential supply of basic goods, support to family welfare, and health insurance in a sustained manner. Going by received view, as applicable to many white collar occupations, one policy option which may come up is to go for a contributory entitlement schemes which require poor domestic workers to contribute on a periodical basis for their social security. However, this option may add further burden to this hapless group. On the other hand, quite clearly, the most desirable option would be to create an entitlement system which will be funded by the state and sustained by the resources generated through conduits like cess levied on direct tax payers.

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Appendix I

ATLMRI Field Survey of Domestic workers in Mumbai-India

Schedules of Enquiry

(September 2009-February 2010)

Jagrut Ghar Kamagar Sanghatan
Adecco-TISS Labour Market Research Initiatives (ATLMRI),
Tata Institute of Social Sciences
Deonar, Mumbai 400 088

Introduction to the Survey

ATLMRI Field Survey of Domestic Workers[13] in Mumbai-India is an initiative undertaken by the Adecco-TISS Labour Market Research Initiative (ATLMRI) with the full cooperation and field investigation support from Jagrut Ghar Kamagar Sanghatan (Awakened Domestic Workers Organization) Mumbai, India.

This survey proposes to collect data on Domestic Workers who reside in urban locations of Mumbai, India. We aim at creating profiles of Domestic Workers with regard to demography, work, consumption, health, union awareness, time use, household asset and liability, gender and domestic violence.

As it appears that each interview would take about 45 minute of time. The data collected would be strictly kept confidential and will be used for academic and union's-Jagrut Ghar Kamagar Sanghatan activities purposes. Participation in the interview is voluntary. Participants can withdraw his/her participation from the interview at any point of time. However, we hope that participants will take part in the interview since their participation is invaluable.

[13] "Domestic Worker" means, a person who is employed for remuneration whether in cash or kind , in any house hold through any agency or directly, either on a temporary basis or permanent, part time or full time to do the household work or allied work. As explained by Domestic workers (Registration social security and welfare) Act 2008 Source: http://ncw.nic.in/Comments/Domestic_worker_bill.pdf accessed on 18th Sep. 2009,

Schedules of Enquiry

I. Personal and Household Profile

II. Demographic profile of the domestic workers

III. Nature of service

III.A. Work profile of the Domestic Workers

III.B. Access to Social Security

III.C. Frequency of Consumption of Edible Items

IV. Consumption under PDS system

V. Health Profile of the Domestic Workers

VI. Present Health Status

VII. Union Awareness Profile of Domestic Workers

VIII. Time use Profile of the Domestic Workers

IX. Household Assets and Liability of the Domestic Workers

X. Habitat Profile

XI. Gender Profile: Attitude of Domestic Workers towards Gender

XII. Profile of Domestic Violence

XIII. Particulars of Field Operations

Schedules of Enquiry
(September 2009-February 2010)

I. Personnel and Household Profile

1. Name of the Respondent with Surname (Domestic Worker).....
2. Full Address of the Respondent.....

   Pin Code**.....**Contact No. (Mobile/land line).....

	3. Household profile of Domestic Worker						
Item. No.	a. Name of the family member	b. Sex	c. Age	d. Marital Status (code)	e. Educational Level (code)	f. Work Details	g. DW's relation
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							
7							
8							
9							
10							
11.							
12.							
13.							
14.							
15.							

Total Number of members in the household (write down the total no.)=

4. Please ask the respondent about the physically and mentally challenged persons in the family.	Item No (Follow no. as per item 3. under I)
Is anyone at family physically disabled? (As per enquiry no. 3-Household profile of Domestic Worker)	
Is anyone at family Mentally disabled (As per enquiry no. 3-Household profile of Domestic Worker)	

Codes for Items under I.

Code for item b: Male-1, Female-2.

Code for item d: Married-1, Unmarried-2, Cannot say-3, Widow -4.

Code for item e: Not Literate-1, Literate without formal schooling -2, Below primary- 3, Primary-4 Middle-5, Secondary-6, Higher Seconday-7, Diploma/Certificate course-8, Graduate-9, Post, Graduate and above-10, Other-11 (In case of others write details here).....

II. Demographic Profile of the Domestic Worker

Item No	Categories	Description and code (circle the respective or multiple code number)
1	Place of Birth	
2	Nature of the birth place (code)	1 2 3
3	Taluk	
4	District	
5	State	
6.	Date of Birth[14]	
7.	Age	
8.	Marital Status (code)	1 2 3 4 5
9.	Religion (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10.	Do you belong to SC, ST, OBC, open, and other? (code)	1 2 3 4 5
11.	Since when are you in Mumbai (number of years)	
12.	Have you migrated from outside? If yes, Name of the Place (code)	1 2 Name of the place_____
13.	Nature of the place (code)	1 2 3
14.	Reasons for Migration (code)	1 2 3 4 5
15.	Educational Status	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
16	How many languages do you know	1..... R W S 2.....R W S 3..... R W S 4.....R W S 5..... R W S 6.....R W S

Codes for items under II

Codes for item 2 **:** City-1, Town-2, Village-3.
Codes for item 8 : Never married-1, Married-2, Widow-3, Divorced-4 Separated - 5
Codes for item 9 : Hindu-1, Muslim-2, Sikhs-3, Neo Budhist-4, Jain-5, Jew -6, Parsi-7, Christain-8, No religion-9, Other-10_____ (write here)
Codes for item 10 : SC (Schedule Caste)-1, ST (Schedule Tribe)-2, OBC (Other Backward caste)-3, Open-4, Other-5, Don't know-6
Codes for item 13 : Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 14 : City-1, Town-2, Village-3.
Codes for item 15 : In search of work-1, Marriage-2, Parents migration-3, Husband's migration-4, any other-5 _____ (Write here)
Codes for item 16 : Not Literate-1, Literate without formal schooling -2, Below primary- 3, Primary-4 Middle-5, Secondary-6, Higher seconday-7, Diploma/Certificate course-8.
Codes for item 17 : Read –R, Write – W, Speak - S

III. Nature of service

Are you employed at present? (code) 1 2

If yes, in how many houses do you offer your services presently? _____
(Write down the no)

[14] If Date of Birth is not known- Get the approx. Age.

House No	Cooking	Utensils cleansing	Cloth washing	Floor cleaning and Mopping	Toilet and Bathroom cleaning	Old age care	Baby Care	Disability care	Garden	Pet animal care	Market purchase assistance	Total wage

IIIA Work Profile of Domestic Worker

Item. No.	Categories	Description and code (circle the code number)
1	Frequency of payment (code)	1 2 3 4
2	Form of Payment (code)	1 2 3
3	Do you get food at the work place (code)	1 2
4	Do you work even on holidays? (code)	1 2
5	Have you ever been suspected of theft by the employer? (code)	1 2
6	Did you ever face sexual harassment at the work place? (code)	1 2
7	How much time do you spend on commuting to your work place? (write down the time as said)	
8	What is the mode of travel? (code)	1 2 3 4
9	Are you involved in any subsidiary work[15] (code)	1 2
10	If answer is 'yes' for item 9, write the details of subsidiary work she does.	
11	Do you have a written contract with any employer	1 2
12	Are you giving any notice period before termination of employment	1 2
13	Is social security part of your payment	1 2
14	Do you have fixed weekly holiday	1 2
15	Do you get pay for extra work	1 2
16	Is your rest decided after work in your job	1 2

[15] This work is a supplementary to domestic work taken up to earn additional income

Codes for items under III.A

Codes for item 1: Daily-1, Weekly-2, Monthly-3, Other-4_____ (in case of other, write down)
Codes for item 2: Cash-1, Cash Less Advance Taken[16] - 2
Other-3_____ (if mention other forms of payment)
Codes for item 3: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 4: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 5: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 6: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 8: Bus-1, Local Train-2, Walk-3, Shared Transport-4.
Codes for item 9: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 11: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 12: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 13: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 14: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 15: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 15: Yes-1, No-2.

IIIB. Access to Social Security

Item No.	Category	Description/Codes- in case multiple benefits, circle more than one code
1.	What social security benefits do you have? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Codes for items under III.B

Codes for item 1: LIC Policy-1, Ration Card-2, Voter ID-3,
Senior Citizen Card-4, Personal Savings in Saving Bank Account-5, Photo Pass-6
Any Other Government Scheme-7_____(write it down),
Any Other-8_____(write it down),

IIIC. Frequency of consumption of edible items

Sl.No	Details of consumption following edible items(/)				
	Edible Items	Daily	Weekly	Sometimes	Never
1	Tea, coffee & milk				
2	Curd				
3	Pulses				
4	Green leafy vegetables				
5	Fruits				
6	Eggs				
7	Fish				
8	Chicken or meat				
9	Smoking / chewing tobaco				
10	Alcohol				

[16] If the Domestic Worker has taken any advance from the employer and if some of her salary is being deducted out of the monthly pay, tick this option

IV. Consumption under PDS system

Item No.	1. Public Distribution System (PDS) Distribution: If you are receiving the following items via PDS, specify the quantity and price per month.		
	Item description	Quantity (in kgs, and liters)	Expenditure during last 30 days in Rs.
Monthly consumption and Expenditure			
1.	Rice		
2.	Wheat		
3.	Sugar		
4.	Kerosene (liters)		
5	Pulses		

V. Health Profile of the Domestic Worker

Access to health facilities		
Item No.	Categories	Description and code (circle the code number)
1.	Which health facility do you access if you are ill? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6
2.	How often do you access health facility if you are ill or for any other reason? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3.	Do you receive any health information from health service provider? (code)	1 2
4.	If answer is 1 for the item no 3, then fill the two blanks	From whom_____ Frequency_____

Codes for items under V

Codes for item 1 : Govt. /Municipal hospital-1, NGO/Trust Hospital-2, Private Clinic-3, Mobile clinic-4, Drug Store-5, Other-6_____(write if answer is other)

Codes for item 2 : Once a week-1, More than once in a week-2, Once in a Month-3, Once in 3 months-4, Once in six months-5, once in a year-6, I don't go to hospital at all-7, Other-8_____ (write if answer is other)

Codes for item 3 : Yes-1, No-2.

VI. Present health status

Item No.	Categories	Description and code
1.	What are the main reasons (illnesses) for which you generally seek medical help. (In case of multiple answers, mark multiple codes).	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
2.	Do you have any serious diseases? (In case of multiple answers, mark multiple codes)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Codes for items under VI.

Codes for item 1: Headache-1, Giddiness-2, Body Pain-3, Cough and Cold-4, Diarrhea-5, Back Pain-6, pregnancy related issues-7, Children health-8, sexual life related issues-9, T.B-10 Authorities - 11, Cataract - 12 Others-13_____(write if answer is other)

Codes for item 2: Cancer-1, BP (Blood pressure) and other Cardiac disease-2, Diabetes-3, Asthma-4, T.B-5, Gynaec Problems-6, Physical or mental Disability-7, Other-8_____ (write if answer is other), I don't know-9.

VII. Union Awareness Profile of Domestic worker

Item No.	Categories	Description and code (circle the code number)
1.	Are you a member of any Union? (code)	1 2
2.	If answer for item number 1 is yes, then ask Since when are you a member? Write down the answer.	
3.	Name of your Union. (Write down the answer)	
4.	How many Members does your organization have? Write down the answer?	
5.	Is being in the union beneficial (code)	1 2
6.	If answer for item number 5 is yes (code-1), and then ask what are the benefits of being a union member? (circle multiple codes, in case of multiple answers)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13
7.	Is there a law for domestic workers?	1 2

Codes for items under VII

Codes for item 1: Yes-1, No-2.

Codes for item 5: Yes-1, No-2.

Codes for item 6: Law for Domestic workers-1, Ration Card Availability-2,

Ration availability against the ration card-3, Protection from police-4, political awareness-5, Health information-6, information about police system and security-7, World awareness-8, Overall education-9, awareness about women empowerment-10, awareness about children's education-11, Awareness work place culture-12, AnyOther-13 _____

_____(write if answer is other)

Codes for item 7: Yes-1, No-2.

VIII. Time use Profile of Domestic Worker

To calculate time spent by the DW on a typical working day to ascertain how much time is spent on market activities and how much time spent on non-market activities. All the following questions are confined to the last 24 hours spent by the domestic worker? It also means that how the last 24 hours been allocated on different activities?

The 24 hours of time is classified as non-market and market activities. Non-market activity means that the activity that is meant for self and his/her own household work. On the other hand, market activity means that the activity that is spent in anticipation of economic benefits.

Item no.	**Activities**	**Time spent**
1.	How long did you spend on Sleeping?	Hours_____minits_____
	Non-Market Activities	
2.	How long did you spend on grooming (self)	Hours_____minits_____
3.	How long did you spend on Preparing meals or snacks?	Hours_____minits_____
4.	How long did you spend on Eating and drinking?	Hours_____minits_____
5.	How long did you spend on Cleaning your own home and kitchen?	Hours_____minits_____
6.	How long did you spend on Washing clothes?	Hours_____minits_____
7.	How long did you spend on Grocery shopping?	Hours_____minits_____
8.	How long did you spend on attending religious activities-including temple visits, mosque, church and etc?	Hours_____minits_____
9.	How long did you spend on watching TV?	Hours_____minits_____
10.	How long did you spend on caring your own kids?	Hours_____minits_____
	Market Activities	
11.	How long did you spend on your job (domestic work)? If you are working at different households, mention the time allotted for each household. If she works at more than one place ask her to specify the time that she spends at each work place and note down in respective space. We have 5 spaces in the next column. If she works at more than 5 houses, note the time in a separate sheet of paper and attach it to the main questionnaire.	Work place 1 Hours_____minits_____ Work place 2 Hours_____minits_____ Work place 3 Hours_____minits_____ Work place 4 Hours_____minits_____ Work place 5 Hours_____minits_____

IX. Household Asset and Liabilities Profile of Domestic Worker

Household Assets		
Item No.	Categories	Description and code (circle the code number)
1.	House Owned (code)	1 2
2.	Personal Ornaments (code)	1 2
3.	If answer for item no. 2 is yes (code 1), then ask about the value of the ornaments. Note the approximate value in terms of rupees (Rs)	Value in Rupees_____

Other Assets		
4.	Gas Connection (code)	1 2
5.	TV (Television) (code)	1 2
6.	Fridge (code)	1 2
7.	Vehicle (code)	1 2
8.	Computer	1 2
Liabilities		
9.	Do you have any loan(s) outstanding?	1 2
10.	Present Outstanding Loan Amount in Rs	Rupees_____
11.	Who is/are the Lender	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Codes for items under IX

Codes for item 1: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 2: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 4: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 5: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 6: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 7: Bicycle-1, Motor Cycle -2.
Codes for item 8: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 9: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 11: _____ (write the answer)

SR. NO	LOAN GIVER	
1	Bank	
2	Private Money lender	
3	Employer	
4	Relatives	
5	Friends	
6	Self Help Group (SHG)	
7	Bhishi	
8	Other	

X. Habitat Profile

Item No.	Categories	Description and codes (circle multiple codes in case of multiple answers)
1.	What is the length and width of your house/residence? Express in sq.ft.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2.	How many rooms are there in your home? (For ex: kitchen and hall=2 rooms)	1 2 3 4 5
3.	Do you have your own toilet?	1 2
4.	If answer is 'no' for the 3rd item, Do you use public toilet?	1 2
5.	Is your house Kachha or Pakka.	1 2

Codes for items under X.

Codes for item 1: 25-100 Sq ft-1, 101-175 sq.ft- 2, 176-250 sq.ft-3, 251-325 sq ft-4 326-400 sq.ft-5, 401sq.ft and above -6, If they know the exact measurement, write it here_____ - 7

Codes for item 2: Only one room-1, Two rooms-2, Three rooms-3, More than three -4, Others-5,

Codes for item 3: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 4: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 5: Kachha-1, Pakka-2

XI. Gender Profile: Attitudes of domestic worker towards gender

Who makes decision on following issues?		
Item No.	Categories	Description and codes (circle multiple codes in case of multiple answers)
1.	Making major household purchases? Articles like Durable goods- TV, Mixer, and Fridge etc.) (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
2.	Purchases of daily household needs (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
3.	Your visits to your family or relatives/friend? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
4.	Decision on spending the money you earn (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5.	How many children to have? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Codes for items under XI

Codes for item 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5: My Husband-1, Myself-2, Both-3, Head of the Household-4, Father/mother In-laws-6, My Son -7, My Daughter-8, cannot answer-9.

XII. Profile on Domestic Violence

The following questions address the issues related to domestic violence in our respondent's household.		
Item No.	Categories	Description and codes (circle multiple codes in case of multiple answers)
1.	Are you verbally abused by anyone at home? (code)	1 2
2.	If answer is yes for item 1, who are they? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
3.	How do you react, when your husband abuses you? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
4.	How do you react, when your husband's relatives abuse you? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
5.	What are the major reasons, your husband abuses you? (code)	1 2 3 4 5 6
6.	Do you quarrel with your husband? (code)	1 2
7.	What are the major reasons you quarrel with your husband or his relatives?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8.	Does your husband drink alcohol? (code)	1 2
9.	Does your husband behave differently when he drinks?	1 2
10.	Do you think intoxication of drink is the reason for abuse and quarrel?	1 2

11.	Do you have to give him money for his drinks?	1 2
12.	Do you have to give account of all the expenses you make?	1 2
13.	What is your husband's reaction when you disagree with him for any issue?	1 2 3 4 5 6
14.	Did your husband ever physically beat/thrash you?	1 2
15.	Does he force you to have sex without caring your status of mind?	1 2
16.	Are you sexually abused by anyone else at home apart from your husband? What is his/her relationship with you? Mention.	1 2
17.	Were you ever sent back to your parent's home?	1 2
18.	Is there anyone at home who supports you when you quarrel with your husband or any other member of the family? What is his/her relationship with you?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
19.	Why do you think that this domestic violence prevails?	1 2 3 4 5 6
20.	What could be the possible remedies for this violence?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
21.	Did you seek police protection, in case of domestic violence?	1 2
22.	Did police respond to you well?	1 2

Codes for items under XII.

Codes for item 1 : Yes-1, No-2.

Codes for item 2 : My Husband-1, Father In-laws-2, mother in-law-3,
My Son-4, Daughter-5, sister in-laws-6,
Brother in-law-7, others-8_____
_____(in case of others, write down)

Codes for item 3 :I abuse back-1, I keep quiet-2, I don't pay attention-3,
I get out of the home to avoid the abuse-3, I cry-4,
I seek neighbour's help-5, I seek police support-6,
I beat him-7; Other family members support me-8,
I don't know-9.

Codes for item 4: I abuse back-1, I keep quiet-2, I don't pay attention-3,
I get out of the home to avoid the abuse-3, I cry-4,
I seek neighbour's help-5; I seek police support-6,
I beat him-7, Other family members support me-8,
I don't know-9.

Codes for item 5: Dowry-1, less earning-2, not giving him money-3,
Bad health-4, because of my parents-5, other-6
_____(if answer is other, write here).

Codes for item 6: Yes-1, No-2.

Codes for item 7: He is irresponsible-1, He is not earning-2, He does not give money to me-3, He is not caring-4, He has bad habits-5,
He has relationship with other women-6,
Other-7_____(if other write here).

Codes for item 8: Yes-1, No-2.

Codes for item 9: Yes-1, No-2.

Codes for item 10: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 11: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 12: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 13: physically abuses me-1, verbally abuses me-2, asks me to go to my parent's home-3, sexually abuses me-4, emotionally abuses me-5, other-6 _____
_____(if other, write here).
Codes for item 14: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 15: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 16: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 17: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 18: My Husband-1, Father In-laws-2, motherin-law-3, My Son-4, Daughter-5, sister in-laws-6, Brother in-law-7, others-8_____
_____(in case of others, write down)

Codes for item 19: Male dominant society-1, Women are weak-2, Women don't know anything-3, Because of our Economic status-4, Economically we are weak-5, other-6_____
_____(if other, write here)

Codes for item 20: Education-1, Shelf Help group-2, Women's organization-3, Police-4, improved economic status-5, Improved Social Status-6, Other-7_____
_____(other write here).

Codes for item 21: Yes-1, No-2.
Codes for item 22: Yes-1, No-2.

XIII. Particulars of field Operations

Item No.	Particulars	Investigator						Supervisor					
1.	Name (Block Letters)												
2.	Date of survey/inspection	Date		Month		Year		Date		Month		Year	
3.	Signature												

Note: It is important to thank the respondent after the investigation.