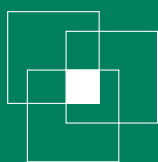




International
Labour
Organization



Focus on child and adolescent **DOMESTIC WORKERS** in Delhi and Ranchi, India



ILO Decent Work Team for South Asia and Country Office for India

International
Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour
(IPEC)

Focus on child and adolescent DOMESTIC WORKERS in Delhi and Ranchi, India

**International
Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour
(IPEC)**

**ILO Decent Work Team for South Asia and Country Office for India
International Labour Organization**

Copyright © International Labour Organization 2013

First published 2013

Publications of the International Labour Office enjoy copyright under Protocol 2 of the Universal Copyright Convention. Nevertheless, short excerpts from them may be reproduced without authorization, on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation, application should be made to ILO Publications (Rights and Permissions) to International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland, or by email: pubdroit@ilo.org.

Libraries, institutions and other users registered with reproduction rights organizations may make copies in accordance with the licences issued to them for this purpose. Visit www.ifrro.org to find the reproduction rights organization in your country.

ILO-IPEC

Focus on child and adolescent domestic workers in Delhi and Ranchi, India / International Labour Organization, ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC); ILO DWT for South Asia and ILO Country Office for India – New Delhi: ILO, 2013.

ISBN: 978-92-2-127190-1 (Print); 978-92-2-127191-8 (WEB PDF)

International Labour Organization; ILO International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour; ILO DWT for South Asia and ILO Country Office for India

child labour / domestic worker / child worker / young worker / working conditions / survey / methodology / India - 13.01.2

ILO Cataloguing in Publication Data

NOTE

This study has been elaborated by Shivani Satijan and Preet Rustagi from the Institute for Human Development (IHD) for ILO-IPEC, and coordinated by the team of the ILO-IPEC's Converging against child labour Project in New Delhi and Wahidur Rahman from ILO-IPEC Geneva Office.

Funding for this publication was provided by the United States Department of Labor (Project IND/08/50/USA). This publication does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the United States Department of Labor, nor does mention of trade names, commercial products, or organizations imply endorsement by the United States Government.

The designations employed in ILO publications, which are in conformity with United Nations practice, and the presentation of material therein do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of the International Labour Office concerning the legal status of any country, area or territory or of its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers.

The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed articles, studies and other contributions rests solely with their authors, and publication does not constitute an endorsement by the International Labour Office of the opinions expressed in them.

Reference to names of firms and commercial products and processes does not imply their endorsement by the International Labour Office, and any failure to mention a particular firm, commercial product or process is not a sign of disapproval.

ILO publications and electronic products can be obtained through major booksellers or ILO local offices in many countries, or direct from ILO Publications, International Labour Office, CH-1211 Geneva 22, Switzerland. Catalogues or lists of new publications are available free of charge from the above address, or by email: pubvente@ilo.org or visit our website: www.ilo.org/publns.

Visit our website: www.ilo.org/ipec

Cover photograph © Biswarup Ganguly.

Photocomposed by IPEC Geneva, Switzerland.

Printed in India.

CONTENTS

	<i>Pages</i>
Abbreviations	vii
Acknowledgements.....	ix
Executive summary.....	xi
1. Introduction	1
1.1 Literature review	5
1.1.1 The legal context	5
1.1.2 Reasons, compulsions and motivations	9
1.1.3 Channels and processes of entry.....	10
1.1.4 Terms and conditions of employment	11
1.2 Impact of work	13
1.2.1 Education and skills	13
1.2.2 Occupational safety and health.....	15
1.2.3 Discrimination and abuse	16
1.3 Previous research on child domestic work	17
2. Research scope, objectives and methodology	21
2.1 Conceptual concerns.....	21
2.2 Objective	21
2.3 Typology	22
2.4 Research process.....	22
2.4.1 Tools used for qualitative research	23
2.5 Geographical scope and coverage	24
2.6 Access and entry points	26
2.6.1 Access	27
2.6.2 Alternative entry points	28
3. Research findings	29
3.1 Social profile of the young domestic workers surveyed	29
3.2 Characteristics of the households of young domestic workers.....	34
3.2.1 Income from domestic work	41
3.3 Compulsions and motivations.....	42

3.4	Channels of entry.....	46
3.5	Profile of employers in Delhi	48
3.6	Number of years of work.....	51
3.7	Typology of domestic workers.....	52
3.7.1	Number of hours of work and houses worked in	54
3.7.2	Revised typology	58
3.8	Tasks and incomes of CADWs	59
3.9	Working conditions.....	64
3.9.1	Number of days of leave	68
3.10	Impact of work on occupational safety and health.....	70
3.10.1	Occupational safety and health	71
3.10.2	Discrimination, harsh punishment and abuse	74
3.10.3	Impact on education	74
3.11	Perceptions	77
3.11.1	Aspirations	84
3.11.2	Suggestions based on research findings	85
4.	Policy suggestions and scope for future research	87
4.1	Enforcement of legal rights	88
4.2	Guarantee of education.....	89
4.3	Increasing economic opportunities	90
4.4	Social protection	90
4.5	Awareness and advocacy.....	91
4.6	Strengthening institutions and the capacity to respond	92
4.7	Improving coordination between Government and civil society	92
4.8	Knowledge generation for future research	93
5.	Concluding remarks.....	95
	References.....	99
	Annexes	
	Annex I. Selected case studies	103
	Annex II. Interview schedules	113

Tables

Table 1:	Case studies of child and adolescent domestic workers	25
Table 2:	Types of localities surveyed	26
Table 3:	Share of domestic work in employment of child and adolescent workers	30
Table 4:	Households surveyed and number of domestic workers	34
Table 5:	Household size	35
Table 6:	Social composition in Delhi and Ranchi	35
Table 7:	Education profile of the household members.....	36
Table 8:	Status of children and adolescents in Delhi and Ranchi.....	39
Table 9:	Employment status of workers in the households	39
Table 10:	Monthly household incomes	40
Table 11:	Average monthly income from domestic work	41
Table 12:	Share of domestic worker income by household income group.....	42
Table 13:	Reasons, compulsions and motivations among CADWs.....	42
Table 14:	Compulsions of child and adolescent domestic workers	43
Table 15:	Channels of entry into domestic work in Delhi and Ranchi.....	46
Table 16:	Occupational profile of employers of domestic workers	49
Table 17:	Demand for domestic services across localities in Delhi	50
Table 18:	Task-wise monthly income, hours of work and houses per CADW	55
Table 19:	Number of houses serviced and hours worked by domestic workers	56
Table 20:	Number of hours worked by CADWs for single and multiple employers.....	57
Table 21:	Revised typology according to number of hours.....	58
Table 22:	Type of tasks city-wise	60
Table 23:	Income range of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi	63
Table 24:	Kinds of facilities provided to CADWs.....	65
Table 25:	Kinds of facilities provided to younger and older CADWs.....	67
Table 26:	Age-wise number of days of leave reported by CADWs.....	69
Table 27:	Opinions of CADWs on the impact of their work	71
Table 28:	Work considered unsafe in Delhi and Ranchi	72
Table 29:	Work considered beyond the capacity of CADWs	72
Table 30:	Change in health of CADWs after beginning work	73
Table 31:	Health implications of work on CADWs.....	73
Table 32:	Difficulties faced by CADWs while both working and studying.....	76
Table 33:	Kinds of benefits perceived by CADWs.....	78
Table 34:	Reasons for continuing work despite the law against child labour.....	80
Table 35:	Aspirations among CADWs for skill training	84
Table 36:	CADW's aspirations for the future.....	85
Table 37:	Proposed measures to prevent child labour	86

Figures

Figure 1:	Percentage distribution of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi.....	29
Figure 2:	Educational status in Delhi and Ranchi (7-20 years).....	31
Figure 3:	Education acquired by CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi	32
Figure 4:	Educational status	33
Figure 5:	School-going status of household members aged 7-14 and 15-20 years	37
Figure 6:	Age- and sex-wise school-going status.....	38
Figure 7:	Employers' demand for domestic services by type of locality.....	50
Figure 8:	Years of employment of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi	52
Figure 9:	Typology of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi	53
Figure 10:	Type of workers in Delhi and Ranchi.....	54
Figure 11:	Number of hours worked in Delhi and Ranchi	55
Figure 12:	Responses regarding tasks performed	61
Figure 13:	Timely payment in Delhi and Ranchi.....	64
Figure 14:	Facilities of any kind provided to CADWs	65
Figure 15:	Provision of facilities age-wise in Delhi and Ranchi	67
Figure 16:	Number of days of leave per annum reported by CADWs.....	69
Figure 17:	Numbers of CADWs that go to school.....	75
Figure 18:	Numbers combining school and work.....	76
Figure 19:	Perception among CADWs of domestic work as beneficial	78
Figure 20:	Awareness regarding child labour laws among CADWs.....	80
Figure 21:	Opinions of CADWs on the minimum age for work	81
Figure 22:	Opinions of CADWs on the minimum age for work city-wise.....	82
Figure 23:	Opinions of younger and older workers on the minimum age of work.....	83

ABBREVIATIONS

BBA	Bachpan Bachao Andolan
CADW	Child and Adolescent Domestic Workers
CEDAW	The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
CLPRA	Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986
CWDS	Centre for Women's Development Studies
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IHD	Institute for Human Development
ILO	International Labour Organization / Office
ISST	Institute of Social Studies Trust
JJ	<i>Jhuggi Jhopri</i>
MoLE	Ministry of Labour and Employment
NCPCR	National Commission for the Protection of Child Rights
NCR	National Capital Territory
NGO	Non-Government Organization
NSS	National Sample Survey
OBC	Other Backward Classes
OSH	Occupational Safety and Health
PIL	Public Interest Litigation
SC	Scheduled Caste
SSA	<i>Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan</i> (Education for All)
ST	Scheduled Tribe
UCW	Understanding Children's Work [Programme]
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989
WPR	Work Participation Rate

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Children continue to be involved in work, often hazardous and dangerous, despite the existence of law prohibiting it as well as the right to elementary education. Adolescents, who are legally allowed to work in certain occupations, are unaware of either their basic rights or the risks they are often exposed to. In this context, the Institute for Human Development (IHD) undertook a research study on ‘Building Knowledge on Child and Adolescent Domestic Workers with a Focus on Occupational Health and Safety Issues’, for the International Labour Organization (ILO).

We are thankful to the ILO for entrusting us with this very relevant research study, which we hope will not only address crucial policy concerns, but also guide future research. In particular, we gratefully acknowledge the support and critical insights provided by M Wahidur Rahman, Ms Preet Verma, Mr Ranjit Prakash and Mr Lakshmi Gadiraju who are part of the Convergence Child Labour Project at the ILO.

We received valuable comments from important stakeholders that have done crucial work on the issues of both child labour and domestic work like the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR), Nirmala Niketan, Chaitanalaya, Childline and *Bachpan Bachao Andolan* (BBA), all of whom helped enhance our study. We express our particular thanks to Dr. Shanta Sinha, Director of NCPCR; Dr. Neetha Pillai, Professor at the Centre for Women’s Development Studies (CWDS); Ms. Amita Joshi at Sathi Centre, Kalyanpuri; Mr. Bhuvan Ribhu at BBA; Dr. Ratna Sudarshan, Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST) and Dr. Shubhra Sanyal, Professor at the National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Sciences, among many others.

The fieldwork for this study was conducted in two cities, Delhi and Ranchi, and needless to say, was accompanied by challenges at each step, given the nature of the study. We are also grateful to Mr Ashwani Kumar, who organized the fieldwork in Ranchi. Our deep appreciation goes to the sincere and dedicated research work carried out by our team of investigators, comprising Anu Singh, Ajit, Bhanu Bhaskar, Braj Kishore Narain Singh, Dileep Kapoor, Divya Jain, Faria Noamani, Karishma Nangia, Manu Tanwar, Sandeep, Satish Chandra, Swaraj Kumar and Vijay Narain Singh. In particular, we would like to thank Vatsala Bhusry for her sincere involvement in the analysis of qualitative data.

We would also like to express our gratitude to the panellists and expert participants for giving critical insights at the ‘National Workshop on Child and Adolescent



Workers: Issues Related to Migrant, Trafficked and Domestic Workers’, which helped enhance our report, namely Dr Indira Hirway, Director and Professor of Economics, Centre for Development Alternatives, Ahmedabad, Dr Nisha Srivastava, University of Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh, Dr Enakshi Ganguly Thukral, Co- Director, Centre for Child Rights-HAQ, Dr Ashwani Saith, Professor, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Professor Ravi Srivastava, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, Ms Pamela Philipose, Director and Editor in Chief, Women’s Feature Service, New Delhi, Professor Ratan Khasnabis, Department of Business Management, University of Kolkata, and Dr Kamala Sankaran, Professor, Delhi University, Delhi.

We also express our deep thanks to Dr Sunil Kumar Mishra and Mr Vikas Dubey for helping with data processing and analysis. This study was further enriched by the contributions of our colleagues at the Institute, and we are thankful to all of them for their inputs and help at various stages of the work. We thank Ms Priyanka Tyagi and Mr Shravan Kumar from the communication team for helping organize the workshop and Mr Shri Prakash and Ms Anupam Mehta for formatting the report.

The research study would not have been possible without the support and guidance of Professor Alakh Narayan Sharma, Director of IHD, Delhi, and Professor Harishwar Dayal, Director of IHD’s Regional Office in Ranchi.

We do hope that this study will aid our movement towards a child labour-free world and ensure that all children are in schools.

Shivani Satija and Preet Rustagi

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In India, the Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work, 2011 has recommended the recognition of the rights of domestic workers on par with other workers. It seeks to ensure minimum wages; welfare measures, social protection, health insurance, and protection against exploitation and abuse; and provides for registration of domestic workers as well as that of the placement agencies or individuals that supply them. Furthermore, domestic workers have been included in the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008. In addition to these measures taken by the central government, certain States like Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Maharashtra have responded favourably to demands of domestic worker unions to fix minimum wages and include domestic work in schedules of employment. As far as the employment of minors in domestic work is concerned, the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 prohibits the employment of children below 14 years in certain occupations and processes. In October 2006, the Government has included work in the domestic sector as well as in roadside eateries and motels in the list of hazardous occupations that are prohibited for children under 14. The amendment to the Child Labour Act that was adopted by the Upper House of Parliament in 2012 and is pending passage through the Lower House seeks to establish the age of 14 as the minimum age for employment in all occupations and processes. This is consistent with the Right to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 that guarantees this right to children in the 6-14 age group.

With a view to enhancing the knowledge base on the situation of children and adolescents working in private households, the ILO mandated this study under its project entitled “Converging against Child Labour in India” that is being undertaken together with the Ministry of Labour and Employment. This paper focuses on Occupational Health and Safety issues of child and adolescent domestic workers in Delhi, the national capital, and in Ranchi, the capital of the State of Jharkhand that was separated from the State of Bihar in 2000. Delhi is a major destination for migrant girls from Jharkhand engaged in domestic work and Ranchi is a source, transit and destination area for these workers. It has a substantial tribal population as well. The objective of this research is to understand the nature of child and adolescent domestic employment, the reasons and conditions that perpetrate child domestic work, the occupational, health and safety concerns faced by young domestic workers and the impact of work on their lives. It offers a nuanced understanding of the differences between the younger and older children regarding how they experience and perceive domestic work. Apart from this, the study explores the perceptions and level of awareness among workers and their families of the legislative



framework on child labour as well as that of employers who employ child and adolescent domestic workers.

In accordance with Indian laws and policies on child labour, the cut off age for distinguishing between children and adolescents is 14 years. Besides, in the course of data gathering, it was found useful to change the customary classification of part-time and full-time workers according to the number of hours worked in place of the number of households worked in. Thus, in this study, workers involved in work for four hours or less per day are treated as part-time workers, while those who undertake more than four hours of work, irrespective of the number of employers they work for, but return to their own homes after work, are full-timers. Those that reside with the employer are categorised as live-in domestic workers.

Research findings are based on both quantitative and qualitative primary data. Quantitative data was captured through a survey of 267 households of domestic workers in Delhi and Ranchi. Of the 444 domestic workers who were members of these households, 316 were in the 7-20 age group. Qualitative data was gathered through focus group discussions with families of domestic workers and repeat visits to homes and training centres to interview child and adolescent domestic workers. This resulted in 37 case studies in both cities of which 13 were in the 7-14 age group and 24 were adolescent or adult workers aged 15-25 years. Almost all the respondents in this study were girls, many of whom had been placed by their mothers who were also domestic workers. The supply side of domestic work was more thoroughly investigated than the demand side, given the reticence of recruitment agents and employers in disclosing information to the research team. Interviews with two employers and two placement agencies provided insights into perceptions of their roles and their preference for young workers. This was complemented by the views of activists and personnel of rescue homes and vocational training centres who were in constant interaction with child and adolescent domestic workers.

Research findings show that the persistence of child labour in domestic work stems from a number of factors including the availability of cheap labour supply, the fact that employers perceive that they can exercise more control over children than adults, as also the social tolerance of this phenomenon. The push factors are both economic and social: the desperate poverty of the families of these workers, the low levels of education of their household members, lack of employment opportunities for adults, death or disability of the breadwinner and problems of alcoholism. Most of the domestic worker households surveyed belonged to the scheduled caste in Delhi (50.44 per cent) and scheduled tribes in Ranchi (76.62 per cent). Besides, parents and guardians of child workers often consider work a better opportunity for a child's skills development than formal schooling, and, for girls, a way of preparing for marriage.

Domestic work is considered to be relatively safe for women and girls as it takes place within the home environment, in the context of family relations. This research reveals



that many employers and guardians of workers feel that this work is better suited to young girls than others. Indeed, it is often trans-generational, as adult female domestic workers induct their daughters into their occupation. Moreover, the poor health conditions of adult women domestic workers becomes an entry point for young girls who serve as replacements for the older women when a contingency arises in the supplier households. This has been termed ‘a generation trap’ for the likelihood of young girls making a transition from this work to other better paying ones decreases with the time spent in the occupation. The perception that the employer bestows benevolence upon the child or adolescent worker by employing her in the household results in a sense of obligation and gratitude on the part of the worker and her family, which makes this work seem better than other forms of work available in the market. Of the child workers under age 14 surveyed, 66 per cent of them in Delhi and 68 per cent in Ranchi were employed in domestic work. The corresponding figure for the 15-20 age group was 69 per cent in Delhi and 59 per cent in Ranchi.

Respondents confirm the close link between child labour and the inability to attend school or low academic performance and drop out. Many older girls reported dropping out of school due to financial pressures, but wanted to work so that their younger siblings might be able to complete their education. There is a marked difference in school attendance between male and female household members. Of those in the 7-14 age group for whom schooling is, in principle, compulsory, 44 per cent of girls and 25 per cent of boys do not go to school at all. Overall, while 22.5 per cent of household members in this age group are only working, a small 6.1 per cent are able to combine work and study. Moreover, this figure is higher for Ranchi (8.7 per cent) than for Delhi (2.7 per cent). Early involvement in work at the cost of schooling does not allow for skill development, thus disadvantaging former child labourers in the labour market, forcing them to remain in low-skilled, low-paying jobs and constraining human capital formation.

The increase in demand for domestic workers is attributed to urbanization, the rise of the urban middle class and the entry of women into the world of work. This causes changes in traditional family structures resulting in aging parents and young children being cared for by non-family care givers. Young girls are often preferred by employer households seeking to hire the services of domestic help for childcare. This is because of the ostensible control that employers can exercise over younger domestic workers. Further, low levels of awareness about their rights and consequently less likelihood of assertion of these rights among the younger workers, account for the preference of employers for these workers over the older ones.

Ostensibly, agents do not play an important role in the placement of child and adolescent domestic workers. The majority of them in both Delhi and Ranchi entered through a parent or guardian or through other domestic workers. In the gated colonies of Delhi, the security guards often mediate placement of young domestic workers in the households of the colony. Interviews with non-government organization staff revealed that



young girls from rural areas are often lured into domestic work in cities by a chain of intermediaries who are difficult to identify as they operate at different points of the migration route. Nithari village was mentioned as a hub for child trafficking.

Most often, the child or adolescent worker cannot negotiate the terms and conditions of work and the wages paid for it. In Delhi, 46 per cent of them earn INR 1,500 to 3,000 per month, while 38 per cent of them manage to earn only INR 500 to 1,500 in a month. In Ranchi, the incomes of 78 per cent of the misless than INR 1,000 per month. Leave with pay is rarely granted and a weekly paid off demanded by domestic worker organizations is still elusive. As many as 45 per cent in Delhi and 18 per cent in Ranchi felt that the work had a negative impact on their health, pain in the limbs and headaches being the main complaint of young workers in Delhi, while those in Ranchi added that they had lost weight. More than 65 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi and 55 per cent in Delhi felt that they were being made to work for long hours, which they considered beyond their capacity. Besides, many of child and adolescent workers said they were subjected to discrimination in terms of food and general treatment vis-à-vis the children of their employers. Girls, in particular, also face the risk of sexual harassment and abuse, and often can do nothing about it due to their vulnerability and the lack of access to justice and redress. On the positive side, the large majority stated that they received their wages on time, that they were given food and medicines by their employers and had access to a toilet. Full-time and live-in workers were also allowed to watch television. On the whole, adolescent workers had better access to facilities than child workers.

Overall, young workers in Ranchi perceive more benefit from domestic work than those in Delhi. One-third of the respondents in Ranchi felt that this work prepared them for marriage, while less than 6 per cent in Delhi thought so. One-third of the respondents in Ranchi also felt that this work helped them pursue their education. In both cities, the main benefit perceived was the ability to help their families.

On the basis of these findings, a set of recommendations for policy-making on domestic child labour are offered. A multi-sectoral and long-term approach extending from childhood, through adolescence to adulthood is needed to eliminate child labour in this sector and protect the rights of adolescent domestic workers. This can be done by:

- registering the employers of domestic workers, regulating wages and other working conditions and imposing harsher penalties for employing underage children;
- ensuring basic education; allowing re-entry of drop-outs into school at any age with a minimum of documentation, and improving the transition from school to work;

- 
- promoting economic development and job opportunities for adults as well as skill building for adolescent domestic workers under the National Skills Development Initiative to facilitate their transition to better-paying occupations;
 - offering social protection, particularly health insurance under the *Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna*;
 - generating awareness of the rights of domestic workers among employers through a Code of Conduct and monitoring their treatment with the help of resident welfare associations;
 - enhancing institutional capacity, particularly that of the police and personnel of shelter homes, to respond to the needs of child and adolescent workers; and
 - improving coordination between different government departments, police and civil society organizations in the implementation of policies to eliminate child labour and rescue child workers.

1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the existence of legal provisions concerning the minimum age for work and compulsory schooling for the 6-14 age group in India, the entry of underage children into the labour market is widespread in the country. On the one hand, this reflects the compulsions of households that assist or propel their children into taking up work, and, on the other, societal perceptions and beliefs of employers who accept these workers and even actively seek them out. This phenomenon is widely prevalent in spite of the presence of severe adult unemployment, an irony which begs exploration.

According to the Understanding Children's Work (UCW) report, Asia hosts the largest number of child labourers, and within the continent, Bangladesh, India and Vietnam account for the largest concentration of child labour in the developing world. Despite efforts to make education accessible to children and laws to prevent child labour, 15 per cent of children in India are in employment (UCW 2012, p 34). According to the Census of India (2001), more than 12 million children (aged 5 to 14 years) in the country were employed in some form or the other.

The incidence of child and adolescent labour is particularly high in the informal economy where there is much scope for exploitation, abuse and denial of basic rights. Within it, many children and adolescents, particularly girls, are engaged in domestic work. According to ILO (2004), child domestic labour is one of the most widespread and oldest forms of child labour. Domestic work, being done in the private realm of the household is invisible and difficult to track and monitor and, hence, escapes statistical enumeration through conventional work and employment categorization. As it operates currently, there is virtually no registration or official records of such employment contracts. This, coupled with the informal channels through which people enter work, the social and cultural acceptance of young people, particularly girls entering domestic work, as well as the low social status afforded to it, makes domestic work potentially exploitative and hazardous, particularly for children and adolescents.

Millions of women and girls the world over are involved in domestic work, which, according to the Human Rights Watch (HRW n.d), constitutes one of the main sources of employment for young girls. Moreover, studies show that there has been an increase in the number of migrant females in this sector in India (Mehrotra, 2010). There has also been an increase in the national urban female workforce, which reached over 15 per cent in 2004 (Chandrasekhar and Ghosh, 2007, as cited by Mehrotra, 2010, p. 1). Although the National

Sample Survey shows that the share of domestic work in female service sector employment increased by more than 15 per cent from 1999 to 2005, there are no formal laws or policies in place to offer protection to this growing workforce (Neetha, 2008, p. 26).

Domestic work is usually characterized by low wages, with no regular work or rest hours, and informal relations between the employer and worker without any guarantee of basic labour rights. Bonded labour is prevalent in this occupation. The “servile and isolated” nature of work allows for social discrimination, physical and psychological abuse with negative impacts on health and safety, and a sense of inferiority among the workers which is both imposed by society and internalized by the workers (Ramirez-Machado, 2003, p. 3). As those engaged in such work are often illiterate and poor, they are unaware of their rights and unable to seek redress when they are violated. Although some efforts to fix work, wages and unionization have been initiated in states like Karnataka, there is still a long way to go (Mehrotra, 2010).

There is widespread ignorance amongst domestic workers as well as employers regarding the possible risks that children in domestic work might be exposed to. The lack of knowledge about domestic workers and the conditions they work under, is one of the reasons for the reluctance to address the issue with specific policies and laws. It is also the reason why this issue has only recently emerged in the international legal and policy landscape. The ILO Recommendation No.190 that supplements the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labour, 1999 (No. 182) calls for programmes of action that address, *inter alia*, “the problem of hidden work situations, in which girls are at special risk”. More recently, the members of the ILO adopted the Convention (No. 189) and Recommendation (No.201) on Decent Work for Domestic Workers, 2011 which the Government of India voted in favour of.

Domestic work is often not considered work, but rather a natural extension of a woman’s reproductive work, something that might offer training for managing a household and possibly enhance a girl’s marriage prospects (as reiterated by the findings of the study). It further reinforces traditional female roles and responsibilities within and outside the household, and is often easily accepted for young girls. Moreover this work, according to the research findings, is often trans-generational, as adult female domestic workers induct their daughters into their occupation, driven as they are by economic or aspirational reasons. Thus, the likelihood of young girls making a transition from this work to other better paying ones continues to decrease with the time spent in the occupation.

What are the factors that influence the supply and demand of labour for domestic work? Going by the nature and extent of domestic work in cities, clearly there is an increasing demand for such labour. The literature on domestic work attributes this increase to urbanization and the shift from primary to secondary and tertiary occupations, the rise of the urban middle class, and changes in traditional family structures as reflected in an increase in the number of working women which results in aging parents and young children being cared for by non-family care-givers (Neetha, 2004). In fact, the demand for child

labour or younger girls appears to be higher than that for their older counterparts as they are seen to be “reliable and obedient” (ibid., p. 1,682).

Little information is available in earlier research studies and existing secondary data sources on the employers. The category of households demanding domestic workers can be of diverse types depending on the tasks to be performed. For instance, young girls are often preferred by employer households seeking to hire the services of domestic help for childcare. This is because of the ostensible control that employers can exercise over younger domestic workers. Further, low levels of awareness about their rights and consequently less likelihood of assertion of these rights among the younger workers, account for the preference of employers for these workers over the older ones.

The devaluation of this work and its natural association with traditional women’s work makes it the only source of income for many poor migrant women and girls, who may not have acquired any other marketable skills or sufficient education (Mehrotra, 2010). The relatively lower barriers of entry into this occupation owing to the widespread perception regarding this work as ‘unskilled’, makes it easier for them to enter it (Neetha, 2008). A study conducted by Jagori in 2008-2009 in Delhi among part-time domestic workers revealed that many women preferred this work as it required minimum interaction with outsiders, and that too only with women, unlike in factories where women workers have to work alongside men. With the place of work being close to their homes, this work also gives women time to take care of their own children and household responsibilities (this, of course, applies to part-time rather than full-time workers (Mehrotra 2010)). Moreover, the poor health conditions of adult women domestic workers often serve as an entry point for young girls who serve as replacements for the older women when a contingency arises in the supplier households.

The perception that the employer bestows benevolence upon the child or adolescent worker by employing her in the household results in a sense of obligation and gratitude on the part of the worker and her family, which makes this work seem better than other forms of work available in the market (ILO, 2007). There are also situations wherein the family of the worker feels that the child would receive protection from the employer and his family, although without any such guarantee (ILO, 2004, p. 22). All these factors account for the fact that the wages for domestic workers are often flexible and fixed as per the discretion of the employers.

Due to the nature of the work and its social and cultural acceptance, the implementation of labour laws and ensuring strict adherence to them is challenging. In addition to this, the lack of concrete data on child or adolescent domestic workers poses difficulties for law- and policy-makers. Thus, the role of research in informing policy and laws, followed by their proper implementation by the relevant authorities, and awareness generation among both the workers and employers are crucial.

The current study aims to understand the nature of child and adolescent domestic employment, the reasons and conditions that perpetrate child domestic work, and the occupational, health and safety concerns faced by the workers. Although the focus is on adolescent domestic workers aged 15-17 years, who are legally allowed to work, but often suffer from occupational health and safety risks and hazards, the study also covers the younger age group of 7-14 years, who are legally prohibited from employment and therefore in a child labour in domestic work situation. One main reason for covering both categories of young workers is to arrive at a holistic picture of the process of induction into the work (as according to the primary research undertaken, many of the current adolescent domestic workers had actually entered work when they were much younger, mostly along with their mothers, who introduced them to the work) as well as the reasons for joining this work at such a young age. Moreover, the nature of vulnerabilities that the younger and older children experience is qualitatively different. This study offers a more textured and nuanced understanding of the differences between the younger and older children regarding how they experience and perceive domestic work. The study also analyses interviews with adults over the age of 18 years engaged in this work, who are former child and adolescent domestic workers, as they offer interesting information about their past experiences.

The present study was conducted in Delhi (the destination) and Ranchi (both the destination and the source) in order to understand the nature of child and adolescent domestic work. It explores the compulsions that push children and adolescents into this work, the factors that perpetrate child labour in domestic work despite there being legal provisions prohibiting it, the channels to enter domestic work, working conditions with a focus on occupational safety and health and the impact it has on the lives of child and adolescent domestic workers. In addition, the study seeks to unpack the conventional typology of part-time, full-time and live-in domestic workers and construct more nuanced ways of categorizing them so as to inform better policy making.

Apart from this, the study explores the perceptions and level of awareness among workers and their families as well as among employers who hire child and adolescent domestic workers. For this purpose, the research team conducted interviews of organizations working on child labour and related issues. Finally, on the basis of the research findings, the study recommends some policy measures to prevent child labour in domestic work in future, and to improve the conditions of work for adolescent domestic workers of legal working age. This study also explores the use of innovative methods and entry points to gain access to respondents, given the difficulties and challenges associated with this kind of research, in order to help inform future research.

The first section analyses the existing national and international legal framework on the subject of domestic work and the children and adolescents involved in it, in order to build a context for the current research and identify gaps that could be filled. It also describes the difficulties encountered in conducting this kind of research, which explains the scarcity of research in this area. The next section provides a detailed discussion of the

methodology used for conducting the research, its geographical scope and coverage, challenges faced during fieldwork, and innovative methods and entry points used to gain access to the respondents. This section is followed by a delineation of the findings of the study, wherein the demographic details of the selected households, the background of the child and adolescent workers (CADWs) surveyed and interviewed, the current typology of domestic workers and exploration of its gaps, and a revised typology based on the research findings are discussed. In addition, the section also discusses the occupational safety and health (OSH) concerns faced by child and adolescent domestic workers, the terms and conditions of such work, its impact on their lives, as well as the workers' perceptions and aspirations. The subsequent section analyses the evolving national and international policy context regarding child social protection, the right to education and basic standards and terms of work as well as some policy suggestions based on the findings of the study. The report concludes with a summary of the main findings and offers recommendations for the way ahead.

1.1 Literature review

1.1.1 The legal context

Domestic work is historically rooted in a context when slavery was prevalent, no labour laws were in place, and there was a definite distinction between the private and the public realms. Those engaged in domestic work were mostly migrants, or belonged to the socio-economically weaker sections of society (like the scheduled castes (SC) and scheduled tribes (ST) in the Indian context). By virtue of living in the employer's home, they were bound by rules that were often laid down arbitrarily without any consideration for the rights of the workers. In the twentieth century, in the wider context of labour struggles, domestic work also began to be included in the labour laws, though this process of inclusion was very gradual. However, due to the informal and hidden nature of the work, legal loopholes were easily identified by employers, and consequently, basic rights have continued to elude domestic workers (Ramirez-Machado, 2003). According to the Domestic Workers Task Force (2011, p.25), the lack of any definitional clarity regarding the terms 'workmen', 'employer', or 'establishment', makes the inclusion of this work in labour laws difficult. Moreover, the cultural and social alienation of the workers and their lack of access to institutional recourse for redress of their grievances render them vulnerable and at the mercy of the employers. Further, given the nature of this work, women and children, particularly girls, are overwhelmingly represented in this workforce and exposed to possible discrimination and exploitation.

Some aspects of the legal context need critical analysis to determine the extent to which they assure basic rights of workers and protect them from exploitation, discrimination or abuse. Domestic work poses special challenges in this regard. First, the nature of the work is informal and lies in the private realm, thereby sitting uneasily within general labour law due to the socially constructed dichotomy between 'care work', and 'paid work'. The minimum wage is most often not respected due to the informality

associated with this job and also because of the weak negotiating power of the workers. Their vulnerability is aggravated due to the lack of basic awareness about their rights as well as the lack of formal or informal redress mechanisms in case of violation. According to the HRW (n.d.), unlike in other occupations, in many countries, domestic workers are not given minimum wages, do not receive any pay for overtime (children and adolescents are paid even less),¹ or any kind of compensation for extra work and do not benefit from social security. There are no formal contracts as a result of which none of the above can be demanded. The second aspect concerns the minimum age for employment, which, though defined by the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) and ratified by many States, continues to be flouted on the ground. The third aspect relates to the lack of implementation of the existing laws on child labour and failure to assure basic rights to adolescent workers due to various reasons ranging from the lack of political will on the part of the State, and lack of awareness on the part of the people.

The informal and often hazardous nature of domestic work is linked to the large scale employment of young workers in it due to the vulnerability of the workers and the ability of employers to exploit them. Although there is universal acknowledgement of the fact that children under the age of 18 years should not be engaged in work that may interfere with the child's schooling or is likely to hamper the child's physical, moral, intellectual and emotional well-being and development (according to Article 32 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, 1989 (UNCRC)), the phenomenon is widely prevalent, particularly in poorer contexts. This is largely due to factors ranging from poverty, lack of social security and awareness, and lack of educational facilities for children, among many others. Two core conventions of the ILO, the Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (No. 138), and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (No. 182), serve as benchmarks for framing policy and taking action. The ratification and implementation of these conventions is a crucial beginning towards targeting the issue of child domestic labour and eradicating its worst forms.²

Although much policy attention is being given to the phenomenon of child labour both within national and international discourse, the issue of children and adolescents engaged in domestic work has not been significantly addressed. A series of international declarations recognize child domestic labour as a serious social problem. The Bamako Declaration³ signed at a meeting held in March 2000 that was attended by 18 government representatives from francophone African countries, specifically addresses the issue of child

¹According to the HRW (n.d., p. 5), research on domestic workers, including child domestic workers, shows that it is common for them not to be paid for months, especially just before festivals or annual leave in order to ensure that they would come back. The other complaints were regarding the random deductions of salaries.

²See <http://www.ilo.org/ipecc/areas/Childdomesticlabour/lang--en/index.htm>.

³It recognized that all children need to be registered at birth, that the minimum age for work according to C138 should be respected by all States and that the worst forms of child labour stipulated in C182 must be prohibited for all those under 18 years of age. See http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipecc/documents/publication/kd00098.pdf.

labour in domestic work. Similarly, the Panamanian Inter-institutional Declaration against the Worst Forms of Child Domestic Labour in the Homes of Third Parties⁴ came into existence as a result of a sub-regional tripartite agreement signed in April 2002 in San Jose, Costa Rica, to tackle the issue of child labour in domestic work, wherein it was recognized as a serious social problem (ILO, 2004, pp. 84-85). One major step in the direction of acknowledging the contribution of domestic workers to the global economy, understanding their unique position and the vulnerabilities that accompany it, promoting decent work for them and protecting their rights and dignity was taken by the ILO with the adoption of Convention 189 also known as the Domestic Workers Convention, 2011, on 16 June 2011 at the 100th Session of the International Labour Conference.

Many important steps have also been initiated in the Indian legal context. In 1996, the Supreme Court gave directions for guiding the withdrawal of children from hazardous industries, rehabilitating them, ensuring their education, providing employment to their family members, offering them financial assistance, and regulating their working conditions in non-hazardous work.⁵ After several efforts were made to address the issue, an amendment to the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act (CLPRA), 1986 was introduced in October 2006 and domestic work was added to the list of prohibited occupations (Part A of the Schedule).⁶ In 2012, an Amendment Bill was introduced by the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MoLE) in the Upper House to expand the schedule to the CLPRA, 1986, which seeks to prohibit the engagement of underage children in all occupations and that of adolescents in hazardous occupations and processes.⁷ This Bill provides for harsher punishments for the employment of children and for the employment of adolescents in hazardous occupations.

However, despite the existence of these laws, the practice of employing child labour and pushing children and adolescents into hazardous work is prevalent. In the case of domestic work, the implementation of laws is fraught with challenges due to the hidden nature of this work and the tacit acceptance by society of this kind of work, particularly for girls. Another hurdle in implementation is the difference in defining the minimum age for domestic work among countries and even among States in India. While according to the

⁴It recognizes that child labour in domestic work violates the human rights of the child but is not considered a problem in most countries, that this work is a form of gender discrimination which forces girls to enter it, that the tasks involved in domestic work are not suited for children and harm the integral development of the child; and reiterated the need for sensitization among policy-makers regarding this issue. See http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---ipec/documents/publication/kd00098.pdf.

⁵Ministry of Labour and Employment, Available online at: <http://labour.nic.in/content/division/directions-of-supreme-court.php>.

⁶The complete list of hazardous occupations and processes prohibited for minors is available online at: <http://labour.nic.in/upload/uploadfiles/files/ActsandRules/SectionoftheSociety/TheChildLabourProhibition%26RegulationAct1986.pdf>.

⁷The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Amendment Bill, 2012 provides for imprisonment upto 2 years or a fine of upto INR 50,000 for employing a child in any occupation and an adolescent in a hazardous occupation. Available online at: <http://www.prindia.org/billtrack/the-child-labour-prohibition-and-regulation-amendment-act-2012-2553/>.

Indian law, children above the age of 14 years may work in certain occupations and processes, in 2009, the Delhi High Court ordered the rescue and rehabilitation of adolescents under 18 in a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) case filed by *Bachpan Bachao Andolan* (BBA).⁸ Section 374 of the Indian Penal Code states that the sanction for forced labour is imprisonment of up to one year, or a fine or both. This allowed the State to take action by applying the Bonded Labour Abolition Act, 1976,⁹ and the Juvenile Justice (JJ) Act, 2000,¹⁰ along with the CLPRA, thus facilitating the rescue of adolescent workers aged 14 to 18 years and the imposition of a fine on their employers. However, while the rescue of such workers has been made possible in Delhi, in other states like Jharkhand, adolescents are still allowed to work. The differences in interpretation as well as in the implementation of laws, and lack of standardization may have allowed people to take advantage of the loopholes in the law and employ children.

Further, there is great difficulty in determining the age of the child since hardly any of these children have birth certificates. Very often, the employers, parents of the workers as well as the workers themselves claim to be older than they are. One of the respondents in this research, Mr. Shaiju Varghese said:

There are many methods of finding out the tentative age, but it is far from accurate. For example, they can say that a child is about 14-16 years of age, and there is such a little difference between these ages, that it is hardly helpful. The medical authorities check for bone age, and you will not believe the kind of things that are done. For instance, they will check for hair growth under the arm, or look for a trace of moustache, which is not accurate.

Such inaccuracy in age determination is problematic in designing policies for adolescents based on age.

Finally, the lack of political will in ensuring implementation, monitoring and regulation (ILO, 2005) makes the implementation of laws difficult.

⁸See: http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2013-11-05/delhi/43734618_1_child-labour-child-rights-ngo-bachpan-bachao-andolan.

⁹This Act is intended to provide for the abolition of bonded labour and prevent the economic and physical exploitation of the weaker sections See the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act, 1976 and Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Rules, 1976, Available on http://pblabour.gov.in/pdf/forms_procedures/procedure01_bonded_labour_system_abolition_act_1976.pdf.

¹⁰This Act is intended to consolidate and amend the law relating to juveniles in conflict with law and children in need of care and protection, by providing for proper care, protection and treatment, by catering to their development needs and by adopting a child-friendly approach in the adjudication and disposition of matters in the best interest of children and for their ultimate rehabilitation through various institutions established under this Act. See <http://wcd.nic.in/childprot/jjact2000.pdf>.

1.1.2 Reasons, compulsions and motivations

Poverty, economic pressures and financial crises are the main factors that influence the decisions of households to send young family members to work rather than to school. In many instances, school-going children are taken out of school due to financial constraints and sent to work in order to contribute to the family income. Given the lack of sufficient education and skill levels, they usually find work in the informal sector where there are no minimum wages or social protection leading to the increasing likelihood of exploitation at the workplace (UCW Report, 2012). Apart from economic pressures, social and cultural factors also influence the decision of a household to send children to work or school. This, in particular, applies to domestic work, which is not only considered 'safe and light', as it is performed inside the homes under the benevolent eyes of the household members (mostly the lady of the house), but is also considered a 'natural extension of women's work'. In many of the case studies conducted, the belief that domestic work helps girls learn housework and prepares them for marital life emerged quite strongly. Apart from the supply side factors, there is a lot of demand for young domestic workers, as they may be easy to control, less aware and less likely to protest or cause trouble.

Apart from the widely cited push factors of poverty and its feminization, lack of education and skills training, rural–urban migration, vulnerability of the families, and their aspirations and the pull factors of urban life as well as gender discrimination deserve critical analysis, especially in the Indian context where traditional socio-cultural beliefs like the son preference, dowry and other forms of discriminatory practices are widely prevalent. Silva-de-Alwis (2007, p.1) puts forward gender-based discrimination as one important factor explaining why women and girls are overwhelmingly represented in domestic work and how gender identity clearly shapes this category of work. According to the ILO (2004), more girl children under the age of 16 years are in domestic service than in any other category of child labour. The available statistics, which are mostly based on local research and surveys, provide an alarming indication of the extent of the phenomenon worldwide. The UNCRC also highlights the effect that traditional socio-cultural beliefs have on discrimination against the girl child, which devalues their role in the family and reinforces gender biases. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) recognizes the multiple discriminations that women and girls face, and affirms equal rights and equality of opportunities for women and girls in both the professional and private spheres, but this affirmation is yet to translate into action at the national and local levels. The National Charter for Children (2003, p.40) also addresses the issue of gender-based discrimination, which it puts forward as a reason for girls being employed as child domestic workers.

Almost all the respondents in this study were adolescent girls and the findings reveal a deep gender bias at the level of both the family as well as the wider community, which not only pushes them into this kind of work, but also creates conditions for them to continue and pass it on to their daughters, resulting in them being trapped in a "generational chain of exploitation" (Silva-de-Alwis, 2007, p. 4). Hence, it is useful to situate domestic work in the context of patriarchy and gender relations in view of the fact that this

work, which is traditionally associated with women, is, at the same time, undervalued and often not regarded as work (Mehrotra, 2010). What also needs exploration is the impact this has on their empowerment as the women involved in this work are significant contributors to the household income. A gender perspective would thus be essential in order to gain a deep understanding of the nature of this work and its impacts, as well as in the framing of laws and policies.

Thus, overall, poverty, social exclusion, and social tolerance as well as the lack of an institutional response such as a State guarantee of economic opportunities, quality education and family support, together interact to produce situations wherein children are forced into this work (ILO, 2005).

Besides the gender lens, it is important to understand how younger and older children view domestic work and what their compulsions and motivations are. The current study also explores the difference between the compulsions and motivations reported by children and adolescents, which remains a gap in existing research.

1.1.3 Channels and processes of entry

Given the nature of domestic work, there are few formal channels of entry and even these are known to facilitate the entry of young workers, albeit informally. According to the Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011) and Neetha (2008), there are currently 800 to 1,000 agencies in Delhi that supply domestic workers. Although this is reflective of the increasing commercialization of domestic work, the corresponding formalization of the occupation has not occurred. In fact, many of these agencies are illegal and operate as intermediaries for trafficking of women and children. Thousands of illegal placement agencies flourish in cities like Delhi where there is a high demand for live-in domestic workers, who can work at odd hours in accordance with their employers' schedules (*Shakti Vahini*, 2012c). According to Pathak (2012), West Delhi's Shakarpur area is reported to have over 200 placement agencies for domestic workers, catering mostly to the rich Punjabi Bagh area. These agencies are known to bring minor girls from villages, usually in Jharkhand, to big cities like Delhi, and place them in exploitative working conditions.

Despite multiple efforts by the State to curb human trafficking, it has been increasing in the country. A detailed report on the current human trafficking trade in the city, recently submitted to the Delhi Police Crime Branch by the Special Branch of the Assam Police, reveals the inhuman conditions that young, rural girls and boys are subjected to by illegal placement agencies in Delhi. They are often abused physically and sexually, deprived of contact with their families and denied mobility. The money earned by the workers goes into the pockets of the owners of such placement agencies. Many workers are reportedly sold in Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir for various purposes, including marriage (Pandey, 2011a).

The employers prefer younger children as domestics because they are cheaper to procure, complain less than the older ones, and can be exploited. The demand for workers is great and entry is relatively easy as it requires very limited education and skills. Most workers gain entry through an acquaintance. For example, in gated communities, the security personnel at the entrance gate search for potential domestic workers and match the supply and demand for them. Other modes of supply of such workers include agents and contractors or middlemen, who facilitate the migration of children or adolescents in a manner that is often tantamount to trafficking. The most common means of entry, however, is through the domestic workers themselves. They source other domestic workers, negotiate a wage floor for different household tasks, and, in certain instances, facilitate the entry of young children and adolescents into the domestic labour force.

1.1.4 Terms and conditions of employment

Despite the fact that the incidence of domestic work among children is progressively increasing and that it provides employment to a large number of people, particularly migrants, it remains unregulated and outside the purview of labour laws (The Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work, 2011). In most cases, there are no written contracts or agreements between the employer and the worker. Given the economic and social vulnerability of the workers, there is hardly any guarantee of minimum wages or conditions of work. The hidden and isolated nature of this work rarely allows mechanisms of institutional recourse for redress of workers' grievances. There are international laws and conventions like the UNCRC, CEDAW and ILO Recommendation No. 146 which guide States on basic rights of young workers, such as appropriate hours of work for minors, timely monitoring and supervision of their workplaces and imposition of penalties on those who do not respect their rights. However, a specific law on domestic work is still lacking in India.

The ILO Convention on the Minimum age for admission to employment, 1973 (No. 138) stipulates the age of 15 as the minimum age for work, and temporarily allows "a Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed" to reduce this to 14 years. While allowing these States to limit the application of the Convention, Article 5 lists the occupations to which the minimum age must be applied by all member States, irrespective of their level of development.¹¹ It also permits children aged 13-15 years to perform light work provided it does not harm their health or impede their education. Additionally, Article 3 of C182 defines the worst forms of child labour.¹² That are prohibited for children and adolescents under 18.

Section III of the CLPRA regulates the terms and conditions of work for the 15-18 age group. It limits the number of working hours to six, stipulates that a break of one hour be provided to the child after three hours of continuous work, provides for a weekly off,

¹¹These include mining and quarrying; manufacturing; construction; electricity; gas and water; sanitary services; transport; storage and communications; and plantations and other agricultural undertakings for commercial purposes (excluding small farms owned by families for household consumption).

¹²See http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C182.

prohibits work between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m., and states that the child should not be made to work in more than one establishment. However, in most cases, these conditions are not enforced. In fact, the HRW report (n.d.) highlights many cases of employers who do not give their workers even one day off for months together.¹³ This adds to the isolation and vulnerability of the workers, and prevents them from moving to other, perhaps more profitable, avenues.

The Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011) is working towards bringing domestic work under the category of regular work so as to recognise the rights of domestic workers and place them on par with other workers. It seeks to ensure minimum wages; welfare measures, social protection, health insurance, and protection against exploitation and abuse; and provides for registration of domestic workers as well as that of the placement agencies or individuals that supply them. As a result of efforts at various levels, domestic work has been included in the Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008. Many States have provided for minimum wages for domestic work in accordance with the Minimum Wages Act, 1948, as also for skill development and welfare. But there is still a long way to go. Recent developments at international level provide a framework for policy-making on domestic work. In June 2011, the International Labour Conference adopted Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201,¹⁴ concerning 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers'.

In India, despite the recommendations of the Task Force, no specific provisions have yet been made for adolescent domestic workers, who are legally allowed to work but have a unique set of vulnerabilities. The implementation of the proposals made by the Task Force is riddled with challenges, as not much information is available on this specific segment of workers as regards their perceptions of work and the difficulties and privations they face. This study seeks to shed some light on this group of workers, and to facilitate the process of including specific provisions and social protection for them.

There are some aspects of working conditions that are difficult to measure such as the number of hours worked in a day or week that adds to the complexity of measuring and regulating work. The number of hours spent working could be used as an indicator to understand the impact that work has on the health and education of the child or adolescent (UCW report, 2012, p.13), and, hence, should be regulated. In this research study, many

¹³According to the HRW (n.d., p. 6), employers reported justifying the practice of denying workers a day off as it would help them earn more and stay out of trouble, while others felt that it would prevent them from looking for another job or running away. This was reported in the current findings as well.

¹⁴The Convention and the Recommendation assert that domestic workers should not be considered "members of the family, servants or second class workers", and provide minimum standards for decent work. The ILO has thus covered this large section of informal workers (traditionally women), which have for long been undervalued and subjected to exploitation. See 'Decent Work for Domestic Workers: Convention, 2011 (No. 189) and Recommendation No. 201', Available online at: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_168266.pdf.

workers, particularly the part-timers, seem to have under-reported the number of hours of work they put in, as the time taken to travel to the place of work and repeated chores in each house are difficult to account for. The issue of part-time workers working for more than one employer household also poses some crucial legal and policy-related questions. For instance, if an employer is considered equivalent to one establishment, most part-time child and adolescent domestic workers would be working in multiple establishments, which, as mentioned above, is contrary to the CLPRA.

Live-in domestic workers also face a range of vulnerabilities as they come from far-flung areas to the cities, and often lack social support in their migratory destinations. They also lack personal space and time, and are often unable to go out and socialize on their own terms. Further, they are not in a position to choose their employers as freely as the part-time workers.

1.2 Impact of work

The UN declaration that was adopted at the World Summit on Social Development in Copenhagen in 1995, specifies the indicators of absolute poverty, including lack of food, shelter, education, information, safe and clean drinking water and sanitation facilities. Most child labourers in the country experience such poverty and are deprived of many of these basic necessities and rights. Girl children are likely to experience the denial of these rights more strongly. Strong political will is required for the State to abolish child labour in all its forms and raise the working age to 18 years by guaranteeing education, without which inclusive growth and social justice cannot be attained (Raghuram and Jain 2008, p.8).

1.2.1 Education and skills

Among the multiple privations that a child faces when (s)he is employed, the denial of education is the most severe. According to the UCW (2012) report, there is a close link between child labour and the inability to attend school or low academic performance and drop out. The UNCRC, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant of Economic, Cultural and Social Rights, all reiterate the right to education for all children, irrespective of their beliefs or backgrounds. In addition to these, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education, 1960 brings into focus the gender bias that can affect education of girls. According to the UCW Report (2012, p. 1), over 4 million children in India in the age group of seven to 14 years were reported to be working in 2010. This constitutes about 2.5 per cent of the total number of children in this age group in the country. The corresponding figure for adolescents aged 15 to 17 years for the same year was 19 per cent. While 8 per cent of workers in the younger age group were reported to be out of school, the corresponding figure was much higher for those in the older age group (31 per cent).¹⁵ According to this report, while the likelihood of younger children

¹⁵Calculated by the UCW on the basis of NSS Round 66 (20092010).

being enrolled in school is higher, it is seen to decrease as the children get older because they start working. This is particularly true for adolescent girls. Many children report dropping out of school before completing elementary school (Class VIII) due to financial or other social pressures. The need to explore the compulsions of adolescents to leave school and join work has, therefore, become increasingly important from the perspective of policy. According to HRW (n.d.), girls are pushed into domestic work when the cost of schooling increases or when there is a need to supplement the household income. Adolescent domestic workers, particularly live-in domestic workers, are especially vulnerable to drop out, as their unregulated hours of work make it difficult for them to sustain schooling.

The Indian National Charter on Education, 2003 recognizes a child's right to free and compulsory education, while the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009 (RTE), guarantees education to children in the age group of 6-14 years, though these provisions remain largely unimplemented (Silva-de-Alwis, 2007). According to the Census of India (2001), more than 12 million children in the country aged 5-14 years are employed in some form or the other. Nearly 48 per cent of the child labour force in this age group is engaged in manufacturing, some of which is household-based. The rest is in the service sector including construction, trade and domestic service. Further disaggregated information on child work is scarce, making it difficult to set targets for its elimination.

The UCW report (2012, p. 31) states that though the figures for school attendance of children between the years 2000 and 2006 rose by 9 per cent, yet the number of those out of school is still quite significant. The report analyses the National Sample Surveys (NSS) of 199394, 19992000 and 200405, which show a decline in the number of working children aged 7-14 years and an increase in the number of children going to school. As per a study conducted in Delhi by the National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) in 2010, out of the 2,831,947 children in the age group of 6-13 years in Delhi, less than 10 per cent were found to be in school while less than 4 per cent were found to be out of school. This indicates the difficulty in determining numbers of children enrolled in school.

The number of children who go to work and attend school is very small in India and many of these finally drop out. In fact, 10 per cent of the children in the age group of 7-14 years in the country were reported to be neither in school nor at work (UCW, 2012, p. 10). The issue of children simultaneously working and schooling has been heavily debated within policy circles. Although different results have been reported from different parts of the country, various studies indicate that the workload and the associated demands of work do affect learning outcomes.

Early involvement in work at the cost of schooling does not allow for skill development, thus disadvantaging former child labourers in the labour market. The UCW report (2010) brings into focus the long-term impacts of child labour on the lives of the children, as they often remain in low-paying jobs, fail to develop skill sets, and are thus unable to make the transition to gainful employment. The overall consequence of this is a negative impact on human capital formation. The resultant circular effect is that poor

opportunities in the labour market create a disincentive for households to invest in their children's education.

1.2.2 Occupational safety and health

Domestic workers in most countries are excluded from State-provided healthcare and are dependent on the employer for it, which, as mentioned in the HRW report (n.d.), is often denied.

The CLPRA includes a schedule of prohibited occupations and processes, included in Part A and B of the Act, for children under the age of 14 years which now includes domestic work. It stipulates minimum terms and conditions of work, the denial of which could have serious occupational health and safety implications for child and adolescent workers. Other repercussions of such denial include short-term and long-term health impacts such as respiratory problems, problems in hearing and eyesight, and deficiencies due to lack of nutrition, among other things. These impacts are most severe on those who perform hazardous work and can impede their ability to work throughout their lives.

Despite these mandatory legal provisions, the incidence of child labour persists and adolescents are employed in hazardous occupations and processes that are classified as the worst forms of child labour. One reason for this is the lack of awareness among children, adolescents, and their families as well as employers. Domestic work is considered to be relatively safe as it takes place within the home environment, in the context of family relations. This research reveals that many employers and guardians of workers feel that this work is better suited to young persons than others.

The ILO classifies child labour into the following three categories:

- i. labour performed by those under the nationally accepted minimum age;
- ii. hazardous work that has a harmful impact on the health, safety or morals of the child due to the nature and conditions of work;
- iii. unconditional worst forms of child labour.

Child domestic labour may be considered one of the worst forms as it includes hazardous tasks, hard manual labour, repetitive tasks, long hours of work with little or no rest, infliction of sexual, physical or emotional abuse on children, forced labour, and instances of child trafficking for this purpose.(ILO, 2004, p.7). Domestic work involves handling fire, long hours of work including standing, climbing, carrying heavy objects, and in case of live-in domestics being on call at any time till late at night. These tasks are generally undertaken without appropriate safety gear such as gloves, tongs and masks. Long working hours, without rest and interrupted sleep, can have a negative impact on both the physical and mental health of the child (ILO, 2007).

According to the ILO, occupational health and safety,¹⁶ in its broadest sense, should aim at the:

- promotion and maintenance of the highest degree of physical, mental and social well-being of workers in all occupations;
- prevention among workers of adverse effects on health caused by their working conditions;
- protection of workers in their employment from risks resulting from factors that are adverse to health;
- placing and maintenance of workers in an occupational environment adapted to their physical and mental needs; and
- adaptation of the work to human beings.

Ensuring the implementation of successful occupational health and safety practices requires the collaboration and participation of both employers and workers in health and safety programmes. It requires provision of medical and psychological support, food and nutrition, the use of safety gear and items of hygiene such as soap as well as access to clean toilets.

1.2.3 Discrimination and abuse

Due to its hidden nature, domestic work allows scope for exploitation (verbal, physical and sexual) as well as discrimination. Live-in workers are most vulnerable to this as they are away from home and unable to approach anyone for redress of their grievances. These impacts need to be seen in association with the denial of the fundamental rights of children such as access to education and healthcare, the right to enjoy rest, leisure, play and recreation, and the right to be cared for and to have regular contact with their parents and peers (UNCRC), all of which could have an irreversible physical, psychological and moral impact on the development, health and well-being of the child.

Most often, the child or adolescent worker cannot negotiate the terms and conditions of work and the wages paid for it. (S)he hardly has any time for recreation, play and socialisation. Many of the child and adolescent workers are subjected to discrimination in terms of food and general treatment vis-à-vis the children of their employers. Girls, in particular, also face the risk of sexual harassment and abuse, and often can do nothing about it due to their vulnerability and the lack of support from anyone (ILO, 2007).

Laws are in place to ensure that children involved in hazardous occupations and processes be withdrawn and rehabilitated, as stipulated by the Supreme Court judgment in

¹⁶ See <http://www.ilo.org/ipec/areas/Childdomesticlabour/lang--en/index.htm>.

M.C. Mehta vs. The State of Tamil Nadu and M.C. Mehta vs. the Union of India (Silva-de Alwis, 2007, p. 34). In 2005, the BBA filed a PIL regarding the rescue and rehabilitation of child labourers under the age of 18 years, which resulted in a Delhi High Court judgement in 2009, mentioned earlier.

1.3 Previous research on child domestic work

The NCPCR and Planning Commission have commissioned studies that focus on gaps in the existing research and policy on child labour in general such as the absence of accurate data and the need for social mobilization and community awareness. It proposes the adoption of an inter-departmental approach on the part of the government (particularly the Departments of Education, Women and children, Youth affairs, and *panchayat* bodies) and stresses the need for better monitoring and evaluation of projects.

Similarly, the ILO highlights the need for definitional clarity regarding child labour according to the nature and type of work (paid, unpaid, legal, illegal, hazardous, non-hazardous). It calls for methodological standardization, and states the importance of proper data collection on child labour across countries to facilitate cross-country comparison of research and policies (ILO, 2008). Moreover, conventional research tools like surveys and interviews are unable to capture the element of abuse in the hazardous tasks that may be undertaken by the child or the adolescent. Thus, there is a need for more innovative and alternative research methods to explore the conditions of work. The current research study has made an attempt to explore the use of innovative qualitative methods and entry points for gaining access to information that is otherwise not easily available, and suggests the use of these for future research dealing with such sensitive topics.

In the national context, some research studies have been conducted on child and adolescent domestic workers in some states, such as West Bengal, Jharkhand, and Orissa, the major source areas of domestic workers. These studies focus on the perceptions, experiences and privations faced by them. However, there are no studies that bring out the specific differences in experiences of child and adolescent workers.

The following studies which were undertaken between 1998 and 2009 were compiled by the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development (2010):

- in 2006, Basu-Malliks conducted a study in Kolkata to understand the knowledge, attitudes and practices of functionaries of the Integrated Child Development Scheme, who work to provide nutritional and health services to children in the age group of 0-6 years. It was found that less than half of them could correctly identify the characteristics that define child workers. Most of them cited poverty and population growth as the main reasons for children taking up this work;

- in 2005, the Jaiprakash Institute of Social Change explored levels of awareness regarding health issues faced by child domestic workers among the community, and encouraged the use of programme and advocacy tools to improve it;
- the same institute carried out a baseline study in selected villages in Bhagalpur II Block, East Midnapur in West Bengal to study the socio-economic background of child domestic workers and their families, and to explore household characteristics for understanding the factors that compel them to send children to work;
- in 2005, Rani and Roy also conducted a study along with Save the Children in West Bengal to explore the reasons that compel children to take up such work and its consequences on their lives. The study revealed that most of the families that sent children to do this work were either landless, had irregular income, or were experiencing sickness or disability, findings that emerged in the current study as well;
- another study was conducted in 2006 by the Drishti Stree Adhyayan Prabodhan Kendra, a Pune-based organization, on migrant girl domestic workers from the tribal areas of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh, who go to Delhi to work as full-time or live-in workers. It brought into focus some interesting reasons for migration, ranging from attraction to urban life and boredom in their villages to competition with peers from their villages who had migrated earlier due to poverty. The study explores the conditions and type of work that these girls were involved in and the wages they were paid;
- save the Children conducted a study in Kolkata in 2006, which attempted to capture the incidences of abuse (verbal, physical and sexual) among child domestic workers.

A detailed study on domestic workers in Delhi and the National Capital Region (NCR) was conducted in 2009 by the Institute for Social Studies Trust (ISST) and funded by the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust. It combined qualitative and quantitative research methods to explore the nature and conditions of work in different parts of the city. The aim of the project was to study emerging livelihood patterns and working conditions of the poor, especially among migrant labourers employed for domestic work. It seeks to obtain an in-depth understanding of the living conditions and employment characteristics of domestic workers, their locational characteristics, the dynamics and hierarchical characteristics of this sector, the nature of negotiation of their wages and working conditions and their organization and unionization. Although the focus of the study is on adult domestic workers, a significant number of them started working when they were children and said that it helped them learn the task.

Bhattacharya (n.d.), along with SEWA, conducted a study in Ahmedabad on domestic workers. The project, besides capturing similar data as that of the above study, also aimed to organize women workers within the SEWA Domestic Workers' Union to help them enhance their negotiating skills and gain access to institutional recourse for demanding their rights, wages, social protection and better conditions of work.

“Small Hands, Big Work: No More at Your Home”, (Save the Children, 2009) is a compilation of news clippings, columns and various events on child domestic work. This is part of a wider research, advocacy and capacity-building project working on domestic child and adolescent workers in West Bengal.

Although the above studies have captured various aspects of child domestic work some gaps remain in the understanding of this particular workforce which in itself is very diverse and complex. The nuances between child and adolescent workers are not sufficiently captured, nor are various aspects and dimensions of this unique labour market. These gaps also reflect the difficulties entailed in carrying out research in this area. This study attempts to address some of these gaps and outline some innovative methods and challenges faced during the course of field work, in order to inform future research methods.

2 RESEARCH SCOPE, OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 Conceptual concerns

It is essential to ensure definitional clarity of the key concepts, especially when there are multiple definitions in different national contexts of the concepts of ‘who is a child’ or ‘what constitutes domestic work’. It thus becomes imperative to clearly define these not only for facilitating the conduct of smooth research but also for ensuring the protection of the legal, economic and social rights of the workers and for designing social protection policies for them.

The term ‘children’ includes all persons under the age of 18 years, as per the international definition adopted in the UNCRC. However, it is understood that different laws define children differently. The CLPRA defines children as “all persons below the age of 15 years”. Given that children above the age of 15 years can legally take up employment, in this study, the distinction of children and adolescents has been made to refer to persons aged less than 15 years as ‘children’ while all those who are aged 15-17 years are referred to as ‘adolescents’.

For the purpose of the present study, the definition by the MoLE Task Force on Domestic Work¹⁷ will be used. This includes parts of the definition contained in C189. The Task Force has defined a ‘Domestic Worker’ as:

a person who is employed for remuneration whether in cash or kind, in any household, 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, but does not include any member of the family of an employer.

2.2 Objective

The main aim of this research study is to understand the nature of child and adolescent domestic employment in the cities of Delhi and Ranchi, the compulsions and motivations that push children and adolescents into this work, the conditions that perpetrate child labour in domestic work despite the existence of legal provisions prohibiting it. It also explores the impact that this work has on the lives of children and adolescents, particularly in terms of occupational health and safety. On the basis of the

¹⁷See: http://www.indg.in/social-sector/unorganised-labour/national_policy_on_domestic_work_2011.pdf.

research findings, it proposes a different categorization of child domestic work. Finally, it presents a series of recommendations for policies on child domestic work as well as for future research on this and related themes.

2.3 Typology

For the purpose of this study, the following typology was adhered to as per the definition suggested by the Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work, 2011, (p 12):

- **a part-time worker** is a worker who works for one or more employers for a specified number of hours per day or performs specific tasks for each of the multiple employers every day;
- **a full-time worker** is a worker who works for a single employer every day for a specified number of hours (comprising a normal full day's work) and who returns to her/his home every day after work;
- **a live-in worker** is a worker who works full time for a single employer and also resides on the premises of the employer or in a dwelling provided by the employer (which is close or next to the house of the employer).

Notwithstanding the definition given by the Task Force, however, for purposes of the present study, a slight alteration has been made wherein the workers involved in work for four hours or less are treated as part-time workers, while those who undertake more than four hours of work, irrespective of the number of employers they work for, but return to their own residence and do not live in the employer's house, are full-timers. The case of live-in domestic workers is comparatively more distinct and is laid out as such in the report.

2.4 Research process

Secondary research: The first stage of the research consisted of an exhaustive review of available literature, research papers, legal and policy documents, articles and news reports to form a base for the study and situate its findings. This was necessary to identify gaps so as to ascertain why, in spite of legislation, the practice of employing child domestic workers is still prevalent, and to determine the areas where more research is needed.

Primary research: The second stage entailed field work. A combination of qualitative and quantitative research methods was used in an attempt to capture both subjective information and dynamics as well as objective measurable information. The primary research entailed a survey of 267 households, out of which 113 were in Delhi and 154 were in Ranchi. In addition, 40 case studies were compiled and several interviews with relevant stakeholders across Delhi (a destination for domestic workers) and Ranchi (both a

source and destination for domestic workers) in areas with different socio-economic profiles to record the perceptions of the workers, parents and employers.

Quantitative research: A detailed household survey questionnaire was prepared to capture the socio-economic characteristics of the families of child domestic workers such as household size, income, education level, occupational information and work status as well as detailed information about the child or adolescent worker concerned.

Qualitative research: This research depended critically on qualitative methodological tools for eliciting information on the typologies, processes and channels of hiring, and most importantly, the impact of such work, in particular, the element of physical, sexual and emotional abuse that the child might be undergoing. Moser and MacIlwaine (1999) and Moser (2012) have used participatory qualitative techniques and found them to be quite successful in capturing sensitive information like perceived fears, insecurities and violence among vulnerable groups. Such sensitive and insightful topics were found to elicit a better response through the use of qualitative methods like interviews, case studies and repeat visits to confirm the information collected.

2.4.1 Tools used for qualitative research

- **Personal in-depth interviews** of child and adolescent workers as well as of their guardians and employers were conducted in order to gain a deep insight into their perspectives and feelings about the work, the reasons for joining work or for hiring workers and the impacts of this work. Interviews of resource persons such as NGOs, rescue centres and recruiters were also taken to understand their views.
- **Detailed case studies** are different from the above, as they present a more detailed analysis of not only the perceptions of the respondents, but also the context in which the decision to join work or send a child to work is made. The case studies explore how various factors interact with each other and contribute to the current situation, thus offering a holistic view.
- **Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)** involve detailed discussions with a group comprising four to 12 members in order to understand the dynamics and views of different members within the same group, as well as between different groups, regarding a particular issue. In this research study, a few FGDs were conducted only to understand the reasons why children and adolescents undertake domestic work and its impacts. However, this exercise was possible only on rare occasions because of the tight schedules of workers and different timings of work that made it difficult to bring them together for a discussion.

2.5 Geographical scope and coverage

The cities of Delhi and Ranchi were chosen as research sites for this study as the former is the destination of a large number of domestic workers, many of whom come from Ranchi (which serves as the source, transit as well as a destination area). Ranchi has also been chosen as it has a significant tribal population. As there is no existing information on the numbers of domestic workers in the city and its localities, the use of systematic sampling to cover a representative number was ruled out. The study, therefore, followed a mix of methods such as snowballing, contacting resource persons in the concerned localities and stakeholders working on child labour or related issues in order to identify the relevant households for research in Delhi and Ranchi.

The study team essentially focused firstly on the poorer areas where domestic workers and families of adolescent and child domestic workers might be living, and secondly, the economically better-off areas, where the households that might be hiring them may be located. These were often adjacent to the slum areas as there is a higher likelihood of part-time and full-time adolescent and child workers living close to the workplace. Thus, areas of supply and demand were researched, though access to the latter was highly restricted due to reluctance on the part of the employers to grant interviews and lack of access to the gated colonies where they live.

The survey covered households to which domestic workers belonged, that is, poor households which supply CADWs, while the case studies covered mostly the CADWs individually. Two employers from the richer households which demand young domestic workers, and two placement agencies, both formal and informal were interviewed.

The main target respondents who were interviewed and surveyed during the research were:

- children in the age group of 5-14 years and those in the age group of 14 up to 18 years, with a focus on girls;
- in addition to this, the adult domestic workers aged 18-25 years, who had taken up domestic work when they were quite young, were also interviewed and termed as former child domestic workers;
- families, relatives and/or guardians of the domestic child and/or adolescent workers where possible;
- families that have employed them wherever possible, for whom case studies were also undertaken;
- stakeholders such as NGOs, rescue centres, channels and recruiters of domestic workers.

In both cities, a total of 37 case studies and 10 interviews with resource persons like NGOs and resource centres were conducted. Details of the case studies and interviews are given below while a few of them have been provided in Annex 1. (*The names of the respondents have been changed for safeguarding their identities and ensuring anonymity.*)

Table 1: Case studies of child and adolescent domestic workers

Age and type	Delhi	Ranchi
Age Group		
7 to 14 years	9	4
15 to 25 years	21	3
Type of worker		
Live-in	8	2
Full-time	13	2
Part-time	7	2
Former child domestic worker	2	1
Total	30	7

In Delhi, four areas were chosen as research sites based on the above factors, namely:(i) Ashram, *Jhuggi-Jhopri* (JJ), Jagdamba Camp, Khirki village slums near Panchsheel Vihar, Triveni Complex in Malviya Nagar and Ghoshia colony in Mehrauli in the South;

- i. the Jahangirpuri slum settlement in the north;
- ii. the Kalyanpuri slum settlement in the east; and
- iii. slum settlements in Punjabi Bagh and Uttam Nagar in the west.

Two employers in Ashram and Malviya Nagar were interviewed.

In Ranchi, case studies were conducted in the Harmu, Kadru, Dibdih, Pundag, Hehal and Argora areas in the west; Piskamore in the north-west; and in Jagannathpur in the south-west.

Both the qualitative and quantitative research was conducted in the above areas simultaneously.

In terms of locality types, slum settlements (notified and non-notified),¹⁸ authorized and unauthorized colonies and urban villages were covered. As much as 44 per

¹⁸According to the Joint Director, Registrar General, cited in the Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation, Report of the Committee on the Slum Statistics/Census (2011, p. 45), there are three criteria for

cent of domestic worker households surveyed were situated in authorized colonies of Delhi and Ranchi. They live in make-shift or slum-like dwellings in the vicinity of the employer's house or on a vacant plot of land in an authorized colony. In government colonies, domestic worker households are often provided accommodation in exchange for their services. Another 29 per cent of the domestic worker households surveyed were situated in slums (15 per cent notified and 14 per cent non-notified). Only Delhi comprised notified slums, while all the households in Ranchi were in non-notified slums. Urban villages account for 24 per cent of our sample, all of which were in Ranchi. A very small segment of 4 per cent was captured from unauthorized colonies. However, it may be stated here that the status of domestic worker households even within the authorized colonies may be vulnerable.

Table 2: Types of localities surveyed

Type of locality	Delhi	%	Ranchi	%	Total	%
Notified slum	40	35.4	-	-	40	15
Non-notified slum	10	8.8	27	17.5	37	13.9
Authorized colony	58	51.3	57	37	115	43.9
Unauthorized colony	5	4.4	6	3.9	11	4.1
Urban village	-	-	64	41.6	64	24
Total	113		154		267	

2.6 Access and entry points

Due to the lack of *a priori* information on this specific category of workers and their concentration in the cities,¹⁹ the relevant areas were identified on the basis of some knowledge about the settlements, and contacts that the investigators had with resource persons. The entry points used were the following.

1. **Resource persons** such as *anganwadi sewikas* (workers in government sponsored child-care and maternal-care centres), NGOs and research organizations that work in the settlements or deal with the issue of child labour, including child labour in domestic work, such as Save the Children, NCPCR, the Ark Foundation, *Sathi*

identifying slums. The first comprise notified slums, which have been declared as such by any statute such as the Slum Act. The second comprise non-notified slums or recognized slums that may not be included in any statute or act but have been recognized as such by the state government or local authorities. Apart from these, as per the third criterion, a slum comprises a "compact area of at least 300 population or about 60-70 households of poorly built congested tenements, in unhygienic environment usually with inadequate infrastructure and lacking in proper sanitary and drinking water facilities." See http://mhupa.gov.in/W_new/Slum_Report_NBO.pdf. Also see Bhan and Jana (2013, p. 13).

¹⁹The NCPCR Action Plan for the Abolition of Child Labour in Delhi (2010) provides a list of areas in Delhi wherein child labour is concentrated. However, there is no information on this specific category of child and adolescent domestic workers.

Centre at Kalyanpuri, ISST and *Nirmala Niketan*. Rescue centres such as *Chaitanlya*, Childline and BBA proved to be particularly useful as they provided information not only about the situation of child labour in domestic work and the exploitation that the children might be subjected to, but also about the process of rescuing them, as well as the prevalent channels and processes through which children and adolescent workers come or are trafficked, the role of the police and Labour Department, and the gaps in existing laws and policies that allow the practice of child labour in domestic work to continue and thrive.

2. **Community level enquiries**, including discussions with informed persons within the community such as *anganwadi sevikas*, security guards and other informed individuals.
3. **Placement agencies** proved to be less useful, as the formal ones do not reveal that they have adolescents in their records, even though other sources such as NGOs and resource centres claim that they do. As far as the informal placement agencies were concerned, the investigators posed as potential clients and managed to gain some minimum information which confirms that 15-16 year old girls can be made available for work if the client is persistent. These girls are brought from West Bengal and Jharkhand through their agents in the villages. In this research study, word of mouth and relatives emerged as the main channels through which young girls entered work.

2.6.1 Access

Due to the lack of any *a priori* information regarding this particular category of CADWs and because of the illegality that surrounds it, only those localities about which the investigators had prior knowledge from informed persons residing or working there, were targeted.

Given the sensitive nature of the research, the team did face some challenges in terms of gaining access child and adolescent domestic workers, particularly, those working as live-in domestic workers in the employers' homes. Apart from the fact that the employer denied access to these workers, even if the team did manage to interview the worker (as in one case in Delhi), the employer was present during the conversation and answered most questions on behalf of the worker. Since access to gated communities was not possible, the employers were contacted through known people. There was reluctance on the part of both the employers as well as the workers to respond to queries, even after they were assured confidentiality. Moreover, the Delhi High Court judgment allowing children under the age of 18 years to be rescued from any form of work, may have increased the reluctance of the respondents to participate in interviews and discussions.

2.6.2 Alternative entry points

In view of the above difficulties, it was essential to try some alternative methods in order to gain access to domestic workers. Some of these were used as illustrative methods, given the paucity of time to exercise them in a systematic manner and gain access to more workers. The research entailed the use of the following methods.

NGOs and other resource persons like *anganwadi sevikas* proved to be quite helpful, particularly in Delhi, and guided the team to the households that had child or adolescent domestic workers. *Anganwadi sevikas* were of tremendous help as they knew the locality well, and many of the children that they looked after had older siblings who were involved in domestic work, though most of them were part-time or full-time workers.

Community spaces like parks where live-in domestic workers could be accessed, as many of them would accompany the children of their employers for playing or karate practice in the park. Another access point that proved to be interesting was that of churches, where it was possible to meet Christian live-in domestic workers who congregate at church on Sundays for Mass. The team visited Saint Lucas Church in Defence Colony, and the Sacred Heart Cathedral in Gol Market where members of all the churches in the city meet once a month. The team was able to meet two live-in domestic workers through this method.

Reiterative research (revisits) proved to be very successful for acquiring a detailed understanding of the child or adolescent and even the families that supply and hire them. By revisiting some interesting and more vocal respondents, it was possible to capture certain details that would otherwise escape the investigator. In such cases, the respondents were also less reluctant to engage in discussions and share details which are often withheld in a single interview. In addition, better knowledge of the context of the respondent was gained, which proved to be very useful during the analysis of the findings. One case which was particularly interesting is that of a 14-year old boy and his 7-year old sibling, who had migrated from Assam and were working as garbage collectors, carriers of luggage as well as domestic workers in homes and offices. They came to collect garbage and, in that process, the investigator could talk to them for 2-3 minutes and gain valuable insights into the worker's obligation to work and the impact of such work.

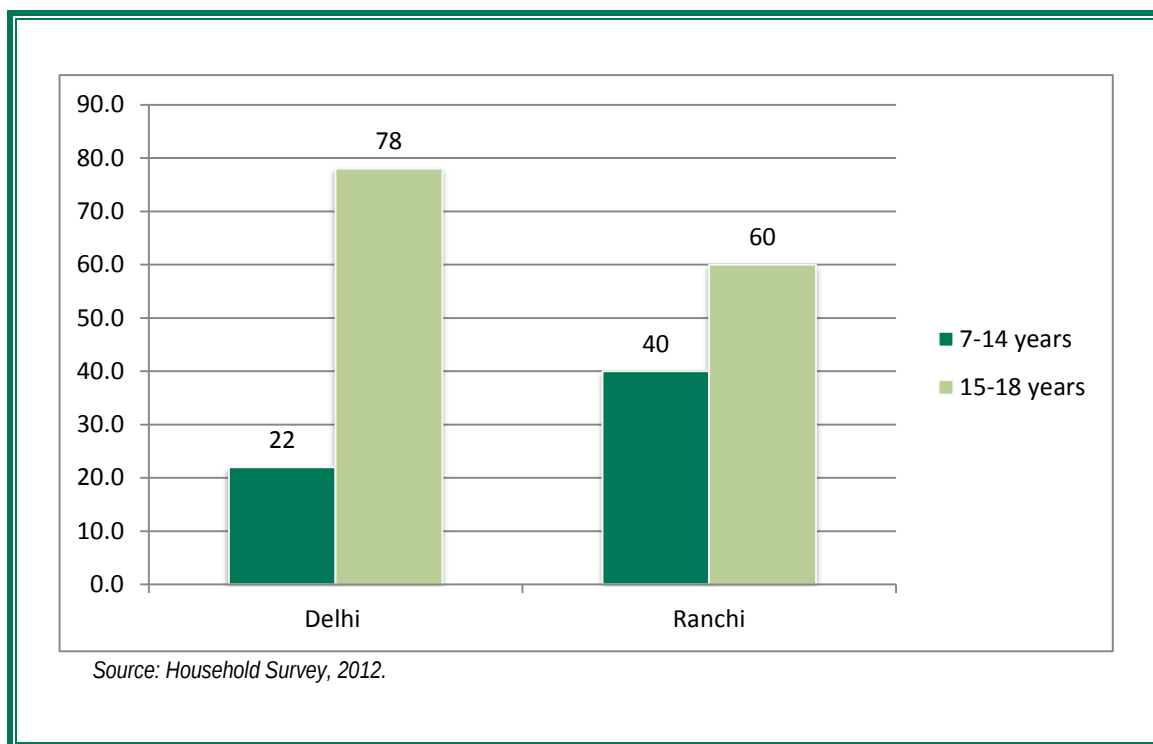
3 RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 Social profile of the young domestic workers surveyed

Out of the 444 domestic workers of all ages surveyed, 316 were in the age group of 7-20 years. Over 95 per cent of these in both cities were female, indicating the extent to which this work is gender stereotyped. Although the entry of males in rural areas in this line of work has been noted in recent decades, nevertheless among children, very few boys were covered by this survey.

As seen in Figure 1, child domestic workers have a larger representation in Ranchi than in Delhi, while Delhi has more adolescent domestic workers than Ranchi.

Figure 1: Percentage distribution of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi



In Delhi and Ranchi, 37 case studies were conducted in the same areas as the survey. Out of these, 13 were child domestic workers (7-14 years old) and 24 were adolescent and adult domestic workers (15-25 years old). In Delhi, 30 case studies were conducted, out of which nine of the workers were 7-14 years old, and the rest were 15-25 years old. Among these, eight worked as live-ins, 13 were full-timers, and nine were part-time workers.

The family size of most of the child and adolescent domestic workers was six or more members, with most of them being girls. In many cases, the girl domestic worker was the older sibling, who reported taking up work to help her mother due to financial problems or sickness in the family, and/or to help her siblings get an education. Seven households reported rag-picking as the other source of income besides domestic work. While three respondents reported that their fathers were alcoholics, four others reported them to be suffering from some illness or disability. Among the workers, eight said that their mothers were also working as domestic workers.

In Ranchi, seven case studies were conducted in Lohra, Hatia (which offered the investigators better access to the respondents), out of which four were children. Two of these were live-ins, two were part-timers, two were full-timers, and one was a former domestic worker. Most of the workers lived in a family of four to six members and were aged 10-16 years. In one case, the worker's mother was a widow, while four CADWs reported illness and alcoholism in the family. Abuse was also reported by those who had alcoholic fathers. One 16-year old girl said that her father had left her mother, following which she too ran away and was brought up by her grandmother. Most reported that their parents were involved in casual work like rickshaw-pulling.

The respondents varied in terms of their social backgrounds (SCs, STs and Muslims) and most of them were girls, with only two of them being boys. Most had begun working at the age of 12 or 13 years, mostly with their mothers. In Delhi, many had come from Uttar Pradesh, Jharkhand and Gujarat, while in Ranchi, they had mainly come from Jharkhand. Most of them were illiterate and some had dropped out of school, while a couple of the Muslim girls had been learning Urdu. Some older siblings reported dropping out and working to earn for being able to finance the education or marriage of their younger siblings.

Table 3: Share of domestic work in employment of child and adolescent workers

City	Age group (years)	Total no. of workers	No. of domestic workers	% of domestic workers
Delhi	7-14	41	27	65.9
	15-20	144	99	68.8
	> 20	215	87	40.5

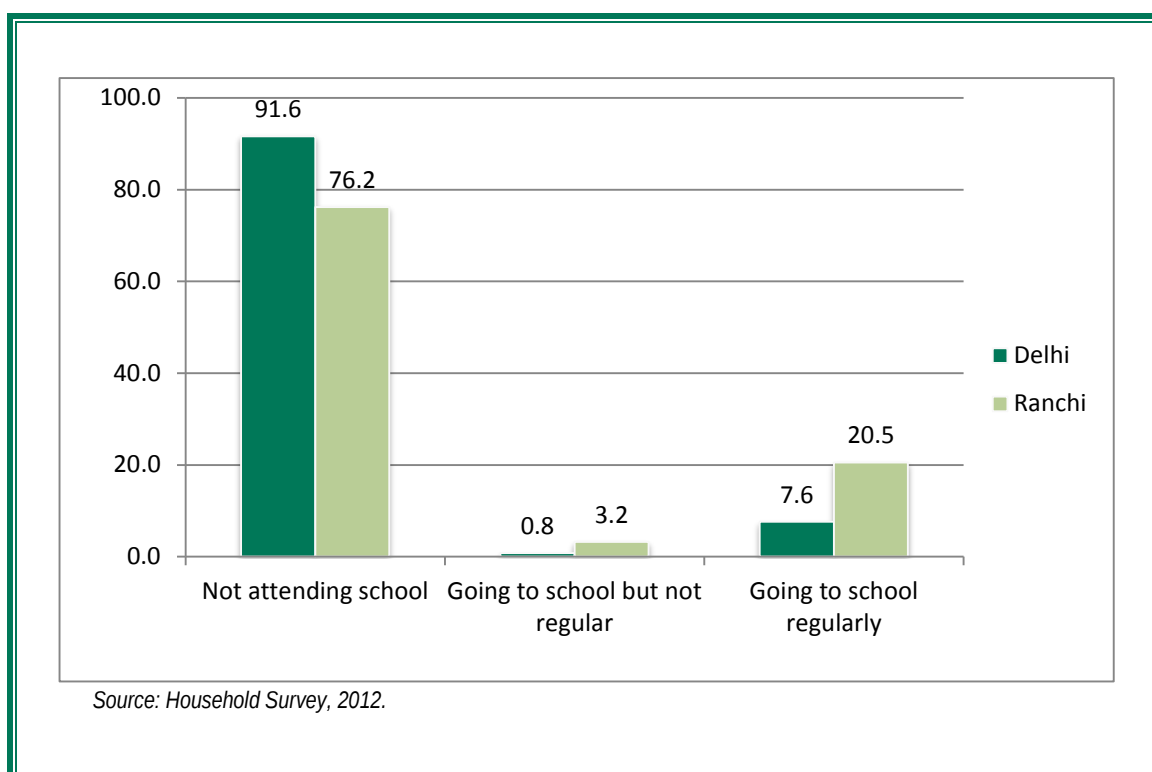
City	Age group (years)	Total no. of workers	No. of domestic workers	% of domestic workers
Ranchi	7-14	80	54	67.5
	15-20	186	110	59.1
	> 20	293	71	24.2
Total		959	448	46.7

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Domestic work is not the only activity in which children and adolescents of domestic worker households are engaged. Some of the other work they are involved in includes rag-picking, factory work, and working in shops in Delhi, and construction work and rickshaw pulling in Ranchi. While the percentage of domestic workers in the younger age group was marginally higher in Ranchi, Delhi had a higher percentage of working adolescents employed in domestic work (69 per cent) as compared to Ranchi (59 per cent).

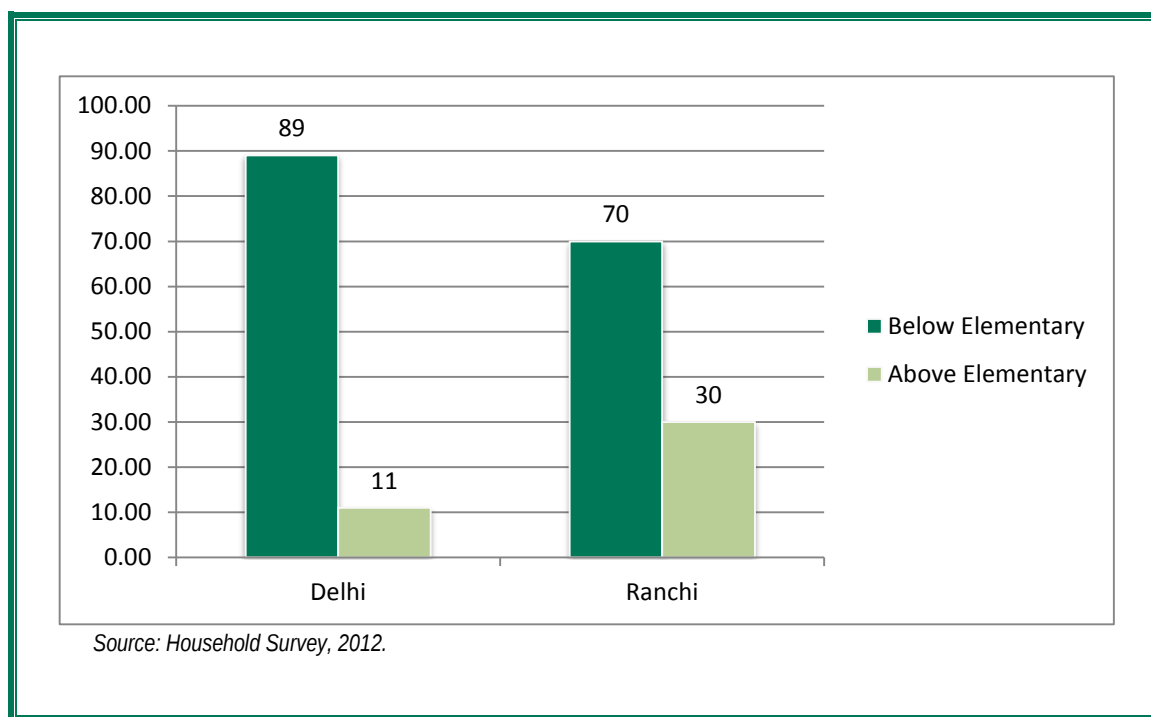
As much as 90 per cent of CADWs in Delhi and 75 per cent in Ranchi do not attend school. However, the percentage of those that combine school and work was higher in Ranchi as compared to Delhi (Figure 2). This was also reflected in the case studies.

Figure 2: Educational status in Delhi and Ranchi (7-20 years)



In terms of the education level, more workers in Delhi reported being in elementary education (Classes II to VIII) than their counterparts in Ranchi. In Delhi, 89 per cent of the workers had acquired education below the elementary level, while the corresponding figure in Ranchi was about 70 per cent. However, in Ranchi, the proportion of workers having acquired education above the elementary level was much higher than in Delhi.

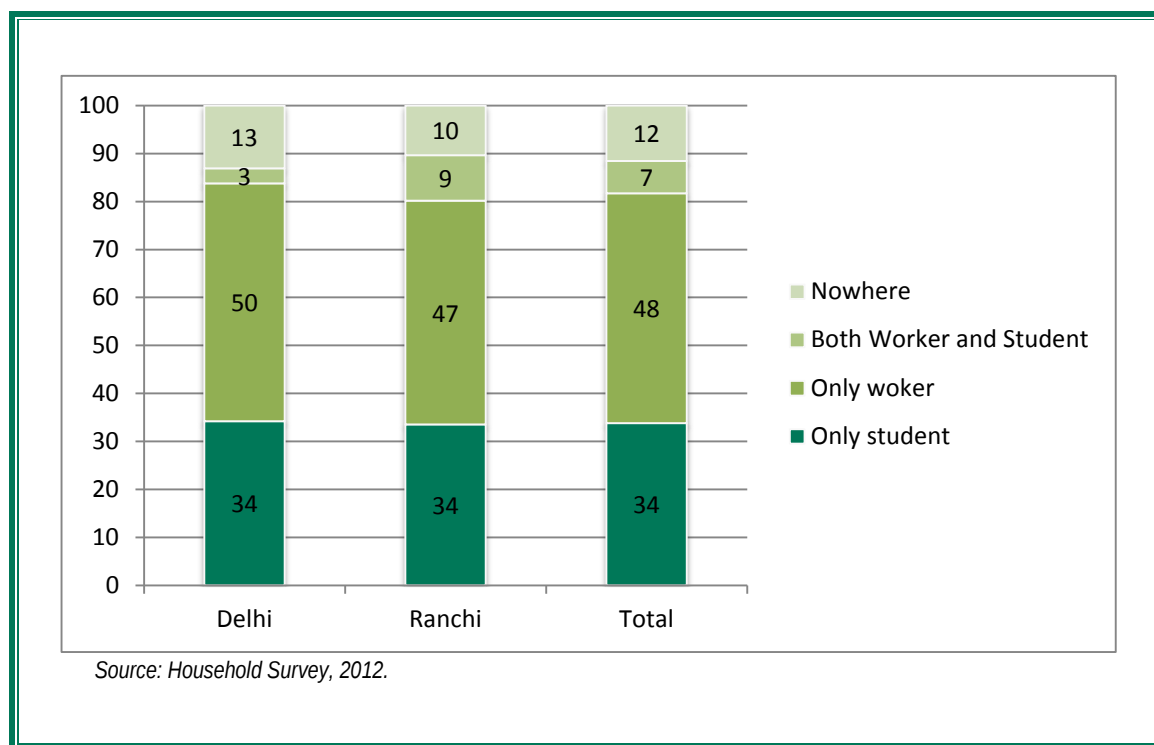
Figure 3: Education acquired by CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi



The qualitative findings in the two cities revealed something similar and also provided a deeper insight into the situation. In Delhi, 10 respondents reported that they had never been to school, while seven reported that they had dropped out in Classes III or IV and one in Class VII. The reasons for drop-out ranged from inability to produce the correct documentation to continue in school; the need to care for a sick parent or sibling or to earn money and help their mother in a family crisis or to help educate the younger siblings. Shabnam Toppo, a 22-year old live-in worker (who looked about 17 or 18 years old), who had come from Jharkhand and was working in a house in Defence Colony, reported that she had failed in Class VII, after which her parents felt that '*larki kharab ho jayegi*' (the character of the girl would get adversely affected), and so she did not re-join school. In another case, 14-year old Apoorva, a part-time worker living in Ghoshia Colony, Mehrauli, had dropped out of school in Class IV due to her mother's illness, and could not get re-admitted as she did not have the proper documentation. She was learning to read the *Quran*. Four respondents reported studying and working at the same time. Two of them, including 11-

year old Bhavna and 10-year old Kavita, who were part-time workers, worked with their mothers and went to an NGO that was teaching children near their slum settlements. The other two were sisters, aged 16 and 17 years, respectively, and were living in JJ Colony, Panchsheel Vihar. They were working as part-timers, and reported going to school on weekdays and working during the weekends. One of the positive cases discovered during the survey pertained to a 14-year old part-time worker, who had started working with her mother in Malviya Nagar when she was seven or eight years old. Their family had come to Delhi from a village in North Bihar bordering Nepal (she could not specify the name of the village). Her employer, an elderly lady, had taken the responsibility to educate her. The lady used to make her do some light work, and then give her tuitions. She had begun to speak in English and was happily using some English words during the interview. She had also joined a Gender Resource Centre at Asiad Village, where she was undertaking a computer course. “My lady employer is very good. She convinced my father to send me to learn the computer, otherwise he would not have allowed it.” When asked whether she faces any difficulty in studying and working simultaneously, she said that she had no problems as the lady always helped her.

Figure 4: Educational status



As seen in Figure 4, while there is not much difference between Delhi and Ranchi with regard to workers, students and ‘nowhere children’, there is a significant difference between the two cities among those who work as well as go to school, with the figure being much higher in Ranchi.

3.2 Characteristics of the households of child domestic workers

Although the focus of the study is on the households in which older children (15-20 years)²⁰ were working as domestic workers, yet a few households with child workers were also covered. As mentioned earlier, a total of 267 households were surveyed, of which 113 were in Delhi and 154 in Ranchi. The total number of household members in the two cities was 1,501 of which 637 in Delhi and 864 in Ranchi. In contrast with the overall population, these households are relatively poor and the sex ratio tends to be skewed in favour of females. The proportion of female-headed households (20 per cent) is also relatively higher than that reported from secondary sources.

Table 4: Households surveyed and number of domestic workers

City	Households Surveyed	Household Members	Female (%)	Domestic Workers
Delhi	113	637	55.6	211
Ranchi	154	864	59	233
Total	267	1501	57.6	444

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

The household size of these surveyed families appears to be larger than normal with more than one-third of all households with six to seven members and another 14 per cent with more than seven members. The average household size is six in both cities.

²⁰This study stretched the adolescent worker category by adding those between the ages of 18-20 years among the respondents. This was done to cover some former child and adolescent workers in order to capture insights from the adult workers, who would be relatively less reluctant than children to divulge information in view of the illegality associated with child labour. In the case studies, however, the age category has been stretched to 25 years as some of the former child workers who were interviewed had attained that age.

Table 5: Household size

Household size	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
<4	9.73	11.04	10.5
4-5	41.59	39.61	40.4
6-7	36.28	35.06	35.6
>7	12.39	14.29	13.5
Total households	113	154	

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

The majority of households surveyed in Delhi belong to the Scheduled Castes (SCs),²¹ while in Ranchi, they are predominantly Scheduled Tribes (STs). This further substantiates the findings captured in the survey regarding the deprivation levels of the households.

Table 6: Social composition in Delhi and Ranchi

Social Composition	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
SCs	50.44	9.09	26.6
STs	4.42	76.62	46.1
Other Backward Classes	6.19	11.69	9.4
General (upper castes)	12.39	2.6	6.7
Muslims	16.81		7.1
No response	6.19		2.6
Others*	3.54		1.5
Total number of households	113	154	

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

* Those who did not mention their caste or listed themselves as Bengalis.

The educational status of the members of domestic worker households surveyed confirm the oft reported correlation between income poverty and low educational attainment. As shown in Table 7, 38 per cent of domestic worker household members are illiterate, this being higher among women than men, while another 29 per cent have not completed primary schooling. Only 18 per cent have completed primary education and

²¹According to Mehrotra (2010, p.23), there has been an increase in the representation of SCs in this workforce, which is a departure from the past, when people from the lower castes were not allowed inside kitchens. This has changed as people from the upper castes are now increasingly opting out of domestic work. Thus, the caste dynamics are changing in urban areas. This was reflected in the study conducted by Jagori in 2008-09, wherein more than half of those cooking were SCs.

eight per cent and five per cent respectively are in middle and secondary school. Less than one per cent of all household members of these domestic worker households have university level educational qualifications. Both Delhi and Ranchi report similar patterns, with Delhi having a lot more illiterates and much lower levels of education.

Table 7: Education profile of the household members

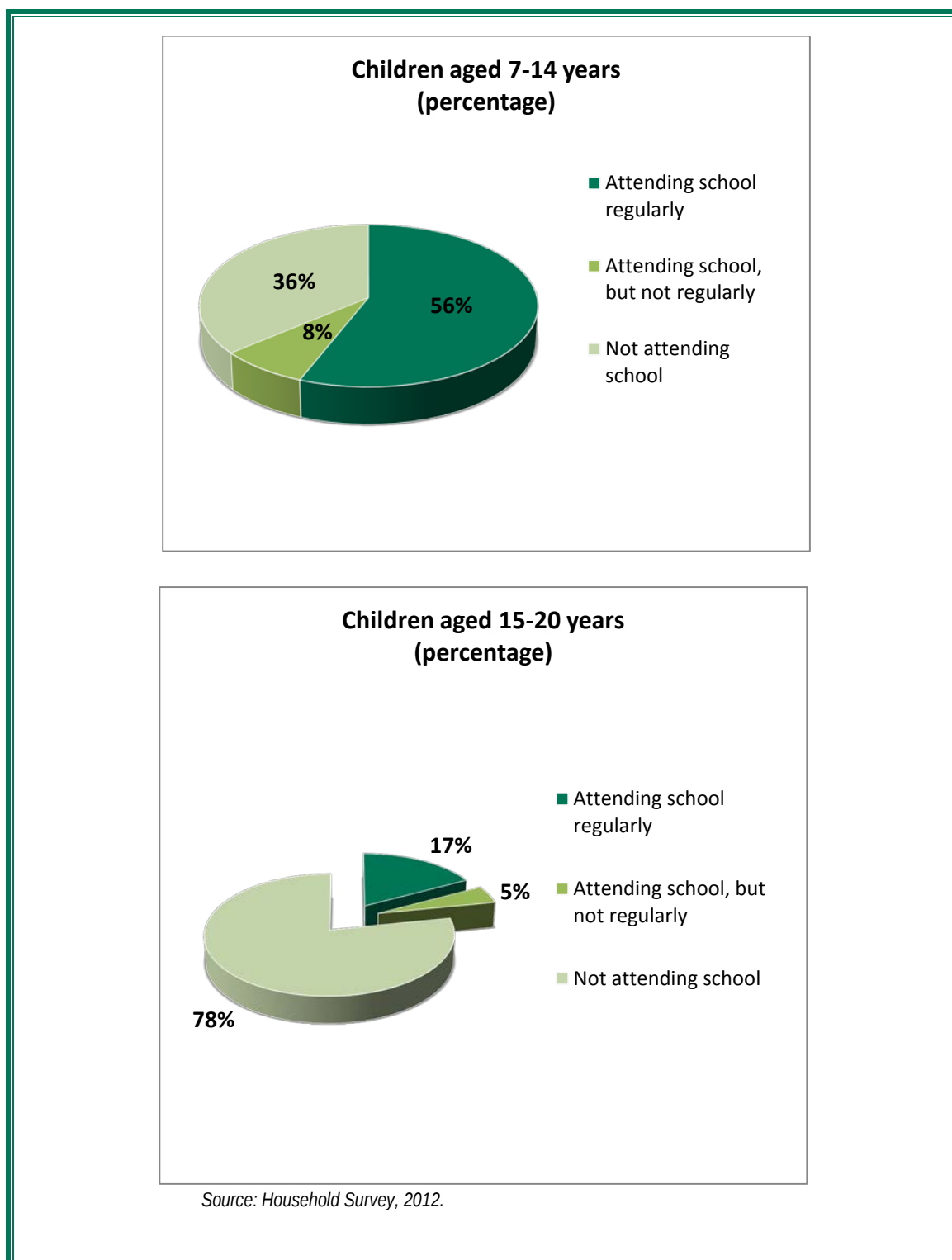
Education level	Delhi (%)			Ranchi(%)			Both cities (%)		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Illiterate	40	48.8	45.0	28.0	36.9	33.3	33.3	41.8	38.3
Below primary school or informal education	29.8	25.9	27.6	35.7	26.5	30.3	33.1	26.3	29.1
Primary school	16.6	18.3	17.6	19.6	18.2	18.8	18.3	18.2	18.3
Middle school	7.9	3.2	5.3	7.1	10.4	9.1	7.5	7.4	7.5
Secondary school	5.3	3.5	4.3	6.0	4.5	5.1	5.7	4.1	4.7
Higher secondary school	0	0.3	0.2	3.0	2.2	2.5	1.7	1.4	1.5
Graduate or vocational training	0.4	1.2	0.2	0.6	1.0	0.7	0.5		0.6

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Despite the emphasis being laid on schooling through the *Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan* (SSA) programme and more recently the Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education,²² the young members of domestic worker households are still largely absent from school in this survey, only a little over one half of the 7-14 years olds reported attending school regularly.

²²The 86th amendment to the Constitution was the incorporation of Article 21 A which guarantees free and compulsory education to all children aged 6-14 years as a fundamental right. For more refer to Department of School Education and Literacy, MHRD, Available online at <http://mhrd.gov.in/rte>.

Figure 5: School-going status of household members aged 7-14 and 15-20 years



The decrease in the proportion attending school regularly in the older age group reaffirms the trend of children dropping out of school as they reach adolescence. This has been reiterated in many previous studies, including a recent research study entitled 'Work and Livelihoods of the Urban Poor in Delhi and NCR' conducted by IHD in 2011-12. As girl children grow up, the chances of their dropping out of school are very high.

Although enrolment in schools under the SSA and related initiatives has been improving almost universally for children in the elementary school-going age, nevertheless, regular attendance, completion of schooling and continuation of education to higher levels have not been occurring. Also, gender gaps in schooling at the elementary levels, especially the primary levels, are reducing with more girls entering the education stream. However, as the study findings reveal, girls engaged in domestic work have reportedly been dropping out of school at the primary level due to social and financial pressures. Many of these girls report having to work while their siblings (often brothers) are in school pursuing education. The proportion of boys not attending schools is less than 40 per cent. However, almost 10 per cent of the boys also tend to be irregular, which points to the household circumstances and perhaps the compulsions that prevent these boys from attending school regularly. The fact that this proportion is far more than that for girls implies, on the one hand, less ambiguity regarding the employment of girls, and, on the other, their inclination or desire to pursue schooling.

Figure 6: Age- and sex-wise school-going status

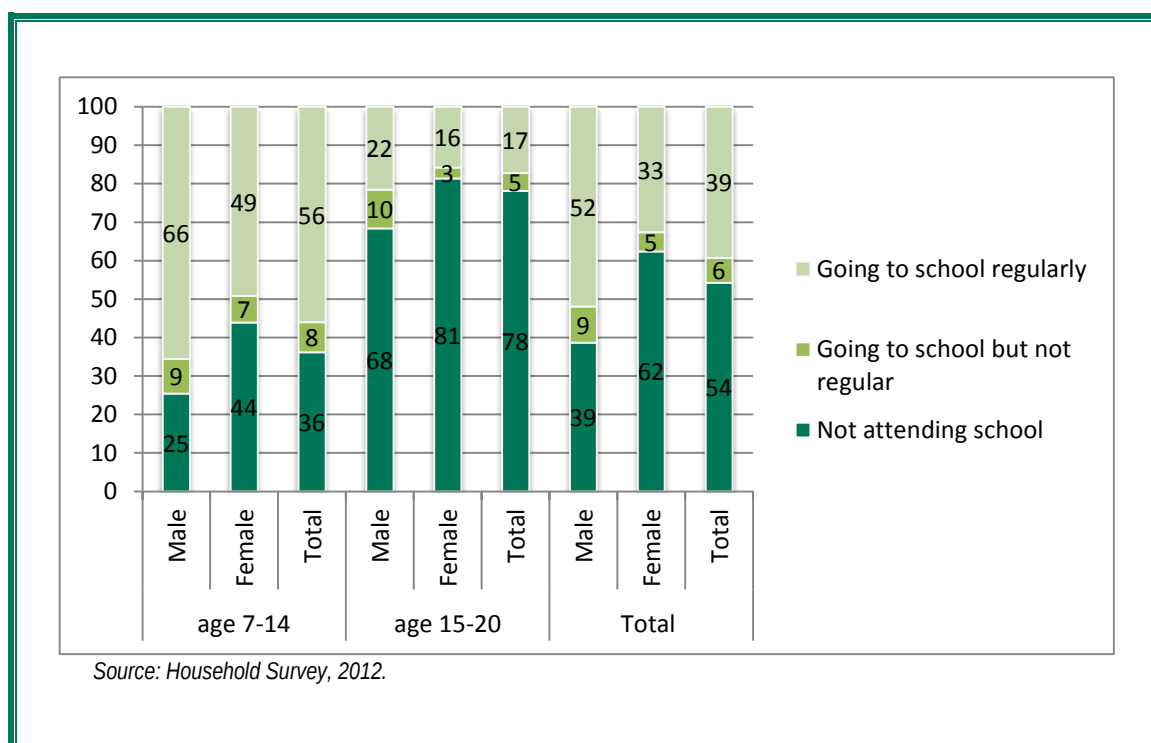


Table 8: Status of children and adolescents in Delhi and Ranchi

Status of Children and Adolescents	7-14 Years (%)			15-20 Years (%)		
	Delhi	Ranchi	Total	Delhi	Ranchi	Total
Only student	58.8	55.2	56.7	7.7	11.2	9.7
Only worker	19.8	24.5	22.5	81.7	69.5	74.6
Both working and studying	2.7	8.7	6.1	3.6	10.3	7.5
'Nowhere' children	18.7	11.6	14.7	7.1	9.0	8.2

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Three-fourths of all adolescents among the surveyed households have been found to be working. Interestingly, more children and adolescents in Delhi were found to be only working. More 'nowhere children' were found in Delhi while Ranchi accounted for more 'nowhere adolescents'. In terms of children and adolescents who were both working and studying, Ranchi had a relatively larger representation than Delhi.

Before examining the activities in which the children and adolescents are involved and the incomes they earn, it is necessary to analyse the employment status and earnings of these households. The Workforce Participation Rate (WPR) is 57, which is high as can be expected among relatively poor domestic worker households, the female and male WPRs being 62 and 50, respectively. The higher female WPR is inherent in the choice of child domestic worker households as these are mostly girls.

Table 9: Employment status of workers in the households

Work Status	Delhi (%)			Ranchi (%)			Total (%)		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
Self-employed/owner	2.8	0.9	1.6	11.9	2.5	5.9	7.8	1.9	4.1
Casual worker	26.4	2.2	11.7	80.1	22.0	42.9	55.9	13.7	29.5
Regular wage worker	66.7	5.3	29.3	6.8	1.6	3.5	33.8	3.2	14.6
Domestic worker	3.5	91.6	57.3	1.1	73.8	47.6	2.2	81.2	51.8

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Out of the total 859 working members in both cities, 444 (51.7 per cent) reported working primarily as domestic workers. Most of these are regular workers who have been working continuously (even if not for the same employer) for long periods of time and are

generally paid a monthly wage. However, among the child domestic workers, it is difficult to classify those who are first-time entrants as casual or regular workers, as they are still testing the profession and may not continue in it. In Delhi, less than 12 per cent of the child workers were found to be casual workers, less than 30 per cent were regular workers and almost 60 per cent were domestic workers, with over 90 per cent of them being female. In Ranchi, 42 per cent were casual workers, less than 4 per cent were regular workers, and 48 per cent were domestic workers, with 73 per cent of them being female.

As mentioned above, over 20 per cent of the total households studied were female-headed (25 per cent in Delhi and 21 per cent in Ranchi). A much larger proportion of female-headed households was found in this sample of domestic worker households than that in the total population, reiterating the vulnerability of children and the necessity of their parents to push them into taking up this work. The household incomes of these selected families tend to be lower than the average per capita incomes reported in Delhi and Ranchi.

Table 10: Monthly household incomes

Income range (INR)*	Delhi(%)	Ranchi(%)
0-1500	3.1	2.2
1501-3000	6.9	8.7
3001-4500	7.7	19.6
4501-6000	12.9	20.5
6001-7500	16.5	19.4
7501-9000	12.7	15.6
9 001-10 500	7.1	7.3
10 501-12 000	7.1	3.4
Above 12 000	26.1	3.4

* INR 1 = 0.014 USD.

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

The majority of the households reported earning very little income. More than half of those in Ranchi reported earnings below INR 6,000 a month, while in Delhi, about 30 per cent of the households reported falling within this income range. Over a quarter of the households in Delhi reported earning more than INR 12,000 a month, as compared to less than 4 per cent of the households in Ranchi. This reflects the generally higher income profile in Delhi as compared to that in the other states.²³The monthly per capita incomes in Delhi

²³Delhi's annual per capita income is one of the highest in the country at INR 200,000 (Delhi Human Development Report 2013:39) while urban areas in Jharkhand report a per capita income of INR 32,000 per

and Ranchi are INR 1,576 and INR 1,058, respectively. The total monthly per capita income was INR 1,278. This clearly reveals the extremely low levels of per capita monthly earnings for domestic worker households, in both cities.²⁴

3.2.1 Income from domestic work

Over half of the working population of the sample was involved in domestic work, with over 80 per cent of them being women. According to Neetha (2004), the income contribution of domestic workers is substantial and reflects the household's dependence on the earning capacities of the female members. She reiterates this finding by exploring the status of male members who are either unemployed or engaged in irregular work, or are sick or unable to work. This is substantiated by this research, particularly in the case of part-time workers.

Table 11: Average monthly income from domestic work

Cities	Income of adult DWs	Income of CADWs	% of total household income
Delhi	2880	2445	52.8
Ranchi	1344	1202	51.6
Both cities	2112	1824	52.2

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Thus, an analysis of income shares reveals that the contribution of domestic work to total household income in the sample households is more than 50 per cent. All those engaged in domestic work earn much less than the designated minimum wages, which, at the time of writing, were INR 297 per day in Delhi and INR 160 in Ranchi. Poor incomes from domestic work could explain the reason for children being pushed into this work along with their mothers, in order to supplement household incomes. Besides, the difference between the income range among the child and adolescent groups, on the one hand, and that of adult domestic workers, on the other, is not large. Among the CADWs, the monthly income of children is reported to be INR 1,312, and that of adolescents INR 1,761. Overall, the average monthly income of CADWs is INR 1,616, the average number of houses worked in is two, and the average number of hours worked per day is four.

annum. Most of the domestic worker households earn much less – approximately 35 per cent of households in Delhi and 50 per cent of them in Ranchi reported incomes below poverty line.

²⁴ Almost all (94 per cent) of the surveyed households reported to have per capita earnings less than twice the Planning Commission (2011–12) poverty line (which is akin to the 2 dollar a day poverty rate).

Table 12: Share of domestic worker income by household income group

Household Income Group	DW income share (%)	Adult DW income share (%)	CADW income share (%)	CADW income to adult DW income (%)
501-1000	100	33.33	66.67	66.67
1001-1500	82.76	43.10	39.66	47.92
1501-3000	54.01	29.35	24.66	45.66
3001-5000	39.31	18.70	20.61	52.42
5001-7000	40.01	17.73	22.29	55.70
Above 7000	35.59	16.50	19.09	53.63
Total	37.88	17.58	20.30	53.60

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Lower income households are more dependent on income from domestic work and the contribution of the incomes of CADWs to household incomes was more significant than that of adults, in these households. This reiterates the fact that financial compulsions lead to children being pushed into this work.

3.3 Compulsions and motivations

The purchase of consumer durables, purchase and maintenance of land or house, the desire to be financially independent and aspiration to acquire education emerged as the prominent motivational factors for CADWs to engage in domestic work.

Table 13: Reasons, compulsions and motivations among CADWs

Reasons, motivations and compulsions (multiple responses)	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
Purchase and maintenance of land/house	49.2	28.8	37.4
Marriages and social ceremonies	3.4	28.1	17.6
Education	0.0	35.0	20.1
Education of siblings	1.7	5.0	3.6
Healthcare	10.2	23.8	18.0
Repayment of old debts	19.5	6.9	12.2
Purchase of consumer durables	23.7	54.4	41.4
Desire to be financially independent	5.1	36.3	23.0

Reasons, motivations and compulsions (multiple responses)	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
Mother gets help	23.7	1.9	11.2
Financial constraints	24.6	3.8	12.6
Negative family situation*	13.6	1.9	6.8
Child herself or himself wants to work	0.0	1.3	0.7
Total number of respondents	118	160	278

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

* This includes illness, alcoholism, death of family member (particularly the income earner), and/or unemployed parent/s.

While in Delhi, the purchase and maintenance of land or a house was a significant compulsion, in Ranchi, the reason was buying consumer durables, and the motivation was the desire to be financially independent. Education also emerged strongly as a motivating factor in Ranchi, a fact that is confirmed by the qualitative findings. There were differences in these compulsions and motivations between adolescent and child domestic workers.

Table 14: Compulsions of child and adolescent domestic workers

Type of compulsions	Age group 7-14				Age group 15-20			
	Delhi		Ranchi		Delhi		Ranchi	
	No. of responses	%	No. of responses	%	No. of responses	%	No. of responses	%
Purchase and maintenance of land/house	9	37.5	19	15.0	49	52.7	27	27.8
Marriages and social ceremonies		0.0	17	13.4	4	4.3	28	28.9
Education		0.0	22	17.3	0	0.0	34	35.1
Education of siblings	1	4.2	0	0	1	1.1	8	8.2
Healthcare	3	12.5	15	11.8	9	9.7	23	23.7
Repayment of debts	6	25.0	6	4.7	17	18.3	5	5.2
Purchase of consumer durables	7	29.2	31	24.4	21	22.6	56	57.7
Desire to be financially independent	1	4.2	11	8.7	5	5.4	47	48.5

Type of compulsions	Age group 7-14				Age group 15-20			
	Delhi		Ranchi		Delhi		Ranchi	
	No. of responses	%	No. of responses	%	No. of responses	%	No. of responses	%
Mother needs help	5	20.8	63	49.6	20	21.5	3	3.1
Negative family situation	1	4.2	2	1.5	18	19.4	0	0
Financial constraints	4	16.7	4	3.1	24	25.8	2	2
Adolescent chose to work					0	0	2	2.06
Total No. of respondents	24		127		93		97	

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Among the younger age group in Delhi, 37 per cent of the respondents reported the purchase and maintenance of house, 29 per cent reported the purchase of consumer durables and 25 per cent reported repayment of debts as compulsions for doing this work. In Ranchi, over half the respondents reported that the desire to help their mothers was a reason for their joining domestic work, while 24 per cent reported the purchase of consumer durables, followed by 17 per cent children who said that the aspiration for acquiring education was a factor that made them join work. Interestingly, no children in Delhi gave education to be a factor that pushed them into this work, while in Ranchi, it was a significant factor. More respondents in Delhi (16 per cent) talked about financial pressures as compared to Ranchi (3 per cent). The desire to be financially independent emerged strongly in Ranchi.

Among the adolescents in Delhi, more than half of the respondents reported the purchase and maintenance of house and the purchase of consumer durables (23 per cent) and repayment of debts (18 per cent) as the reasons for their taking up this work. A quarter of the respondents also reported financial pressures. Almost 20 per cent of the respondents in Delhi cited family problems such as unsustainable incomes due to negative family situations caused by the loss of parents, alcoholic fathers, illness and disability of the earning member, or obligation to help supplement household income as the reason for their engaging in domestic work. Education did not feature as one of the factors responsible for pushing adolescents in Delhi into domestic work. In Ranchi, the adolescent domestic workers cited a very different set of compulsions that drove them to this work. While 58 per cent of the respondents cited the purchase of consumer durables as a reason, 48 per cent reported the desire to be financially independent and 35 per cent reported the desire for education as a factor pushing them into work. Negative family pressures were not reported as significant factors in Ranchi. While the purchase and maintenance of a house

figured importantly among the reasons in Delhi, the purchase of consumer durables emerged as an important factor in Ranchi.

The qualitative findings revealed that the compulsions and motivations to join work are varied in both cities, ranging from financial reasons, need for security, the desire to learn skills, to the aim of improving employment prospects. “No one forced me to work, it was my wish”, said 24-year old Maya, who had started working as a domestic worker with her mother at the age of 12, and currently works as a part-time worker in Panchsheel Vihar, a rag-picker colony. She said, *“Mujhe bade ghar mein cheezien kaise saji hoti thi, dekhna accha lagta tha”* (I liked to see how people live in big houses).

Madhav, a 17-year old boy, who left his work in a cardboard factory to join domestic work said, “It was my decision to start working; I wanted to go out of my village for a better opportunity. I was scared of machines on which I had to work and stitch cardboard and found the work dangerous. I am learning to cook and one day I can become a head cook somewhere else. At first I thought that I can become an industrial worker but now I want to become a cook.” Sakina, a 25-year old former adolescent worker from Ranchi, says, “I plan to apply what I have learnt in my employer’s house when I open a hotel one day.”

Sixteen-year old Shalini from JJ and Jagdamba Colony, Delhi, is a part-time worker. She goes to work with her mother. She says, “The environment is not good in the camp that is why my mother does not leave me alone in the house.” Her mother also reported this to be a reason why she takes her daughter to work. In fact, during the field visit, the respondents reported an incident of rape of a girl by a group of male youth while the girl was alone in her house.

It was found that the younger workers in Delhi often dropped out of school and joined their mothers in domestic work due to some financial compulsions. For instance, Bhavna from Ashram (who looked about 7 or 8 years old but reported to be 11 years old), revealed that her father had passed away and that her mother and sister were the only earning members in the family. She had two brothers who were studying, and the combined earnings of her mother and sister were contributing to both the household income and the education of her brothers. Eleven-year old Aparna from Jahangirpuri said, “We have come here to earn money so that we are able to buy a piece of land for agriculture back in our village. I also do this work so that, unlike me, my brother and sister are able to go to school.” The older domestic workers had joined work when they were young for the above reasons. In Ranchi too, the younger workers had entered this work due to some financial compulsions or negative family situations like alcoholism or illnesses suffered by their parents.

From both the quantitative and qualitative information gathered, it is apparent that while the CADWs mentioned certain motivations for undertaking such work, their financial compulsions emerge stronger in their decisions to take up this work. The channels through which most of the workers enter this work further reveal that it is not because of

deceit or cheating by agents but the compulsions of their families that compel their parents and relatives to push them into this work.

3.4 Channels of entry

Parents and guardians emerged as the significant channels of entry for CADWs in Delhi while in Ranchi, the main channel was that of other domestic workers. In Ranchi, more than a quarter of the respondents reported getting into work themselves, though the corresponding figure in Delhi was very low. It was difficult to identify the role of agents in both cities in this study,²⁵ especially in Ranchi, where such identification was almost negligible.

Table 15: Channels of entry into domestic work in Delhi and Ranchi

Channel of entry	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Through an agent	4.6	0.5
Through a relative	10.7	5.4
Through parent or guardian	45.8	21.7
Other domestic workers	34.4	43.5
Employer approached them	12.2	8.2
Security guard	1.5	
Neighbours	5.3	
She herself	2.3	24.5
Total number of respondents	131	184

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Given the informal and hidden nature of this work, as well as the illegality associated with it due to the absorption of younger age groups, the channels are also informal and hidden. The Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011) recommended that all placement agencies and individuals providing placement, sourcing and recruitment services related to domestic work have to be registered under the Shops and Establishment Act, 1953, as per the notification issued by the MoLE. This has not happened. Some, particularly those who were young (8-9 years) or had been working since that age, seemed to have been introduced to the profession through their mothers or relatives, and seemed to like it at the time as they felt that they learned something. This situation was more pronounced in Ranchi. In two cases in Delhi, including one in Punjabi

²⁵ As child labour in domestic work is illegal and as many employers have been penalized for hiring the services of children below minimum age, it became extremely difficult for the research team to elicit information on these channels.

Bagh and one in JJ Colony, the employers had themselves approached the settlement. The significant channels of entry were mothers, aunts, and other relatives, who, in many cases, knew the employer.

The research team spoke to one placement agency in Lajpat Nagar called Krishna Placement Agency, which has offices in Mumbai and Kolkata as well. The owner said, “We offer maids based on the client’s requirements. The contract is for 11 months, after which if she leaves, we offer a replacement. For live-in workers, the salary is INR 3,000 per month, and we offer them a place to stay and food to eat till they are recruited. Before putting her on the job, we also obtain the clearance of employers.” When asked where the workers come from he said, “They usually come from Jharkhand, Bengal, and even Nepal, though we only contact people we know. They used to come from Bihar as well, but sourcing from that state is minimal now. We do not get anyone from Bangladesh, as we have no connection there.” As regards payment for recruitment, he said that they only charge the clients and not the maids. “We charge them INR 15,000 to 18,000 as commission.” When asked whether those coming from Bengal face language problems, he said that it was not much of an issue as the employer and the worker develop some sort of understanding. He said that once in a while the maid leaves before the end of the 11 month period if she is unhappy due to poor living conditions or too much work. In such a case, a replacement is provided as soon as possible, otherwise the commission is returned. Sometimes if the workers fall ill, the employers send them back to their villages. “We have contact with the workers as well as the employers, and in case of abuse, we take quick action.” When asked about the age group of the workers, he said that they only provide workers within the age group of 18 to 50 years. He also said, “We do not send maids to a house where there are no female members. There are informal agencies that provide workers under the age of 18 years, but we are a registered and formal agency. We do get calls from people asking for younger girls, but we tell them that we do not have any. Requests from clients range from ‘*chotibai*’ (part-timers), live-ins, even governesses who are more qualified (some are graduates), whose salaries range from INR 10,000-12,000 per month.” As regards the mode by which live-in workers send money back to their villages, he said that they often use human couriers. “There will always be a demand for domestic workers among the rich people as they are lazy. People need domestic labour.”

Child welfare organizations give a different picture. An interview with Mr. Shaiju Varghese, Senior Programme Coordinator at Childline India Foundation proved to be very revealing. He said, “Usually a friend from a city like, say Delhi, will motivate them to go and work there. Or some agents who have their local people in villages will offer tourist guide jobs or education. They promise them well-paying jobs. The chain of people involved in this trafficking is very interesting. Initially, a local agent will contact the parents of the child and lure them into sending the child with him to the city with the promise of a good job and income. After this, he will leave the child at the station and the child will then be picked up by another person who will take him to Delhi. These agents have links with the city’s taxi drivers, who will pick the child up at the station and take him to the agency or some

designated area. So you will see, that the trail goes dead at different locations, and these different actors in different locations make it very difficult to actually identify the link and the channels involved in trafficking. If you go to Nithari village, it is a hub, a big trail for child trafficking. Vans full of trafficked children can be seen going by. You will see that the children do not even talk to each other, they look so sad. And you cannot do anything as they are trained to say that the person who is taking them is their uncle or something. Without proof, we are helpless.”

Ms. Amita Joshi, who runs *Sathi* Centre at the Kalyanpuri Police Station said, “There are adolescent domestic workers here but these girls usually go with their mothers. It is a vicious circle. The daughters are put in this work by their mothers, at first they only help and do a bit of work, then they are eased into full-fledged work over time. These girls never find time to study. The live-in workers come through agencies like Madhur Nursing Agency and others. But most other domestic workers come through word of mouth and not through agencies. The ones who come alone or from outside the city, come through agencies, and these are usually the live-in workers.”

In Ranchi, one non-governmental organization (NGO), which educates children, reported providing domestic workers to employers. The lady said, “Parents come with the child and beg her to provide work.” She said, “No, I do not take any money. The parents bring the children to me and request me to get them jobs. Sometimes they are very desperate. Then after I get them jobs, many times the parents ask for the pay, but I request the employers to open a bank account for them and not give their money to anyone. They are usually live-in workers, so I am not in touch with all of them. Just recently, I sent two or three children to work, and I feel very bad about it, I don’t know what they are going through. These children came from very poor families and had no father, so they came because they had no choice and had to work. I know that it is not right.”

3.5 Profile of employers in Delhi

Employers of both adult and young domestic workers were approached in the course of the Public Perceptions Survey undertaken by IHD for the Second Delhi Human Development Report in 2013. The following two questions were administered to the respondents: One, whether they hired the services of a domestic worker at home, and second, if they did, whether these workers were full-timers or part-timers. At the top end, employers demand multiple domestic workers, both full-time and part-time. The number of workers per employer was not available from this survey and information pertaining only to CADWs could not be gaged.

A total of eight per cent of the households reported hiring domestic workers, which is equivalent to 340,000 households. A majority of these workers were part-timers (78 per cent), with only 22 per cent of them being full-time workers. As expected, it is the relatively better-off sections of the population which hire the services of domestic workers, with 68 per cent of all households having a monthly income above INR 20,000. However, 16

per cent of those earning INR 10,000 to 20,000, also hire domestic workers, while 13 per cent of the households with a monthly income of INR 5,000 to 10,000 also reported hiring such services. This is indicative of the low wage at which domestic workers can be employed and of the increased participation of women in the workforce that results in the demand for household support services.

In terms of activity status, most respondents (30 per cent) are regular salaried workers. Apart from that, retired pensioners, students (18 per cent males and 7 per cent females) are also among employers. The self-employed households, including own account workers, were also hiring domestic workers though they constituted only about 13 per cent of all households. Some women respondents, 53 per cent of whom are themselves unpaid home-makers, reported hiring domestic workers.

In Indian society, this work is considered demeaning and low-skilled; hence, the demand for others to do these chores at wages often below the minimum wage, without fear of law suits for violation of labour laws. The hiring of domestic workers primarily receives support from the fact that such work is available at a low price. Yet, it is clearly the professional, higher educated respondents living in the authorized colonies and posh locations of Delhi which demand domestic workers. More than three-fourths of all respondents who hire domestic workers are educated up to the graduation level or above and are mainly professionals, senior officials, managers, legislators or service workers involved in trading.

Table 16: Occupational profile of employers of domestic workers

Occupations	% hiring domestic workers
Legislators, senior officials, managers	14
Professionals	19
Associate professionals	27
Clerks	9
Service workers in trading	17
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	2
Craft and related traders	6
Plane and machine operators and assemblers	2
Elementary occupation ²⁶	3

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

²⁶Sales and Services Elementary Occupations, Agricultural, Fishery and Related Labourers, Labourers in Mining, Construction, Manufacturing and Transport, See <http://dget.gov.in/nco/CodeStructure.pdf>.

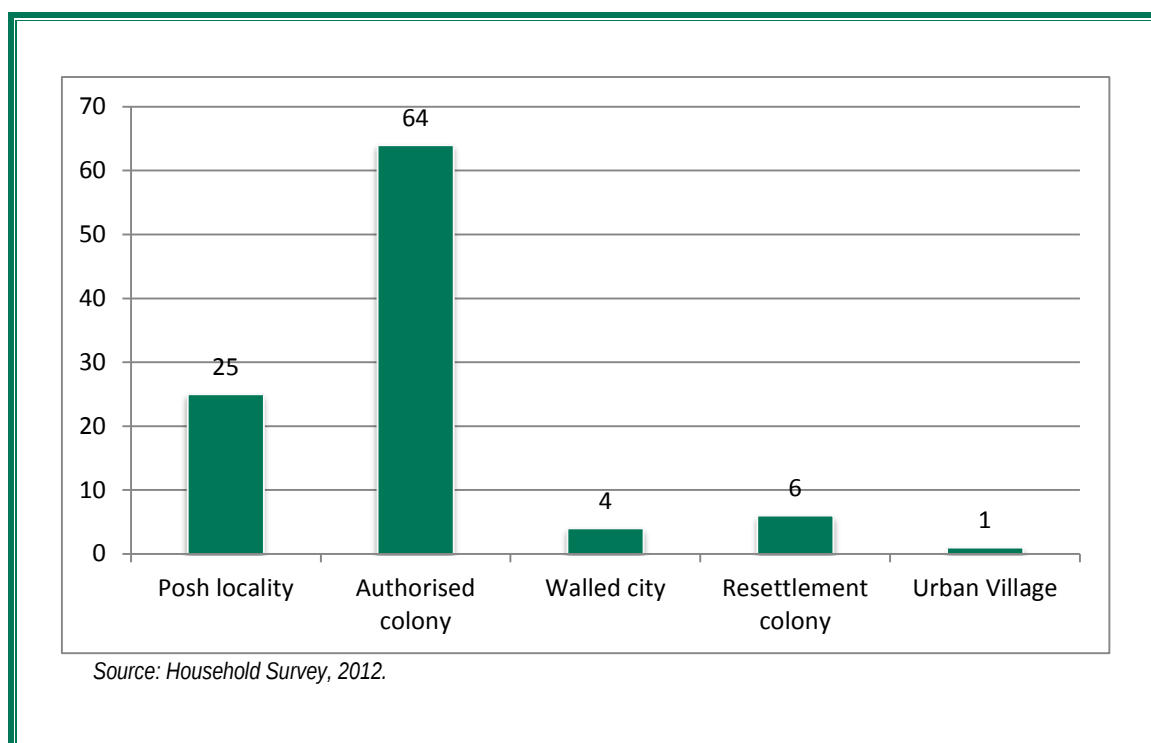
The location spread reveals West, South-west, North-west and South Delhi as the most prominent areas from where the demand for domestic workers is reported.

Table 17: Demand for domestic services across localities in Delhi

Zone	Employers of DWs (%)
West	24
South-west	22
North-west	16
South	14
North	10
Central	9
North-east	3
East	1
New Delhi	1

Source: People's Perception Survey, 2013.

Figure 7: Employers' demand for domestic services by type of locality



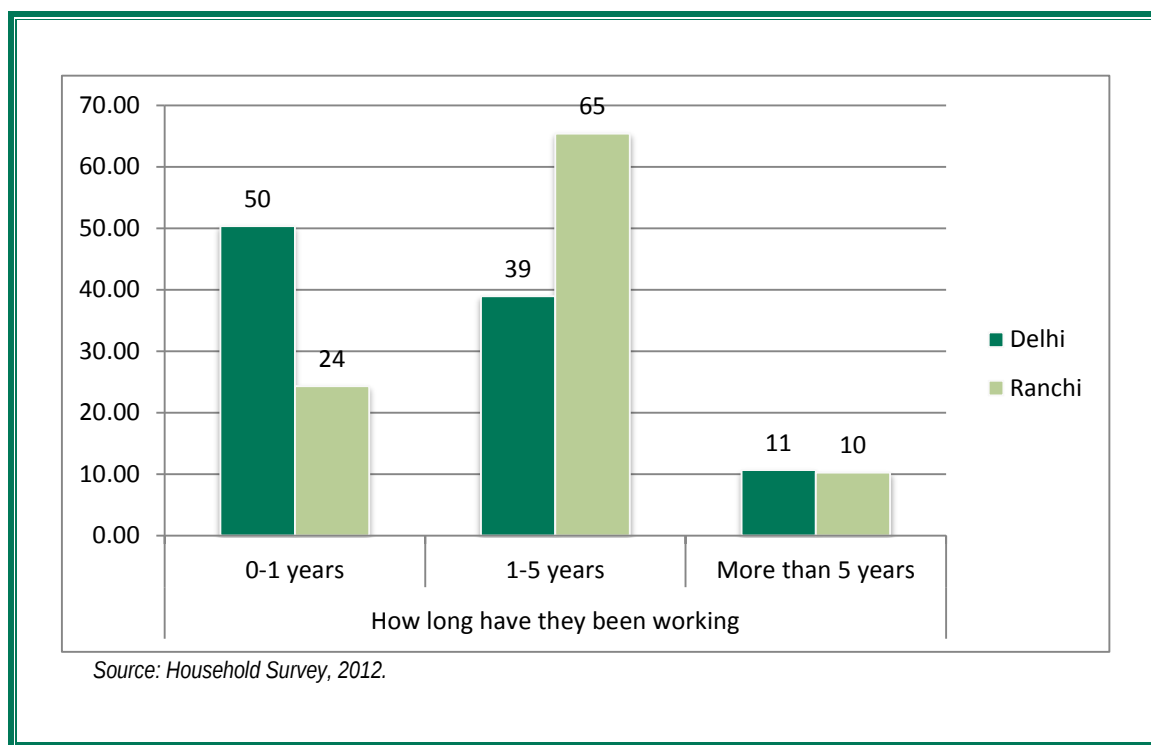
In localities such as JJ clusters and resettlements, only a small proportion of the households hire domestic workers, and that too, only those who work part-time. In the walled city and urban villages too, only a small proportion of the households reported demanding domestics but the share of full-timers is relatively high among them. The demand for full-timers mainly comes from the authorised and posh colonies.

The labour market for domestic services appears to be specialized in Delhi. Since domestic workers undertake particular tasks such as cooking, washing clothes or childcare services, the likelihood of multiple workers being demanded per employer household increases. From the employers' perspective, hiring multiple workers serves as a buffer against any one worker falling sick or taking leave, as finding a replacement may not be as easy as transferring the task to another domestic worker. The qualitative information from employers reveals why some of them prefer younger workers—the latter are more amenable to do the employer's bidding and do not protest or object to doing additional tasks that may be unspecified even in the verbal contract. The use of fear, discrimination and also punishment to get the work done without the fear of retaliation are the other implicit factors why employers prefer to hire younger workers. During an interview with a female employer (aged approximately 30 years), some interesting justifications regarding hiring a child worker for her infant daughter emerged. She said, "This girl (worker) is 11-years old (she looked younger) and is my sister's daughter. She plays with my daughter all day. She does not mind this work. She does not want to go to school, as she is not interested in studies. Here she gets food and watches TV. We do not make her do anything much."

3.6 Number of years of work

In Delhi, more than half the respondents reported working for less than a year, while in Ranchi, the corresponding proportion was less than a quarter. More than 65 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi reported working for one to five years, while less than 40 per cent in Delhi reported working for that long. In both the cities, over 10 per cent reported working for more than five years.

Figure 8: Years of employment of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi



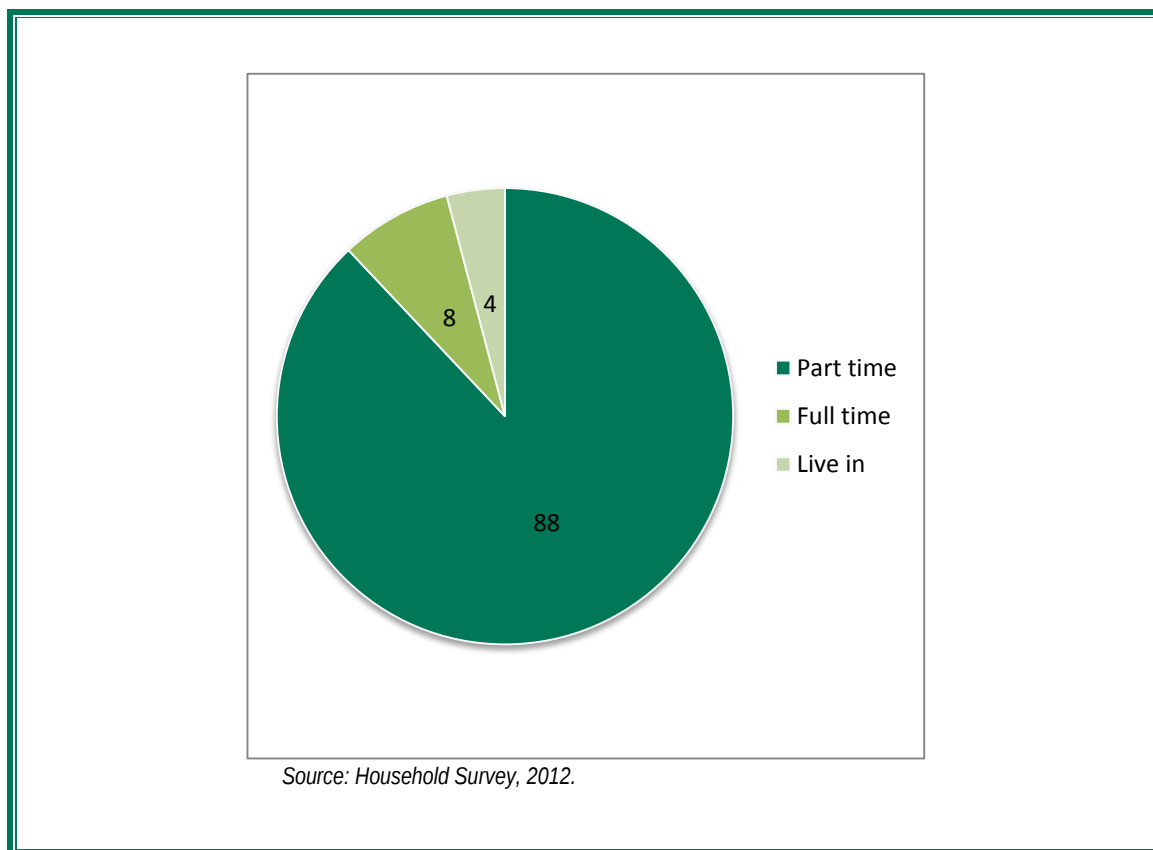
The sample included a larger proportion of child workers in Ranchi than in Delhi where mainly adolescent workers were surveyed. Domestic workers were mainly girls, who were young entrants and who had either never been enrolled in school or had dropped out. The majority of CADWs had been working for one to five years, very few for longer. This makes it appear as though those who start domestic work as children drop out and move on to other avenues. This, however, is not the case. The short period of work is probably due to the young age of the CADWs. As is reflected in some case studies of older domestic workers, most child domestic workers remain in this work for several years. In fact, early beginners have a very small chance of exercising other options.

3.7 Typology of domestic workers

Initially, the terms 'part-time', 'full-time' and 'live-in' workers were defined mainly in terms of the number of employers that the worker was working for, as per the definition suggested by the Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011). Thus, the term 'part-time worker' would imply a worker who was working for more than one employer, whereas, a full-time worker and a live-in worker, were defined as working for one employer, that is, in one house. Under this conceptualization, out of the 316 domestic workers in the

two cities, 88 per cent reported that they worked part-time, eight per cent were full-time workers, and four per cent reported to be 'live-in' workers.

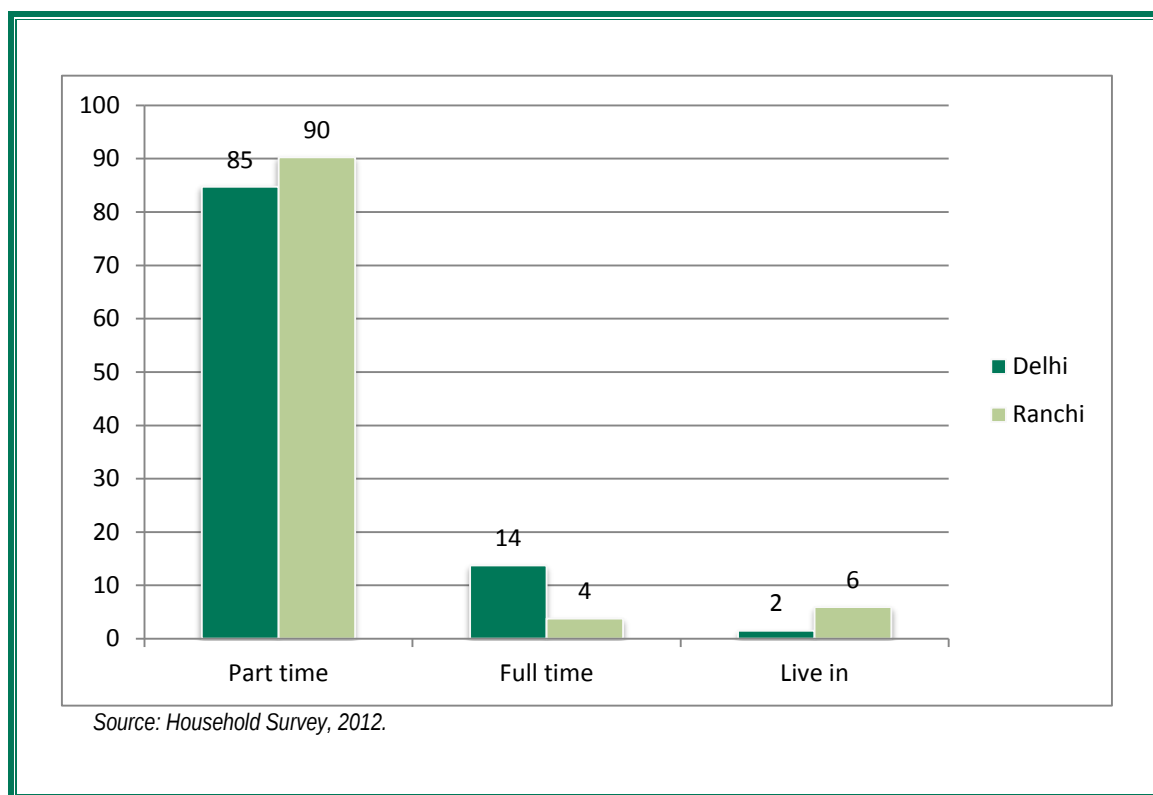
Figure 9: Typology of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi



In Delhi, 85 per cent reported to be part-time workers, while the corresponding figure in Ranchi was over 90 per cent. The number of full-time workers was found to be higher in Delhi (14 per cent) as compared to Ranchi (4 per cent). However, more live-in workers (6 per cent) were found in Ranchi than in Delhi (less than 2 per cent).

It seemed as if most of the domestic workers were part-timers, working for specified hours and particular tasks in one or more households. However, among those who worked for three to four employer households, the number of hours they put in for doing this work increases phenomenally and is tantamount to full-time work.

Figure 10: Type of workers in Delhi and Ranchi



3.7.1 Number of hours of work and houses worked in

Table 18 depicts the income and number of hours worked per CADW task-wise. Babysitting and cooking earn relatively higher incomes, while those involved in surface cleaning get lower average incomes. In terms of the number of hours worked in single or multiple houses, those involved in babysitting and cooking spend longer hours in each house as compared to those involved in other tasks.

Table 18: Task-wise monthly income, hours of work and houses per CADW

Tasks*	Average monthly income	Average number of houses	Average number of hours
Cooking	2333	1.3	5.7
Baby sitting	2333	1	9.7
Washing clothes	1850	3	3
Washing utensils	2500	3.5	4
Surface cleaning	1867	2.1	3.7

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Note: The tasks have been disaggregated to understand task-wise income and the number of hours worked.

Similarly, the average number of houses worked was lower for those cooking and babysitting as compared to those involved in other tasks. Those who work as babysitters generally work in one household for a greater number of hours.

Overall, in Delhi, more workers of both age groups felt that their payments were not made on time as compared to Ranchi. More than 75 per cent of the workers in Ranchi reported working for less than 4 hours, as compared to just over half in Delhi, while, more workers in Delhi (over 30 per cent) reported working for five to eight hours as compared to Ranchi (just over 15 per cent). The difference among workers reporting more than eight hours of work between Delhi and Ranchi was marginal.

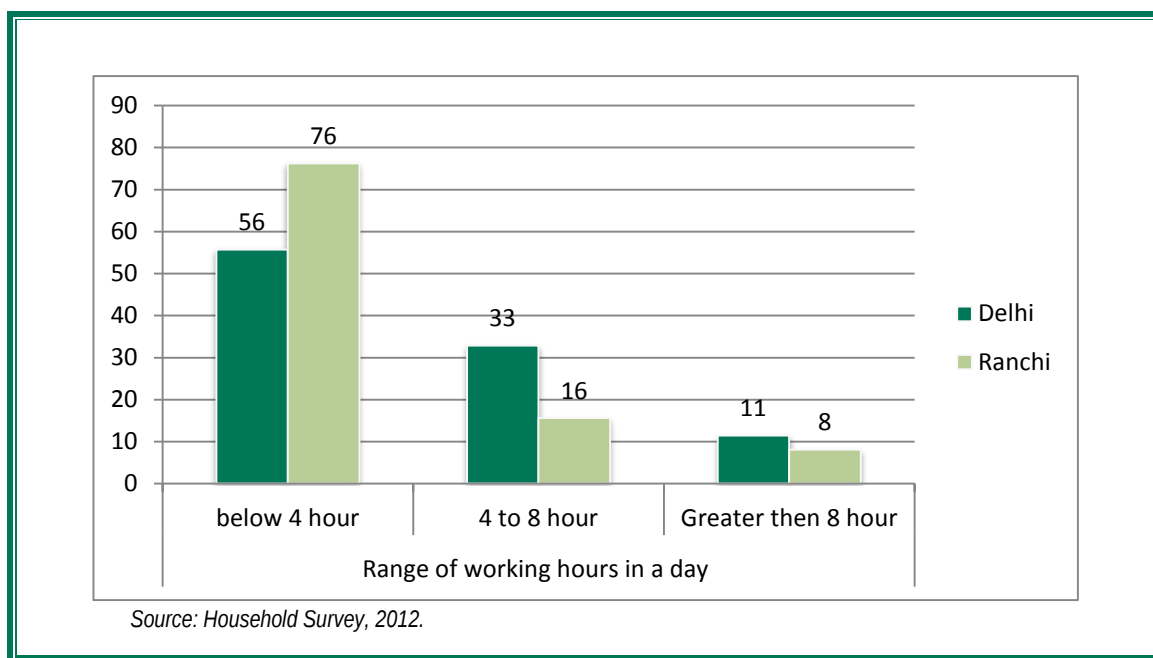
Figure 11: Number of hours worked in Delhi and Ranchi

Table 19: Number of houses serviced and hours worked by domestic workers

	Houses	< 4 hours (%)	5-8 hours (%)	> 8 hours (%)	Total (%)
Delhi	1 House	46.6	32.6	80.0	45.8
	2 Houses	34.3	20.9		26.0
	3 Houses	17.8	20.9	6.7	17.6
	4 Houses	1.4	14.0	6.7	6.1
	5 Houses		7.0	6.7	3.1
	6 Houses		4.7		1.5
Ranchi	1 House	84.4	10.3	86.7	73.0
	2 Houses	14.2	55.2	13.3	20.5
	3 Houses	0.7	27.6		4.9
	4 Houses	0.7	6.9		1.6

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

As seen in Table 19, more than 46 per cent of the domestic workers in Delhi were working in one house while in Ranchi the corresponding percentage was 73 per cent. Among the CADWs who work for 4 hours or less in Delhi, 47 per cent were employed by only one household, while 34 per cent were working for two households, and another 18 per cent were working for three employers. The CADWs who work full-time, that is for eight hours a day, were usually working for up to six employer households. More than one-fourth of these workers were employed by more than four employer households.

Close to one-third of the workers in Delhi were working in one house, for five to eight hours in a day, as compared to just 10 per cent of their counterparts in Ranchi. Domestic workers working for more than eight hours were seen to be marginally different in the two cities. In all, nearly 54 per cent of the workers in Delhi worked for more than one house, while the corresponding figure was only 26 per cent in Ranchi. Further, in Ranchi, very few workers worked in more than two houses, in contrast to Delhi. The workers who worked in more than three houses in Delhi reported to be working for five to eight hours. The live-ins and some of the full-timers exceed the eight hour-working day—there are 11 per cent such workers in Delhi and eight per cent in Ranchi.

Table 20: Number of hours worked by CADWs for single and multiple employers

Households serviced	Delhi (%)			Ranchi (%)		
	< 4 hours	4-8 hours	> 8 hours	< 4 hours	4-8 hours	> 8 hours
Single employer	56.7	23.3	20	88.1	2.2	9.6
Multiple employers	54.9	40.8	4.2	44	52	4
Total	55.7	32.8	11.5	76.2	15.7	8.1

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

In Delhi, 56 per cent of the workers worked for less than four hours for a single employer, while in Ranchi, almost 90 per cent of those working for a single employer worked for less than four hours. In Delhi, many of the domestic workers were hired by multiple employer households for the same task such as cooking, washing utensils or surface cleaning. What does this imply in terms of the amount of time in hours that they spent on their work?

As per the findings from the qualitative research, in Delhi, the average number of houses worked was two or three, while in Ranchi, all the workers were reportedly working in one house except one worker who was working in two houses. In terms of the number of hours, in both cities, workers reported working for six to seven hours. Thus, while in Delhi, part-time workers were reportedly working in more than two houses, and some were working in as many as six houses, in Ranchi, the part-time worker was working in two or less than two houses. However, the number of hours of work, were similar, (four to eight hours), including the time taken to commute between various employers' houses. During the interviews, it was found that work for the part-time workers, particularly in Delhi, entailed going to numerous houses, coming back, doing their personal household chores, going to work again, and then returning at the end of the day to again finish household chores and care for their children. The nature of part-time workers who work for more than one employer also brought into focus the issue of chores that have to be repeated in every household, which, in fact, adds to the burden of their work. In Ranchi, only one part-time worker was interviewed. She reported working in two houses for three hours each.

The difficulties of part-time workers in terms of the repeated tasks they have to perform has been reiterated by the Jagori study in Mehrotra (2010). The case studies in Delhi and Ranchi also showed that the workers in both cities were involved in the same tasks, though they also highlighted the details. The younger workers were involved individually or jointly in the above tasks. They were also made to do some extra work, while their mothers did the regular work. One of the child workers, 11-year-old Bhavna said, "I work in one house, I do cleaning and washing utensils and making *chapattis* for my employer's dog. I go at 8 a.m. every day and come back in the afternoon, then I go again in the evening and come back at

9:30 p.m. I work from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m. and in the evening from 4 to 8 p.m.” Bhavna’s mother said, “*Halka kaam karvate hain, bhari kaam nahi karti.*” (they make her do light work, not heavy work). Ten-year old Kavita from Ashram, Delhi, said, “I take out vegetables in the morning and remove and put them back in the evening, as my employers are vegetable vendors. I also do cleaning of the house and washing utensils for them. I work from 7 a.m. to 1 p.m., then go again in the evening and come back at 8 p.m. I like to play from 1 to 4 p.m.” Two child workers also reported to be cooking or assisting in cooking in their employers’ households. Eleven-year old Aparna works in two houses with her mother. She does the cleaning of the house and chopping of vegetables and also helps her mother cook. She also works in a paying guest accommodation occupied by two college-going boys. They have given her the keys so she can work while they are not at home. At home, she helps her mother make breakfast and helps dress the younger siblings, then drops them to school after which she goes to work. In Ranchi, younger workers were found to be washing dishes as well as babysitting. For instance, 10-year old Holika reported to be looking after a three-year old child while 12-year old Sita worked in two houses where she did the sweeping, swabbing and washing of utensils.

3.7.2 Revised typology

The research findings, particularly the qualitative findings, reveal the current typology to be simplistic and unable to capture the various dimensions of domestic work such as the nature of tasks undertaken, the number of hours put in at work and the time taken to commute between the houses of multiple employers. Thus, the research findings revealed significant under-reporting of work and of the number of hours of work performed, particularly by part-time workers, though this was captured in the reiterative qualitative research. The live-in as well as the full-time workers, who work for only one employer household, also face unique vulnerabilities such as not being able to choose an employer and not being able to get any personal time or space, or even freedom of movement.

This original typology based on the Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011) was re-categorized on the basis of the total number of hours worked in the total number of houses in one day, rather than the number of houses worked in, as used earlier for the original categorization.

Table 21: Revised typology according to number of hours

New typology	Original typology			Total
	Part-time	Full time	Live-in	
Part-time	212	2		214
Full time	66	23		89
Live-in			13	13
Total	276	25	13	316

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Table 21 shows that some workers, who were categorized as per the original typology, found themselves to be under another category as per the research findings. As per the new typology, out of 276 part-time workers in the two cities, 214 remained under the category of part-time workers, while the remaining 66 were re-categorized as full-time workers, as they were working for more than four hours a day in one or more than one house. Originally there were 25 full-time workers, and according to the new categorization, this number swelled to become 89. Among the case studies as well, out of 22 workers who reported to be working part-time, 9 were re-categorized as full-time workers in Delhi and Ranchi. The case studies conducted in the two cities also helped explore the current typology and develop a nuanced understanding of how much work they were actually involved in. The part-time workers, particularly in Delhi, reported working in three to four houses, doing repeated chores and travelling to numerous houses. This implies that for even the domestic workers who spend four to eight hours working in multiple houses, the extra time devoted to commuting and performing repeated chores entails a full day's work, and they should, therefore, be categorized as full-time workers. This issue has been mentioned earlier by Palriwala and Neetha (2009) cited in Mehrotra (2010, p 5), who say that the work done by part-time workers may, in effect, be equal to that of full-time or live-in workers. Thus, while from the employer's point of view, part-time workers may be doing less work and may have the flexibility to work for any employer, from the perspective of the worker, part-time work implies work in multiple households and the unstable nature of employment with the additional burden of their own household responsibilities. This new categorization is used in the following sections to assess the other aspects of domestic work such as compulsions to join this work, channels of entry, occupational safety and health concerns, and the perceptions and aspirations of different types of domestic workers.

Does being engaged in full-time work mean that these domestic workers earn better incomes? What is the average earning rate for domestic workers and what are the per hour and per household rates? Also, how does this compare with the minimum wages defined officially? These are some of the issues discussed in the following section.

3.8 Tasks and incomes of CADWs

While the main tasks undertaken by domestic workers entail sweeping, swabbing, washing dishes, washing clothes, care work and some errands like buying groceries, there is no standardization in terms of the specific hours or income allocated to these (Neetha, 2004).

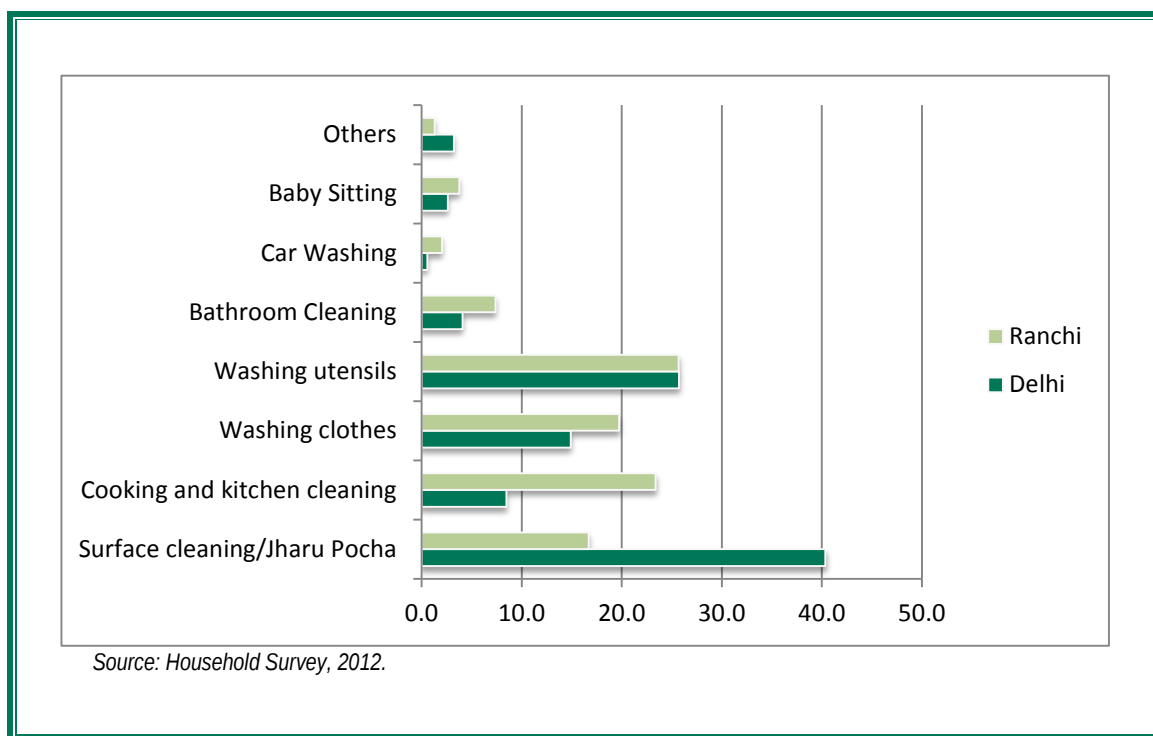
Table 22: Type of tasks city-wise

Tasks	Delhi		Ranchi	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Surface cleaning/ <i>jharu pocha</i>	107	81.7	83	44.9
Cooking/Cleaning kitchen/making tea/cooking/serving food	29	22.1	161	87.0
Washing clothes	51	38.9	136	73.5
Washing utensils	88	67.2	177	95.7
Bathroom cleaning	14	10.7	51	27.6
Car washing	2	1.5	14	7.6
Baby sitting	9	6.9	26	14.1
Dusting	31	23.7	32	17.3
Others	11	8.4	9	4.9
Total number of respondents	131		185	

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Figure 12 shows the percentage of responses that were received in Delhi and Ranchi in terms of the type of tasks undertaken.

Figure 12: Responses regarding tasks performed



Surface cleaning, which includes sweeping, swabbing and dusting, constituted 40 per cent of tasks in Delhi as compared to 17 per cent in Ranchi. Cooking, cleaning the kitchen, making tea and serving food constituted 23 per cent of responses in Ranchi as compared to less than 10 per cent in Delhi. About a quarter of the responses in Delhi as well as in Ranchi constituted washing utensils, while 20 per cent of the responses in Ranchi listed washing clothes as compared to 15 per cent in Delhi. Babysitting was performed more marginally by the workers in Ranchi as compared to their counterparts in Delhi. Thus, while surface cleaning constituted a majority of the tasks for workers in Delhi, cooking, kitchen work and washing utensils constituted the majority of tasks performed by workers in Ranchi.

The case studies show that in Delhi, most part-time workers were involved in cleaning, sweeping, swabbing and washing utensils, while only a few were washing clothes. Younger girls reportedly helped their mothers in cleaning. For instance, 11-year old Aparna from Jahangirpuri, Delhi, said that she helped her mother clean, chop vegetables and cook. Two older part-time workers and one 16-year old live-in worker also did babysitting. The tasks of cooking, babysitting and washing clothes were reported less among part-time workers.

In Delhi, the maximum number of responses pertained to surface cleaning, swabbing and sweeping as well as washing utensils. More responses regarding babysitting and bathroom cleaning came from Ranchi than in Delhi. In Ranchi, full-time and live-in workers reported doing cleaning work, dusting as well as cooking and babysitting. A 10-year old girl, Holika, reported taking care of a 3-year old child, in addition to cleaning and dusting. In Ranchi, it seemed that younger and older children were involved in diverse work, and in general, they have to do a variety of tasks. This could be a reflection of the weaker process of formalization of domestic labour in Ranchi as compared to Delhi.

The income of domestic workers obviously depends on the prevalent market rates for defined tasks as well as the number of hours worked and the number of households worked for. According to Mehrotra (2010), wages are fixed on the basis of the prevailing rate of the locality, the designated tasks, the number of times these need to be performed, and the time taken to perform them. The workers also negotiate the wages on the basis of the size of the house, as well as the salaries that other workers are earning. In Delhi, though the rates differ to some extent in different localities and rates for cooking, childcare or washing clothes are higher, generally one task is undertaken for INR 300 to 500 per month. The size of the house in terms of the number of rooms can matter in fixing the wages for cleaning, sweeping and swabbing the floors; while the number of household members is a parameter for the task of washing clothes or utensils. There may be a hierarchy among the tasks as well, as pointed out by Mehrotra (2010, p. 23) with cooking, which fetched INR 600 to 800 per month considered higher than cleaning tasks which fetched INR 200 to 400 per month.

The wage rates for different tasks are lower in Ranchi than those in Delhi, especially for children. Since most children in Ranchi are young entrants who accompany their mothers as part-time workers their incomes are lower. However, all CADWs interviewed for the case studies felt that the wages did not match the amount of work they were putting in.

In Delhi, 46 per cent of the CADWs earn INR 1,500 to 3,000 per month, 11 per cent of them earn INR 3000 to 5000 while 38 per cent of them manage to earn only INR 500 to 1,500 in a month. In Ranchi, the incomes of 78 per cent of CADWs is less than INR 1,000 per month, while 12 per cent reported earning INR 1,000 to 1,500 per month, and another 10 per cent earned INR 1,501 to 3,000.

Table 23: Income range of CADWs in Delhi and Ranchi

Income group (INR)	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
0-500	3.6	30.3
501-1000	11.9	47.8
1001-1500	26.2	11.8
1501-3000	46.4	9.6
3001-5000	10.7	0.6
5000 to 7000	1.2	0.0

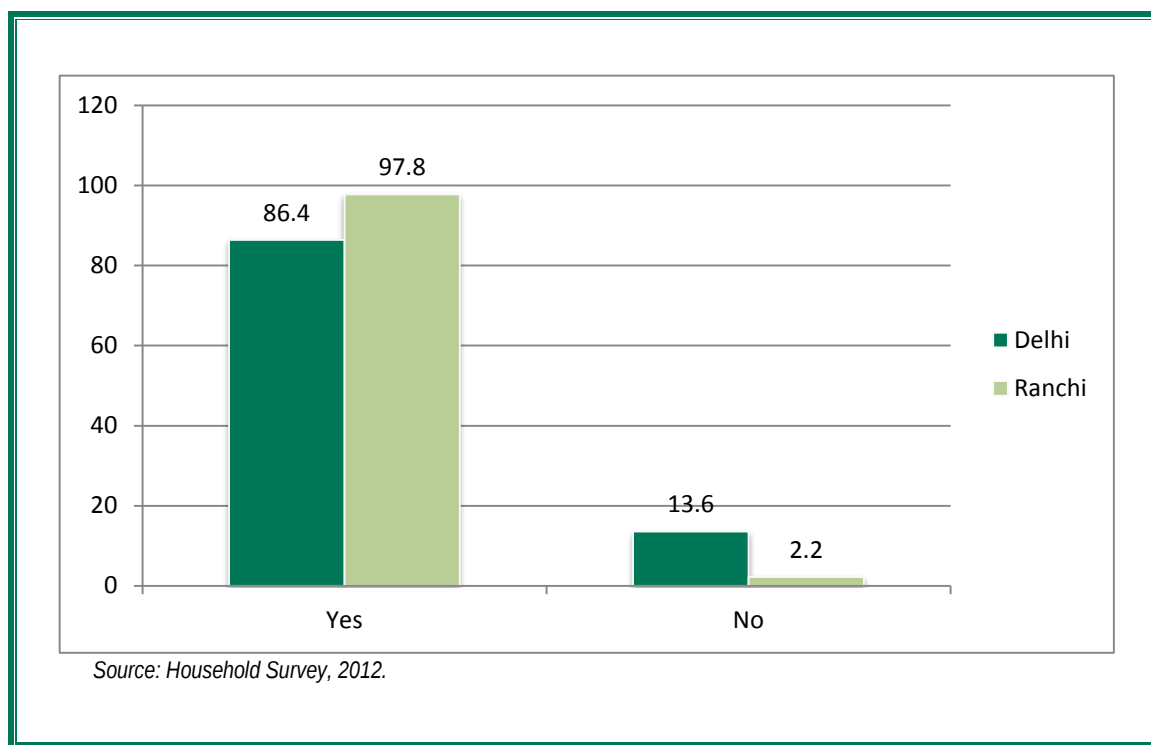
Source: Household Survey, 2012.

The low wages are indicative of the context of feudal and semi-feudal relationships within which domestic work hiring occurs. Cases of employers feeling benevolent by hiring the services of a child are common as they perceive this as a means of survival for the near-destitute child domestic worker households. The notion that this entails light work which requires only short spans of time per household adds to the acceptability and continuation of such rates.

The fact that this income is really meagre in comparison to the work undertaken needs to be underscored, along with the fact that it is much below the minimum wage. It is the reason for rising labour demand in this sector. On the labour supply side, it is a dire necessity, given the household circumstances, higher dependency ratios and poor income-earning capacities.

The form of payment has been debated in policy circles. The Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work, 2011, considered payment in kind as non-payment as it may allow scope for non-payment of wages and resultant abuse. In Delhi, almost every respondent reported getting cash, but in Ranchi, while everyone said that they got cash, 34 per cent said that they also received payment in kind.

Figure 13: Timely payment in Delhi and Ranchi



In Delhi, 13 per cent of the respondents claimed that they did not receive payments on time, while in Ranchi, the corresponding number of respondents was very low. This may not reflect actual practice in Ranchi and the difference could be attributed to a range of factors such as the stronger presence of traditional feudal relations in Ranchi, the fact that the presence of younger workers was much higher and the level of awareness lower as compared to Delhi, as well as the fact that workers reported working shorter hours in Ranchi.

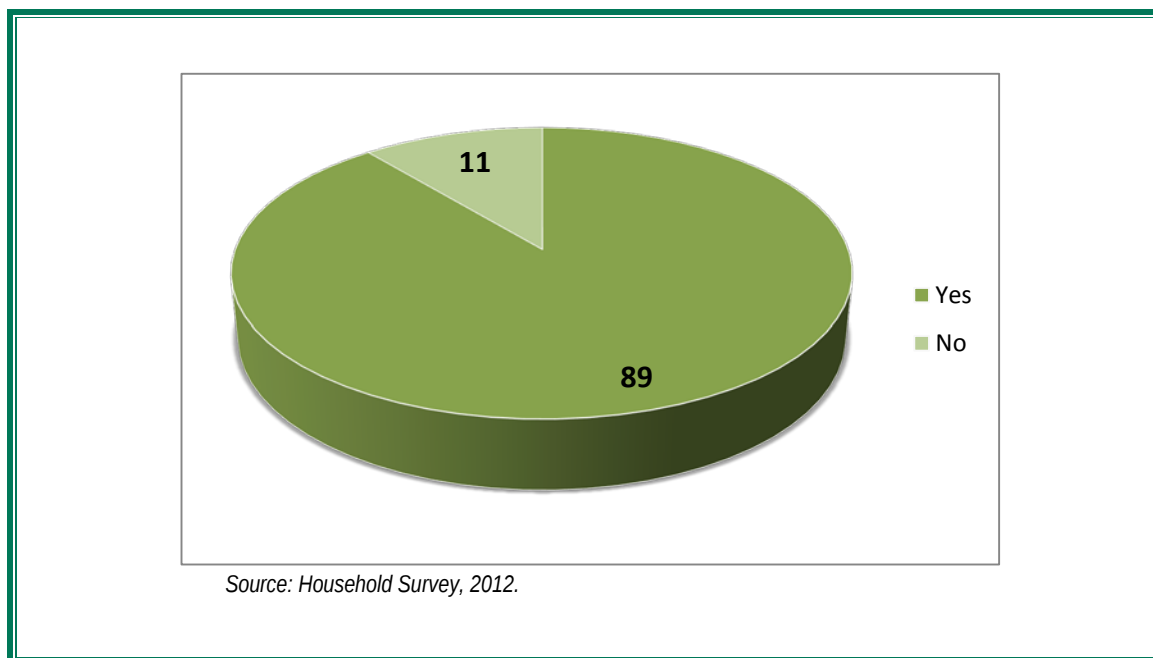
3.9 Working conditions

Often, the working conditions of domestic workers are not negotiated during the time of hiring and are hardly ever guaranteed. Moreover, the workers themselves are not aware of their basic rights and the minimum conditions of work that they should be given. Children and adolescents are even more vulnerable and unaware of their rights.

The analysis of the working conditions of CADWs in this section also includes a discussion on the facilities provided to them such as access to toilets and bathrooms, water to drink and to wash, breakfast and tea, and the number of days off. Although a majority of the respondents reported getting basic facilities, the nature and quality of these facilities

were poor. Despite this, the case studies reveal that the young domestic workers who received them actually felt grateful to their employers.

Figure 14: Facilities of any kind provided to CADWs



As many as 89 per cent of CADW respondents reported getting some facility at the houses they were working in while 11 per cent said they got no basic facilities.

Table 24: Kinds of facilities provided to CADWs

Facilities	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Access to a bathroom or toilet	91.5	91.9
Adequate and timely food	43.4	62.8
Comfortable place to sleep in	10.4	9.3
Owner gives food but child does not like to eat it	2.8	0.6
Morning tea only	11.3	
Breakfast	7.5	
Biscuits	1.9	
Child is allowed to drink water and use the washroom	3.8	
No basic facilities	22.6	
Total number of respondents	106	172

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

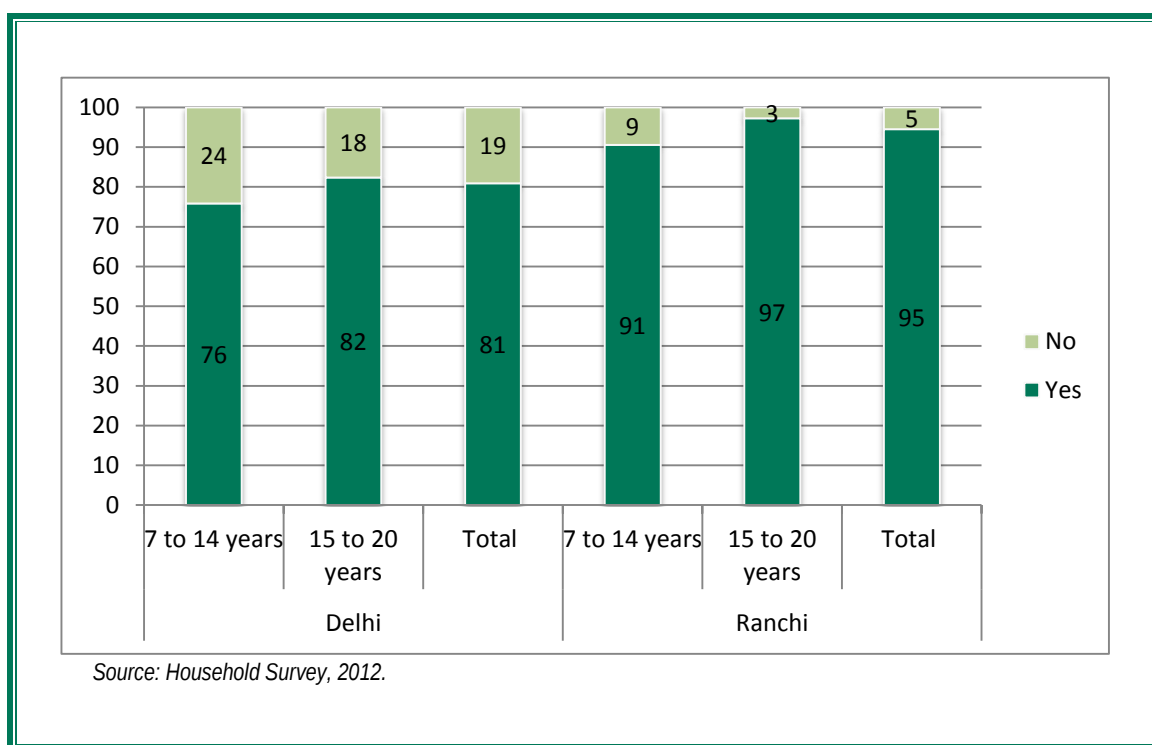
Overall, 90 per cent of the full-time workers in both cities reported getting access to a bathroom or toilet while half of them reported getting adequate food and on time. It must, however, be borne in mind, that the response regarding access to bathrooms and toilets was mostly provided by live-in or full-time workers, and that part-time workers mostly reported not getting any access at all to a toilet in their employers' homes. Being given a place to sleep is mainly applicable to full-time and live-in workers.

Many full-time and live-in CADWs get recreational facilities as well and are allowed to watch TV. This emerged as the most prominent recreational activity in both the cities, though in Delhi it was much higher than Ranchi with 85 per cent of the respondents reporting it. For child domestic workers, playing featured more in Delhi than in Ranchi. Among adolescents, playing was hardly reported in Delhi; however, it was reported by a significant number of the respondents in Ranchi. Again, meeting relatives and friends was reported more in Ranchi than in Delhi among both child and adolescent domestic workers.

Most of the part-time workers, including both young and older ones, complained of not getting any toilet facility inside the house. They said they had to wait till they reached home or go outside to use the toilet. Pooja, a 10-year old part-time worker in Jahangirpuri said that she was not allowed to use the toilet in the house. Another part-time worker in Kalyanpuri, 17-year old Nidhi said, "I am not provided with any soap to clean my hands, so I secretly wash with dish washing soap. I am not even allowed to use the bathroom. My legs and hands ache as I have to climb six floors every day." Eleven-year old Aparna from Jahangirpuri, on the other hand claimed, "I get food to eat from my employers. They also give me fish and chicken to eat when they cook." Sixteen-year old Komal from JJ Colony Jagdamba, Delhi, said, "I get food to eat, but there is no toilet facility. They tell me to go and do it on the terrace." Some employers look after their young workers well. Thus, 16-year old Shalini revealed, "I get to use the same toilet as my employer's. I get sanitary pads from my employer during my periods. They also give me medicines when I am not well."

More of the adolescents in both Delhi and Ranchi felt that they were being given some facilities, as compared to the child domestic workers. In fact, 24 per cent of child domestic workers in Delhi felt that they were not getting any facilities at their workplace, as compared to less than 10 per cent of the children in Ranchi.

Figure 15: Provision of facilities age-wise in Delhi and Ranchi



Although the majority of CADWs surveyed responded positively to having access to some kind of facility, in Delhi fewer workers reported receiving any facility.

Table 25: Kinds of facilities provided to younger and older CADWs

Workplace Facilities	Delhi (%)			Ranchi (%)		
	7-14 years	15-20 years	Total	7-14 years	15-20 years	Total
Bathroom/toilet	100	89.3	91.5	86.6	95.2	91.9
Adequate and timely food	40.9	44.0	43.4	71.6	57.1	62.8
Comfortable place to sleep	4.5	11.9	10.4	14.9	5.7	9.3
Irregular food	9.1	16.7	15.1	—	1.0	0.6
Breakfast/ Biscuits/Morning tea	22.7	20.2	20.8	—	—	—
Owner gives food but she does not like to eat	—	3.6	2.8	—	—	—
Total responses (in numbers)	22	84	106	67	105	172

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

All the children in Delhi and over 85 per cent of children in Ranchi reported getting access to toilet facilities and use of the bathroom, while among adolescents; almost 90 per cent in Delhi and over 95 per cent in Ranchi reported getting these facilities. In terms of adequate and timely food the difference between the two cities was quite apparent; with more children (71.6 per cent) and adolescents (57.1 per cent) in Ranchi reporting getting access as compared to Delhi where only 40-45 per cent of both adolescents and children reported getting access. No respondents in Ranchi reported getting breakfast, biscuits and morning tea. When asked if they got a comfortable place to sleep, more children in Ranchi (15 per cent) than Delhi (4.5 per cent) reported getting this facility, while more adolescents in Delhi as compared to Ranchi had this.

However, there was quite a difference between the two cities, with respect to the provision of adequate and timely food. More respondents in Ranchi reported getting adequate food on time as compared to those in Delhi. While some respondents in Delhi reported getting morning tea and breakfast, none of the part-time respondents in Ranchi did so. Almost all the live-in workers in both the cities reported getting access to bathroom facilities, adequate food on time, and a comfortable place to sleep in.

3.9.1 Number of days of leave

Of the 222 respondents who responded to the questions regarding access to basic facilities, less than 15 per cent in both cities reported getting five to fourteen days leave in a year, over 40 per cent got 15 to 21 days of leave in a year, while 43 per cent got 21 to 51 days of leave. Only about 3 per cent of the respondents reported getting over 51 days leave in a year, which implies one day of leave in a week as specified by the CLPRA. In this context, it is also essential to understand that this is not paid leave, and more often than not, the worker has to arrange for a replacement during her absence.

Figure 16: Number of days of leave per annum reported by CADWs

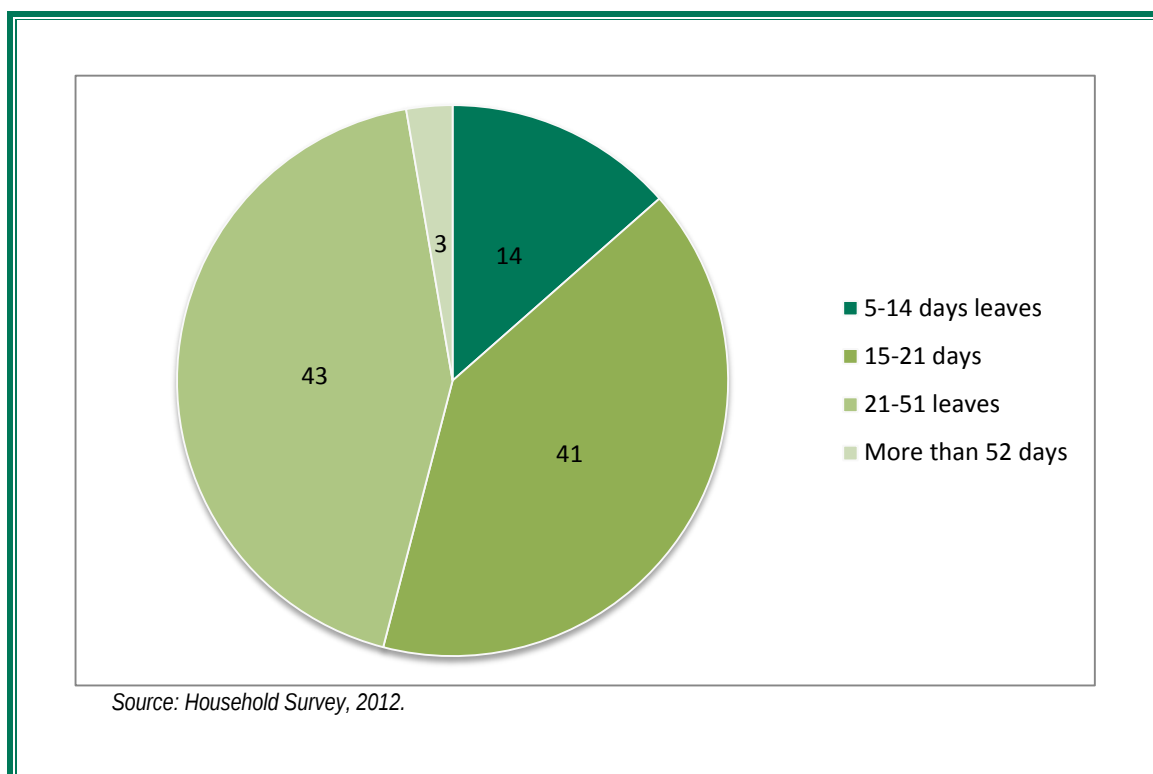


Table 26: Age-wise number of days of leave reported by CADWs

City	Age	5-14 days (%)	15-21 days (%)	21-51 days (%)	More than 52 days (%)
Delhi	7 - 14	8.3		83.3	8.3
	15 - 20	5.5	1.8	89.1	3.6
	Total	6.0	1.5	88.1	4.5
Ranchi	7 - 14	18.8	48.4	28.1	4.7
	15 - 20	15.4	63.7	20.9	
	Total	16.8	57.4	23.9	1.9

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Between 80 and 90 per cent of the respondents in both age groups in Delhi reported getting more than three weeks of leave in a year, as compared to Ranchi, where only less than a quarter reported getting more than three weeks of annual leave. In Ranchi,

while over 60 per cent of the adolescent domestic workers were getting 15 to 21 days of leave in a year, less than half of the child domestic workers reported getting as this much. By contrast, more child workers in Ranchi reported getting more than 21 days of leave as compared to the older age group while in Delhi the situation was reversed. Over all, the CADWs of both age groups in Delhi reported getting more days of annual leave than in Ranchi.

The qualitative findings were quite mixed in Delhi. Most of the child and adolescent workers reported getting two days off in a month, and while some of them could take more days off without a pay cut, some of them could not. Most were made to do extra work like folding and ironing of clothes without any extra pay.²⁷ However, a few positive cases were also reported. For instance, 18-year old Anita, who works as a part-time worker and lives in JJ Colony, Jagdamba Camp in Delhi, said, “I get INR 3,000 as my salary in total from all the houses. I get 2 holidays in a month and my employer does not cut any money for extra days of leave that I may take. In addition, I am paid for the extra work I do. They also give me sweets, clothes, and money on festivals and once my employer gave me gold earrings.” Another full-time worker, 17-year old Jayanti from Jahangirpuri, Delhi, reported getting payments in both cash and kind in the form of clothes, sweets, and money from the employer's family. In addition, she said that whenever she needs money urgently, her employer pays her advance salary.

3.10 Impact of work on occupational safety and health

As discussed in an earlier section, the impact on children and adolescents working as domestic workers is multi-dimensional as it affects the child physically, emotionally and psychologically. In many cases, domestic work at an early age can have a negative impact on the health, education and skills of the child worker. The immediate impacts are reflected in lack of nutrition, irregular schooling or no schooling, isolation, discrimination and abuse and the long-term impacts are manifested in the form of chronic illnesses or malnutrition, and the child's inability to make a transition to better occupations. This aspect is very difficult to capture, and though the survey did cover various important issues and concerns, the qualitative interactions revealed much more.

²⁷ Mehrotra (2010) cited the Jagori study, wherein the part-time workers claimed having to do extra work, ranging from minding children and buying milk, to heavier tasks like washing and cleaning during festival time. Many of the workers reported that while they did not really mind the light work, doing the heavier work without any extra payment posed a problem.

Table 27: Opinions of CADWs on the impact of their work

Impact of work	7-14 years Yes (%)	15-20 years Yes (%)	Delhi Yes (%)	Ranchi Yes (%)	Total Yes (%)
Considers work unsafe	10	9.7	12	8	10
Made to do things beyond her/his capacity	21	19	15	25	21
Feels that the work is affecting her/his health	25	29	41	18	28
Felt (or knows of someone who has felt) discriminated against	21	11	8	19	14
Feels exploited in any way	16	19	11	23	18
Is punished	14	9	11	10	10

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

There was not much difference in opinion between the two age groups, except concerning discrimination, which was experienced more by the younger workers.

3.10.1 Occupational safety and health

The fact that the CLPRA includes domestic work under the hazardous category of work brings OSH concerns into sharper focus. Due to the informal and private nature of this work, the workers involved and even their families and their employers are often not aware of the risks that they are exposed to. Since the workers engaged in these occupations are not covered by any social protection, this makes them even more vulnerable.

The minimum number of work hours and rest hours that the CLPRA lays out is not adhered to in this work, precisely because it is within the confines of one's home wherein no regulatory body can enter. In the absence of regulated hours of work, children and adolescent workers, particularly live-in workers, continue to work through the day and even at night. They have no regular rest or work hours, and there is also quite a bit of under-reporting of hours by the workers. Over eight per cent of respondents in Ranchi and 11 per cent in Delhi reported working for more than eight hours a day. Concerning the number of days of leave, the provisions of a weekly off as laid down by the CLPRA is not adhered to. Only 3 per cent of the respondents reported getting more than 52 days of annual leave, which too are often unpaid for.

The following table shows the perceptions of CADWs in the two cities, regarding OSH and other ways that the work affects their lives.

Table 28: Work considered unsafe in Delhi and Ranchi

Unsafe work (multiple responses)	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Carrying heavy objects		20
Climbing heights	33.3	6.7
Working long hours without rest	26.7	60
Fear of injury	13.3	
Not interested in complaining about work	13.3	6.7
Has to travel long distances	6.7	
Domestic work is not good work	6.7	
Don't know	40	5
Total number of respondents	15	15

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

There is a significant difference between Delhi and Ranchi with regard to the perception that long hours of work without rest compromise the safety of the worker.

Table 29: Work considered beyond the capacity of CADWs

Work beyond their capacity	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
Carrying heavy things like water canisters and gas cylinders	45	31.1	35
Dealing with fire during cooking	5	20.0	15
Standing for long hours	55	11.1	25
Being made to do long hours of work	55	66.7	63
Working till late at night	15		5
Cleaning the kitchen and tiles	5	6.7	6
Washing large quantities of clothes	5	2.2	3
Made to do cleaning even when not well	5	2.2	3
Extra work		2.2	2
Total number of respondents	20	45	65

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

More than 65 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi and 55 per cent in Delhi felt that they were being made to work for long hours, which they considered beyond their

capacity. Repetitive tasks become burdensome. Fifteen year old Sarita from Lohara Mohalla, Hatia, Ranchi said, “I do not like mopping and I often I get tired doing it.” While 45 per cent of the respondents in Delhi felt that carrying heavy things was beyond their capacity, the corresponding figure was 30 per cent in Ranchi.

Table 30: Change in health of CADWs after beginning work

Change in health	Delhi(%)	Ranchi(%)	Total(%)
Now more healthy and agile		9.9	5.8
Same as earlier	70.3	79.6	75.7
Has developed some health problem not experienced earlier	23.4	12.7	17.2
Very ill		0.6	0.3
No response	8.6	1.7	4.5
Total number of responses	128	181	309

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Interestingly, about 10 per cent of the CADWs in Ranchi felt more healthy and agile since they began working, but this was not the case in Delhi.

Table 31: Health implications of work on CADWs

Impact on health	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
Pain in the limbs	60.4	8.8	40.2
Headache	54.7	50.0	52.9
Loss of weight	15.1	52.9	29.9
Loss of appetite	7.5	47.1	23.0
Difficulty in breathing		14.7	5.7
Feels weakness	22.6	5.9	16.1
Feels cold in winters	7.5	5.9	6.9
Others	1.9	17.6	8.0
Total number of respondents	53	34	87

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

In terms of health implications, more respondents in Delhi experienced pain in their limbs while a greater proportion of workers in Ranchi felt that they had lost weight as

a result of the arduous work. More than 45 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi reported experiencing loss of appetite while 23 per cent of their counterparts in Delhi experienced weakness. Overall, more than half of the respondents experienced headaches and a little less than half had pain in the limbs.

3.10.2 Discrimination, harsh punishment and abuse

There are also instances in which child workers have faced abuse or ill-treatment at the hands of their employers. Jaya, a 17-year old live-in worker at Ashram says, “My employers are very nice but they scold me sometimes, and do not like me going out to attend vocational training classes. They think that I might leave their job and run away.” Another adolescent worker, 14-year old Guddi from Ranchi claimed that she had quit her previous job because of sexual abuse there.

Das uncle mujhe idhar udhar chhootay the. Jab aunty ghar pe nahi rehti thi to mujhe jabardasti pakartay the. Main jaha pochha lagati wahin saamne aa jate aur mujhe dekhtay. Is liye maine wahan pe kaam karna chhod diya”. (Das uncle [the employer] touches me here and there. When Aunty [his wife] is not there at home, Uncle tries to grope me here and there. When I used to be mopping the place, he would come and stand right in front and keep staring at me. That is why I left that job.

Mr. Verghese from Childline points out, “There have been many cases of abuse, they are all very disturbing. There was once a case of a boy who was being burnt daily with hot tongs by his employer. His entire body was covered by burn marks. There was another case in which a boy’s hands were injured with a plier. In another case, a small child was constantly asked to carry heavy things up and down, and he was also beaten up when he made a mistake, even if inadvertently. In addition, the lady of the house and her daughter would also sexually harass and humiliate him. He ran away but his employers managed to trace him and brought him back somehow. However, we got information about his ill-treatment, and organized a police raid at the house, during which we were able to rescue him, and he is now back with his family in Nepal. In many cases, if the child tries to escape, then the employers call the police and accuse them of stealing. In cases, where there is such extreme physical abuse, we do not delay and go without the police and the Labour Department, but it becomes very difficult to conduct a rescue operation without them. We try and produce all the evidence in front of the magistrate, but in many cases, the employers accuse us of harassing their female members, etc., so it’s very difficult. The Labour Department is the one that organizes compensation for the child or his or her family, and the police department produces a warrant for entry into the house.”

3.10.3 Impact on education

As mentioned earlier, regarding the impacts of work on the lives of CADWs, it is the impact on their education that is quite significant as it has long-term consequences on the child’s life in terms of opportunity costs. Often the child is not able to go to school, and

if they do go, they often drop out before completing their basic education. As a result, they are unable to learn the skills required to enter better-paying occupations and have no options besides domestic work. Many older girls reported dropping out of school due to financial pressures, but wanted to work so that their younger siblings might be able to complete their education. In Delhi, 66 per cent of CADWs reported not going to school as compared to 54 per cent in Ranchi.

Figure 17: Numbers of CADWs that go to school

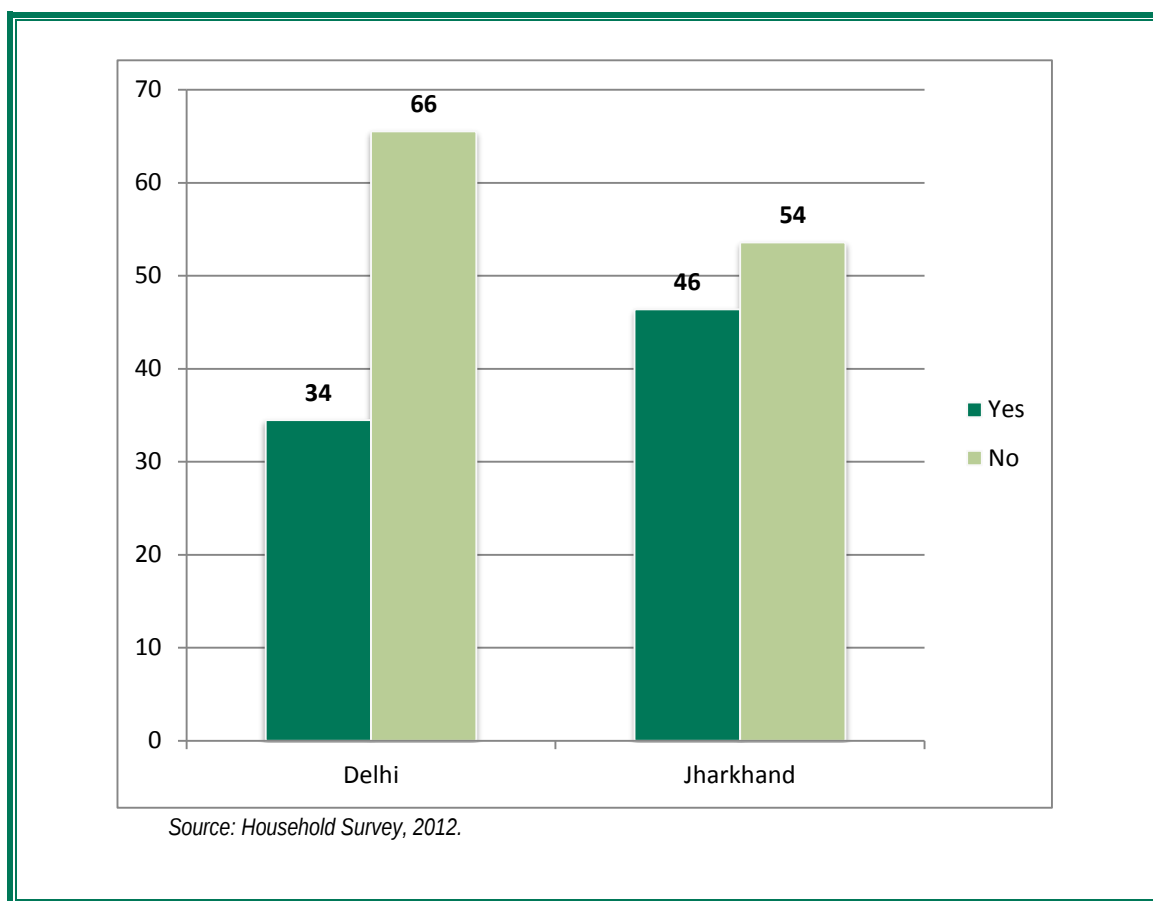
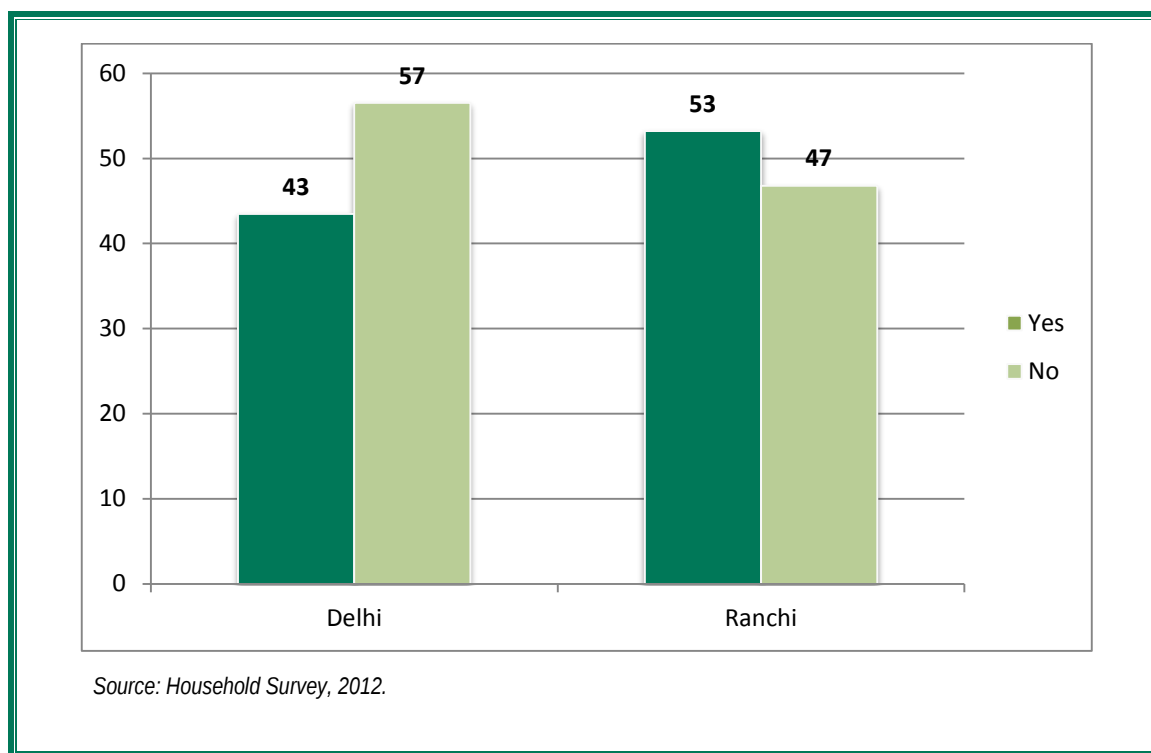


Figure 18: Numbers combining school and work



More respondents in Ranchi than in Delhi reported that they combined school and work. The case studies indicated that these children and adolescents realize the importance of education and sacrifice any spare time for it. They face certain difficulties, those most commonly cited being the heavy workload, the lack of parental support and of appropriate conditions for study.

Table 32: Difficulties faced by CADWs while both working and studying

Difficulties cited	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
Lack of parental support	20	11.1	15.8
Heavy workload	35	72.2	52.6
Not able to study	10	22.2	15.8
Not enrolled in school by the parents	15		7.9
Miserable condition of the family	15	5.6	10.5
Others	10	11.1	0.0
Total number of respondents	20	18	38

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

The adverse impact of work was most severe on girls' education, especially in Delhi, where most elder siblings dropped out of school due to financial pressures. For instance, 23-year old Maya from Delhi said, "*Bachpan kharab ho jata hai, padhai band ho jati hai, baccha dab jaata hai* (Childhood gets spoilt, the child has to abandon studies, and his personality gets subdued.)" By contrast, a couple of them reported that the employer was encouraging and helping them to study. While 17-year old Payal felt that studying trained her for marriage, 11-year old Bhavna's mother in Ashram, Delhi said, "She is learning household work, I don't want her mother-in-law to say that she doesn't know anything and that I did not teach her." Eighteen-year old Anju from Ghoshia colony remarked, "The work I do is good for me and I have learnt a lot, since I am working in these houses for so long, I get a lot of love and affection from them." Eight-year old Aparna in JJ Jagdamba Colony, Delhi, said, "Working here in Delhi, I have learnt how to talk properly." Many older siblings and young mothers in both Delhi and Ranchi felt that income from this work would improve the lives of their families.

In Ranchi, respondents had a positive attitude to working and studying, which they thought would facilitate their entry into other professions, something that did not emerge among the respondents in Delhi.

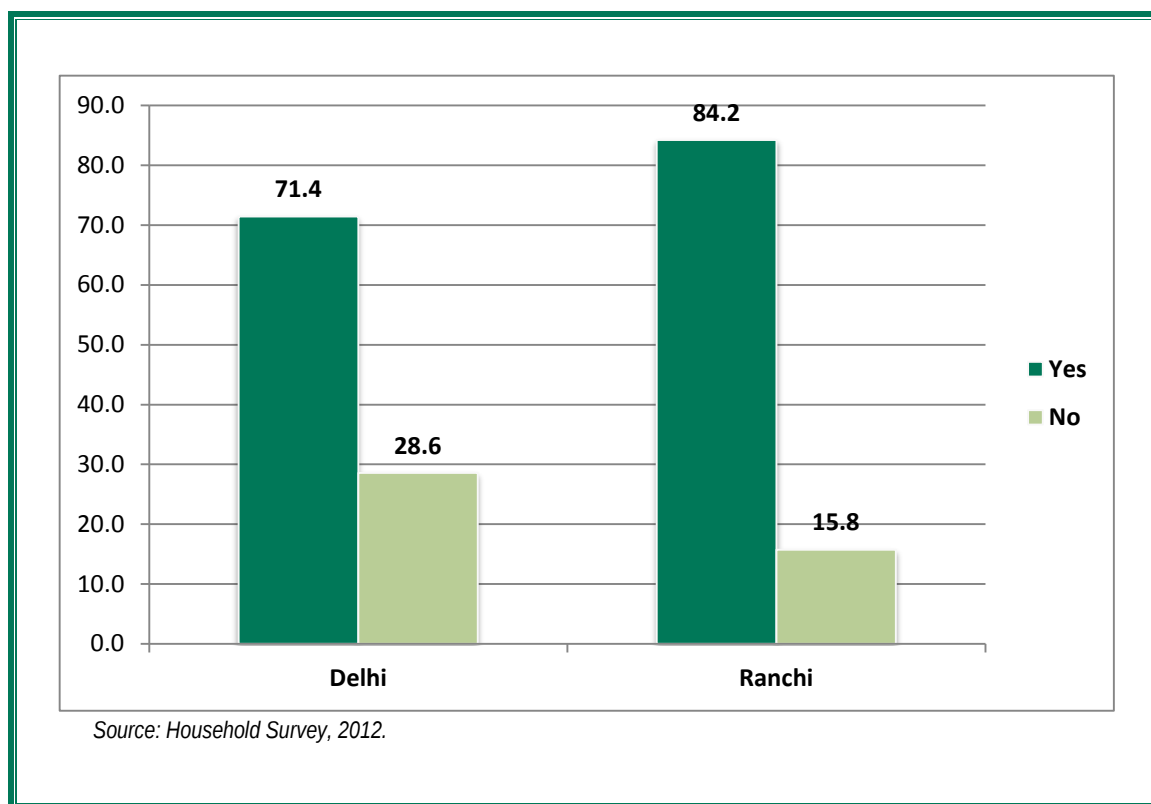
Sixteen-year old Raveena from Lohara Mohalla, Hatia, Ranchi, said, "I love my work and I never want to leave my employers as they are very nice." Fourteen year old Lalita from Khirki, Delhi, said, "I want to apply what I have learned here to run a hotel someday. I wanted to study but my brothers stopped me once I came to Delhi by saying "*tum ab badi ho gayi ho, koi zarurat nahi hai jane ki.*" (You are now grown-up, and there is no need for you to go out and study).

Twenty-three year old Sakina, from the same neighbourhood revealed, "It was very difficult for me to adjust whenever I went to my village, as there were no toilets. Domestic work is better as here the safety of girls is guaranteed. You get love, care and attention of the employers. "*Hum apne ghar pe to saare kaam karte hi hain, to agar doosre ke ghar pe kaam kar rahe hain aur uske badle paise, kapde aur khaana mil raha hai to kya buraai hai?* (We do all the work at home, so if we do the same work in others' homes in return for money, clothing and food, where's the harm?)."

3.11 Perceptions

The perceptions of the CADWs regarding their work, its impacts, the desirable minimum age for work and the reasons why children should continue to work despite a ban on child labour are discussed in this section. The impact of work on the lives, education, health, and future prospects of CADWs have been discussed in an earlier section, but some of the respondents do believe that the benefits of this work outweigh the disadvantages. This may explain why this phenomenon still exists despite legal prohibition. It may also be indicative of the extent of normalization of children's involvement in work.

Figure 19: Perception among CADWs of domestic work as beneficial



It is evident that many respondents feel that this work has some benefits, the number being higher in Ranchi than in Delhi. This may be a reflection of the socio-cultural processes in the two cities. There was not much difference in the perceptions between the older and younger workers. The kinds of benefits which the CADWs perceived the work to have are listed in the table below.

Table 33: Kinds of benefits perceived by CADWs

Benefits perceived (multiple responses)	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Better prospects of work		29.0
Better prospects for marriage	5.5	33.5
Skill-building		18.1
Being able to go to school	2.2	32.9

Benefits perceived (multiple responses)	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Good income	25.3	27.1
Helping the family	76.9	64.5
Financial benefits	11.0	
Others	2.2	
Total number of respondents	91	155

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

As far as the kinds of benefits are concerned, almost 30 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi felt that this work provided better occupational prospects, though this perception did not emerge among the respondents in Delhi. These perceptions were also reiterated in the qualitative findings. One- third of the respondents in Ranchi felt that this work prepared them for marriage, while less than 6 per cent in Delhi thought so. One-third of the respondents in Ranchi also felt that this work helped them pursue their education, and this has also emerged in the case studies pertaining to the city as well, though it did not emerge in the responses in Delhi.

A range of responses were recorded in both cities regarding the benefits of this work, but in Ranchi, it was observed that domestic work was perceived as a means of transitioning to a better-paying occupation, though this perception was not observed in Delhi. For example, Savita, a 15-year old part-time worker from Lohara Mohalla, Hatia, Ranchi said, “I have learnt to use gadgets like the microwave and washing machine. I also go to school in the morning and then come to work in the evening. I want to become a nurse when I grow up.”

As seen in the Figure that follows, most CADWs are aware of laws against child labour, the proportion being higher in Ranchi than in Delhi. Yet they continue to work.

Figure 20: Awareness regarding child labour laws among CADWs

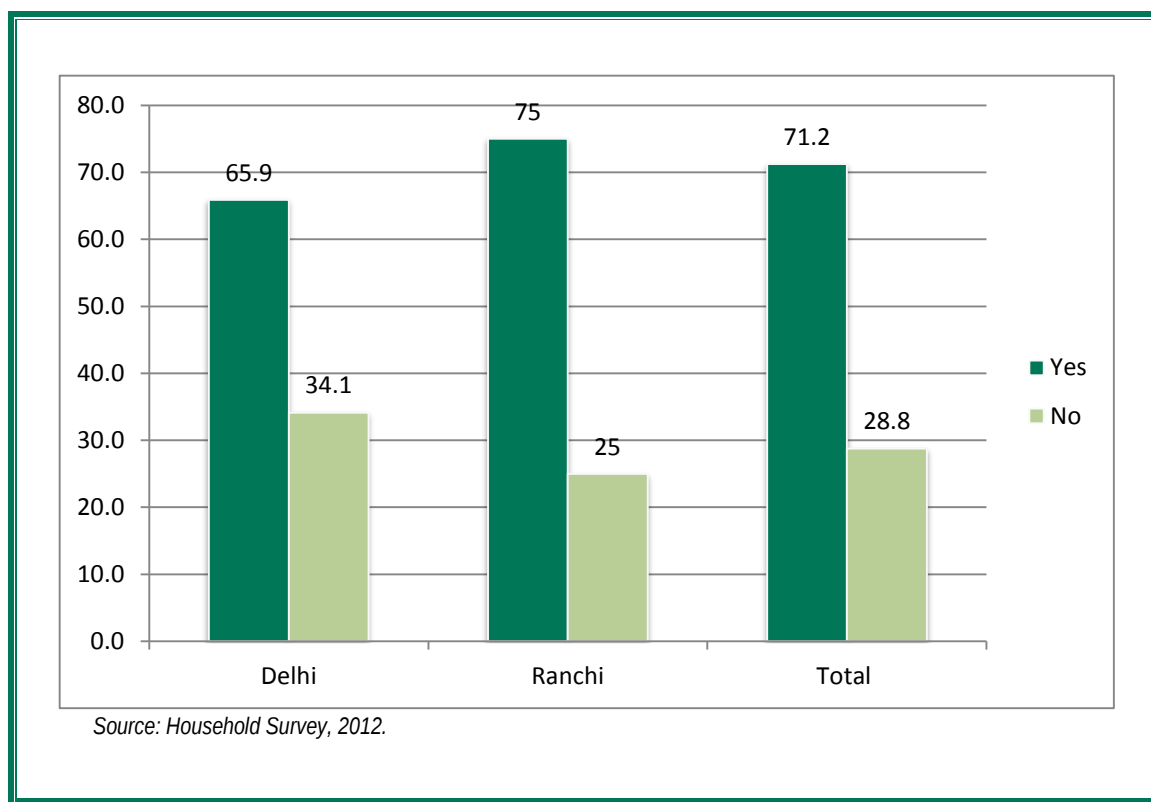


Table 34: Reasons for continuing work despite the law against child labour

Reasons cited	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Financial problems	35.3	84.0
Social and Family Compulsions	52.9	26.6
Accompanies the mother to work	2.9	
Pressure from the father for her to help the mother	5.9	
Opportunity to learn without going to school	2.9	
Desire to be independent	2.9	3.2
Total number of respondents	34	94

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

More CADWs in Ranchi felt that financial problems compelled children to work despite the existence of laws prohibiting child labour. In Delhi, social and family compulsions were cited more often than financial problems as the main reason that drives children into work.

Figure 21: Opinions of CADWs on the minimum age for work

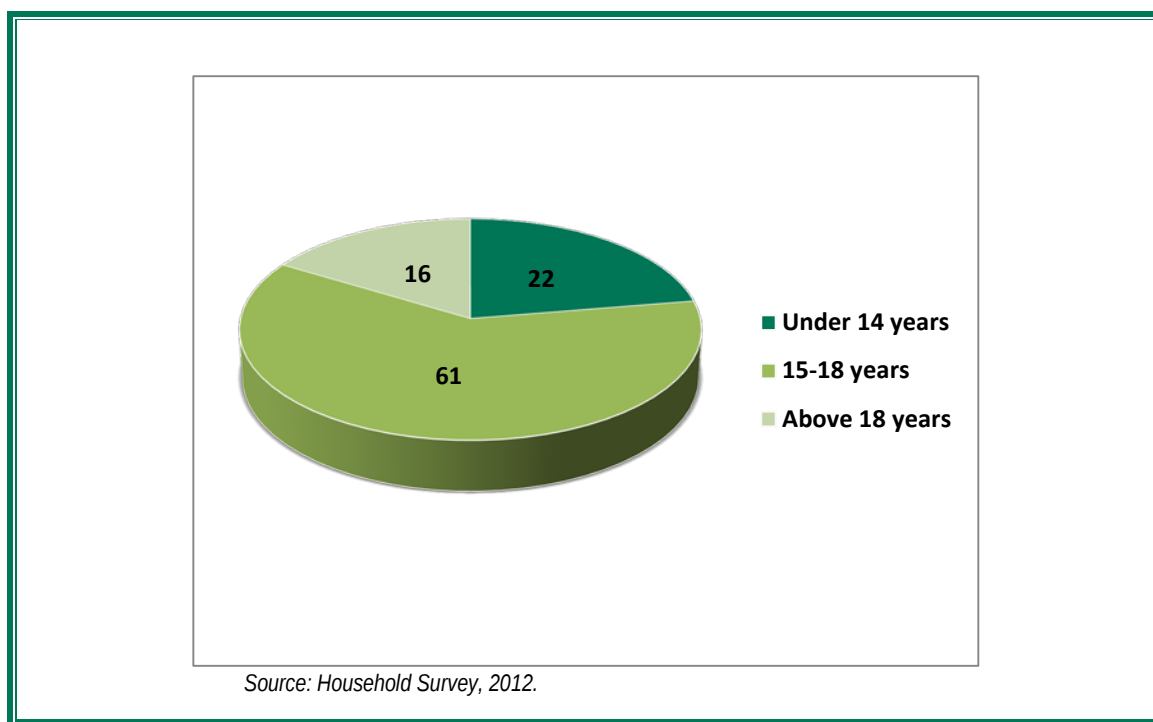
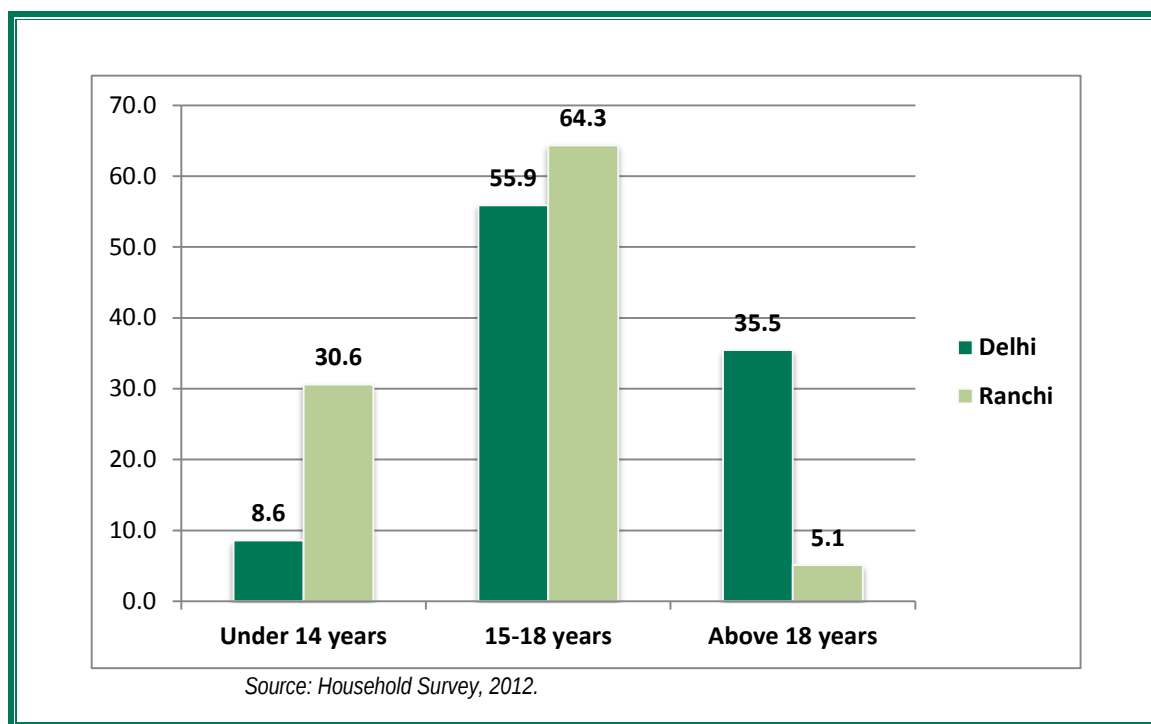
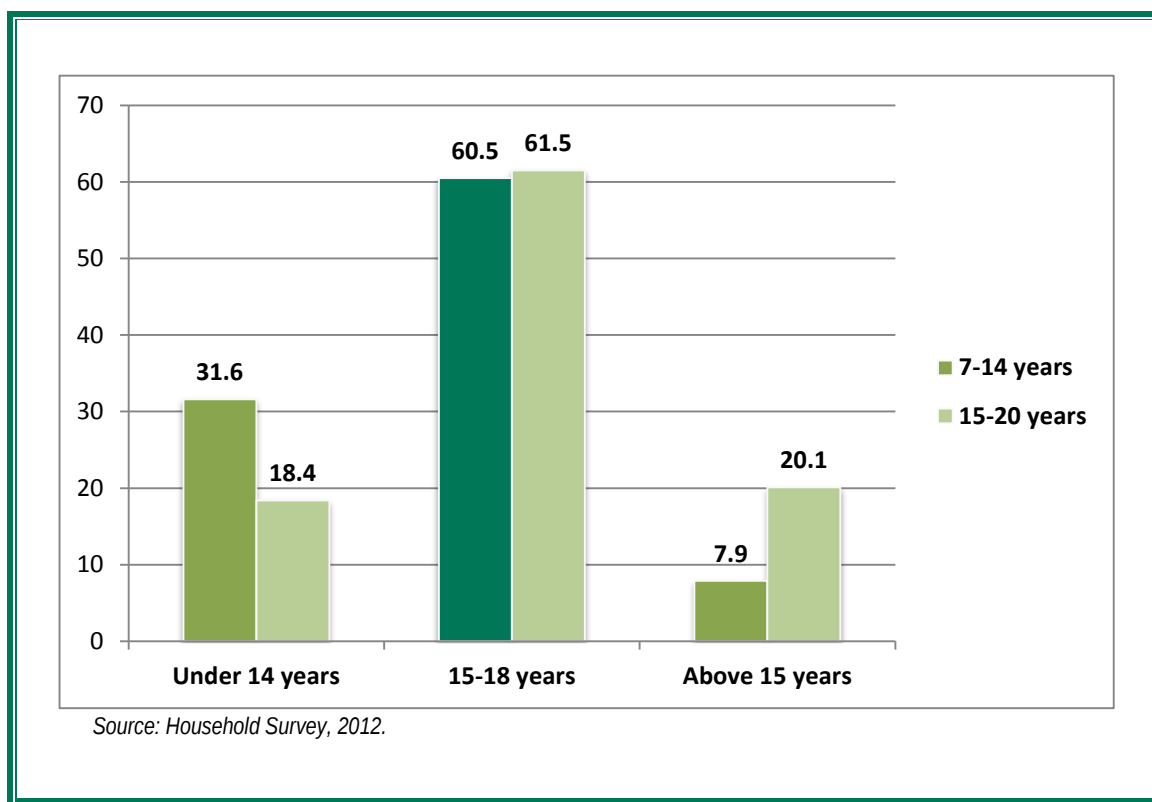


Figure 22: Opinions of CADWs on the minimum age for work city-wise



The opinions of the majority of CADWs in the two cities align with the existing legal framework on child labour in domestic work. However, there were more respondents in Ranchi than in Delhi that opt for lowering the minimum age for work. Surprisingly, more than a third of the CADWs surveyed opted for increasing the minimum age to 18 years, possibly because they perceive their work as hazardous or due to the Delhi High Court judgement of 2009, that ordered the release of young workers under the age of 18 years. The anti-child labour campaigns that are held in the capital may also have influenced their opinions.

Figure 23: Opinions of younger and older workers on the minimum age of work



The main difference between the younger and older age groups was that more of the former felt that the minimum age for work should be under 14 years, while more of the latter felt that the minimum age for work should be above 18 years.

According to the qualitative studies, a clear difference emerged between the perceptions of the respondents in Delhi and those in Ranchi regarding the minimum age for work. Twenty-four-year old Maya, who had started working as a domestic worker with her mother at the age of 12 and currently works as a part-time worker at Panchsheel Vihar, a rag-picker colony, said, “Children should not be made to work at least till the age of 13 years as they ruin their childhood”. Most respondents in Ranchi felt that 15 years was the minimum age for work, whereas in Delhi, most said it should be 13-18 years, with more leaning towards 18 years. Indeed, little Bhavna from Ashram, Delhi, who works with her mother, said that the minimum age for work should be 20 years! “Government says that *chhote bacche* [little children] should not work, but *bare bacche* (big children), can work. *Bare* people like you [the investigator]”. One respondent in Delhi even said that young children should not work as they are naïve and can be duped by employers.

A live-in worker from Ranchi, 16-year old Radha, opined, “I feel that this work is much better. Here we have good food to eat, pretty dresses to wear, outings to restaurants and seeing movies in theatres. I have everything for my comfort. I do not have any complaints about this work.”

3.11.1 Aspirations

In terms of skills, over 40 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi wanted to learn computer skills while 56 per cent wanted to learn sewing and tailoring. In Delhi too, sewing and tailoring emerged as a significant occupation but, surprisingly, a much smaller number aspired to do computer training. A quarter of the respondents in Delhi and 20 per cent in Ranchi also wanted to learn beauty parlour work.

Table 35: Aspirations among CADWs for skill training

Skills	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Computer operation	11.8	42.6
Sewing and tailoring	43.6	55.7
Driving		4.9
Beauty parlour work	25.5	20.5
Jute work	11.8	2.5
Wants to study	6.4	0.8
Nothing	6.4	17.2
Others	6.4	2.5

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Table 36: CADW's aspirations for the future

Aspirations for the future	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)
Study	42.1	55.7
Get a good job	32.5	31.0
Get married	34.9	23.0
Take care of her/his parents	4.0	64.4
Become a police officer	24.6	0.6
Learn sewing and tailoring	11.9	
Others	22.2	6.9
Total number of respondents	126	174

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

It is notable that the desire to take care of parents emerged so strongly in Ranchi and that the wish to study further was expressed by a large number in both cities.

3.11.2 Suggestions based on research findings

Over 90 per cent of CADWs in both the cities feel that providing more employment for adults would help reduce child labour, with more respondents in Ranchi expressing this. The provision of better education for children was expressed by 80 per cent of respondents as a factor that would prevent children from being pushed into work. Interestingly, as has been reflected in the report throughout, over 90 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi felt that education was important in terms of policy as compared to 60 per cent in Delhi.

Creating awareness among children and parents was clearly articulated by 37 per cent of the respondents in Ranchi, who felt that this could prevent the incidence of child labour and their being compelled to undertake unsafe work, while a much lower proportion of the respondents in Delhi noted this factor. This could be due to the fact that most of the children and adolescents were aware of this and yet found themselves in a situation wherein they were working as domestic workers for survival. The respondents in Delhi were either aware of or had heard that teachers and motivators visit the residences of 'out-of-school' children to encourage and help get children back to school as 17 per cent of them suggested that the Government should send a teacher home. This could be indicative of the problems faced by respondents in Delhi in accessing schools.

Table 37: Proposed measures to prevent child labour

Measures	Delhi (%)	Ranchi (%)	Total (%)
More employment for adults	87.3	95.6	92.3
Better education for children	60.2	92.3	79.7
More social protection for children	12.7	16.5	15.0
Better information and awareness among families and children	4.2	64.3	40.7
Better law enforcement against offenders	-	0.5	0.3
Communities to be organised against abuse of children	-	1.1	0.7
Awareness among children against child labour and unsafe work	2.5	37.9	24.0
Government should send teacher to the child's home	16.9		6.7
Others*	16.9		6.7
Total number of respondents	118	182	300

Source: Household Survey, 2012.

Note: Others included suggestions such as the provision of specific skills and jobs, for birth control and for controlling inflation.

Not much difference was found between the perceptions of younger and adolescent workers in Delhi and Ranchi, except concerning a few suggestions. While less than 75 per cent of the child respondents in Delhi suggested the need for increasing employment for adults, over 90 per cent of the adolescent workers suggested this as a means of reducing child labour in domestic work. Similarly, more of the child domestic workers in Ranchi and Delhi suggested the implementation of social protection measures, as compared to adolescent workers in the two cities.

In three of four cases in Delhi, the CADWs said that if their mothers were to get widow pensions, then they would not have to work. For instance, 11-year old Bhavna from Delhi said, "If the government would give *vidhwa* (widow's) pension to my mother, then we would get relief and I could go to school instead of helping her at work." Some respondents also suggested that better jobs should be provided to adults, both men and women. Among them, 15-year old Suneeta from Delhi said, "I would like it if my employer treated me equally like her family members, and if I got more time to visit my friends. I would love to study, if I were not working." In Ranchi, the respondents suggested that the Government should provide employment to people in the villages so that they would not have migrate to the city to work as domestic workers and would be able to live with their families in their home villages.

4 POLICY SUGGESTIONS AND SCOPE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The recommendations²⁸ emerging from this study pertain to two different sets of respondent domestic workers: children and adolescents. Although the two categories may be interconnected and may sometimes require convergence in terms of policy frameworks, age-appropriate ameliorative measures for both categories will need to be designed and implemented.

Policies also need to be innovative and futuristic, given that the list of hazardous occupations keeps changing and increasing. Moreover, it may be necessary to approach the categorization of hazardous and non-hazardous occupations on the basis of not just the physical health implications for the child, but also its psychological and emotional implications, both short- and long-term. Considerations of issues such as child poverty, as distinct from household poverty (Saith and Wazir, 2010) must also be given attention during the drafting of policy. Finally, given the fact that the utilization of children as a labour source continues despite the adoption of laws and policies to protect children, it is imperative to understand the reasons for its persistence (in terms of both of demand and supply) for policy-making, for which serious research needs to be carried out.

The policy concerns for child and adolescent domestic workers also need to be discussed along with the following related contexts:

- i. the enforcement of legal rights;
- ii. ensuring basic education;
- iii. promoting economic development and opportunities as well as skill building;
- iv. offering social protection;
- v. generating awareness, through advocacy;
- vi. enhancing the institutional capacity to respond to the needs of child and adolescent workers;

²⁸Based on findings from the research as well as suggestions at the National Workshop on 'Child and Adolescent Workers: Issues Relating to Migration, Trafficking and Domestic Workers', held on 19 April 2013.

- vii. improving coordination between different government departments and stakeholders to ensure better implementation of policies for tackling the phenomenon of child labour; and
- viii. promoting future research on this issue and related areas.

It is hoped that these suggestions would address and eliminate the practice of child labour in domestic work, and help regulate and monitor adolescent domestic workers, of legal working age, with the objective of improving their overall well-being.

4.1 Enforcement of legal rights

First and foremost, every step needs to be taken to ensure that no child under the age of 14 years is employed in any form of work, and in this particular case, in domestic work. For this, legal penalties should be made harsher and intervention mechanisms to rescue the child must be made smoother and accountable.

In addition to other international legal instruments, the Panamanian Inter-institutional Declaration against the Worst Forms of Child Domestic Labour in the Homes of Third Parties needs to be recognized as a policy path.²⁹

Efforts also need to be made for promoting continued advocacy at the national and international levels, to portray and recognize child domestic work as not just potentially a worst form of labour (ILO, 2004), but also, and as relevant, as a criminal offence.³⁰

Many countries have incorporated domestic workers within their labour laws, thus ensuring the minimum age of entry, minimum wages, minimum hours of work, healthcare benefits, and even pensions for them (HRW, n.d.). These need to be implemented rigorously, and for that to happen, it is essential that domestic work be recognized and registered as ‘work’, and domestic workers as ‘workers’ in the true sense of the term. This implies a number of things: first, the need for every worker to possess an identity card is vital, second, the need for written contracts to be made between the worker, agency and the employer that guarantee a minimum wage and decent working conditions, and third,

²⁹The Panamanian Inter-institutional Declaration against the Worst Forms of Child Domestic Labour in the Homes of Third Parties recognized that child domestic labour violates the human rights of the child but is not considered as a problem in most countries. This work is a form of gender discrimination which forces girls to enter into it. The tasks involved in domestic work are not suited for children and pose the risk of harm to the integral development of the child. There is a need for sensitization among policy-makers regarding this issue, as well as a need to promote overall sensitization and societal change.

³⁰During discussions at the National Workshop on ‘Child and Adolescent Workers: Issues Relating to Migration, Trafficking and Domestic Workers’, held on 19 April 2013.

collective avenues that represent the rights and needs of workers need to be formed, among other such measures³¹.

Other aspects such as better regulation of working hours, including extra pay for extra hours, and registration of employers who hire domestic workers should also be considered.

Apart from the guarantee of basic rights, the law also needs to protect adolescent workers from any form of mental, physical or sexual abuse, and from the denial of rights, as cited above. For this, both the State and non-State institutions such as the police, the social partners, civil society organizations and other such bodies like shelter and rescue homes must be approachable and reliable. This is because many workers may not have the support or the strength to approach these institutions even if they are facing the worst kinds of treatment. Ultimately, it is imperative to realize that none of these measures can be implemented without political will on the part of the State and generation of awareness among both workers as well as the employers.

4.2 Guarantee of education

There is a need to explore factors that influence the decision of the child to go to school or work and/or his/her family to send the child to school or to make him/her work, namely issues of access to education, social services and social protection³², the level of awareness as well as availability of decent work for adults (UCW, 2010, p. xvii). All these factors are interconnected and need to be integrated into policy.

According to the study findings, many adolescent girls drop out of school due to the pressure of household chores or other reasons beyond their control, and they often cannot or do not wish to return to school due to a long gap or lack of relevant documentation. In one case study, the school did not allow a girl to return because having studied earlier in a village, she could not produce relevant documents for the admission process. Thus, it may be useful to allow re-entry of drop-outs into school at any age, and to encourage admission with minimum documentation.

The proposal to universalize birth registration has been emerging strongly, which if successfully implemented, could go a long way towards making social protection accessible to all adolescent workers. Another important benefit of this measure is that it

³¹Although some steps in the direction of formalizing domestic work such as fixing minimum wages and including work in the formal schedules have been initiated by states like Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and domestic workers have been included in the 'Unorganized Workers Social Security Act, 2008', they continue to remain vulnerable (Mehrotra, 2010).

³²The fact that low attendance of children is recorded despite their being offered many advantages like low fees, and distribution of free books, points to problems of access and lack of awareness on the part of the children and their families.

would facilitate the accurate determination of the age of children, without which the prevention of child labour cannot be effective.

As mentioned earlier, adolescents involved in domestic work are often unable to make a transition to gainful and better paying employment. Thus, it is essential to design policies with regard to education, vocational training and skill development for adolescent domestic workers. Also, good openings in the labour market that allow education to get returns would increase the likelihood of greater investment in education. If the transition of school to work is positive, then education may be considered worthy of investment.

4.3 Increasing economic opportunities

There is need for expanding economic opportunities, in general, and providing scope for skill building among adolescents, in particular. Facilitating skill development for domestic workers under the National Skills Development Initiative, which could prove to be a policy milestone in this sector.

Setting a minimum wage for domestic work under the Minimum Wages Act as has been done by some states in India should be generalised.

Vocational training must also be imparted to adolescent workers along with work, as has been proposed in the Domestic Workers Bill (2011), as that would facilitate their transition from this work to better-paying occupations.

4.4 Social protection

The issue of social protection for adolescents still needs to be discussed at the national level, as the needs of adolescents are unique and appropriate intervention at this stage could help facilitate a smooth transition from adolescence to adulthood in terms of health, employment and general well-being.

Moreover, it is essential to extend to the families of adolescent workers all kinds of social protection, with particular emphasis on child-sensitive social protection to prevent them from dropping out of school and joining work.

Since social protection policies for children are multi-sectoral, coordination is needed among the various departments concerned such as those of Social Welfare, Labour, Education and others.

In terms of domestic work in India, the Domestic Workers Bill (2011) calls for the extension of social protection to domestic workers, particularly health insurance under the Rashtriya Swasthya Bima Yojna

Domestic workers are explicitly included in the Unorganised Workers (Social Security) Act, However, many other aspects like maternity care benefits, old age benefits,

and unemployment insurance, also need to be covered, as all of them lie within the purview of the State. Furthermore, the task force stresses the need to include domestic work in the central list of scheduled employments and accord it the recognition of a legitimate labour market activity. Although some states have been quite forthcoming in this regard, others have not done enough.

4.5 Awareness and advocacy

Ensuring communication and awareness generation through tools like social marketing, social mobilization, networking, lobbying, campaigning and advocacy (Mehta, 2008) are essential and this also emerged strongly in the findings of the present study. The Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011) proposes that a Code of Practice be drafted, which communicates to the employers the rights of the domestic workers. However, since the problem also stems from the involvement of multiple employers, it is imperative to determine whose duty it would be to implement this task.

Due to the private nature of this work, the prevalence of multiple arrangements of work and the vulnerability of the workers, the nature of the work, pay and conditions of work are unregulated. No monitoring body can easily enter the private realm of the home. Hence, involving residential welfare associations in the task of spreading awareness against child labour as well as acting like regulatory bodies could be a step in the right direction. Multiple stakeholders can be involved in spreading awareness both among the households that provide child labour and the households that demand it.

There is also a need to bring in changes in terminology and remove the dimensions of servility, inferiority, and many times, even criminality associated with domestic work, which is reflected in certain policies like domestic servant verification, and to work seriously towards protecting the dignity of domestic workers.

All these aspects are reflected in the 'Project on Converging against Child Labour: Support for India Model', which is a positive step, and its implementation would be the key in achieving the complete elimination of child labour, educating children and enabling adolescents to enhance their skills and access better-paying jobs. These have also been mentioned in the Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work (2011).

Sharing success stories from other countries with policy-makers, government departments and other stakeholders would also be an important move (ILO, 2004).

4.6 Strengthening institutions and the capacity to respond

Institutions that are meant to protect children such as the Child Welfare Committee and the Juvenile Justice Board need to be strengthened³³. In this context, it is important to work towards improving the process of keeping rescued children from child labour situations in domestic work in rescue homes for as long as needed, enhancing counselling mechanisms, restoring the children to their families or putting them under foster care or in adoption. Moreover, ensuring accountability in all these processes and constant monitoring of these children is also essential (Mehta, 2008).

More informal mechanisms for workers (even under-age workers) should be established to enable them to approach their life and work situations without fear.

There is also a need for strengthening the collective bargaining of workers by providing avenues and forums for discussions and addressing their grievances. The National Domestic Workers Movement is one such forum, besides other state based forums.

Adequate financial allocations should be provided for adolescents in the budget (ILO, 2004).

Police and other personnel must be sensitized and trained for handling cases of child abuse in a more humane manner.

Counselling mechanisms should be improved for dealing with children in need of care and protection and those in conflict with the law.

4.7 Improving coordination between Government and civil society

It is imperative to design and implement social policy for children through coordination between and cooperation of multiple parties, ranging from government departments like the Ministry of Women and Child Development, MoLE, Ministry of Social Welfare, the social partners and other civil society organizations, which work directly and indirectly on these issues as well as with the media.

The police department also needs to offer cooperation, particularly when rescue centres attempt to rescue children in child labour situations in domestic work or other workers being subjected to abuse.

³³An enhanced Juvenile Justice Act, 2006 was enacted to amend and replace the earlier Act of 2000 with a child-friendly approach, focusing on the best interests and protection of the rights of the child, particularly in the case of children in conflict with the law.

4.8 Knowledge generation for future research

Despite an increase in the number of domestic workers, little comprehensive data is available on the volume of domestic workers, the nature of their work, the number of hours of work they put in, the gender and age composition of the workforce, and the persistent demand for such work. Furthermore, the conduct of research of this kind entails numerous difficulties and challenges. The first and most difficult step would be to identify and access the target respondents, that is, the workers, their families and employers, in view of the nature of work and the illegality associated with child workers, resulting in reluctance to admit to the incidence of child labour in domestic work or the complete denial of it. The research team for this study depended heavily on a network of friends, acquaintances and resource persons to identify the target respondents. However, obtaining information from employers was very difficult as they were reluctant to divulge information. Moreover, interviewing a domestic worker at the employer's house was also difficult as the worker felt conscious about answering questions related to the work and the employer due to the employer's presence in the house. In one case, the employer was answering questions on behalf of the worker, and even said, "Why are you asking her, she doesn't know anything, ask me, I will tell you what she does and what she earns." Such responses reveal the nature of the employer-worker relationship and proved to be a hindrance. As per the ILO (2005), there is a need to generate specific data on this workforce along with the households that employ them in order to better analyse the demand side.

While accessing households employing the services of CADWs was difficult, accessing households that supply them was relatively easier. The support of NGOs and resource persons like *anganwadi sewikas* was helpful. The CADWs were responsive in most cases, but their family members were almost always present, causing the respondent to be reluctant in giving forthright answers.

Apart from access, other issues of accuracy also emerged such as determination of the age, exact nature of work and tasks, the number of hours worked and wages. The manner in which the questions were posed proved to be important here in terms of getting the respondents to answer as accurately as possible. Qualitative research and revisits, proved to be helpful in this regard, and were most useful for capturing information on discrimination and abuse, as the respondent felt more comfortable. It also proved to be helpful as workers were busy and often only managed to answer part of the questions, a problem which revisits helped solve.

5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Entry of children and adolescents into the workforce and the persistence of child labour in domestic work, as witnessed in the course of the study, is one of the most detrimental dimensions of the Indian labour market. The motivation for the use of such labour forms stems from a number of factors including the availability of cheap labour supply, the fact that employers perceive that they can exercise more control over children than adults, as also the social tolerance of this phenomenon.

This study reveals that child labour continues to be hired for domestic work even though it is prohibited by national laws like the CLPRA and other international laws. The main reason for the continuation of child workers as domestic workers even after they become adolescents is that it presents one option for the CADWs to earn, but virtually without any benefits and at wages which are so low that the work becomes exploitative in nature. Moreover these earnings do not facilitate either the development of the girls' capabilities or their movement from domestic work to other, better avenues of livelihood.

The basic problems faced by domestic workers stem from the fact that this work is not viewed as other employment, due to its nature, irregular work timings, personalized service contract agreements, and other such conditions of employment. In view of the prevalence of informal mechanisms under which domestic workers are employed, and the fact that our laws are not applicable to such unwritten work contracts, the employees remain highly vulnerable and prone to discrimination. The payment of wages to the child and adolescent workers also are often not commensurate with the number of hours worked and the tasks undertaken by them. In addition, these workers are exposed to various health and safety hazards in their work situations due to the lack of awareness on the part of the worker and the employer and the resultant failure to provide safety gear and adopt other safety measures. The employers also deal with mishaps without exhibiting any sensitive understanding of the workers' needs or lending support to them in situations where they face repeated verbal or physical abuse.

It is also important to assess the socio-economic and cultural context in which child labour exists, even thrives. Different notions of children and childhood operate in different countries, especially among the poor in nations of South Asia, where children are often viewed more as contributors to household income and a form of economic support to their families instead of being seen as those who, in fact, themselves need social protection and care (Crawford, 2001). This, in many cases, leads to children being forced to take up work,

even dangerous work, which exposes them to exploitation, abuse and health risks, and the denial of the right to education and other rights,³⁴ all of which are bound to have long-term detrimental effects on their lives.

The long-term impacts of child labour on various aspects of a child's life, ranging from healthcare, nutrition and future employment prospects thus need to be considered while designing social policies. In this context, the policies designed for preventing child labour need to have a multi-sectoral approach encompassing various aspects of human development. Child social protection policies also need to adopt a long-term approach extending from childhood to adolescence to adulthood. Although the Domestic Workers Bill contains many provisions, the concerns of adolescents have not been separately articulated in it. While all these factors must be considered with regard to preventing child labour in domestic work and protecting young domestic workers, of legal working age, from abusive working conditions, simultaneously, efforts must also be made to ensure that education and skill development are imparted to adolescent workers, especially those undertaking domestic work, in order to ensure upward mobility and better options for them in terms of both wages and work opportunities.

The rights of the child have been placed at the centre of international and national policy-making, because unless they are upheld, it would not be possible to attain other development goals pertaining to education, healthcare and poverty reduction. More importantly, child labour comes into direct conflict with the rights of the child, which are upheld by all national and international laws and conventions, and which are held to be valuable and sacrosanct by the international and national policy-making communities. According to the care model³⁵ for children and adolescents in domestic work proposed by ILO (2005, p. 26), the direction of any law or policy must be along the path of ensuring the protection of children's human rights, which entail the best interests of the child, cooperation from the State and other institutions, and protection of children from violation.

Adolescence constitutes a very crucial stage of a person's physical and mental development, and it is thus imperative to convey information regarding the impacts of work to both the workers and the employers. Efforts need to be made to make employers aware of the rights of the workers as well as of the basic steps and precautions that need to be taken to ensure the physical and mental health of the child (ILO2007).

There is need for an assumption of joint responsibility towards children's needs by the families, parents, the State, the social partners and the civil society at large. Efforts

³⁴Education for all is a challenge, particularly in the developing countries, because the right to education often clashes with the need to work (Kabeer, et al., 2006).

³⁵ILO's Care Model aims to facilitate the prevention of children under the minimum age to enter domestic work, to withdraw those that are below the minimum age and may be involved in the worst form of labour, to extend the protection of rights and from any form of abuse to children above the minimum age who are involved in this work, and to strengthen the institutional capacity of the State, community and family to support and protect these children.

needed at the international and national levels to eliminate the practice of child labour in domestic work constitute the basis for studies such as this one, which aim to generate knowledge and improve our understanding of this phenomenon.

REFERENCES

- Basu-Mallik. (2006). "A Study Report on Knowledge Attitude Practice on Child Domestic Work with ICDS functionaries", in NIPCCD, 2010 *Research Abstracts on Child Labour and Women Labour (1998-2009)*(New Delhi, Documentation Centre for Women and Children, NIPCCD).
- Bhan, G. and A. Jana. (2013). "Of Slums and Poverty: Notes of Caution from Census 2011", in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 18, May, pp. 13-18.
- Bhattacharya, S. (n.d.). "Socio-economic Study for Domestic Workers in Ahmedabad".
- Crawford, P. (2001). "Social Protection in Asia and the Pacific" (Asian Development Bank).
- Drishti Stree Adhyayan Prabodhan Kendra. (2006). "A Report on a Study of Migrant Girl Domestic Workers from Tribal Areas of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa", in NIPCCD. 2010. *Research Abstracts on Child Labour and Women Labour (1998-2009)*, (New Delhi Documentation Centre for Women and Children, NIPCCD).
- Human Rights Watch (HRW) (n.d.). "Decent Work for Domestic Workers: The Case for Global Labor Standards, Human Rights Abuses, Best practices, and Recommendations for an ILO Convention", Available online at http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/HRW_ILO_brochure_lores.pdf.
- ILO-IPEC. (2004). *Helping Hands or Shackled Lives: Understanding Child Domestic Labour and Responses to it* (Geneva, ILO).
- . (2005). "Guidelines for the Construction of a Holistic Care Model for Children and Adolescents in Domestic Labour", (San José, Costa Rica, ILO). Available online at <http://white.oit.org.pe/ipec/documentos/publication.pdf>.
- . (2007). "Hazardous Child Domestic Work: A Briefing Sheet", (Geneva, ILO) Available online at <http://www.ilo.org/ipecinfo/product/viewProduct.do?productId=4044b>.
- . (2008). "Child Labour Statistics", Report III, 18th International Conference of Labour Statisticians, ILO, Geneva, 24 November-4 December.

- . (2011). "ILO Convention No. 189 and Recommendation No. 201 concerning decent work for domestic workers, 2011" Available online at http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_protect/---protrav/---travail/documents/publication/wcms_168266.pdf.
- Institute of Social Studies Trust. (2009). "Urban Poor Livelihoods: Domestic Workers in Delhi", Draft version (New Delhi, Sir Dorabji Tata Trust).
- Kabeer, L.; Nambissan, G.; Subramaniam, R. (2003). *Child Labour and the Right to Education in South Asia* (New Delhi, Sage Publications).
- Mehrotra, S.T. (2010). "Conditions, Rights and Responsibilities: A Study of Part-time Domestic Workers in Delhi" in "A Report on Domestic Workers", (New Delhi, Jagori).
- Mehta, N. (2008). "Child Protection and Juvenile Justice System for Children in Need of Care and Protection", (Mumbai, CHILDLINE India Foundation) Available online at <http://www.childlineindia.org.in/pdf/CP-JJ-CNCP.pdf>.
- Ministry of Housing and Urban Poverty Alleviation. (2011). "Report of the Committee on the Slum Statistics: Census 2011", (New Delhi, Government of India). Available online at http://mhupa.gov.in/W_new/Slum_Report_NBO.pdf.
- Ministry of Labour and Employment. (2011). "Task Force for National Policy on Domestic Work", (New Delhi, Government of India) Available online at http://www.indg.in/social-sector/unorganised-labour/national_policy_on_domestic_work_2011.pdf.
- Ministry of Women and Child Development. "Child Protection in the Eleventh Five Year Plan (2007-2012)", Sub-group report. (New Delhi, Government of India).
- Moser, C. and C. McIlwaine. (1999). "Participatory Urban Appraisal and its Application for Research on Violence" in *Environment and Urbanization* Vol.11 No.2, pp 203-26.
- Moser, C. (2012). "Understanding the Tipping Point of Urban Conflict: Participatory Methodology for Gender-based and Political Violence," in *Violence, Cities and Poverty Reduction in the Developing World*, Working Paper No. 2. Available online at: http://www.urbantippingpoint.org/documents/Working%20Papers/WP2_March2012.pdf.
- National Commission for Protection of Child Rights, (NCPCR). (2010). "Action Plan for Abolition of Child Labour in Delhi" (New Delhi Government of India).
- . "Convention on the Rights of the Child with Operational Protocols", Available online at http://www.ncPCR.gov.in/Acts/Optional_Protocol_to_Convention_on_Rights_of_Child_on_Sale_of_Children_Child_Prostitution_Child_Pornography.pdf

- .(n.d.) “Abolition of Child Labour in India, Strategies for the Eleventh Five Year Plan”, Report submitted to the Planning Commission, India, Available online at http://www.ncpcr.gov.in/Reports/Abolition_of_Child_Labour_in_India_Strategies_for_11th_5_Year_Plan_Submitted_to_Planning_Commission.pdf.
- Neetha, N. (2004). “Making of Female Breadwinners. Migration and Social Networking of Women Domestic in Delhi”, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, 24 April, pp. 1681-88.
- .(2008). “Regulating Domestic Work” in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 43, No. 37, 13 September, pp. 26-28.
- Pandey, D. (2011a). “Domestic Help Agency Owner Held”, in *The Hindu*, 12 October, Available online at: <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers/>.
- .(2011b). “Many Owners of Domestic Help Placement Agencies Trafficking, Raping Women”, in *The Hindu*, 5 July, 2011 Available online at: <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers>.
- Pathak, S. (2012). “Girls Fall in Placement Agencies Trap”, in *Deccan Herald*, 11 February, Available online at <http://www.deccanherald.com/content/226513/girls-fall-placement-agency-traps.html>.
- Raghuram, S; Jain, P. (2008). “The Abolition of Child Labour, Social Exclusion and the Girl Child” (New Delhi, NCPCR).
- Ramirez-Machado, J. (2003). “Domestic Work, Conditions of Work and Employment: A Legal Perspective” in *Condition of Work and Employment Series No. 7* (Geneva, ILO).
- Rani, D. L.; Roy, M. N. (2005). “Child domestic work: A Violation of Human Rights: Issues, Causes and Consequences in West Bengal”, in *Research Abstracts on Child Labour and Women Labour (1998-2009)* (New Delhi, Documentation Centre for Women and Children, NIPCCD).
- Saith, A.; R. Wazir. (2010). “From Poverty to Well-being: Alternative Approaches to the Recognition of Child Deprivation in India”, in *Children of India: Rights and Opportunities*, Working Paper No. 1, IHD–UNICEF Working Paper Series (New Delhi, UNICEF and IHD).
- Save the Children. (2009). “Small Hands, Big Work-No More at Your Home”. Available online at: <http://resourcecentre.savethechildren.se/library/small-hands-big-work-no-more-your-home>.

- Shakti Vahini*. (2011a). "Complaints of Growing Abuse by Placement Agencies in Delhi", 3 July, Available online at <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers/>.
- . (2011b). "Special Force to Combat Trafficking", 17 September, Available online at: <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers/>.
- . (2012c). "Meeting of Newly Constituted 'Central Advisory Board' on Child Labour", Held on 20 January, Available online at: <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers/2>.
- . (2012d). "Sending Child Workers Back Home to Their States Is Not Enough", 12 February, Available online at <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers/>.
- . (2012e). "Placement Agencies—Organized Trafficking Rackets", 21 April, Available online at: <http://traffickingnews.wordpress.com/category/domestic-workers/>.
- Silva-de-Alwis, R. (2007). "Legislative Reform on Child Domestic Labour: A Gender Analysis" *Working Paper* (New York, UNICEF).
- Understanding Children's Work (UCW). (2010). "Joining Forces against Child Labour" in *Inter-agency Report for the Hague Global Child Labour Conference of 2010* (Geneva, ILO).
- . (2012). *Children's Employment in the South Asia Region: A Review of Descriptive Evidence from National Household Surveys*. (Rome, ILO).

ANNEXES

Annex I. Selected case studies

1. Jaya, Live-in worker, Ashram, Siddharth Nagar Colony, Delhi

The IHD team met 17-year old Jaya through Ark Foundation at Ashram in Delhi. She had enrolled in a beauty parlour course which was being run at its Gender Resource Centre. She is a live-in worker and is allowed by her employer to visit the centre for a few hours in the afternoon. Her family belongs to a small village in Uttar Pradesh. Her mother works as a cleaner at Vimhans Hospital, while her father is a vegetable vendor who has lost one of his arms. She has four siblings.

Jaya came to Delhi four years back but her parents and other siblings have been in Delhi for the last 15 years. She used to live with her grandparents in the village. When asked why she does not go to school like her siblings, she mentioned that she could not get admission in any government school in Delhi as she did not have the required documentation. Jaya was, however, keen on pursuing her education and did very well in her studies in the village. In fact, her head teacher had told her that she had a bright future if she continued her studies. However, she was unable to do so due to financial compulsions and her father's disability.

She works in Nehru Nagar and her tasks include sweeping, swabbing, washing utensils and cooking. She mentioned that she gets up early in the morning to pack lunch for the employer's family, and that her employer helps her occasionally with her chores. She is also given access to the same toilet facility as that used by the other family members. However, she has no proper sleeping place and has to sleep in the drawing room. She is allowed to visit her home every day in the afternoon as it is very close to both her employer's house as well as the centre where her vocational training classes are held. She got this job through a family relative. Her monthly income is INR 2500. On probing further, we came to know that she feels sad when her employer buys new clothes for her own daughter but not for Jaya though she is treated well by her employer.

The research team visited Ark Foundation again after a week to build on the interview as Jaya could not spare much time when the interview was held. By this time, she reported that she had left her Nehru Nagar job. The reason she gave was that she was given an old bed sheet as a gift on Diwali, which she and her mother refused to accept. Although

the employers usually give a new one on Diwali, this time they did not do so. She also claimed that occasionally, she was subjected to verbal abuse by her employer and that her employer sometimes tried to stop her from going out in the afternoon to meet her parents or for her vocational training. *“Unko lagta hai main vapis kaam karne nahia aoongi.”* (They fear that I will not come back to work). As a young girl, she aspires to become a beautician and eventually open her own beauty parlour.

2. Chandini and Kamini, Part-time workers, Jhuggi Jhopri (JJ) Colony, Jagdamba Camp, Khirki, Delhi

The research team met two sisters, Chandini (aged 17 years) and Kamini (aged 16 years) at the JJ Colony at Jagdamba Camp. Both of them were studying in Sarvodaya Kendra Vidyalaya while also working as part-time domestic workers along with their mother on weekends. Their mother is a widow and the sole regular earning member in the family. Both sisters have been working for their current employer for the last four years. They are involved in sweeping, swabbing and dusting.

Chandni contended that her employer encouraged her to study. They reported getting food like cake and bread as well as clothes and medicines when they fall ill. However, they do not have access to a toilet facility in their employer’s house and are told to go to the terrace when required. They also revealed that they were given separate utensils to eat in. Kamini reported lifting heavy suitcases and tables whenever she was asked to do so.

They visit their village once every two years. Their mother gets their salaries and sometimes they get extra money from their employer for buying chips and other food items. The employer occasionally gets extra work done by both the girls like cleaning of the kitchen, preparation of tea and filling of water. Kamini said, “My employer is very nice but sometimes if my mother breaks something by mistake, then she scolds her [my mother] and warns that she would deduct money from her salary, but she has not done so yet.”

Both Kamini and Chandini said that children should not be made to work and should have the option of working only after they get married at the age of 20-21 years. They also pointed out that the camp where they are staying is unsafe as there have been incidents of communal violence there in the past. The girls have taken up their jobs as they aspire to help their mother and eventually get good jobs which would ensure that their mother does not have to work to sustain the family. While Chandini aspires to be a doctor after she finishes her education, Kamini wants to become a teacher.

3. Bhavana, full-time worker, Ashram, Delhi

The research team met Bhavana through Ark Foundation in Siddharth Nagar, Ashram. She was initially very shy and not willing to talk to anyone. But gradually the team made her comfortable by talking to other children present in the class. They came to know from her class-teacher that she is a part-time worker. Her family belongs to a village in

Badaun district, Uttar Pradesh. She has three younger brothers and two sisters. After her father passed away a few years back, her widowed mother has been staying with her, and she, along with her mother and elder sister, run the household with their joint earnings. She said she works as a domestic help only in one house, where she does the cleaning, washing of utensils, and making chapattis for the employer's dog. On further probing about her working hours, she revealed that she goes to work every day at 8 am, comes home in the afternoon, then goes again in the evening and returns only at 9:30 pm.

The reason she gave for working as a domestic worker was that her mother and her elder sister are the only other earning members in the house, and their incomes are not sufficient to sustain the household. Therefore, she had to leave regular school and start working. On being questioned about the facilities she has access to in the house where she works, she replied that she gets a toilet facility, and food to eat, particularly tea and lunch. She also said that she gets leave whenever she asks for it, and comes every afternoon to study at the Ark Foundation. She also gets gifts on Diwali every year. On further investigation, she admitted that she was scared to come home alone as late as 9:30 at night from her work as no one accompanies her home.

She earns INR 600 per month, which is collected by her mother. When asked what her employer does when she is not feeling well, she said that she gets leave and if needed, medicines too. She also aspires to continue her education which was interrupted due to her father's death when the entire burden of running the house fell on her, her sister and her mother. On being asked whether children of her age should be working, she replied, "The Government says that *chotebacche* (little children) should not work, but *bare bacche* (big children) can work. Big people like you (investigator)". According to her perception, she said that she does not like the village as the girls there are made to marry at a very young age (12-13 years). When we asked what she would want the government to do to improve her family's economic condition, she told us that her mother did not get any widow's pension from the Delhi government. If she did, that would be a big relief to her and her elder sister. She also said that she wants to become a teacher when she grows up.

On asking about where she got this job, she told us that her grandmother used to work in the same house, but when she hurt her leg, her mother started working and then later on, she herself started working here. When we asked her about her employers' behaviour with her, she replied, "They are very nice as they let me use the same toilet which they use and they never let me sit on the floor". She also said that they encouraged her to study and never scolded her for breaking something, and would instead ask her whether she got hurt.

We interviewed Bhavana's mother too. She told us, "*Halka kaam karvate hain, bhari kaam nahin karti.*" (They make her do only light work, she does not do heavy work.) She said that they are very poor, that her husband has died, and also that the rent of this room is very high. She said that she does not get a widow's pension because the last rites of her husband were done in the village and she did not have the documentation (death

certificate). She also said that if she were to get the pension, then she would be much better-off and her children would not have to work. She felt that her daughter, Bhavana, would learn from this work and would be prepared for her marital life and that she would not have to hear from her daughter's in-laws that she could not cook well or that her mother had not taught her anything. Citing her own case, she said that when she was young, she used to overcook the rice and her mother in-law would get upset and subject her to *tanis* (taunts). She did not want Bhavana to undergo all this.

She also told us that she has bought a TV especially for her children so that they don't go to other people's houses to watch TV. She said that she has told Bhavana's employer to treat her daughter kindly. "It's better that they make her work more, but with kindness, and they trust my daughter, so they treat her well". When we asked her about whether she knows the legal age for children to start working, she said that she did not, in fact she said that her elder daughter wants to work so that the other family members don't need to work. She expressed the hope that her sons would get good jobs in future, earn good money and take care of her later on in her life.

4. Suneeta, full-time worker, JJ Colony, Panchsheel Vihar, Delhi

We met Suneeta who is 15 years old in JJ Colony in Panchsheel Vihar. She is a full-time domestic worker in the nearby residential colony. When we asked her for how long she had been working, she replied that she started working at the age of nine. We also came to know that she had never gone to school. Her family is from a village near Kolkata, West Bengal. Her mother is also a part-time domestic worker and her father is a construction labourer. She has two sisters and one brother. Her eldest sister is married and stays next door. When we asked Suneeta about the kind of work she does in her employer's house, she told us that she does babysitting for two children aged 11 and seven years, respectively. She also does dusting and making of beds. The total number of hours she works in a day is nine to ten. The reason she gave for working as a domestic worker was that she has to support her family financially and even if she wants to leave this work, her parents will not let her do so. On being asked about the facilities she gets from her employer, she answered, "I get a toilet facility and medicines, if I am not well. They do not give me food, I go home to eat. They give me *chai* (tea) and *nashta* (snacks) also". On further probing about the facilities she gets, we came to know that she only got snacks and tea but no proper meals, not even when guests visit her employer's house. Also, when we asked whether she is made to work when she is not well, she replied that though she is given medicines she is still made to work, regardless of how she is feeling. However, during her periods, she is given an early day off and is given light work to do by her employer.

She is paid INR 5000 per month and she does not get anything extra on festivals. When we asked her whether she is satisfied with the amount of salary she draws, she replied, "My employer tells me that my work is very light and there is not much of work in the house". When we asked her about the number of days of leave she gets, she replied,

“She (employer) is never happy when I want to take leave but I take two days of leave in a month”.

According to her, children should not work but study and they should study till the age of 20 years at least. One thing she misses most is that her work leaves her with no time to meet her friends. She also reported suffering from severe body ache when there is extra work in the house, especially when the employer entertains guests. The one thing she likes is playing with her employer’s children. She prefers living in the village because there she can play with her friends and she does not need to work. The one change she wants to make in her workplace is that she wants to be treated equally like the family members and she wants to get meals, especially when guests come over in the house as there is a lot of extra work at that time. “There are separate utensils for me and my employer also shouts at me when she is in a bad mood.” She also told us that she does not let her speak to the other domestic worker who works in the same house.

On being asked how she got this work, she told us that her employer randomly called her, presuming that she works somewhere when she was walking on the street. Also the colony security guard mentioned that the employer had been desperately looking for a domestic worker.

5. Maya, Part-time worker, JJ Colony, Panchsheel Vihar, Delhi

Twenty-four year old Maya, was interviewed because she had been a former adolescent domestic part-time worker. She is now a mother of two children. Her seven-year old daughter goes to a nearby school. Her husband is a rag-picker by profession. She has been working as a domestic worker since she was 12 years old. She came to Delhi from a village near Kanpur in Uttar Pradesh. She has four siblings, including one older sister and two brothers. One of her sisters is married and lives in Noida.

Maya studied in her village school for a while. Her brother, who studied till Class 8, now works in a company. Maya presently works in three houses as a domestic worker. When we asked her about the kind of work she does in her employers’ houses, she told us that she does cleaning and washing of utensils in all the three houses. It takes her more than one hour in each. When we asked her what compelled her to work as a domestic worker, she said, “*Mujhe bade ghar me cheezien kaise saji hoti thi, dekhna accha lagta tha.*” (I wanted to see how rich people live and how they keep their things in big houses). She said that she used to accompany her mother for work as a former adolescent domestic worker and used to like working at the time. “But now it has become a chore”, she complained.

She said that she knew one of her present employers for the last 18 years, as her mother-in-law too used to work in the same house and now she works for them. According to her, her employers’ behaviour is very good towards her, and they treat her well. They give her money on time, and whenever there is an emergency. When asked whether she is allowed to take leave from work, she said that they give her leave if she tells them in

advance that she needs it. She also said she takes a couple of days leave in four or five months, for which her employer does not deduct her salary. She complained that sometimes, she has to do extra work like taking care of children, making their breakfast, and when guests come over she has to wash extra dishes.

According to her work should not be done by children at least till the age of 13: *“Bachpan kharab ho jaata hai, parai likhai band ho jaati hai, baccha dab jaata hai”* (They ruin their childhood, stop studying and become submissive). She said that the older siblings are forced to take care of their younger siblings and have, therefore, to leave their education. According to her, domestic work is good as a profession if the employers treat the workers well but for some women it is bad, as their employers exploit them, especially girls who come from Orissa.

According to Maya, the government does not create job opportunities in villages which is why girls like her have to leave their village and come to city. She prefers to live in the village, as one can live the way they want there, unlike in the city where they have to live according to the instructions of their landlords or employers. When we asked her about the changes that the government should make for their betterment, she replied that the government should provide employment in the villages so that they can stop migrating and stay with their families. She complained that she does not like the colony where she lives because people squabble a lot and it's bad for the children. She foresees her children studying so that they can get a good job in future and are able to live better.

6. Guddi, full-time worker, Lohar Mohalla, Ranchi, Jharkhand

“Baba daaru peetey hain aur maa ko martey hain” (My father drinks alcohol and beats my mother), said Guddi, a 14-year old girl, working as a full-time domestic worker in a nearby household and earning a monthly income of INR 600 only. Guddi is a tribal girl and has been working since two years as a domestic worker. Guddi lives in Lohar Mohalla, Hatia in Ranchi, Jharkhand, with her parents, along with her five sisters and one brother. This little girl is the eldest among all her siblings, aged 12, 10, 8, 6 and 3 years. Little Guddi has lost her childhood due to the deplorable plight of her family in which the father spends all his income on buying drinks and all his energy on thrashing her mother after that. Her father is a mason by profession and earns INR 300 per day only if he is not drunk and goes to work. Guddi's mother works as a casual labourer at nearby construction sites, carrying her youngest daughter along with her to the workplace.

Just like other children, Guddi also loves playing with her friends and having fun with them. Her best friend's name is Savita, who also works as a part-time domestic worker in the same apartment where Guddi works. But unlike her best friend, Guddi could not go to school because she was a full-time worker though she earns the same amount as Savita. Guddi wanted to go to school with her friend but couldn't. She would, of course, take food home from her employer's place but instead of carrying it home, she prefers eating it in her friend's home saying, *“Khana ghar le jate hain toh khana luta jata hai”* (The food will get

snatched if I take it home). There are her hungry, younger siblings at home who would snatch and gobble up all her food. She told us that the employer gives her two stale *chapattis* with tea in the early morning, and then after few a hours, three *chapattis* and curry. She likes the *achar* (pickle) that she gets along with rice and pulses for lunch.

Besides sweeping, mopping and washing utensils, Guddi has to do dusting as well as helping the employer with cooking. Guddi, like other children, is fond of watching television in her employers' home. She often does this after finishing her work but then the mistress is clever enough and gives her whatever work can be done while sitting and watching TV like cutting the vegetables, folding clothes, etc.

When asked why she left her last employer, the girl kept quiet for a while with her eyes lowered. Then with a heavy heart, she spoke up. *"Das uncle mujhe idhar udhar chhootey the. Jab Aunty ghar pe nahi rehti thi to mujhe jabardasti pakartey the. Main jaha pochha lagati wahin saamne aa jate aur mujhe dekhtey. Is liye maine wahan pe kaam karna chhor diya"*. (Das uncle used to touch me here and there. When Aunty was not at home, he would hold me by force. Whenever I was mopping, he would come and stand right in front and keep looking at me). Guddi was not happy working in the current household either. She had not gone there for the last two days. It was the 27 October 2012, and so Guddi had sent her younger sister to her employer's home to collect her salary for that month. Her younger sister said, *"Uski aunty boli panch din pehle bhi nahi aayi hai, aur do din se aabhi nahi aa rahi. Apni behen ko bolna khud le jane apna paisa. Aunty boli ki ab toh vo pura paisa bhi nahi degi kyunki didi kaam chhorne wali hai"*. (Aunty refused to give the money because Guddi had not gone to work five days ago and again for the last two days. She said that Guddi should come and take the money herself and that she would not pay her full salary because she was going to leave the job.) When we asked Guddi, she said *"Aunty roz mujhe dhamki deti thi ki koi aur ko rakh lenge tumhare jagah, toh main bhi jawab deti thi ki rakh lijiye hum doosra ghar khoj lenge"*. (Aunty threatens me that she would keep another worker in place of me. So I also reply saying that I will look for a new employer for myself)

In the end Guddi said, *"Hum yahan ab kaam nahi karenge aur ab se school jaenge jaise Sarita jati hai kaam ke baad"*. (I will not work here anymore. I will work somewhere else and go to school after work just like my friend, Savita does).

7. Pooja, part-time worker, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Fifteen-year old Pooja is a part-time domestic worker in Ranchi. Her father is a mason by profession and earns INR 300 per day as daily wages, but he is an alcoholic and spends all his salary on buying drinks. She also mentioned that her mother ran away with some other man a few years back. She is an example of a domestic worker who is both studying and working as a part-time domestic worker. She is studying in Class VI. She has a younger sister and brother. The reason she gave for working as a domestic worker is that she has to bear her household expenses as her father does not contribute at all for them.

The work she does in her employers' house entails cleaning the floor. She gets INR 600 per month as salary along with food both in the mornings and evenings. She also mentioned that she gets meat and fish when the family cooks these for themselves and that she is very happy about this. When we asked her whether she is given any other facilities apart from her salary, she said she was given medicine when she was unwell. She is also given new clothes and INR 50 during the Durga Puja festival.

She gets leave only when her employers are out of station during their children's vacation but sometimes she takes leave when she is not well or when she has to visit her relatives.

According to her opinion, girls should not work before the age of 15 years. She also complained that sometimes she does not feel like going to work, but she has to for otherwise her employers would scold her if she took an off. She would not want her younger sister to do the same work as her. She wants her to study and get a job when she grows up. She wants to work hard and make her siblings study but would not allow them to work like her. Pooja said that she got the job when the girls working in the same apartment informed her about the requirement for a domestic worker in her current employer's house. When we asked about how her employers treat her, she replied that they treat her well and talk to her in a decent manner. But she also said, "Yes, Auntie sometimes scolds me when I don't do the work properly specially during my hard days (menstruation)".

8. Savita, Part-time Worker, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Fifteen-year old Savita is working in one house in Ranchi as a domestic worker. She is also an example of someone who is both studying in a government school and working as domestic worker. She works from 6 to 6:30 in the morning and from 4:30 to 5:30 in the evening. She learnt about the job through her sister, who works for the same employer.

She has two younger siblings, a sister aged 14 years, and a brother aged 10 years. Her father left home and married another woman long ago. She and her sister has to work since the father does not contribute towards household expenses. Besides, her mother, who works as a casual labourer, does not earn enough to support the family.

She gets INR 600 per month as a salary and three to four days of leave per month. If she does not inform her employers in advance about taking leave, she gets a scolding from them. She complained that she does not like mopping and often gets tired doing it. She also mentioned that she has learnt to use various household gadgets like a microwave and washing machine.

When we asked her about the facilities given to her by her employers, she told us that she is not allowed to use her employers' toilet, but she gets breakfast and lunch at their house. She is given the same food that her employer's family eats. They also give her fish

and meat to eat whenever they cook these for themselves. She mentioned that there are no separate utensils for her. She also gets medicines when she is not well.

As far as her mobility is concerned, she comes back on her own and goes to school in the morning and then goes to work again after school. According to her, only children aged 15 years and above should work. She aspires to become a nurse when she grows up and said that she is studying hard for that.

9. Radha, live-in worker, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Radha, who is 16 years old, is working in one house as a live-in domestic worker. She came to Ranchi from Simaliya (outskirts of Ranchi) when she was nine years old. She has been working for the past seven years in the same house. She has one brother and one sister. After her father left and married another woman, her mother became insane and ran away never to return. Her grandmother brought her up. According to her, she got the job when her grandmother was begging for work in Ranchi and somehow reached her current employer's home. The latter then requested her to bring them a small girl as a domestic worker.

She gets up at 5:30 in the morning and works till 11 pm at night. In between, she gets a few hours of rest in the afternoon. Her daily tasks include cleaning, sweeping, dusting, washing utensils, etc. She also takes her employer's son to the nearby park every day. Her employers deposit INR 1000 every month in the bank and give her grandmother INR 2000-5000 during festival time whenever she visits her. Her employer puts no restrictions on her visits to her family in the village.

She says that she loves her work and never wants to leave it as her employers are very nice. Her grandmother often tells her that she would take her home for a week, but she refuses to go, as she thinks that she would never bring her back to her employer. She also reported that her employers are very good though they scold her sometimes.

10. Sakhi Khatoon, former live-in worker, Ranchi, Jharkhand

Sakhi Khatoon, aged 23 years, is a former live-in-worker and presently a part-time worker. When we asked her about her background, she told us that she is from Lohardagga and that she is now married. Her husband is a rickshaw puller by profession. She has been working as a domestic worker since the age of nine. She said that she got the job when her grandmother came to know about a family who required a domestic worker.

Her daily tasks initially included cleaning and sweeping of the house. Later on, she started cooking too. She had to work because her mother died when she was very young. Her father married again and her stepmother used to beat her and subject her to physical abuse. Gradually her father also started leaving her alone.

She gets leave to visit her family in the village and had also got leave for attending her sister's wedding. As an adolescent and child domestic worker, she used to be paid INR 300 every month, that was deposited by her employer in the bank. She also said that she learnt things like cooking in her employer's house, which later on helped her when she got married.

She said she prefers the city to the village as she finds it very difficult to use open toilets in the village. According to her, domestic work is better for girls as it guarantees safety for them. She also expressed the hope that she could run a hotel in future because what she has learnt in her employer's house has given her skills for that job. She also said that her employers were very good as they used to let her play with their daughter in her childhood and they treated her well.

Annex II. Interview schedules

A Study on Building Knowledge on Adolescent and Child Domestic Workers with a focus on Occupational Health and Safety Issues in selected households in Delhi, Bihar, and Jharkhand.

Household schedule

Questionnaire ID no.-

Basic Information and Household Details

1. Address/Number of Households:
2. Name of the State_____
3. Name of the District_____
4. Name of the Area_____
5. Type of Locality: Notified Slum—1, Non-notified Slum—2, Authorized Colony—3, Unauthorized Colony—4, Urban Village—5, Community Space/Shelterless/Public Spaces—6, Resettlement Colony—7 ☐
6. Name of the Respondent_____
7. Age of the Respondent
8. Sex of the Respondent (Male—1, Female—2) ☐
9. Caste of the Respondent (SC—1, ST—2, OBC³⁶—3, General—4, No Response—5, Others (Specify.....—6) ☐
10. Caste Name_____
11. Phone Number_____

Name of the Investigator_____ Signature_____

Date of the Survey_____

³⁶ Other Backward Classes.

Name of the Supervisor _____ Signature _____

Date of Scrutiny _____

Household profile

ID No	Name	Sex	Relation with the household head	Age (in completed years)	Marital Status	Whether attending school (5-18 year)	Educational Level	Occupation			Usual Residential Status	Monthly Income	Annual Income
								Work Status	Primary Work Description	Secondary Work Description			
	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m
1													
2													
3													
4													
5													
6													
7													
8													

- b: Male—1, Female—2
- c: Self—1, Spouse—2, Son—3, Daughter—4, Daughter-in-law—5, Son-in-law—6, Grandson—7, Grand-daughter—8, Father-in-law—9, Mother-in-law—10, Nephew—11, Niece—12, Sister-in-law—13, Brother-in-law—14, Father—15, Mother—16, Sister—17, Brother—18, Uncle—19, Aunt—20, Other Relatives—21, Servant—22, Employee—23, Others (Specify)—24
- e: Unmarried—1, Married—2, Widow/Widower—3, Divorced/Separated—4, Others—5
- f: Not Attending School—1, Going to School but Not Regular—2, Going to School Regularly—3

- g: Illiterate—0, Below the Primary Level or Informal Education—1, Class 2—2, Class 3—3, Class 4—4, Class 5—5, Class 6—6, Class 7—7, Class 8—8, Class 9—9, Class 10—10, Class 11—11, Class 12—12, Graduate or Vocational Course—13, Others—14
- h: Own Account Worker—Self-employed (Owner)—1, Employer—2, Casual Worker—3, Regular Waged Worker—4, Unpaid Family Labour—5, Domestic Worker—6, Student—7, Retired/Pensioner/Too Old—8, Rentier—9, Beggar—10, Unemployed (Seeking and Available)—11, Unable to Work due to Some Disability—12, Under 18 Years, Neither at School Nor at Work—13, Above 18 Years, Neither at School Nor at Work—14, Household Work—15
- k: Fully Resident—1, Daily Commuters—2, Migration up to 3 Months—3, Migration up to 3-8 Months—4, Migration More than 9 Months—5

2. Do you or any of your household members have any ID card?

No card—1, Voter ID Card—2, Pan Card—3, Driving Licence—4, AADHAAR—5, Ration Card—6, Birth Certificate—7, Educational Certificate—8, Others—9
(Specify)_____

3. Where have you come from (if migrated)? _____

3a. Total Household Income in a Month_____

3b. Total household Income in a Year_____

The following section pertains to the child or adolescent domestic worker. If he or she is not available, then the parent/guardian can respond on behalf of the child.

4	Type of CADW	Child ID....	Child ID....
4.1	Part-time—1, Full-time—2, Live-in—3, Accompanying parent or guardian—4, Others—5		
4.2	How long have they been working? 0-1 year-1;1-5 years-2; more than 5 years-3		
4.3	If the child is a part-time worker, then how many houses does he or she work in in a day?		
4.4	How many hours does the worker work in one house in a day?		
4.5	How many hours in the total number of houses does the worker work in a day?		

5.	Type of Work	Child ID....	Child ID....
5.1	Describe the kind of work the child does in the house (Refer to Annexure and describe further in detail).		
5.2	Does the child get wages in cash or kind? Cash-1, Kind-2		
5.3	If cash, how much in a month? (in Rupees)		
5.4	Is the payment made on time? Yes—1, No—2		
5.5	Does the child send back money? Yes—1, No—2		
5.6	How much (in Rupees)		
5.6 a	How much does he or she keep for themselves? (In Rupees)		
5.6 b	What does he or she spend on? Describe.		
5.6 c	During festivals or birthdays, does he or she get anything extra in terms of cash or kind? Describe.		
5.7	If kind, then what do they get? Food stuff—1, Bedding—2, Education—3, Others (Specify)—.....4		

6	Occupational, Health and Safety Concerns	Child ID....	Child ID...
6.1	How many hours does the child work in a day?		
6.2	How many days does the child work in a week?		
6.3	How many hours of sleep does the child get?		
6.4	How many days of leave in a year does the child get?		
6.5	Does the employer allow the child to go home during the festivals, or marriage ceremonies or to attend family functions, or funerals? Yes—1, No—2		

6	Occupational, Health and Safety Concerns	Child ID....	Child ID...
6.6	Does the child get any facilities at the workplace? Yes—1, No—2		
6.6a	If Yes, What facilities are there for the child to use (Applicable for all kinds of workers) Bathroom—1, Adequate and timely food—2, Comfortable place to sleep in—3, Others (Specify).....—4		
6.7	Does the child feel that he or she is learning anything from this work? Yes—1, No—2		
6.7a	If yes how? Is it enhancing skills—1, Will it help get a better-paying job in the future—2, Others (Specify).....—3		
6.8	Does the child consider his or her work safe? Yes—1, No—2		
6.8a	If No, why? Entails working with fire while cooking—1, Entails carrying heavy objects—2, Entails climbing heights—3, Entails working long hours without rest—4, Fear of injury—5, Any other (Specify)—6		
6.9	Does he or she get enough food to eat? Yes—1, No—2		
6.9 a	Is the food the same as what the other family members eat or is it different? Yes—1, No—2		
6.10	Is the child ever made to do anything that she or he feels is beyond her/his capacity? Yes—1, No—2		
6.10a	If yes, what kind? Carrying heavy things like water canisters or gas cylinders—1, Dealing with fire during cooking—2, Standing for long hours—3, Being made to work for long hours—4, Working till late at night—5, Others (Specify).....—6		
6.11	If the child is ever sick, does the employer provide care in terms of: Medicines—1, Hospital fees—2, Rest—3, Leave—4, Others (Specify).....—5		
6.11 a	If the respondent is an adolescent girl, then does she get the appropriate sanitary equipment she needs? Yes—1, No—2		
6.11 b	Does she get some time off or lighter work during that time of the month? Yes—1, No—2		
6.12	Does the child feel that the work he or she does is affecting his or her health? Yes—1, No—2		
6.12a	If yes, how? Pain in the limbs—1, Headache—2, Loss of weight—3, Loss of appetite—4, Difficulty in breathing—5, Skin infections—6, Others (Specify).....—7		
6.13	What is the status of the child's health after he or she began work?		

6	Occupational, Health and Safety Concerns	Child ID....	Child ID...
	Now more healthy and agile—1, Same as earlier—2, Having some health issues that were not there earlier—3, Very bad—4, No response—5)		
6.14	Has he/she felt or does he/she know of someone who has been discriminated against in any way at the workplace? Yes—1, No—2, Don't know—3		
6.14a	If yes, then how? In terms of being given inadequate food—1, In case of live-in worker, an uncomfortable place to sleep in—2, Separate utilities like plates, glasses—3, Separate bathroom, or asked to go outside—4, Not allowed to go out to play or study—5, Not allowed to rest—6, Any other (Specify).....—7		
6.15	Do they feel exploited in any way? Yes—1, No—2		
6.15a	If yes, then how? Physically (beating, pushing, slapping)—1, Verbally (screaming, abusing, scolding)—2, Sexually—3		
6.16	How does the child react? Describe.		
6.17	Are they ever punished? Or do they know of cases where child workers have been punished? Yes—1, No—2		
6.17a	If yes, how? Being denied food—1, Being denied the freedom to go out—2, Being denied the freedom to go to school or study—3, Beaten—4, Scolded—5, Any other (Specify).....—6		
6.18	What do you think are the impacts of these on a child's life? Describe.		
6.19	Does the child approach anyone, if in trouble? Parents/guardian—1, Employer—2, NGO—3, Friends/Relatives—4, Others (Specify).....—5, No—6		
6.20	Does the respondent smoke or drink? Or indulge in any other intoxicants? Describe.		

7.	Motives/Reasons/Compulsions for Taking up Work	Child ID....	Child ID....
7.1	Who took the decision to send the child to work? Father—1, Mother—2, Uncle—3, Aunt—4, Child himself or herself—5, Others (Specify).....—6		
7.2	Any compulsions? Yes—1, No—2		
7.2a	If yes, what was the reason? Purchase/ maintenance of land/house—1, Marriages/social ceremonies—2, Education—3, Education of siblings—4, Healthcare of family member—5, Repayment of old debts—6, Purchase of consumer durables—7, Desire to be financially independent—8, Others (Specify.....)—9		

7.	Motives/Reasons/Compulsions for Taking up Work	Child ID....	Child ID....
7.3	Does he or she think that there are any benefits of this work? Yes—1, No—2		
7.3a	If yes, then what? Better future prospects for work—1, Better future prospects for marriage—2, Skill-building—3, Being able to go to school—4, Good income—5, Helping the family—6, Others (Specify).....—7		
7.4	If no, then why? Describe.		

8.	Education and Skills	Child ID.....	Child ID.....
8.1	Does the employer let him or her study? Yes—1, No—2		
8.2	Does the child go to school? Yes—1, No—2		
8.2a	If yes, what kind of education do they get (Schooling—1, Vocational training—2, Others (Specify).....—3		
8.2b	If schooling, then what type of school? Government—1, Private—2, NGO-run school—3, <i>Madrassa makta</i> —4, Others (Specify).....—5		
8.2c	Which level? Primary (1–5)—1, Middle (6–8)—2, Secondary (9–10)—3, Higher Secondary (11–12)—4, Others (Specify).....—5		
8.3	What would the child like to learn in terms of skills? Computer training—1, Sewing and tailoring—2, Driving—3, Beauty parlour work—4, Car mechanic or other repair work—5, Others (Specify).....—6		
8.4	Does the child get to do any recreational activity? Yes—1, No—2		
8.4a	If yes, which one? Playing—1, Meeting relatives and friends—2, Watching TV—3, Reading—4, Listening to the radio—5, Others (Specify)....—6		
8.5	Is the child able to manage both work and school? Yes—1, No—2		
8.5 a	If no, describe the difficulties that he or she faces.		

9	Channels and Networks	Child ID....	Child ID....
9.1	How did the child go to work there? Through an agent—1, Through a relative—2, Through parent/guardian—3, Other domestic workers—4 Others (Specify).....—5		
9.2	If the answer is 1, then how did the person approach you? Describe.		
9.3	Have other children from other households been given a job by this agent? Yes—1, No—2		
9.4	What promises did the agent make? Guaranteed work—1, Comfortable place to live in—2, Food to eat—3, Better		

9	Channels and Networks	Child ID....	Child ID....
	employment prospects—4, Marriage in the future—5, Education along with work—6, Others (Specify).....—7		
9.5	Were these promises fulfilled? Yes—1, No—2		
9.6	Are you in touch with your family? Yes—1, No—2		
9.6a	If no, then why? Not allowed—1, No access—2, Don't know how to—3, Others (Specify)....—4		
9.7	What did the agent say regarding work (Write the exact nature of the work, refer to Annexure).....		
9.7a	What were the conditions that were laid down in terms of the kind of work, time of work, pay, etc.? Describe.		
9.7b	Was it a verbal or written agreement/contract? Verbal—1, Written—2		
9.8	Is that the work that the child is doing? Yes—1, No—2		
9.9	If no, then what additional work is the child doing? (Write the exact nature of the work, refer to Annexure)		
9.10	Did the agent take any advance? Yes—1, No—2		
9.10a	If yes, how much?		

10.	Perceptions and Aspirations of the Child	Child ID....	Child ID....
10.1	Are you aware of the law against child labour in India? (Yes—1, No—2)		
10.2	If yes and in case the child is under 14 years of age, why does the child continue to work?		
10.3	What according to you should be the minimum age of work?		
10.4	Do you think children should be involved in such work? Yes—1, No—2		
10.4a	If yes, why? Describe.		
10.4b	If no, why? Describe.		
10.5	Do you think the involvement of children in household work is inevitable? (Yes—1, No—2)		
10.5a	If yes, why? For over 14 years? Describe.		
10.5b	If yes, why? For under 14 years? Describe.		
10.6	What according to you can be done to prevent the incidence of child labour (under 14 years)?		
10.7	For those above the age of 14 years: What are the ways to make the conditions of your work place better? Better pay—1,		

10.	Perceptions and Aspirations of the Child	Child ID....	Child ID....
	Better facilities like water, toilets—2, Better healthcare like payment for hospital, medicines, rest—3, Safer conditions like the provision of gloves and other protective gear—4, Better conditions to sleep under—5, Better quality and quantity of food—6, More freedom to go out and meet friends and family—7, Being able to study as well—8, Have more rest time—9, Have more time for recreation and leisure—10, Any other (Describe in detail).....—11		
10.8	What are your suggestions to reduce the possibility of children having to work? More employment for adults—1, Better education for children—2, More protection for children—3, Better information and awareness for families—4, Better law enforcement against offenders—5, Communities to be organized against abuse of children—6, Generating awareness among children against child labour and unsafe work—7, Others (specify).....—8		
10.9	What does the child want to do in a few years? Study—1, Get a good job—2, Get married—3, Take care of his parents—4, Get his or her siblings married—5, Get his or her siblings educated—6; Others (Specify).....—7		
10.10	Where does the child want to stay? Home or workplace? (For live-in workers-Describe)		
10.10a	Where does the child want to stay? Village or city? For those that have come for outside? Describe.		
10.11	What would the child do if not this? Describe.		

This part of the questionnaire pertains to the parents/guardians only.

11	Compulsions of Parents/Guardians and Aspirations for their Child	Responses
11.1	Reasons/compulsions for sending the child to work. Describe.	
11.2	Has any change been witnessed in the economic or living status of the family after the child started working? Yes— 1, No—2)	
11.2a	If yes, specify in what way? Better income—1, Better standard of living—2, Able to pay off loans—3, Able to pay dowry in daughter's marriage—4, Able to buy enough food—5, Able to pay hospital bills—6, Able to do other things (Specify).....—7	
11.3	Do you know that involving children under 14 years of age in work is a punishable act? (Yes—1, No—2)	
11.3a	If yes and in case the child is under 14 years, why are you sending the child to work?	
11.4	What, according to you, should be the minimum age for starting to work?	

11	Compulsions of Parents/Guardians and Aspirations for their Child	Reponses
11.4	What, according to you, can be done to prevent child labour (child under 14 years of age)?	
11.5	What are your suggestions to reduce the possibility of children having to work? More employment for adults—1, Better education for children—2, More protection for children—3, Better information and awareness for families—4, Better law enforcement against offenders—5, Communities to be organized against abuse of children—6, Generating awareness among children against child labour and unsafe work—7, Others (Specify).....—8	
11.6	What do you want your child to do if not this? Describe.	
11.7	What do you see your child doing in the future? Describe.	

Notes: Any additional Information to be noted here, along with the relevant question numbers.

Types of domestic work done by CADWs

1.	Getting up early in the morning to fill water
2.	Lighting fire in the stove
3.	Making tea, cooking food for member/members, serving water, tea, food
4.	Cleaning the kitchen
5.	Cleaning the bathroom
6.	Cleaning the bedrooms
7.	Washing dirty clothes
8.	Washing utensils
9.	Taking care of the younger family member/members
10.	Bathing the younger children
11.	Feeding the younger children
12.	Taking the dog for a walk
13.	Washing the car/cars
14.	Running errands, buying groceries
15.	Driving
16.	Staying up at night for members coming home late at night, or to guard the house
17.	Watering the plants and other garden-related work
18.	Fixing electrical things (fan, fuse, light bulbs)
19.	Carrying heavy things like buckets of water, boxes, other things
20.	Ironing clothes
21.	Taking young children out to parks, accompanying them outdoors or at events
22.	Getting children ready for school
23.	Taking children to the bus stop
24.	Carrying heavy loads like water, gas cylinders

SCHEDULE FOR CADWS AND FORMER CADWS

Basic topics to be covered:

1. Socio-economic background of the young domestic worker and her/his family:

Where do you live?

Where do you come from (if s/he has come from somewhere else)?

Caste that s/he belongs to, education level of the child and her/his family

Age that s/he says s/he is and the age that s/he looks

2. Leisure time activities: (For former CADWs, please use the past tense when relevant.)

What would you do if not this?

(For girls) What do you like to do in your spare time (paint, sew, play, read)?

(For girls) What do you want to do in the next few years (get married, have children, or work and what kind of work).

Do you go to school or some other vocational centre?

Do you have friends or relatives, do they meet you?

3. Are you a full-time, part-time or live-in worker?

(If part-time) How many houses do you go to work in?

How long have you been working in each of them?

What treatment do you receive in the different houses?

4. Comparison with other kinds of work like working in factories, etc.:

Does you think this work is better? If so, why?

Does you think this work is worse? If so, why?

What kind of work do you think a child can do? Why?

What kind of work do you think a child should NEVER do? Why?

5. Child's daily schedule:

What time do you wake up?

What are your daily chores?

When do you play and study?



When do you sleep?

What exactly is the work you do?

6. Reasons for the child to work as a domestic worker:

Are you working for money for dowry, to pay off debts, because of health problems or the need for medical treatment of a family member?

Did you want to move to the city to enhance your socio-economic status?

Did you feel that this work is better compared to others? Did your parents think that you would have a place to eat and sleep in?

(For girls) Did your parents think that you might have better prospects after learning household work?

In case the child her/himself wanted to work, was it due to the desire to improve the socio economic conditions of the family, or the desire to escape poverty in the village, or domestic violence or other abuse in the family, or to improve her/his own prospects or another reason (Specify)?

7. Placement

How did you get this job? Was it someone from your town or village, was it a middleman, was it someone known to the family, or was it an agency that sourced the job?

Was any kind of advance paid by your parents to this agency/middleman?

8. What promises were made by the agency/middleman to your family regarding money, nature of work and your well-being?

Was all this upheld or was it disregarded? How (specify)?

9. Are you aware of the laws (particularly the addition of domestic work in 2006 as a punishable offence) regarding child labour and the kinds of jobs persons of your age can work in and which are prohibited?

(For children below 15) Are you aware of the Right to Education Act, which provides free and compulsory education to children below the age of 15 years?

Does the employer allow you to go to school? Does the employer allow you to study at your workplace?

What do you think about combining study and work?

10. Was the contract between you and your employer written or verbal?

What were the terms in the contract regarding the number of hours of work, type of work, wages to be given?

Are you given wages in full or part?

Do you keep them?

Can you spend the money the way you like (giving to parents, buying something for yourself) or does the employer keep it?

11. Do you think that there should be a minimum age for work for children? If so what?

12. Conditions of work related to:

Health

Is there availability and access to adequate food and water whenever you want? Is the food and place of work clean? Are medical services provided when you are ill?

Is the food you eat different from what the other members of the household eat?

(For live-in workers) Do you have a clean place to bathe and dress in?

(For adolescent girls) During menstruation, are you given less work? Are you allowed to rest if you feel unwell or weak? Are you given sanitary pads?

What is the comfort level of the workplace for eating and sleeping (warmth during winter, coolness during the summer, etc., any other)? (Specify/)

Is there a proper toilet facility available?

Do you smoke, drink or take drugs?

Safety

Do you have access to clean water? Are you provided with protective gear while cooking, cleaning, with medicines in case of injury, sickness?

Does you feel that your work is unsafe in any way? If so how? (Let the child talk and try and find out about any possible exploitation.)

Have you been made to do unsafe work or work in unsafe conditions that have caused physical injuries or mental trauma? (Such as carrying heavy loads, or working in extreme temperatures)

Have you been made to lift heavy objects?

Have you ever felt sexually exploited (verbally, visually or physically) at the hands of the employer, family members or visitors of the household?

Occupation

What kind of work do you do (in detail)?

What does it entail (washing, cleaning, taking care of children, cooking)?

How many hours do you work per day?

How many hours of sleep do you get, where do you sleep and is the place of work and sleep warm, comfortable and safe?

Is there time for leisure or recreational activities?

Are you allowed or encouraged to go to school or some learning centre? If so, is there time for both study and work?

Do you get money? How much money do you make per day and per month?

Do you handle the money on your own? If you are paid in kind, what do you get and how often?

How much money do you get for yourself? How do you spend it? Do you spend it on any intoxicants? *(If the child is really small, one can leave out this question).*

Do you get leave when you want? How many days of leave in a month and in a year do you get?

What problems or risks do you face during work due to the nature, hours, or conditions of work?

Any other?

Mobility and exposure

Are you allowed to go out and meet people (parents, friends, relatives)?

Are you allowed to write to relatives and family, or call them?

Do you send money to your family?

13. What is the general behaviour of the employer and his or her family while dealing with child or adolescent workers?

If there are children of the employer in the house, how do they behave with you?

Are you taken out when the family is out for occasions or holidays, or do you stay in the house?

What are the actions of employers when there is any medical mishap or accidents?

In case of an incident where you break or lose something belonging to the employer, how does the employer react?

What kinds of punishment are meted out to you?

14. Do you feel like you are treated as an outsider?

Do you have a separate place to rest and sleep in?

When do you eat meals? Whenever you need to or after the family has eaten?

Do you eat in the same area as the rest of the household? Do they use the same utensils?

Are you allowed to use the common bathroom, or do you have to go to a separate area?

15. What are the impacts of the work on the lives of the children in terms of:

Education and skills?

Recreation, playing with friends, socializing?

Physical and psychological effects of work at such an early age?

Relations with parents, friends, relatives?

Any positive impact in terms of learning something?

Any other?

Do you think that it is your duty/obligation to work? If so, why? Is it because of parents, or other social pressures?

Are you satisfied with the facilities at the workplace (if the respondent is above 15 years of age), and if not, why? How can the conditions at the workplace be made better?

16. What should be done to ameliorate the conditions of adolescent domestic workers? What suggestions can we give to the concerned authorities to make work easier, safer and better for the adolescent domestic worker (15-18 years)?

What should be the minimum age of work for children? How can child labour be eliminated? How can children play a role in this?

Do you know what the minimum age for work is by law?

What would you like to do, if not this?

What would you like to do in future?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR EMPLOYERS

(Approximately 2-3 case studies and/or in-depth interviews in each area (rich and poor) in the two cities to be conducted. Overall 10-12 case studies to be undertaken, subject to availability, cooperation and consent).

Basic topics to be covered

1. Education and socio-economic background of the employer as well as of the other household members:

What does the head of the household do for a living?

Does the female member/members work or stay at home?

Do the children go to school—both sons and daughters?

What is the education level of the household and other members?

2. Age of the child working in the household (the age that he or she says and the age that he or she looks)?

3. Type of domestic worker the child is (full-time, part-time or live-in workers)?

4. How did the employer get the child worker? Through a person, agency?

5. What were the terms of employment regarding wages, type of work, what age did the person or agency claim the child was? Did the person or agency say that the parents themselves had consented to the child doing this kind of work?

6. Does s/he work with her/his mother or alone?

7. Type of work done by the child and the conditions of work (Keep in mind the age of the child)

Occupation

What kind of work does the CADW do (in detail)?

What does it entail, like washing, cleaning, taking care of children, cooking?

What are the working and resting hours?

How much money is given to her/him per month/day?

If not money, what does s/he get and how often?

How many days of leave in a month and in a year does s/he get?

Does s/he go to school?



Health

Does the employer and his or her family ensure adequate medical care for the child?
What does s/he eat?

Safety

Is s/he provided with protective gear while cooking and cleaning; and with medicines in case of injury, sickness?

Is clean water made available to her/him?

Mobility and exposure

Does s/he go out and meet people (parents, friends, relatives), is s/he allowed to write to her/his relatives and family, or call them?

Does s/he send money to their family?

Does s/he have access to education or some kind of vocational studies for skill-building?

8. Reasons for employing child labour:

Can work at low wage rates as compared to adults?

May be less likely to complain?

Can do such work better, are easily available for such work?

Can be caretakers of children and play with them?

Are less vocal and less organized and do not have the means or support to resist?

Can be easily trusted and would not commit any crime?

Demand less privileges and other benefits from the employer?

Or does the employer think that this work is better than others and fulfils basic needs of the child. Any other reasons (specify).

9. Are you aware of the law prohibiting child labour and of the minimum health and safety provisions for adolescent domestic workers?

10. Do you have any children? If so, what is their relationship with the domestic worker?

11. Are the workers taken out when the family is out for occasions or holidays, or do they stay in the house?

12. Where do the domestic workers eat, sleep and bathe?

13. What are the impacts of the work on the lives of the children in terms of:

Education and skills;

Recreation, playing with friends;

Physical and psychological effects of work at such an early age;

Relations with parents, friends, relatives;

Any positive impact in terms of learning something;

Future prospects;

Any other?

14. What suggestions can we give to the concerned authorities to make work easier, safer and better for the adolescent domestic worker (15-18 years)? What should the minimum age of work be for children? How can child labour be eliminated?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS

(Approximately 5-6 case studies and/or in-depth interviews in each area (rich and poor) to be conducted in the two cities. Overall, 25-30 case studies to be undertaken subject to availability, cooperation and consent).

Basic topics to be covered

1. Compulsions/circumstances that contribute towards parents/guardians deciding to send their child to work in someone else's house:

Need for money

Repayment of debt

Dowry

Better life for the child in a richer house, in the city, etc.

Education

2. Who persuaded you to send your child away?

3. Is it an agency, a person known to them?

What did they tell you regarding terms of work and pay?

Do you know if these terms are upheld?

Did you receive the promised wages?

If so, from whom and how much, and with what frequency?

To what use did you put your child's earnings?

4. (If the parents stay far away) who took your child to the employer's house?

5. How much information did you actually get from the agent/middleperson regarding:

Your child's employment,

Destination,

Conditions of work,

Wages, living arrangements,

Basic freedom of movement,

Security/protection from abuse,

Medical care among other aspects?

6. To what extent are you aware of the difficulties faced by your child after leaving home?

Are you aware of the exact nature of work; hours of work, availability of food and water; healthcare, mobility, rest, etc., that your child has?

Were there any particular instances of exploitation, of which you became aware? If so, when and how did you get to know of them?

To what extent does the child have time out of work for rest and recreation?

7. Do they have time to come home on holiday?

8. How do you compare this (domestic and household) work to other kinds of work like working in factories, etc.?

Do you think this work is better? If so, why?

Do you think this work is worse? If so, why?

9. What kind of work do you think a child can do? Describe and say why.

What kind of work do you think a child should NEVER do? Describe and say why.

Are you in touch with the child? Have you met her/him? How often? If not, why not?

10. Do you know if your child can get help from any quarter, if s/he is abused or tortured by her/his employers/agents?

11. Would you send your other children out of your area to work?

12. What is the impact of the work on the life of your child, in terms of:

Education and skills;

Recreation, playing with friends;

Physical and psychological effects of work at such an early age;

Relations with parents, friends, relatives;

Any positive impact in terms of learning something;

Future prospects;

Any other?

13. What is the impact of your working child on your life in terms of supplementing household income, health, repayment of debts and general conditions?

- 
14. What suggestions can we give to the concerned authorities to make work easier, safer and better for the adolescent domestic worker (15-18 years)? What should be the minimum age for work? How can child labour (5-14 years) be eliminated? Can you or your community play a role in preventing child labour/trafficking??
 15. Do you think that it is the duty/obligation of the child to work? If so, why? Is it because lack of money?
 16. Are you aware of child protection policies? To what extent are different policies/rights like the right to education, right to food, and different programmes helpful in combating child labour?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NGOS AND RESCUE CENTRES

(4-5 in-depth interviews or case studies wherever they are identified).

1. What work does your organization do? Is it involved in programmes, advocacy, spreading awareness and campaigning, providing education, rescuing children, giving them skills, helping to rehabilitate them through counselling, skill-building and education?
2. Are you affiliated with other organizations (local, national, foreign, government)?
3. How many cases of child and adolescent domestic workers come to you in a month, and in a year?
4. How do you deal with these cases?
5. If you rescue children, how do you do it?
6. In how many cases have the children been exploited (physically, psychologically and sexually)? Are there cases where the children come to seek help themselves?
7. Do the police intervene if called? Are they helpful?
8. Why is the practice of child labour or exploitative adolescent labour, continuing? Why is there continued demand for child labour?
9. How can it be tackled? Through media campaigns, education, or tougher punitive measures against those who employ child labour? Other measures?
10. Why does it occur despite the enactment of laws preventing child labour? Are there legal or implementation loopholes? Please elaborate.
11. Have you ever spoken to the employers? What are their perceptions?
12. Have you spoken to any agents or intermediaries? What are their perceptions?
13. Have you spoken to the parents? What are their compulsions and perceptions?
14. What do the children feel? Why do they work? Why are they forced to work? How do they feel that this would affect their future life?

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR RECRUITERS OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

(These may be very difficult, and therefore 1-2 in-depth interviews, subject to availability, cooperation and consent, to be conducted. A formal recruitment agency may also be approached for information about informal agencies that supply child labour.)

- 1. Where is this agency or intermediary based? What is its socio-economic background? Is it based in the city or in a village? What other work does it do?**
- 2. In which areas/regions does it operate? What are the destination and source areas? How does it come to know of the households that provide child/adolescent labour and the households that demand it?**
- 3. Which age group of children does it help in getting jobs? 5-14 years or 15-18 years? For which age group is there more demand?**
- 4. Are girls more in demand for domestic work, or boys? Which age groups—5-14 years or 15-18 years?**
- 5. What fees does it charge the parents? What fees does it charge the employers?**
- 6. What are the terms and conditions that are spell out to the parents in terms of the kind of job, nature of work, place that the child will stay in, the kind of employer they will work for?**
- 7. How does it take care of the children till they get a job?**
- 8. Does it allow contact between the child and parents? Does the child come back regularly to his or her home?**
- 9. Do many families from the same source area contact the agency to get jobs for their children?**
- 10. What are the main reasons that the parents/guardians of the children give for sending their children to work?**
- 11. What are the main reasons that the employers give for demanding child labour? Which socio-economic strata do these employers come from? What work do they mostly want the child to do?**
- 12. In which locality is the demand for child labour the highest?**
- 13. Does the police ever question them?**



International Programme on
the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC)

ILO Decent Work Team for South Asia and Country Office for India
Theatre Court, 3rd Floor, India Habitat Centre, Lodi Road
New Delhi 110 003, India
Tel : +91 11 24 60 2101
Fax: +91 11 24 60 2111
email: delhi@ilo.org
www.ilo.org/newdelhi

www.ilo.org/ipec

ISBN 978-92-2-127190-1



9 789221 271901