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Impact of COVID-19 and the Lockdowns on Domestic Workers

First Report



This work has been carried out by Rajasthan Mahila Kaamgaar Union (RMKU) and the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS).

Authors: Antara Rai Chowdhury, Gautam Bhan, Kinjal Sampat

Survey Team: Basana Chakravarty, Bhumika Roy, Jamuna, Jayanti Roy, Jhumpa, Jyoti Chakravarty, Kalpana Barman, Kalyani Bishwas, Kamal Kant, Khushi Barman, Meena Sapna, Meena Sharma, Mona Malik, Nagendra Nath Roy, Phoolmati, Pinky Pandit, Priyanka Barman, Raman, Ramavati Chowdhury, Rinku, Sangeeta Barman, Sanju Roy, Shivani Barman, Snehlata Pareek, Sudip, Sumit Barman, Sushmita, Tanu Barman, Tanu Kshatriya, Tumpa, and Vijay Giri. They have also been a part of the organisation's relief activities.

Visualisation: Nidhi Sohane, Sai Rama Raju Marella

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Overview

Severe impact on earnings and employment

- The average income for domestic workers in February is about ₹8,000. It dropped by 35 percent in March, and by 93 percent in April. While wages for March were expected to be paid at a later date, there was uncertainty around receiving wages for April altogether.
- At a collective level, the cumulative income for all participants reduces from ₹40 lacs to a meagre ₹2.7 lacs, affecting the community's ability to collectively organise support through union and peers.
- 52 percent households report no income for the month of April. Overall, the monthly household income sharply drops by 75 percent during April and May, from ₹16,159 to ₹4,010.
- In pre COVID-19 times, women's income earned from domestic work was a stable source of household income, supporting regular essential expenses of the household. It constitutes 50 percent of the total household income in most cases, and is more regular than the casual nature of jobs of the spouse where income fluctuates on a monthly basis if not a daily basis.

- 87 percent of the participants had their last day of active employment in the week before the sudden announcement of lockdown-I, only 3 percent had resumed work by the time this survey was conducted in May. Of the total, 28 percent reported termination of work during lockdown, and another 23 percent were uncertain of the status of their employment.

Surviving lockdown with savings, dues, and borrowings

- Personal savings was the biggest source people tapped into to survive the period, followed by dues, borrowings, and relief from personal networks.
- On an average, households will emerge from the lockdown with dues and borrowings averaging upto ₹10,000 per household. Households that have faced job loss have a higher amount of borrowings and debts as compared to the ones who have not. This is a grim reminder that while the lockdown induced the shock the impacts of extreme financial duress consisting of income loss and impending debts will be borne throughout the forthcoming months.
- The survey reports that a household had an average of 15 days' worth of savings on the eve of lockdown, with more than 50 percent having less

than 10 days' worth, to manage daily expenses.

- A largely un-enforceable order demanding forgoing rents for the period of lockdown and low reportage of oustings has sedated everyone to think that the order was followed. In the survey it was largely reported that the rent is not foregone but deferred, creating significant rental dues.
- The reported average dues towards rent and utilities deferred during the first seven weeks of lockdown was ₹7,500; and the average amount of loans taken by those in need was at ₹4,000.
- Those with certain loss of employment during lockdown reported 1.7 to 3 times higher average borrowings than those who were assured or ambiguous of their employment status.
- Rental dues are a key component of current and future vulnerability in this population group - in the sample of this study 91 percent live in rental housing, of which a staggering 89 percent in April and 92 percent in May couldn't meet their house rent expenses.
- The loss and uncertainty of income has also had an indirect impact on other essential, but non-urgent, aspects of livelihood such as financial management, non-urgent health conditions, and education for nearly one in four respondents.

Relief networks and expectation

- There is a gap in coverage of domestic workers as beneficiaries of

relief organised by the State. Only 37 percent received any relief extended by either political leaders, police, or 'government'. Less than 1 percent reported collecting dry ration entitlements from the PDS shops.

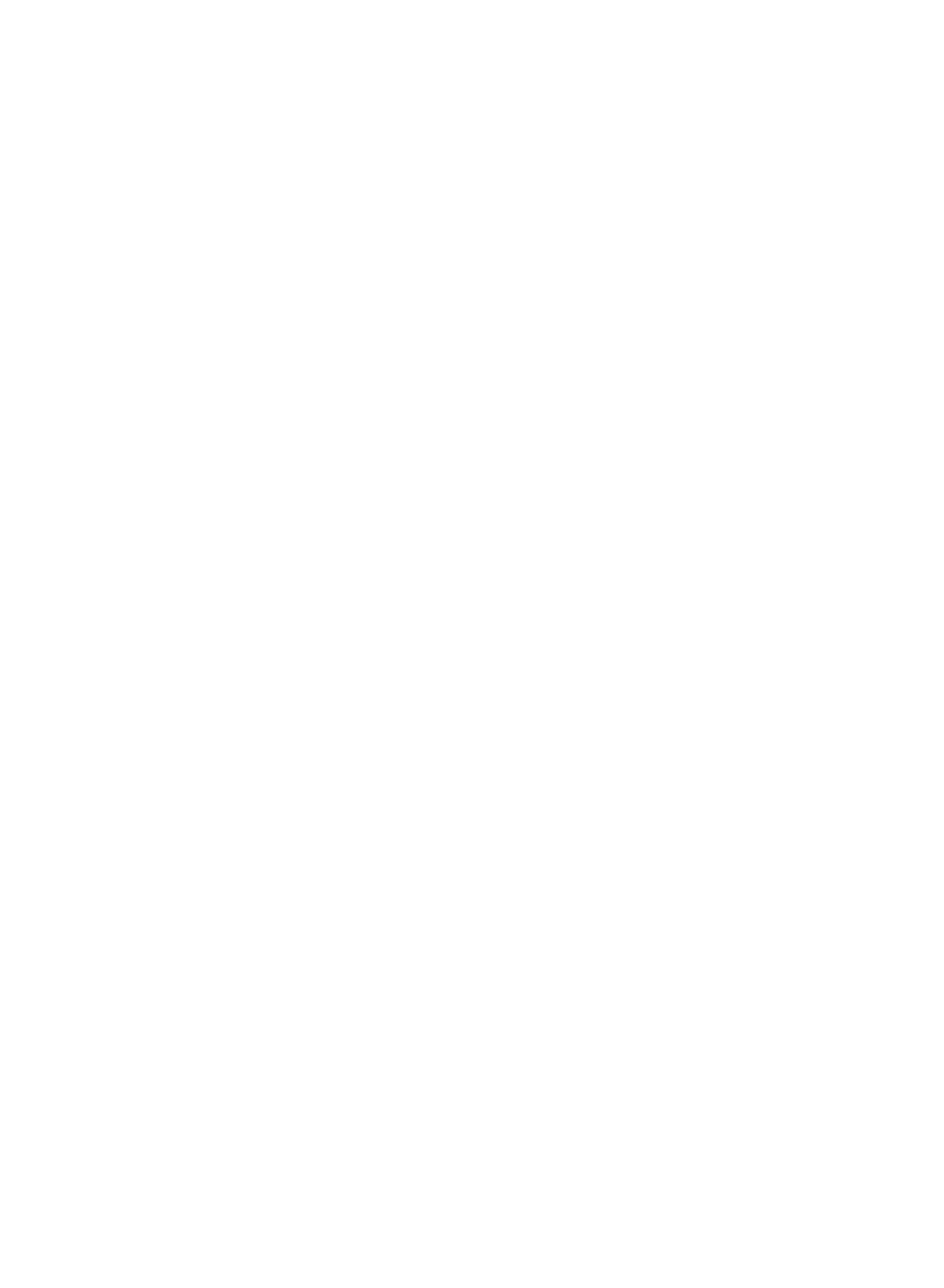
- The Union's relief activities form a safety net for those otherwise left to their own means. Nearly 11 percent also reported receiving support from within the community.
- Going ahead, cash transfers and rent support were identified as the most urgent and critical forms of relief by the participant group to ameliorate the impact of lockdown on their livelihoods, followed by a moratorium on employment loss.

Nature of migration

- 'Migrants' who have lived in cities for a long period of time - an average of 18 years in this case, do not or cannot leave for the place of origin in the face of crisis.
- Despite living in the city for nearly two decades, they are underserved by social protection measures in the city.
- Social integration through networks, the rootedness of the second generation (born here) is holding people back in Jaipur despite their economic well-being being premised on fragile economic conditions of unprotected jobs, thin savings, high costs of living with some assistance from social protection schemes, basically those that are universalised and are not dependent on the proof of domicile.

Implications and lessons

- This report particularly brings attention to “semi-permanent” migrants - those that have no intention of leaving, yet, despite years of residence, are also not fully integrated in social protection where they are.
- Two new elements bear consideration to be included within safety nets: debt and housing. Understanding debt and poverty, and not just income loss, is critical in the design of relief moving forward. Unaddressed, this risk undermines not just short-term relief but medium-term recovery.
- Housing has typically been kept outside the frame of both social protection (food, insurance, income support) as well as discourses on universal access to basic services (sanitation, water, electricity). Yet it is, as our data shows, a critical determinant of a household’s vulnerability. Unless housing is included in an imagination of an urban safety net, assessed in determinations of wages, and considered as part of relief and recovery, a significant source of risk remains unaddressed.
- It is essential to root spatial and economic informality in designed relief as relief measures that did not take the particular conditions of informal work and housing into account made little to no impact on the ground.
- The Union, both by itself and in partnership with the state, offers us models and practices that emerge from and directly address the themes raised above: the informal nature of the work, the gaps in data, vulnerability rather than poverty, debt and rent beyond food and income, as well as solidarity and community. It emerged, once again, as an effective site of institutional response highlighting that membership-based organisations have the capacity to engage with a broader public.



Contents

Overview

Background -----	1
Design -----	3
Findings -----	5
I. Impact -----	5
Income -----	5
Employment -----	7
II. Surviving the lockdown - Savings, Borrowings, and Networks -----	9
Dues and Debt -----	11
Relief -----	16
III. Characteristics of long-term migration -----	18
Implications and Lessons -----	23
Appendix -----	27
Survey form -----	27
Tables -----	27



Background

Membership-based organisations of workers - unions, federations, associations across formal and informal work are one of the key institutional sites at the frontline of responding to the impact of COVID-19 on life, survival, livelihood and the emotional well-being of workers and their families. Many have led relief, responding to the needs and demands of their members as best they can with limited resources. They have sought to do so in many ways - organise, connect members to state relief, generate and aggregate relief from non-state sources, or simply been at the other end of the phone to lend a ear. The nature of the membership-based organisation means also that their actions cannot be about one-time or immediate relief. It must be on-going, tied equally to recovery, and, ideally, resilience over the medium and long-term. These organisations today are faced with a series of questions: What is the best way to respond? How will the needs of members change over time? How can they know what is needed now, and trace emergent challenges over the next six months, a year, two years? What happens to earlier trajectories of work and action? What new modes and areas of focus emerge?

Rajasthan Mahila Kaamgar Union (RMKU, henceforth) is an 11-year-old registered Trade Union with

membership of 16000+ domestic workers all over Jaipur. It is among one of the largest organising efforts of its kind. It has strengthened, empowered and articulated the voice of domestic workers in their struggles over unfair wages & employment practices, workplace harassment, and domestic violence, thus carving a sustained political space for them in Rajasthan to organise workers and demand decent work, dignity, and a better life for themselves.

The Union has been at the frontlines of relief work for their members through the lockdown. Within the everyday pressures of relief, they sought to also begin to find ways to systematically understand the nature of need among their members, starting with the effect of the lockdown.

RMKU has been engaged with research teams at the Indian Institute for Human Settlements (IIHS) for several years now. A first study in the partnership sought to understand how domestic workers managed health recommendations for exclusive breastfeeding for six months in the absence of formal maternity leave and the particular work conditions and realities of domestic work. This was a study initiated by IIHS. The second study in the partnership was initiated by RMKU, who wanted to understand the feedback they were getting from their

members about the particular challenge of rent that marked domestic work in a rapidly changing urban centre like Jaipur. This study had joint teams, with RMKU and IIHS using it to build the research capacity of the Union so they may, on their own and in partnerships, be able to use research as another one of their modes of practice, constantly evaluating and assessing the needs of their members.

Mid lockdown, the RMKU once again initiated the current study - a rapid phone-based survey of their members to estimate the impact of the lockdown, and use the data to better organise their on-going relief efforts. In this study, the partnership had reached a point of fully being able to co-produce the research: from survey design to implementation to analysis. The first set of findings from the survey were published by RMKU members in *The Hindu*¹ and then in *The Wire*². This report presents detailed data from the study beyond those shorter and more public pieces.

The report also anchors the intention of RMKU and IIHS to use it as a baseline in a cohort-based, panel survey research design. The 501 women that have been interviewed for the first round of phone

surveys will be surveyed again in October, 2020, and then in February-March 2021. Our intention is to trace the journey of domestic workers from impact and relief to recovery, or the lack thereof. In doing so, we hope to offer an archive critical both to the union to understand and organise its own responses to its members, as well as for a larger understanding of medium-term recovery from an economic shock like COVID-19 and the lockdown. This archive will be a key resource against which to understand the on-going impact of this shock, as well as to see the nature and pace of 'recovery' and to document the efforts of the union and of individual members to cope, aid, survive and thrive. It will also allow us to see both the generalised impact of the pandemic-lockdown combination on informal workers as well as the particular impact on the sector of paid domestic work.

The report proceeds as follows. It is divided in three sections - impact of the lockdown, surviving the lock down and finally, a section on characteristics of migration that are particular to the domestic workers who were surveyed in this study. Section 1 employs a comparative framework. Parameters of income, employment status are recorded in a way that allows comparisons with a pre-lockdown period. Instead of asking directly, we record income and employment status as reported in February and calculate

¹ Bharti, M. (16 June 2020). Helping the helpers *The Hindu*. Retrieved from <https://www.thehindu.com/opinion/op-ed/helping-the-helpers/article31835749.ece#!>

² Rama, Meena, Snehlata, & Antara. (16 June 2020). Rajasthan: How a small labour union helped domestic workers tide over the lockdown. *The Wire*. Retrieved from <https://thewire.in/rights/rajasthan-domestic-workers>

the impact by juxtaposing with the months of March and April. Section 2 deepens the understanding of impact by highlighting the means employed by households in order to survive the lockdown. In addition to measuring impact on savings, debt is analysed in detail in this section. Section 3 attempts to complete the picture by shifting attention to issues of sociality, integration into social protection mechanisms in Jaipur and the nature of their relationship with the 'place of origin'.

Design

The survey interviews were conducted between May 6 and 13, 2020 by the members and networks of the Union on the ground. These were 20-30 minute telephonic interviews, and the responses were entered in a survey form created on the Enketo web app. Several members of the 31 member survey team were already engaged in the needs assessment for relief efforts in their community. An online training session was held on 5th May, 2020 to share survey protocols, build interviewing capacities and ensure a fair degree of standardisation.

The selection of survey participants was shaped by the list of people that sought out the Union for support during phase I and II of lockdown, which lasted between 25th March to 3rd May. It was purposefully directed to ensure

documentation of the most vulnerable cases across the areas where the Union is active, and thus reached out to the old, widowed, and divorced women, other than those who were identified as most vulnerable households based on their needs. As mentioned before, this assessment was planned to inform the Union's future activities in the short, mid, and long term. It was not designed as a representative sample of domestic workers in Jaipur, or of the Union's membership itself.

The sample is not limited only to union members. During the pandemic several domestic workers who were outside of the official fold of the Union reached out to it for support, and all such people have been included. Two-thirds of the sample were members of the Union at some point in the last 10 years, and the rest of them were non-members. Of the two-third sample who have been official members of the Union, only half of them have renewed their membership in the last two years.

These women are relatively settled in Jaipur, more than half of them living in Jaipur for nearly 18 years, employed as domestic workers. Selected demographic details of the cohort are given below in table i. Nearly half the women (45%) reported their husbands worked in the construction sector, followed by work in the food/restaurant sector (18%) or daily wage work (17%) - all impacted by the COVID-19 and lockdowns.

Table i: Demographic details

Age	Percent
18-25	16
25-35	36
35-45	33
45 and above	15
<i>N</i>	501
Marital status	Percent
Separated	6
Widowed or Divorced	10
Single	1
Living together	83
<i>N</i>	480
Number of members in the family unit	Percent
1-2	23
3-4	56
More than 5	21
<i>N</i>	501
Husband's occupation	Percent
Construction worker	45
Salaried in restaurant/food cart	18
Daily wager	17
Self-employed and others	19
<i>N</i>	382

Findings

I. Impact

We measured the impact of the lockdown on parameters of income, changes in employment status, savings, dues and debts. To assess impact, we used a comparative approach assessing conditions for the parameters listed above for the months of February, March and April. In February there were neither official announcements nor public awareness about the impending pandemic. Therefore, we assume the conditions of February to be that which represent 'normal' times. The data for the month of March and April needs to be read in contrast.

Income

Income witnesses fall in the month of March, and expectedly, a sharper one in April. The average income for workers in our sample in February is about

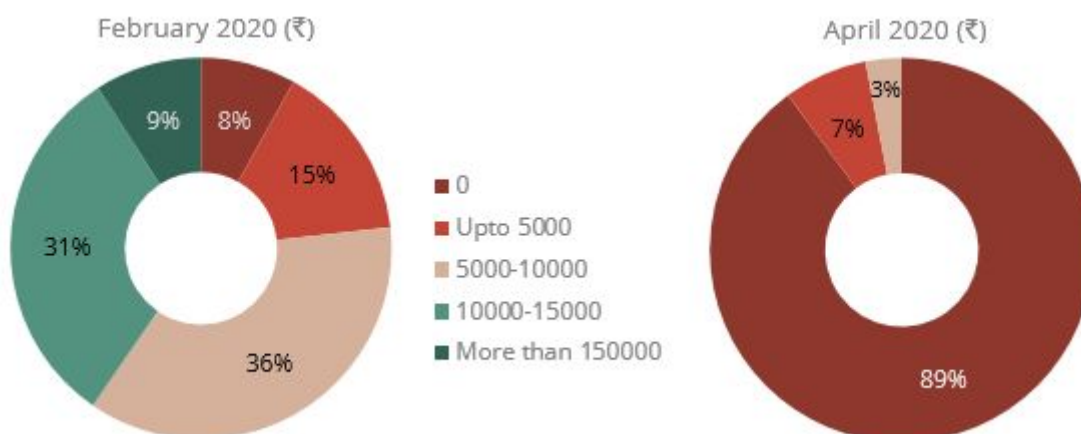
₹8,000. It dropped by about 35 percent in March, from ₹8,000 to ₹5,175, and 93 percent by April to ₹543. Pleas from the state and political leadership to not cut salaries for workers had no effect for this set of workers.

Figure 1: Domestic worker's average monthly income (₹)

Average Monthly Income (₹)		
February	March	April
8016	5175	543

The reported causes for loss of income in March was either a declared wage-cut or an uncertain deferral of payment for the days in March under lockdown or both, whereas for April the non-receipt of salaries was also coupled with uncertainty if the salaries would be paid fully or partially, or be fully foregone.

Figure 2: Distribution of monthly income of the respondents before and during lockdown I and II (%)



N= 501; How much were you paid as salary in February and April?

The data emphasises a collective moment of crisis. The cumulative income for all participants reduces from ₹40 lacs to a meagre ₹2.7 lacs, affecting the community's ability to organise support within family, friends, and neighbours. As Figure 2 shows, the distribution of income in the sample skews completely towards the no income end.

Figure 3.1: Monthly household income of the respondents before and during lockdown I and II (%)

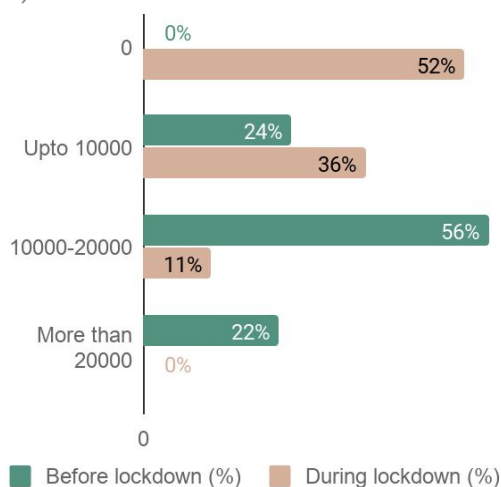
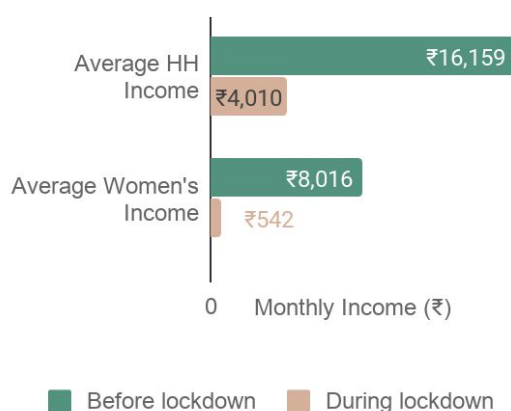


Figure 3.2: Comparison of impact on monthly household income and women's income during lockdown I and II (₹)



N= 501; How much were you paid as salary in February and April? How much did you and your husband earn in total before lockdown? How much did your husband earn in April?

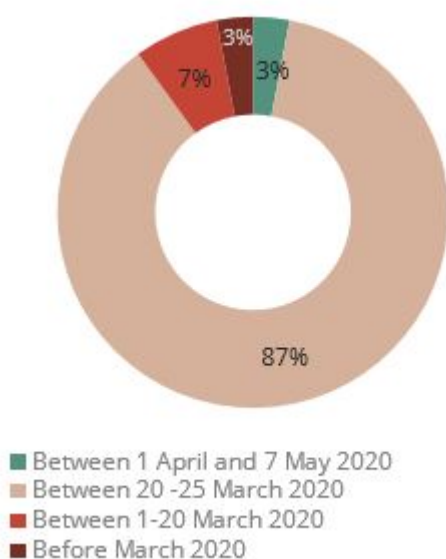
Figure 3.1 presents the impact on overall household income. Monthly household incomes in our sample averaged at about ₹15,000 per month. Across income cohorts a downward fall is observed. It is the highest in ₹10,000-20,000 and the lowest in incomes above ₹20,000. Almost half, 52 percent, of households report no income for the month of April. Overall, the monthly household income comes down 75 percent during lockdown in April and May, from ₹16,159 to ₹4,010, whereas women's income comes down by 93 percent. A comparison of the impact on HH income and women's income show that women's income has had a sharper drop, revealing yet again that in a time of crises certain categories with higher vulnerabilities are worse off than others.

What is observed is that women's income earned from domestic work constitutes 50 percent of the total household income in most cases. In addition to the quantum of income what is important to note is the nature of it. Most domestic workers report that their spouse is employed in casual jobs. The income fluctuates on a monthly basis if not daily. Hence, in comparison the income drawn from the woman from domestic work forms the stable income - a rare certainty in lives marked by constant flux and crisis. Anecdotally we know that therefore women's income, in such households are channelled towards supporting the fixed expenses

Employment

The workplace for domestic workers, homes (of others), is precisely the space in which people were asked to retreat and limit themselves to during the lockdown. The job loss was preceded by health advisories on isolation which made access to the place of work unviable. Majority, 87 percent of the sample, had their last day of active employment in the week before the sudden announcement of lockdown-I, only 3 percent had resumed work by the time this survey was conducted in May. Figures 4 and 5 present the distribution of sample as per the last day of active employment and latest employment status as reported on the day of the survey.

Figure 4: Respondent's last day of active employment due to mobility permissions during lockdown I and II (%)

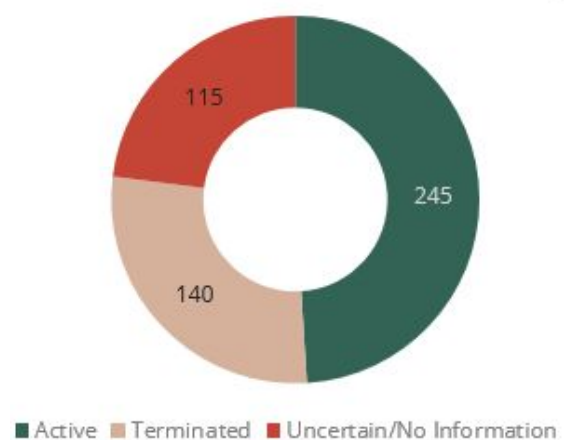


N = 497; When was the date of your last visit to work?

The hastily announced guidelines for halt on movements resulted in a dual

impact. First, it meant that several domestic workers couldn't go to collect their wages for the month of March before the lockdown was imposed, hampering cash flow for services already rendered. Second, it meant that between a week to 10 days' worth of salary was cut from wages for March for the inability to come to work, despite calls from the government and national political leadership to not do so.

Figure 5: Respondent's employment status due to COVID-19 lockdown (n)

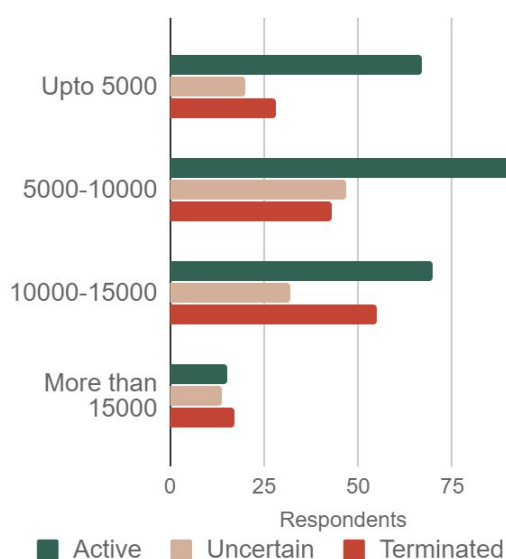


N = 500; Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus?

The extent of termination of employment is almost double for those earning between ₹10,000-15,000 as compared to those earning under ₹5,000. The uncertainty about employment is significantly lower for those earning less than ₹5,000 per month when compared to those earning higher. 58 percent of them have retained their jobs despite lockdown and 30 percent have witnessed a full termination. Only 12 percent are uncertain of the status compared to 45 and 29 percent of participants who earn

between ₹5,000 - 10,000 and ₹10,000 -15,000 respectively. This finding suggests that the lockdown will have differentiated impacts at varying thresholds of income of labour. Amidst the macro narratives it is important to glean these trends.

Figure 6: Monthly income of the respondents compared to employment status (%)



N = 454; How much were you paid as salary in February? Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus?

II. Surviving the lockdown - Savings, Borrowings, and Network

The lockdown was implemented within hours of its announcement. This meant it severely curtailed people's ability to garner monetary and other forms of provisions needed to tide over a time when income and mobility were severely restricted.

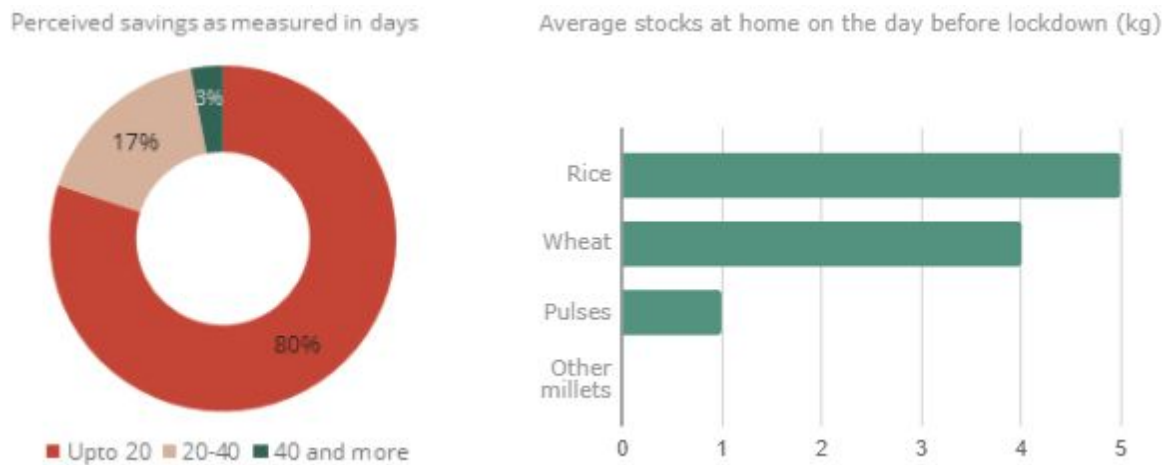
Personal savings was the biggest source people tapped into to survive the period. Figure 7 presents average savings and stocks of ration on the day

of announcement of lockdown-I. The survey reports that a household had an average of 15 days' worth of savings on the eve of lockdown.

To capture savings, we ask how many days they could run the household without income. This way of asking about savings was in sync with their way of thinking about it and yielded a response that gave an insight into the capability and resilience of the households of the participants across income thresholds. We call this 'perceived savings' and it is measured in days. More than 50 percent of households have less than 10 days' worth to manage daily expenses.

The average ration stocks at home comprised mainly of rice and wheat, 5kg and 4kg respectively. Other cooking essentials such as pulses, cooking oil, were reportedly purchased more frequently in keeping with need and cash flow in the interviews. This is a pivotal data point to understand pre-lockdown vulnerability, and a measure therefore that must direct our attention to the current state of urban social protection. Eighty percent of workers had savings of less than 20 days. This implies that the lockdown must be understood to have critically different impacts at Day 7, 15, 20 (in this case), 30 (when rent and new monthly salary cycles would be due), and beyond. The layered and dynamic nature of vulnerability is as important to consider, as opposed to thinking of COVID-19 and the lockdown as

Figure 7: Savings and provision (kg) on the day of announcement of lockdown-I



N= 501; How long did you think you could manage with the savings at your disposal? How much dry ration (specifically rice, wheat, pulses, and other millets/grains) did you have at your disposal on the day of announcement of lockdown-I ?

a singular shock, event, hazard or exposure, to draw parallels to terminology on risk and resilience across different fields.

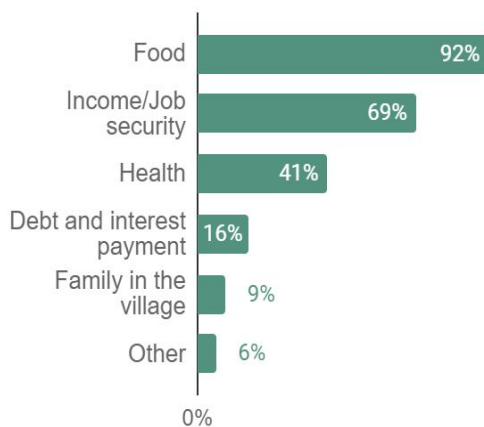
On the day of announcement of lockdown, 9 out of 10 people were concerned about securing food, followed by nearly 70 percent reporting concern over income and job security (Figure 8). Impact on earnings and employment already reported in Section I confirm the basis of the latter. At this phase of the pandemic, health was a far third among concerns cited by the participants. The risk of going hungry, running out of money to pay for essentials of life, and being retrenched from jobs were resoundingly voiced as critical in nature to sustenance. Despite the awareness of the risk of contracting COVID-19 associated with going out of homes, the loss of income and likely loss of employment and livelihood from

not doing so was shaping the choice to choose work or moving to safer locations over strict adherence to the lockdown. Workers had to make difficult trade-offs between safety and survival, re-asserting the nature of this shock not as a health pandemic but equally a livelihood shock. Readings of “irresponsible” or “uninformed” health behaviour often ignore or undermine this trade-off and calls to “stay at home” or “work from home” mis-recognize the nature of work and life for a majority of India’s urban workers (see, among others, Bhan et al, 2020³).

Given the reported immediate concerns at this point in lockdown, cash and ration in hand reported in the previous section is an estimation of the immediate capacity of households for managing the period of lockdown.

³ Bhan, G. et al (August 3 2020). The pandemic, southern urbanisms, and collective life. *Society & Space*.

Figure 8: Respondent's concerns on the day of announcement of lockdown I (%)



N = 501; What were the two most critical concerns for you when you hear of the lockdown-I ?

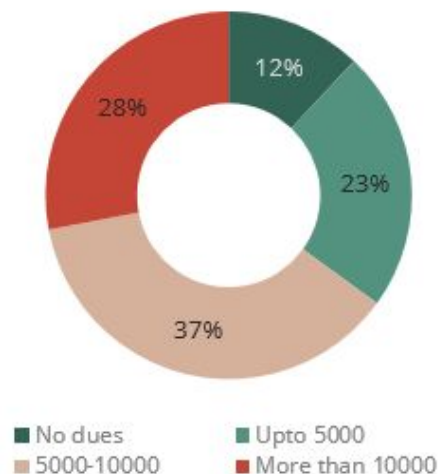
Dues and Debt

A largely un-enforceable order⁴ by the Ministry of Home Affairs, followed by State governments, demanding forgoing rents for the period of lockdown and low reportage of oustings has sedated everyone to think that the order was followed. In the survey it was largely reported that the rent is not foregone but deferred.

The reported average dues towards rent and utilities deferred during the first seven weeks of lockdown was ₹7,500; and the average amount of loans taken by those in need was at ₹4,000. Essentially, the dues are towards one's rental and utility expenses which are

being deferred, but not forgone, and the borrowings are borne to meet rent and other non-negotiable expenses for subsistence which couldn't be deferred.

Figure 9: Distribution of rental dues (₹) accumulated in first seven weeks of lockdown



N = 455; How much do you owe towards rent, water, and electricity expenses for March, April, and May that you couldn't pay, but are obligated to pay in the coming months?

The rental dues is a key component of current and future vulnerability in this population group. In the sample of this study, 91 percent live in rental housing, of which a staggering 89 percent in April and 92 percent in May couldn't meet their rent expenses. The average rent for a month in our sample is ₹3,000, and the average expense on utilities between March and May was ₹1,000.

⁴ Order no. 40-3/2020-DM-I-(A), Ministry of Home Affairs, dated 29th March, 2020. Accessed at https://prsindia.org/files/COVID19/notifications/864.IND_MHA_Directions_for_Migrant_Workers_March_29.pdf

Figure 10: Expenses during first five weeks of lockdown (₹)



N = 455 (for Rent), 156 (for Utilities), and 501 (for the rest); How much rent did you pay in March (i.e. before lockdown was imposed and impacted earnings to depict rent in 'normal' times)? How much did you have to pay towards water or electricity in March or April? How much did you spend on the cooking essentials other than dry ration during the lockdown?

Our own forthcoming work (Sampat and Sohane, 2020⁵) has suggested that rent for urban domestic workers tends to be disproportionate when compared to other informal workers or compared to rents for similar wage deciles. The nature of domestic work that requires workers to live within walking distance of multiple higher income households is possibly responsible for this. Affordable housing is less present in the proximity of upper income neighbourhoods, implying that the particular conditions of the mobility of domestic workers forecloses the possibility of accessing more affordable rental.

⁵ Sampat, K & Sohane. N. (2020). Typologies of Rental Housing for Domestic Workers in Jaipur. *Forthcoming*.

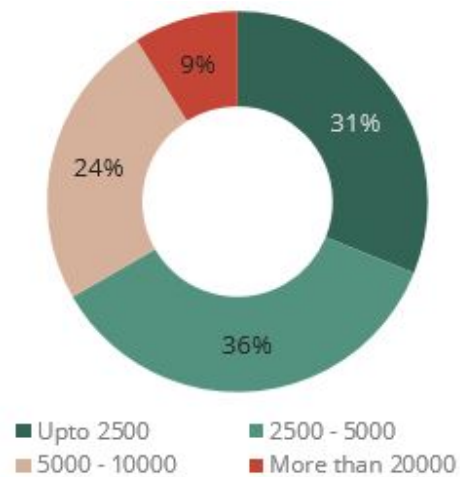
The total expenses to secure food and housing in the first five weeks of lockdown came to a total of ₹7,500. Figure 10 presents that other than rent and utilities, non-negotiable expenses consisted of expenses on vegetables, milk, cooking gas, and other cooking essentials that assure a diet that somewhat resembles normal times – a proxy understanding for wholesome nutrition. Nearly 50 percent chose to spend more than ₹3,500 on these since lockdown, and 44 percent of the sample had to borrow an average of ₹5,442 to meet the total of all non-negotiable expenses to survive lockdown. Cash transfers issued by the Centre in late March and early April varied in quantum across different categories and

categories of databases, ranging from ₹200 to 2,000. Construction Workers' Welfare Boards of different states also gave out one time or regular cash transfers to registered construction workers, ranging from ₹1,000 to ₹6,000, ₹3,000. All of these entitlements, either one-time or monthly, are inadequate in comparison to essential monthly expenses of ₹7,500 reported in this survey.

In this situation several households reached out for borrowings, 44% of the respondents borrowed from available networks, largely interest-free. Those with certain loss of employment during the lockdown reported 1.7 to 3 times higher average borrowings than those who were assured or ambiguous of their employment status. This signals a significant risk of debt traps for households where debt accrues alongside diminishing or absent income especially in these households where, as we have indicated, husbands mostly work irregular jobs. These figures suggest that an average household will emerge from the lockdown with rental dues and borrowings averaging up to ₹10,000 per household. Households that have faced job loss have a higher amount of borrowings and debts as compared to the ones who have not. This is a grim reminder that while the lockdown induced the shock the impacts of extreme financial duress consisting of income loss and

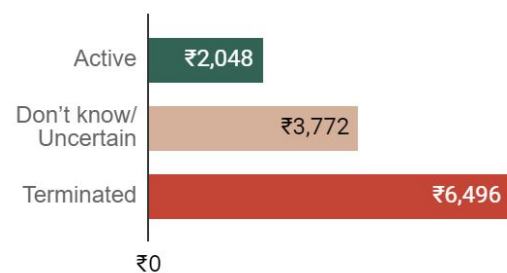
impending debts will be borne throughout the forthcoming months.

Figure 11: Distribution of borrowings (₹)



N = 225; How much did you have to borrow due to the lockdown?

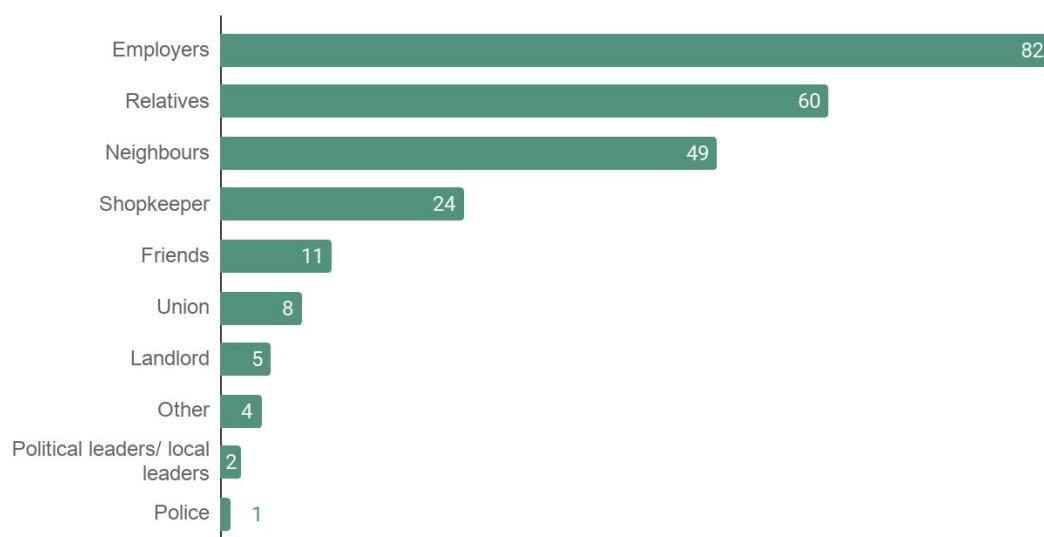
Figure 12: Employment status and average borrowings among respondents



N = 501; Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus? How much did you have to borrow due to the lockdown?

For one in four households, the loss and uncertainty of income has had an indirect impact on communication, health, and education. 14 percent reported inability to follow up on vaccinations and health visits due to either lack of cash to approach private

Figure 13: Respondent's source for borrowings during lockdown I and II (n)



N = 219; Whom did you borrow from during the lockdown? (can be more than one)

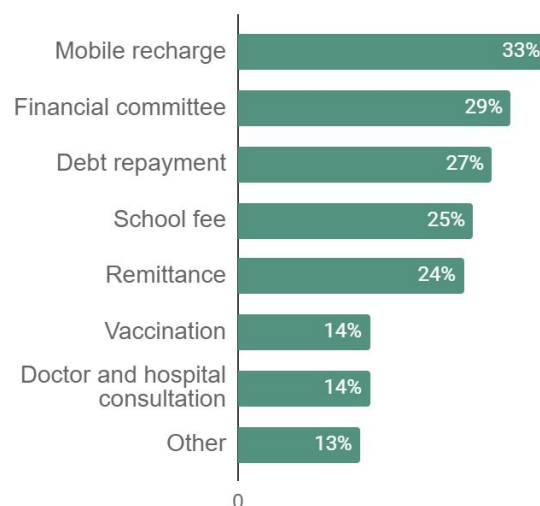
facilities or disruption in public health facilities, the primary source of vaccinations among income poor. Workers also had to delay mobile recharges, critical to both accessing relief as well as maintaining livelihood, as well as paying school fees for their children.

Relief

To address the vulnerability of informal workers, relief was organized by State agencies and private entities largely via two pathways – food and cash. The food relief programmes reported in survey are dry ration baskets with or without dal, other cooking and sanitary essentials, and cooked meals distributed in packets; and the major cash relief programmes were State sponsored schemes under PMGKY that entitled every women Jan Dhan account holder to a transfer of ₹500 for three

months and informal workers to a one-time sum of ₹1,000.

Figure 14: Respondent's having to delay essential expenses during lockdown (%)



N = 501; Which of the following necessities had to be delayed due to lockdown?

The Rajasthan State increased the entitlement amount to informal workers by another ₹1,500⁶, to reach a total of

₹2,500. The identification and verification of informal workers has been a challenge under this scheme across states. After a direct canvassing effort from the Union by way of official plea and suggestion to the labour department and other key officials via several of their networks, the Labour department commissioned the Union to submit a list of domestic workers along with bank details to transfer this entitlement directly into the bank accounts. It is through this mechanism that domestic workers had started to receive this cash support by early May. This was possible due to a long-standing engagement of the Union with the Labour department office in Jaipur. We will return to this in the concluding section, as it represents the possibility of increasing efficacy of relief work if the state partners with worker organisations for identification and delivery of announced entitlements.

Figure 15.1 presents coverage under relief programs, both State and non-State, among the sample. There was a better coverage of food relief than cash relief, the latter reaching only 28 percent of the sample. However, this coverage was significantly higher to other migrant workers (~2-3%) as reported in another assessment survey in the first 4 and 5 weeks of lockdown by SWAN (SWAN, 2020a⁷ and 2020b⁸).

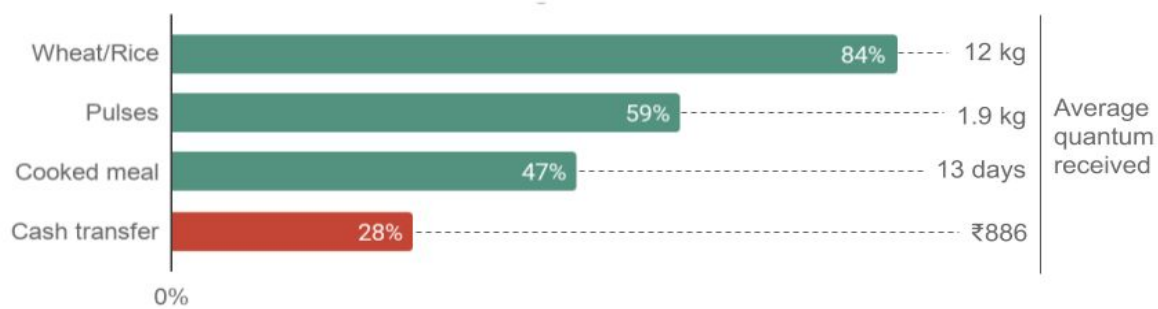
This was possible due to the continuous engagement of the Union with the workers and the Labour department to ensure the relief reached those who are not in the fold of the existing database used for the government relief measures. The most widely received cash support among the sampled domestic workers was via PMJDY entitlement - reaching 16 percent through the month of April, and only 9 percent receiving it for both April and May till the date of this survey. The amount of ₹500 was found to be inadequate to cope with the loss of individual and household earnings ranging between ₹8,000-15,000 on an average, as is also proven by the dues and borrowings for the basic expenses. Food relief programmes had a better coverage overall, with several variations in what the program ensured in terms of variety and quantity. Only 29 percent of the sample had received both - cash and food. 85 percent of those surveyed reported receiving relief from the Union, followed by local political leaders, police, 'government' as understood by the participant and within the community. There is a gap in coverage of domestic workers as beneficiaries of relief organised by the State, with only 37 percent receiving any of the relief extended by either political leaders, police, or 'government'.

⁶ Order no. F 9(5)(07) from Department of Social Justice and empowerment, Government of Rajasthan, dated April 2, 2020.

⁷ SWAN (2020a). 21 days and counting. Accessed at: shorturl.at/twyW4

⁸ SWAN (2020b). 32 days and counting. Accessed at: https://COVID19socialsecurity.files.wordpress.com/2020/05/32-days-and-counting_swan.pdf?fbclid=IwAR0-kuFz9pV9drrshn7NLnOUOuVbkv7NbrGzcqMLBMwyel0isEsaoLO-dw0

Figure 15.1: Relief received during lockdown (%)



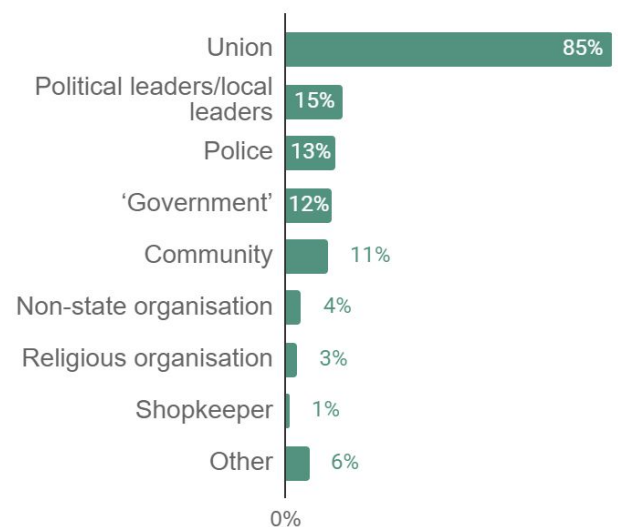
N = 455; Query: What food and cash relief did you receive during the lockdown ?

Less than 1 percent reported collecting dry ration entitlements from the PDS ration shops even as 33 percent reported having a ration card registered in Jaipur. They cited lack of availability and refusal as two key reasons for their inability to access despite an attempt. The first circular from the State government for free distribution of ration irrespective of holding a ration card or being in the list was announced to start only from 1st May. there were reports of PDS shops opening by the 10th of May, but only for those with a ration card registered under NFSA in Jaipur. When this entitlement was finally extended to those without ration cards in practise, they used Aadhaar for identification and OTP for verification, and this two-set verification left many out of the fold.

The Union's relief activities form a safety net for those otherwise left to their own means. Nearly 11 percent also reported receiving support from within the community. We will return to what this map of relief sources tells us about the

state of social protection in the concluding section.

Figure 16: Source of relief (%)



N = 455; Where did you receive the food and cash relief? (can be more than one source)

III. Characteristics of long-term migration

Surveying the domestic workers for impact and relief measures introduced an important facet that the present commentary migrants and migration amidst COVID-19 has not sufficiently shed light on. COVID-19 has highlighted questions of mobility and that of

migrants exiting cities but the nature of India's migration ranges from the circular to the semi-permanent and settled. The domestic workers of the Union - and certainly of our sample - have lived in places other than that of origin for a long period of time. In this case, on an average about two decades. Such workers do not and/or cannot leave for the place of origin in the face of crisis but continue to be underserved by social protection measures in the place of destination. Integratedness of life, as it happens - networks, the rootedness of the second generation (born 'here') holding those surveyed here, in the place of destination wherein their economic well-being is premised on fragile economic conditions of unprotected jobs, thin savings, high costs of living with only minimum assistance from social protection schemes that aren't universal.

Who is a migrant? Census follows a two-pronged approach to define migrants - those living in a place other than their place of birth and those living in a place different from their last residence as enumerated in the previous census. All surveyed would classify as migrants if the former definition is employed but a majority would not be migrants if we consider the latter. On an average people had lived for 17 years in Jaipur. Narratives of workers leaving cities because they "wanted to be home" do not capture this

set of workers - they are, as they express clearly, "home" except in one crucial way: their integration into social protection that is premised on domicile, residence and particular forms of identification.

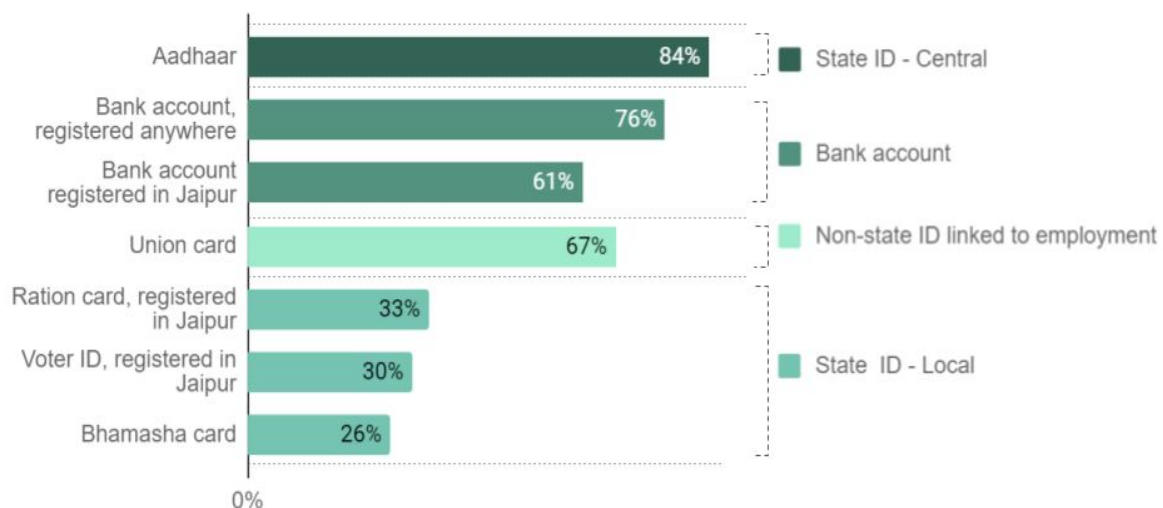
Figure 17: Number of years in Jaipur

Average number of years	18
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N = 499; How long have you lived in Jaipur?

Protection through existing Social Protection programmes. Despite long periods of residence in Jaipur there is a lack of owning documents that lead them to benefit from social entitlements. It isn't a general lack of documents as understood under established rubrics of documentation poverty. Aadhar cards were held by 84 percent of the surveyed population but only 1 in 3 people were covered under either the National Food Security Act or Bhamashah cards which would entitle them to social protection programmes meant for the economically weaker sections. In addition to Aadhar, more than 75 percent of the sample had bank accounts and therefore the problem cannot be read as a straightforward one of lack of mechanisms to deliver benefits remotely. Rather it is the absence of adaptability in State processes to identify beneficiaries and institutionalise proxy registration and infrastructure at a time of crisis results in undeserving the very population that ought to benefit from the schemes.

Figure 18.1: Respondents owning bank accounts and identity documents (%)



N = 501; Which of these documents do you have?

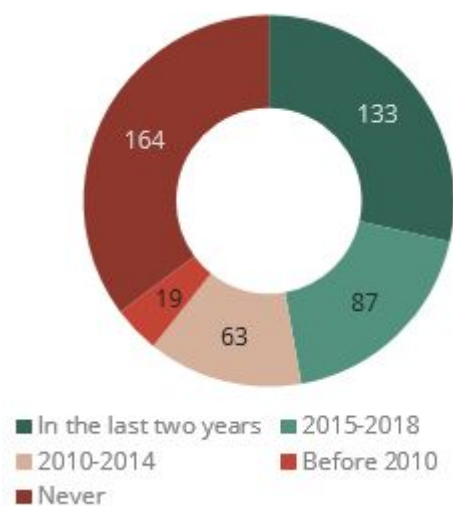
Eventually the crisis further exacerbates their vulnerability by failing to alleviate the impacts induced by the present crisis and elongating the period of recovery.

Despite having Aadhar cards most participants could benefit from relief measures using Aadhar verification since they lacked the linkage needed of their aadhar number to their phones. Also important to note here is that elsewhere in the report we have pointed out that recharging phones was delayed by most households to manage expenses when income ceased. Such a scenario is a serious impediment to accessing relief that uses the JAM infrastructure as an identification and delivery mechanism.

The union card follows aadhar and bank account as the most widely held document by those surveyed. Casual conversations reveal that non-members and those not holding cards reached

out to the union at the time of crisis via telephone.

Figure 18.2: Union membership by year of latest membership fee paid (n)



N = 501; When was the last time you renewed your Union card?

While the union card performs the function of identification, the union network is able to verify and reach out - two functions very few databases allow for. The underutilization of this database should alert to the possibilities

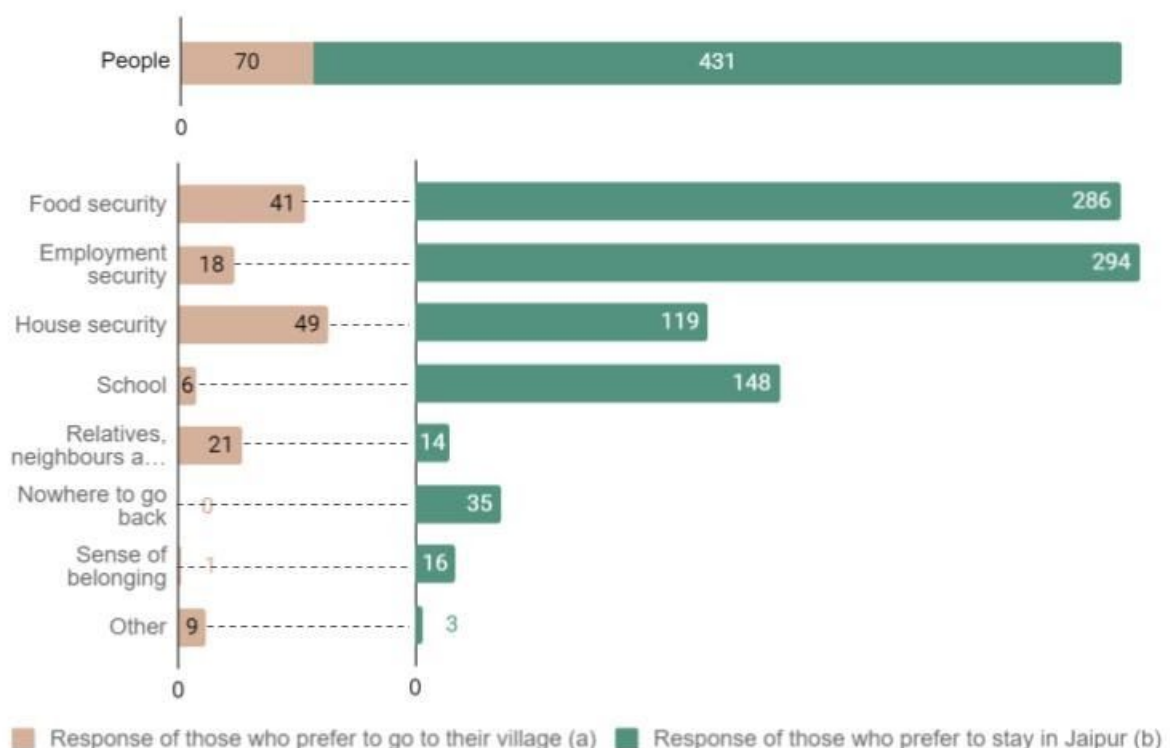
that can arise for social protection by collaborating with worker unions for either or all of the functions of identification, verification and delivery of entitlements.

By a large measure housing security is a major reason for those who prefer going back to the village, whereas employment is a key reason for staying in the city. Security of food was key for both groups of people. About 30 percent of those surveyed stated concerns about continuing schooling as an important concern holding them back here instead of leaving for their place of origin. It's a concern that exhibits long term investment and a

sense of rootedness (currently Union is investigating this and is trying to support those who are having trouble continuing with education).

The coverage of migrant crisis in the media in wake of COVID-19 has been reporting about a mass reverse migration and a 'desire' to go back to the village. This is undeniably a key story to understand migrant lives in cities, however, it would be fallacy to forget other dynamics in this relationship, as presented by this survey. One point of convergence in the lives of those who wish to go back, as presented by the popular media reports, and those who choose to continue to stay in the

Figure 19: Connections with the place of origin and residence (n)



N = 70 (a), 431 (b); If you had some notice before the lockdown was imposed, would you prefer going back to your village of origin or continue with your stay in Jaipur during lockdown? What would be the basis of your decision, in either case?

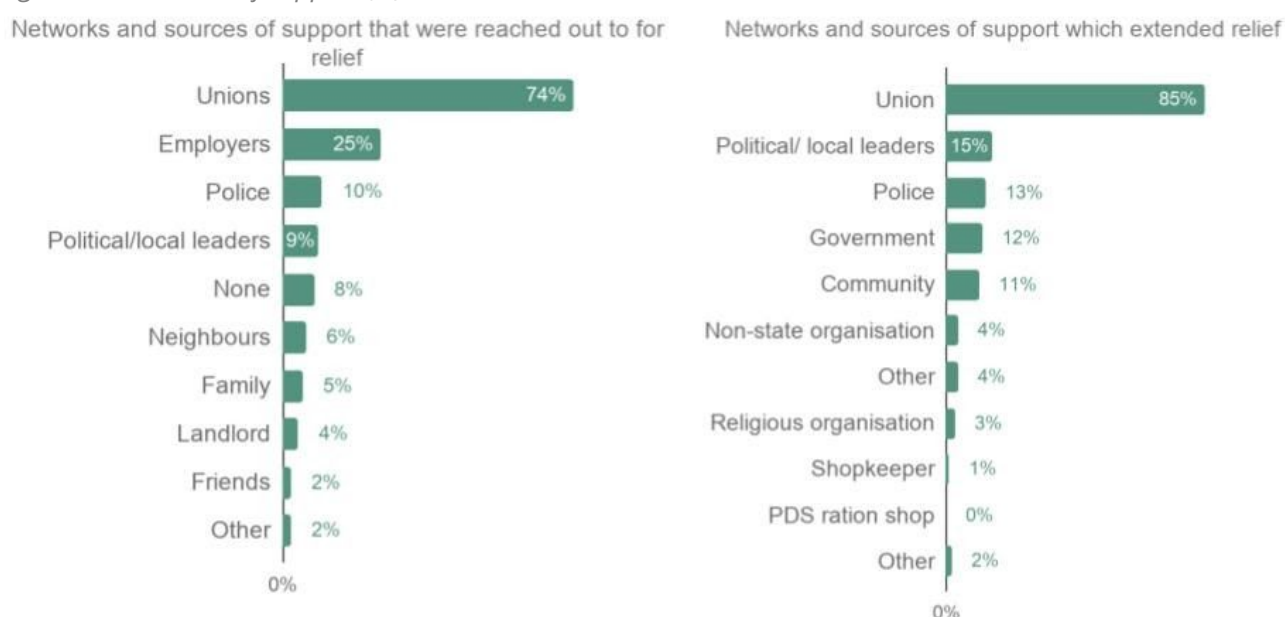
city is the elusive and thin coverage of social protection that frames this “choice.”

Nearly 75-85 percent of the sample reported expecting and receiving support from the Union. This is expected given the design of the selection of participants, where those reached out for support to the Union were interviewed for the survey. Yet what is important is that the sample was not entirely of current members. While 67 percent of the sample had Union membership at some point, only 1 in 3 had a current membership, and 1 in 3 never had any Union membership. The Union thus is seen as an institution in this case that could offer relief even without immediate, current or present membership. Interestingly, 11 percent reported receiving help from State actors and a comparable figure from the

community. The sociality of their lives and the protection offered through those networks is at present comparable to State actors - a fact underlying their social rootedness and politically fragile status.

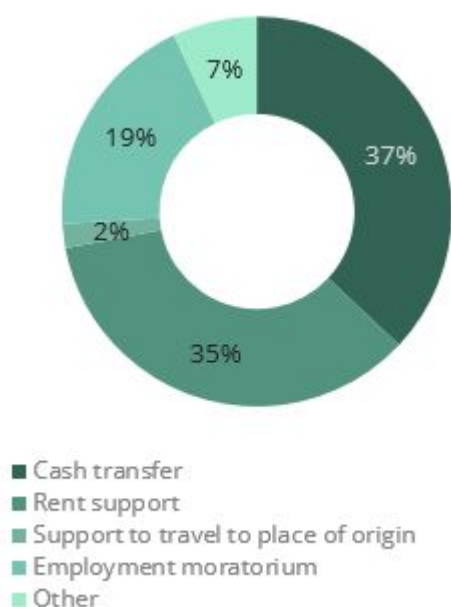
In the midterm, cash transfer and some form of rent support were identified as the most urgent and critical relief by the participant group to ameliorate the impact of lockdown on their livelihoods, followed by a moratorium on employment loss. The rent support was expected to continue for at least three months or until the lockdown and its impact on the employment continues. The expected amount of cash transfer to meaningfully compensate loss of income to cover basic expenses was pegged between ₹5,500 - 8,578 (median-average).

Figure 20: Networks of support (%)



N: 501 (a) and 455 (b); Whom did you seek out for relief and support? Who did you receive relief and support from?

Figure 21: Immediate expectations of relief and support for domestic workers (%)



N= 501; What is the most critical relief support you expect from the government right now? (can choose only one)

Implications and Lessons

In this concluding section, we wish to offer four key insights from the first of our planned series of reports. These are, no doubt, particular, reflecting Jaipur and domestic work as a particular sector of domestic work. Yet it is critical that we wield findings into initial and expanding claims at time of deep uncertainty as well as a constantly changing external environment. Particularly, we seek to draw out questions for governments, organisers, and researchers that could be the focus of both the scholarly work as well as deliberations on practice that surround

us at this time. Rooting both in empirically rich examinations of workers' voices, everyday life and perceptions is critical when the urgency of response can lead to decisions, willingly or unwillingly, distant from the lifeworld that they wish to impact. We wish to do so with this study, particularly to urge more attention to "semi-permanent" migrants - those that have no intention of leaving yet, despite years of residence, are also not fully integrated where they are. COVID-19 has drawn welcome attention to migration, but its internal differences, forms and layers must not be flattened.

What is the Shock?

First, we affirm, along with many others, that COVID-19 and the lockdown must be seen as not just a health crisis but one of livelihoods. This changes the nature of the shock, the forms and estimations of risk and hence responses by different workers. The resulting trade-offs, thus, must be understood in this conjunction of health and work, and the particular conditions of informal work, especially in the urban Indian context. It must be understood on its terms and without judgment of whether it is an "appropriate" or "correct" health response to the pandemic. It is, indeed, not just a health response at all. Policy and programmatic interventions that misrecognise the nature of the shock risk being ineffective and misaligned with the logics by which workers are choosing to act, survive and cope. It bears repeating that such work is the

dominant form of urban employment in our cities - it is not offices but homes, streets, public spaces, small units, and waste sites that are workplaces. Understanding how best to support workers and do it in line with their experience must be the focus of public policy responses to COVID-19.

Within health, COVID-19 and non-COVID-19 risks need equal attention - protecting against the former at the expense of the latter is an insufficient and dangerous epidemiological response. Evidence of how non-COVID-19 morbidity and mortality, as well as preventive practices of immunisation, have been impacted by the pandemic needs to be more clearly documented at scale. Finally, it is imperative that we understand the nature of the shock, and the particular trade-off between health and livelihood - it is not an event or a moment, it is a series of dynamic pressures that has a different form on Day 7, 15, 20, and 30. In future reports, this temporality will be a key focus of our surveys.

Vulnerability and Social Protection

Thinking with workers about the number of days of savings they have at hand at any given point is a reminder both that measures of poverty do not tell us nearly enough about the presence of vulnerability. The starkness of how thin risk absorption capacities are is telling.

Research has long reminded us that poverty is dynamic - households are not poor/not poor but fall in and out of poverty at different times. The measure of protection against such fall is precisely the domain of social protection. COVID-19 and the lockdown has shown us the inadequacy of India's urban social protection net.

While expansions in NREGA dominated headlines, for example, there was little on what was meant to address urban livelihood loss. One of the authors of this report has argued elsewhere that the robustness of social protection before the pandemic was inversely proportional to the quantum of relief that was required after it as crisis response (Sampat, 2020⁹). Indeed, all the measures that have been taken as relief offer a diagnostic - a model of what urban social protection must normally be, especially if it intends to address vulnerability and not poverty. There are variations, of course - food responded much better than income or unemployment protection, for example. Yet the story of the data is one of gaps - significant, structural gaps - in the urban safety net.

The fact that relief measures had to be one-off, ad-hoc, and often delivered through newly invented processes and

⁹ Kinjal, S. (2020 April 13). COVID-19 package: It's like trying to cure a patient on the verge of cardiac arrest with physical exercise. [www.scroll.in](https://scroll.in/article/958631/COVID-19-package-its-like-trying-to-cure-patient-on-verge-of-cardiac-arrest-with-physical-exercise). Retrieved from <https://scroll.in/article/958631/COVID-19-package-its-like-trying-to-cure-patient-on-verge-of-cardiac-arrest-with-physical-exercise>

systems indicate both gaps in the entitlement frameworks as well as the paucity of institutional delivery mechanisms pre-lockdown. This is a specific lack when thinking of systems that are meant to reach informal workers. The absence of recognised entitlements, data, formal contracts, linked identification, migration constraints and domicile requirements implies that the pandemic has a lot to offer us in terms of lessons for urban social protection regimes.

Two new elements also bear consideration to be included within safety nets. The first is debt, and the second is housing. Our data on debt is a reminder as to how both understandings of poverty as well as the design of relief packages erase debt when thinking about the economy of households. Many relief packages do not account for the clear finding that workers are leaving the pandemic not just with depleted savings but with debt. Some policy responses that seek to offer relief and recovery through further extending credit risk creating debt traps precisely at a time of diminished income and systematic retrenchment. Understanding debt and poverty, and not just income loss, is critical in the design of relief moving forward. Unaddressed, these risks will be undermining not just short-term relief but medium-term recovery.

On housing, the critical role that rent has played in exacerbating vulnerability is noted in our study and many other

assessments of COVID-19 impacts (among others, see SWAN, 2020a and 2020b as mentioned previously). Housing has typically been kept outside the frame of both social protection (food, insurance, income support) as well as discourses on universal access to basic services (sanitation, water, electricity). Yet it is, as our data shows, a critical determinant of a household's vulnerability especially for workers who also tend to live in insecure tenure arrangements. Unless housing is included in an imagination of an urban safety net, assessed in determinations of wages, and considered as part of relief and recovery, a significant source of risk remains unaddressed.

Rooting Spatial and Economic Informality

Thirdly, our findings suggest that, in assessing COVID-19 impact, it is both important to be specific about how different kinds of workers experience the pandemic - domestic workers are similar to but also different from construction workers or street vendors, for example - just as it is to recognise patterns of how informal work shapes both, the impact of the pandemic and the response to it. Domestic workers, as we argued, are vulnerable to rent escalations, had to negotiate individually with different individual employers making retrenchment far easier (than in the case of a contractor with many workers, for example), were faced with a particular health risk since they had to go to other people's homes just as the

latter was told to work from those very homes. The particularity of these impacts matter.

In many other ways, however, workers shared experiences with other informal workers. Retrenchment had no legal or governmental remedy, no contractual obligations, notice periods, or paid leaves other than at the discretion of individual employers. The conditions of informal rental arrangements meant a similar emphasis on negotiating ability and landlord discretion rather than any right or entitlements of workers. This meant that state pronouncements declaring moratoriums on rent, or even its moral and quasi-legal orders to not retrench workers, were unenforceable. Put simply: relief measures that did not take the particular conditions of informal work into account made little to no impact on the ground.

The Role of Worker Organisations

Finally, we conclude with one of the more impactful learnings of our research - the critical role that worker organisations, especially those with membership-based institutional forms like unions, federations and associations, can play in relief and recovery during and post-COVID-19.

The Union, both by itself and in partnership with the state, offers us models and practices that (emerge from and) address the themes raised above: the informal nature of the work, the gaps in data, vulnerability rather than poverty, debt and rent beyond food and income, as well as solidarity and community. In doing so, they could address the needs of members and non-members both, indicating not just that workers saw them as a legitimate and effective site of institutional response but that membership-based organisations have the capacity to engage with a broader rather than narrow public.

This study is itself part of the Union's on-going commitment to finding the most effective and needed responses beyond just immediate relief. Partnerships with worker organisations is perhaps then our most significant argument - their necessity, their possibility, and the urgent need for the state, in particular, to recognise the limits of its COVID-19 response and heed the call to reinvent itself and its approach to social protection.

Appendix

A. Survey form

You may write to library@iihs.ac.in with reason to receive the survey instrument. Please write 'Request for survey instrument for COVID-19 Impact on Domestic workers Report 1' in the subject line of your email.

B. Tables

Table 1: Domestic worker's average monthly income (₹)

Average Monthly Income (₹)		
February	March	April
8016	5175	543

N = 501; How much were you paid as salary in February, March, and April?

Table 2: Distribution of monthly income of the respondents before and during lockdown I and II (%)

Monthly Income (₹)	February (Percent)
0	8
Up to 5000	15
5000-10000	36
10000-15000	31
More than 150000	9

N= 501; How much were you paid as salary in February (i.e. the last month before lockdown which depicts income in 'normal' times)?

Table 3.1: Monthly household income of the respondents before and during lockdown I and II (%)

Household Income	Before lockdown (%)	During lockdown (%)	Difference (%)
0	0	52	52
Up to 10000	24	36	11
10000-20000	56	11	-45
More than 20000	22	0	-20

N= 501; How much were you paid as salary in February and April? How much did you and your husband earn in total before lockdown? How much did your husband earn in April?

Table 3.2: Comparison of impact on monthly household income and women's income during lockdown I and II (₹)

Income Measure	Before lockdown (₹)	During lockdown (₹)	Difference (%)
Average HH Income	16159	4010	- 75

Average Women's Income	8016	542	- 93
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N= 501; How much were you paid as salary in February and April? How much did you and your husband earn in total before lockdown? How much did your husband earn in April?

Table 4: Respondent's last day of active employment due to mobility permissions during lockdown I and II (%)

Last day of active employment	Percent
Between 1 April and 7 May 2020	3
Between 20 -25 March 2020	87
Between 1-20 March 2020	7
Before March 2020	3

N = 497; When was the date of your last visit to work?

Table 5: Respondent's employment status due to COVID-19 lockdown (%)

Employment status	Percent
Active	49
Terminated	28
Uncertain/No Information	23

N = 500; Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus?

Table 6 : Monthly income of the respondents compared to employment status (n)

Monthly income (₹)	Active	Uncertain	Terminated	Count
Upto 5000	58	12	30	115
5000-10000	50	25	25	182
More than 10000	54	29	17	157

N = 454; How much were you paid as salary in February? Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus?

Table 7: Wage cut due to lockdown compared to employment status (n)

Wage-cut during lockdown (₹)	Active	Uncertain	Terminated	Count
Upto 5000	73	22	34	129
5000-10000	86	46	45	177
More than 10000	80	44	63	187

N = 493; Difference in salary received for February and April. Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus?

Table 8: Savings and provision on the day of announcement of lockdown-I

Average perceived savings as measured in days	15 days
Perceived savings as measured in days	percent

Upto 20	80	
20-40	17	
40 and more	3	
Dry ration	Mean stock at home (Kg)	Median stock at home (Kg)
Rice	8.7	5
Wheat	4.2	4
Pulses	1.3	1
Other millets	0.1	0

N= 501; How long did you think you could manage with the savings at your disposal? How much dry ration (specifically rice, wheat, pulses, and other millets/grains) did you have at your disposal on the day of announcement of lockdown-I ?

Table 9: Respondent's concerns on the day of announcement of lockdown I (%)

Concern for	Percent
Food	92
Income/Job security	69
Health	41
Debt and interest payment	16
Family in the village	9
Other	6

N = 501; What were the two most critical concerns for you when you hear of the lockdown-I ?

Table 10: Distribution of rental dues (₹) accumulated in first seven weeks of lockdown

Rental dues (₹)	Percent
No dues	12
Upto 5000	23
5000-10000	37
More than 10000	28

N = 455; How much do you owe towards rent, water, and electricity expenses for March, April, and May that you couldn't pay, but are obligated to pay in the coming months?

Table 11: Expenses during first five weeks of lockdown (₹)

Expenses	Mean Expense (₹)	Median Expense (₹)
Rent	3197	3000
Utilities (water and electricity)	1560	1000

Total expenses on cooking essentials	3837	3500
Vegetables	1315	1000
Cooking oil and spices	882	600
Milk	825	660
Cooking gas	815	760

N = 455 (for Rent), 156 (for Utilities), and 501 (for the rest); How much rent did you pay in March (i.e. before lockdown was imposed and impacted earnings to depict rent in 'normal' times) ? How much did you have to pay towards water or electricity in March or April? How much did you spend on the cooking essentials other than dry ration during the lockdown?

Table 12: Distribution of borrowings (₹)

Loan (₹)	Percent
0	56
Upto 2500	14
2500 - 5000	16
5000 - 10000	11
More than 20000	4

N = 501; How much did you have to borrow due to the lockdown?

Table 13: Employment status and average borrowings among respondents

Loss of work	Average debt (₹)
No	2048
Don't know/ Uncertain	3772
Yes	6496

N = 501; Have you lost your work in the last two months due to lockdown or Coronavirus? How much did you have to borrow due to the lockdown?

Table 14: Respondent's source for borrowings during lockdown I and II (n)

Source of loan and borrowing	Percent	Count
Employers	37	82
Relatives	27	60
Neighbours	22	49
Shopkeeper	11	24
Friends	5	11
Union	4	8
Landlord	2	5
Other	2	4

Political leaders/ local leaders	1	2
Police	0.5	1

N = 219; Whom did you borrow from during the lockdown? (can be more than one)

Table 15: Respondent's having to delay essential expenses during lockdown (%)

Delayed necessities	Percent
Mobile recharge	33
Financial committee	29
Debt repayment	27
School fee	25
Remittance	24
Vaccination	14
Doctor and hospital consultation	14
Other	13

N = 501; Which of the following necessities had to be delayed due to lockdown?

Table 16: Source of relief (%)

Sources of relief	Percent
Union	85
Political leaders/ local leaders	15
Police	13
'Government'	12
Community	11
Non-state organisation	4
Religious organisation	3
Shopkeeper	1
Other	6

N = 455; Where did you receive the food and cash relief? (can be more than one source)

Table 17: Number of years in Jaipur

Mean number of years	17
Median number of years	18

N = 499; How long have you lived in Jaipur?

Table 18.1: *Respondents owning bank accounts and identity documents (%)*

State and non-State documents	Percent
State ID - Central	
Aadhaar	84
Bank account	
Bank account, registered anywhere	76
Bank account registered in Jaipur	61
Non-state ID linked to employment	
Union card	67
State ID - Local	
Ration card, registered in Jaipur	33
Voter ID, registered in Jaipur	30
Bhamasha card	26

N = 501; Which of these documents do you have?

Table 18.2: *Union membership by year of latest membership fee paid (*

Year of latest membership renewal	Count	Percent
In the last two years	133	27
2015-2018	87	17
2010-2014	63	13
Before 2010	19	4
Never	164	33

N = 501; When was the last time you renewed your Union card?

Table 19: *Connections with the place of origin and residence (n)*

Reason for one's choice to stay in Jaipur or travel to their village during lockdown	Response of those who prefer to go to their village (a)		Response of those who prefer to stay in Jaipur (b)	
	Count	Percent	Count	Percent
Food security	41	59	286	66
Employment security	18	26	294	68
House security	49	70	119	28
School	6	9	148	34

Relatives, neighbours and social support	21	30	14	3
Nowhere to go back	0	0	35	8
Sense of belonging	1	1	16	4
Other	9	13	3	1

N = 70 (a) , 431 (b); If you had some notice before the lockdown was imposed, would you prefer going back to your village of origin or continue with your stay in Jaipur during lockdown ? What would be the basis of your decision, in either case?

Table 20: Networks of support (%)

Networks and sources of support reached out to (a)	Percent
Unions	74
Employers	25
Police	10
Political/local leaders	9
None	8
Neighbours	6
Family	5
Landlord	4
Friends	2
Other	2

Networks and sources of support received(b)	Percent
Union	85
Political/local leaders	15
Police	13
Government	12
Community	11
Non-state organisation	4
Other	4
Religious organisation	3
Shopkeeper	1
PDS ration shop	0
Other	2

N: 501 (a) and 455 (b); Whom did you seek out for relief and support? Who did you receive relief and support from?

Table 21: Immediate expectations of relief and support for domestic workers (%)

Immediate relief expectation	Percent
Cash transfer	37
Rent support	35
Support to travel to place of origin	2
Employment moratorium	19
Other	7

N= 501; What is the most critical relief support you expect from the government right now? (can choose only one)

Table 22: Age

Age	Percent
18-25	16
25-35	36
35-45	33
45 and above	15

N=501; Query; What is your age?

Table 23: Marital status

Marital status	Percent
Separated	6
Widowed or Divorced	10
Single	1
Living together	83

N= 480; Do you live with a spouse?

Table 24: Household size

Number of members in the family unit	Percent
1-2	23
3-4	56
More than 5	21
Total	501

N=501; How many people live in your house, including all children?

Table 25: HH size and HH Income

Household size	Household Income before lockdown (₹)
1-2	13553
3-4	16449
5-6	17667
7-8	20385

N = 501; How many people live in your house, including all children? What was the household income before lockdown?

Table 26: Husband's occupation

Husband's occupation	Percent
Construction worker	45
Salaried in restaurant/food cart	18
Daily wager	17
Self employed	5
Other	14

N = 382; What is your husband's occupation?

Table 27: Husband's income during lockdown

Husband earning during lockdown (₹)	Percent
None	45
Up to 5000	17
5000-10000	27
More than 10000	12

N = 390; How much did your husband earn in April?

Table 28: Rent distribution

Monthly rent (₹)	Percent
Couldn't pay rent	28
Up to 2000	15
2000-4000	45
More than 4000	12

N = 454; How much rent did you pay in March (i.e. before lockdown was imposed and impacted earnings to depict rent in 'normal' times)?





INDIAN INSTITUTE FOR
HUMAN SETTLEMENTS

IIHS BENGALURU CITY CAMPUS

197/36, 2nd Main Road, Sadashivanagar, Bengaluru 560 080. India.
T +91 80 6760 6666 | F +91 80 2361 6814

IIHS CHENNAI

Floor 7A, Chaitanya Exotica, 24/51 Venkatnarayana Road, T Nagar
Chennai 600 017. India. T +91 44 6630 5500 / 6555 6590

IIHS DELHI

803, Surya Kiran, 19, Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi 110 001. India.
T +91 11 4360 2798 | F +91 11 2332 0477

IIHS MUMBAI

Flat No. 2, Purnima Building, Patel Compound, 20-C, Napean Sea Road
Mumbai 400 006. India. T +91 22 6525 3874

iihs.co.in