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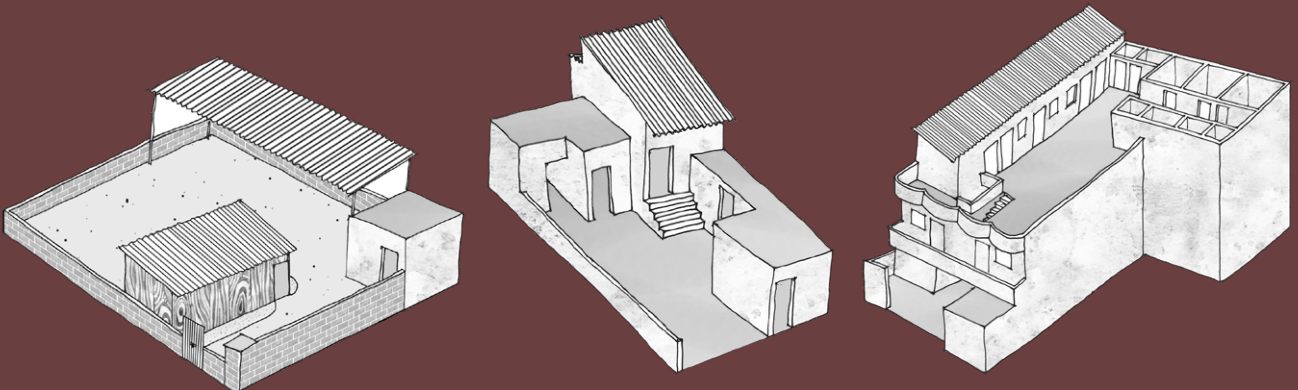
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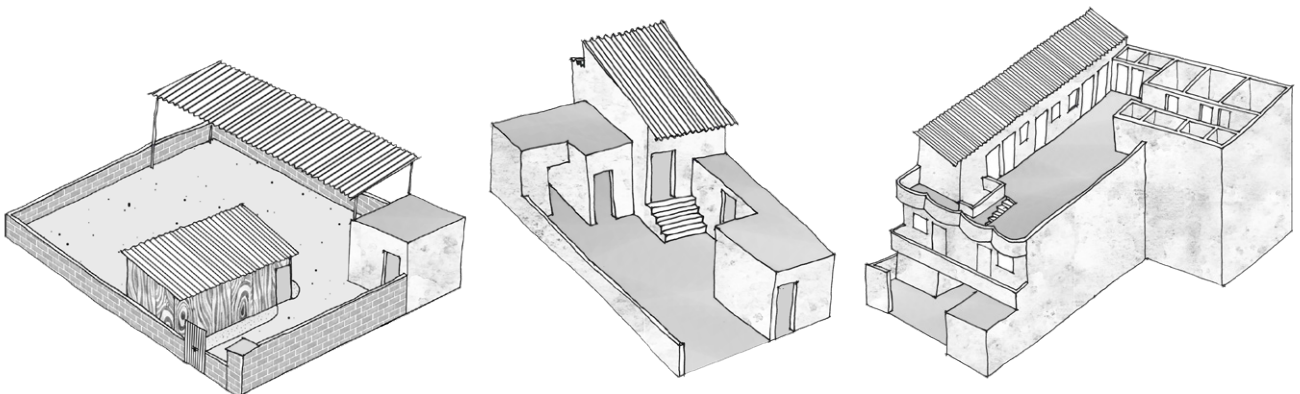
Rental Housing Arrangements for Domestic Workers

An assessment of 103 setups
in Jaipur, Rajasthan



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Introduction

The housing supply problem in Indian cities is acute due to its unaffordability. India topped the charts of nominal house price index above Brazil, China, Russia, US, UK and Japan¹. This problem is also asymmetric. Of the 19 million urban houses that are short, 95 per cent of them are in the low-income category². This has been among the many driving factors for a rich body of work produced on informal settlements in the cities. This inquiry steps outside a slum or an informal settlement, follows the worker — specifically domestic workers — to understand the diversity and typology of housing occupied by them. The idea to study rental housing of domestic workers was more bottom up and originated in a meeting with the Rajasthan Mahila Kamgar Union³ (henceforth RMKU or ‘the Union’). Union members listed arbitrage in rental pricing and inadequacy of infrastructure as the most pressing issues they faced. This study was conceived with a deep practice lens, whereby the findings would contribute to improving collective tactics and actions by the Union and housing improvement programmes in the city.

Employment Lens to Studying Housing/ Finding Those Who Find a Place in the City:

Studies on low-income urban housing have largely adopted approaches which are site-specific. Policy has in fact focused away from rentals, leaving the market largely outside regulation⁴. Additionally, policies of low-income housing have seen housing separate from employment. To study housing and employment in conjunction instead of a generally adopted site-based entry, we pursued an entry via employment into the site of housing. By virtue of being site-agnostic we have been able to cover a wider spectrum of different kinds of settlements. This idea was operationalised by members of the RMKU. The area committees of RMKU traced the map of Jaipur, locating their members from different neighbourhoods (see Fig. 1). The presence of domestic workers across neighbourhood types and geographies concretised the

¹ Palayi A and Priyaranjan N (2018) Affordable Housing in India January 2018, Reserve Bank of India, Mumbai accessed at <https://rbidocs.rbi.org.in/rdocs/Bulletin/PDFs/AFFORDABLE609D506CB8C247DAB526C-40DAF461881.PDF>

² *ibid*

³ Rajasthan Mahila Kaamgar Union (RMKU) is a Jaipur based union of over 10000 domestic workers.

⁴ An exception to this is the Rent Control Act. Following which attempts have been made but the subject is in the State list and an overarching framework missing. Model rent control legislation 1992, JNNURM 2005 and Draft rental bill 2015 have all made unsuccessful attempts.

Union’s understanding that domestic workers, rather than being spatially concentrated in areas like bastis, live all over the city in varied forms of housing. Several times we have been led into an elite colony, which contrary to our expectations, were home to low-income rentals — a dilapidated building, a vacant plot, a workers’ quarter or the community centre’s gardener’s home, interspersed with elite housing of the city. While low-income areas and bastis have historically housed the poor of the city, this approach introduced us to micro concentrations through a wide variety of forms of low-income housing. It chequered a monolithic framing of neighbourhoods based on income and class. To a large degree the spread and diversity can be attributed to the very nature of paid domestic work, which demands a proximity of home to place of work, given that domestic workers need to make multiple trips to the homes they work at through the course of the day.

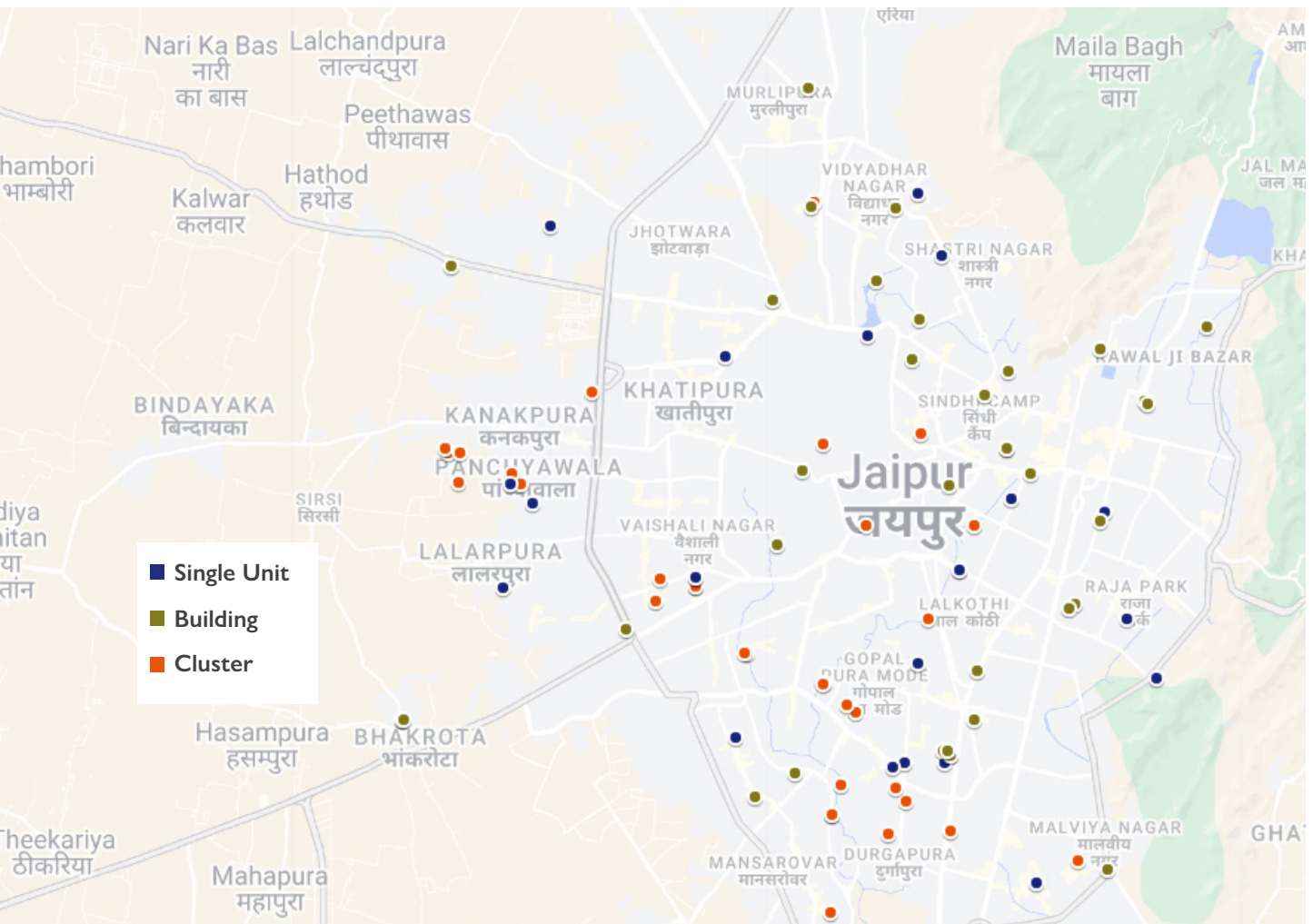


Fig 1. A map of 103 setups in Jaipur

In addition to reporting the conditions of rental housing and the linkages of housing and livelihood observed we propose a set of methodological and analytical categories that we devised in response to what the field presented. The paper progresses as follows — the first section discusses the methodological and definitional framework, the second section focuses on ways of studying material and spatial dimensions of rental housing while illustrating spatial and material patterns as encountered in our sample set of 103 rental housing sites, and the third section delves into patterns of infrastructure, rent, and legality while reflecting on how our analytical framework holds. We conclude with three major takeaways on rental housing for domestic workers and methods of studying them.

Section 1

Conceptual and Definitional Framework

An equivalent to a self-contained abode found in the west, which lends itself as easily to the term ‘house’ was missing from our field site. Instead, what we found were diverse living arrangements that straddled the distinctions of ‘inside the house’ and ‘outside the house’. Our immersion visits presented similar challenges of definitively concluding boundaries of a rental unit. The challenge was not only limited to spatial boundaries of a home, overlapping with those of other rental units, but also extended to infrastructure and legal boundaries. For instance, a rental unit may use a room for living, but it may share a toilet, tap, or wet space, or open space with other rental units. We found these amenities were not strictly public, as they were collectively

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used only by a certain set of rental units and are often provisioned by either the owner(s)⁵ for the same set of rental units or by tenants themselves. A certain number of rental units were thus united in their conditions of infrastructure, and owner. Sharing space, infrastructure or owner had direct bearings on the sociality experienced by these rental units. Further, the shared owner also determined shared financial and legal conditions. Therefore we wanted a definition that could hold all these dimensions.

While the material and physical dimensions of a house are typically studied as part of the ‘housing’ question, other dimensions of the residence are not as well represented. These include location with respect to the city and planning

⁵ We use ‘owner’ as the category who owns the land or building which is rented out.

categories (spatiality), ownership and the social context it is embedded in that have direct bearings on legitimacy, and financial and social aspects of the resident's life. Three key approaches inform the definitional framework of this study. First, we comprehensively frame housing as a combination of spatial, material, infrastructural, financial, legal, and social conditions. We use the term '**rental housing arrangement**' to refer to a combination of spatial, material, infrastructural, financial, legal, and social conditions underpinning an owner-tenant relationship. Second, we look for a unit of analysis that can hold the above-mentioned six dimensions together. This unit as we detail in subsequent paragraphs is not the 'house' but a new category we introduce - '**setup**'. Third, we focus on housing exclusively through work, that is via the domestic workers and through networks of the Union to unravel how livelihood and housing interact with each other across these six dimensions.

The physical manifestation of a rental housing arrangement is what we call a rental **setup**. A setup would thus be a combination of one or more rental units. A '**rental unit**' is the physical space for which rent is exchanged between the owner and the tenant. This may be just a room, a set of rooms, room(s) with an attached toilet or kitchenette, or any other combination of physical space. Rent could be in the form of labour, capital, or both. Building from these immersion visits we developed these categories ex-ante to facilitate standardised identification. To be qualified for this study, a rental arrangement had to have clear owner-tenant exchange — financial or in exchange of labour — and had to have at least one domestic worker residing there.

We use the term '**rental housing arrangement**' to refer to a combination of spatial, material, infrastructural, financial, legal, and social conditions underpinning an owner-tenant relationship.

Delineating a setup on field was challenging because these six dimensions were often held together by a kind of spatiality and built form that defied the dominant imagination of housing as being enclosed in a visually homogeneous entity. This meant that a series of rental units could be spatially scattered, but still score similarly on dimensions mentioned above and in their conditions of housing. Often the spatial and material similarity or dissimilarity would not necessarily correlate to similarities in other dimensions of housing. Through immersion visits we realised that a similarity in financial, legal, and social aspects of housing were strongly influenced by shared conditions of owner. Infrastructural similarities would follow this lead, but at times infrastructure was not a function of sharing an owner but either of systems self-organised by tenants, or shared by tenants having different owners but spatial proximity or shared physical form vis-a-vis water or toilets. We therefore delineated

a **'setup'** as a set of rental units in physical proximity to each other, united through at least two of the three: a) Shared services, b) Owner/rental agreement, c) Material form.

As can be seen in Fig 2, setups present themselves in many different urban forms, varying in their materiality, morphology, spatiality, and scale. Once delineated, these setups were classified into one of the three ex-ante categories — single unit, building, or a cluster. A **'single unit'**, as the name suggests, exists when no other rental unit around it may be clubbed together as a setup. See for example (c) and (d) in Fig 2. A **'building'**⁶ is a type of setup which is held together primarily by its material form, often with a well-defined entry or exit to the built form. See for example (b) and (f) in Fig 2. The category **'cluster'** is defined by its indefiniteness and its contrast to the other two in being sufficiently captured by a material-led definition alone. Often, we would find a cluster of residences not necessarily earmarked by definite boundaries but united in the commonality of their living conditions. See for instance (a), (e), and (g) in Fig 2. Being insufficiently united by material form posed a challenge to identify clusters and was overcome by looking for commonalities in ownership (and/or legality) and shared infrastructure. Using this distinction, we classified 103 setups in our sample set as in Table 1 below.

Single Unit	Building	Cluster	Total
24	41	38	103

Table 1. Distribution of setups by category

⁶ The word 'building' was instinctively used in communication between researchers given its ingrained colloquial use to refer to larger structures, and the word was retained in the final category. As we tested the applicability of this as a category that could hold in field, a slightly more precise definition of the category was developed to set it apart from various kinds of clusters - which could also at times be a combination of multiple large-scale structures.

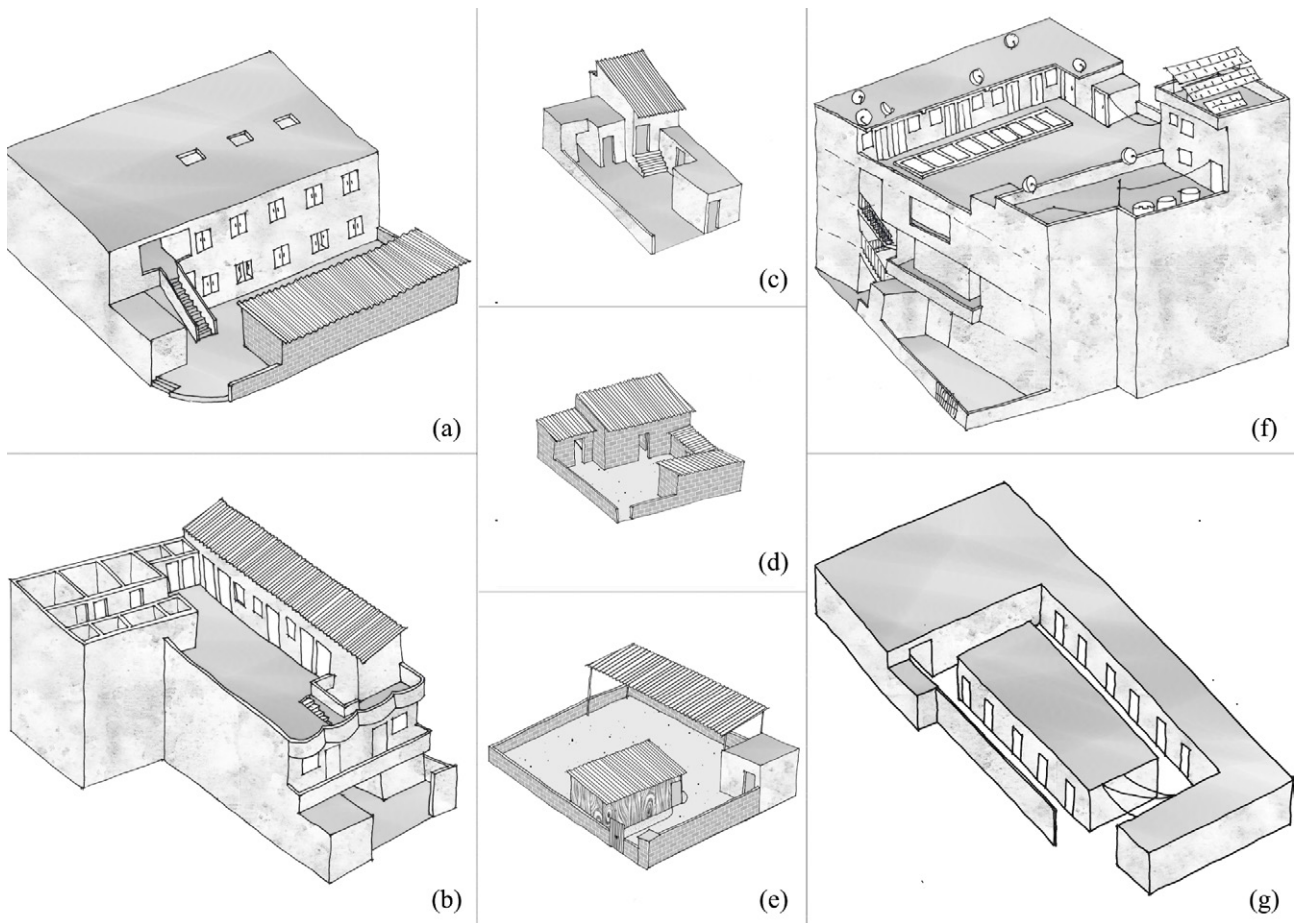


Fig 2. Material and spatial diversity across setups

(a), (e), and (g) are clusters; (b), (f) are buildings; and (c), (d) are single units.

Section 2

Method of Studying Materiality

Our method of assessing materiality followed three steps: one, record and score material specificity distinctly for walls and roof; two, combine wall and floor scores of a single floor to get combinations of construction methods; three, capture and score material scores for walls and roof of lowermost and uppermost floors of a multi-storeyed structure. In single structure setups, viz. single unit and building, these steps suffice since there is just one structure. For clusters, which may have more than one structure, wherever applicable we use step 3 to record the two most diverse structures of the setup, with the intent to capture the two extreme ends of the cluster.

We limit the study to aspects of material form with two principal qualities⁷ — i) those that most significantly lend themselves to studying conditions of living in these setups, and ii) those that can be easily observed with minimum intrusion in a single field visit. This call was intentional since we wanted to assess conditions of living of domestic workers through conditions of the structure(s) they inhabit in the setup. We study this through three parameters: a) Material and spatial form of the setups, viz. structural systems across storeys and structures in a setup; b) Physical condition or wear of the setup; and c) Physical risks to the setup. Towards (a) and (b), our instrument records the material makeup, and the wear of the setup through visual observations, and basic questions posed to residents. Since variations in quality of construction can't be studied or accounted for using these methods, structural properties of each material have been assumed as they would be in standard conditions. To capture (c), we analyse reported and observed risks in the physical context of the setup.

a) Material and Spatial Form of the Setups

Census categories make an elementary distinction in structures — differentiating into 'pucca', 'kutcha' and 'semi-pucca' as illustrated in Table 2. These three categories collapse diverse materials across set up types that have significant bearings on quality of life. Setups present themselves in spatial and material forms that go beyond these three categories, particularly in cases of multi-storeyed and multi-structural setups.

⁷Quality of life of individual households and collective lives are respectively derived through study of spatial conditions of housing units and of common spaces.

Capturing this materiality in a spectrum as we have, rather than collapsing them in three categories allows us to read the specificities of materiality by component of construction, giving a more comprehensive understanding of structures that are a mix of different material make-up that have direct bearings on quality of living, repair, and maintenance. This allows a direct understanding of material quality towards upgradation as well. For instance, consider the categories of roof illustrated in Table 3. While census categories would qualify concrete, *tukdi-girder* and *chaddar* all as *pucca*, our categorisation separates these three categories for their material qualities, wear, and impact on quality of life. *Chaddar* roofs provide less thermal insulation than concrete roofs, and *tukdi-girder* roofs are less structurally sound for construction of further storeys above. Further we have found differential rents set by owners for this difference in roofing among units of the same setup. Thus, we are able to unravel *pucca* into categories that explain the trade-offs made in liveability as well as affordability.

Fig 2 showcases variation in materiality across different storeys or multiple structures of the same setup, challenging the traditional imagination of housing as ‘enclosed’ in a single structure. Therefore, we felt the need to re-ascertain the parameters of studying the material aspects in this study.

Census Category	Material for walls	Material for roof
Kutcha: Walls and/or roof are made of materials specified	Unburnt bricks, bamboo, mud, grass, reeds, thatch, loosely packed stones etc.	
Semi-Pucca: Walls made of pucca materials, but roof made of kutcha material	Burnt bricks, stones (packed with lime or cement), cement concrete, timber, ekra etc	Unburnt bricks, bamboo, mud, grass, reeds, thatch, loosely packed stones etc.
Pucca: Walls and roof are both made of materials specified	Burnt bricks, stones (packed with lime or cement), cement concrete, timber, ekra etc	Tiles, GCI (Galvanised Corrugated Iron) sheets, asbestos cement sheet, RBC, (Reinforced Brick Concrete), RCC (Reinforced Cement Concrete) and timber etc.

Table 2. Census categories of building <Census of India 2011: Meta Data>

Table 3 shows types of construction material. Walls are denoted by A, B, C and roof by Z, X, Y, W in decreasing structural stability assuming ideal conditions⁸. Table 3 illustrates a matrix of combinations of these types of walls and roofs, attributing a type based on the structural stability in construction of a single floor. This score is nominal, and not absolute. In doing so we depart from census categories which would qualify all of these as pucca structures and are able to see the variation in the structural stability of lower and upper floors. Further, this allows a comparison of material details that make kutcha-pucca look like a spectrum than a dichotomous categorisation.

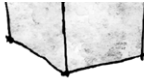
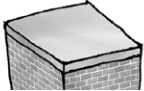
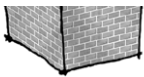
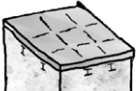
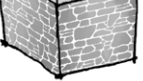


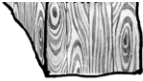
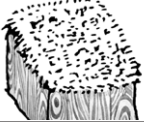




Walls			Roof			
A	Cement plastered (inner material unknown)		Z	RCC		
	Brick			Y	<i>Tukdi-Girder</i> (Stone slabs + metal I-sections)	
	Stone				X	<i>Chaddar</i> (Cement/metal sheet)
B	<i>Chaddar</i> (Cement/metal sheet)		W	Bamboo mats		
	Plywood			Thatch		
	Mud			Tarpaulin		
C	Bamboo (poles and mats)					
	Tarpaulin					

Table 3. Types of construction materials for walls and roof

⁸ Wear and requirement of periodic maintenance also factor in structural stability. We have assumed ideal conditions for purposes of this study.




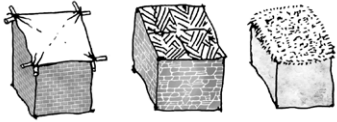

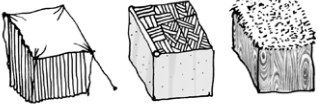
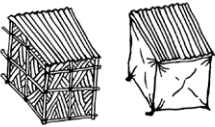
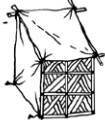
Score	Combination	Illustration	As per census category
7	A+Z		Pucca
6	A+Y		
5	A+X		
4.5	A+W		Semi-Pucca
4	B+X		N/A
3	B+W		Kutcha
2	C+X		N/A
1	C+W		Kutcha

Table 4. Typologies of construction systems

Material dimension as observed

The number of single units (24) and buildings (41) in our sample set together tallies to 65. Chart 1 illustrates the distribution of single units and buildings with their material typologies.

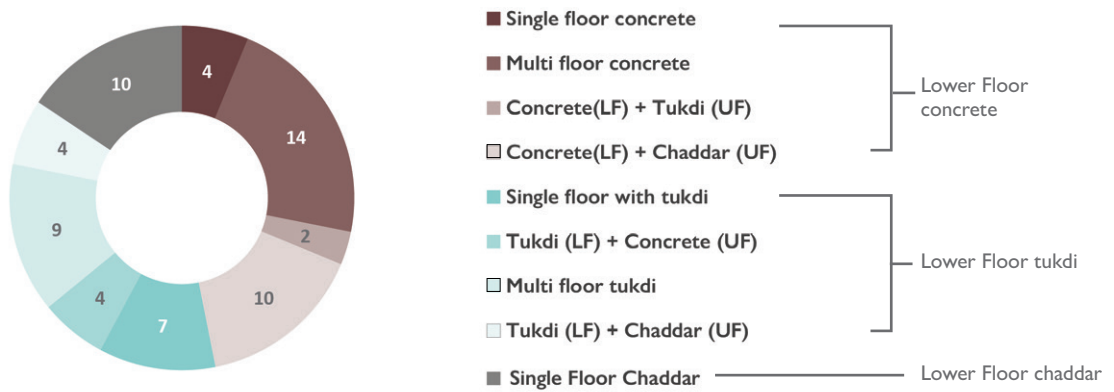


Chart 1. Distribution of setups by combined type of structure: Single unit & Building (N=65)

‘Clusters’ challenge our ways of understanding materiality, the category having emerged to hold all the excess that doesn’t fit neatly under ‘single unit’ or ‘building’. Such setups contain structures that often differ in material and structural makeup. For example, the combination of a masonry building with RCC roof alongside a masonry building with chaddar roof as in example (a) in Fig 2. The units may also be unevenly distributed among these structures. While a setup may comprise more than two structures, our instrument is designed to record the two most diverse structures of a setup. It can be safely assumed that the best and the worst structural conditions in a setup are therefore represented. We refrain from collapsing this into an average to preserve and communicate the material variation within the same setup.

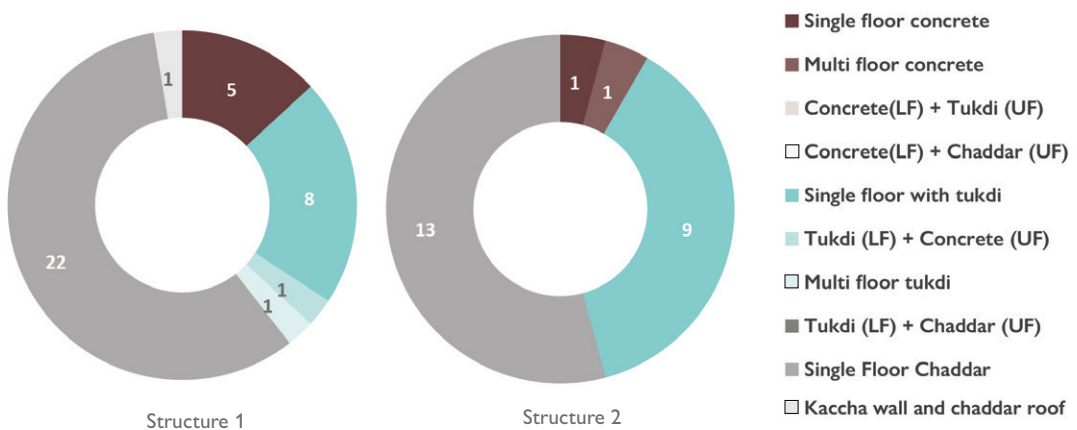


Chart 2. Distribution of setups by combined type of structure: Clusters (N=38)

b) Physical Conditions and Wear and Tear

The age of the structure in relation to the materials used and the state of repair are important indicators of structural quality, and hence the structural precarity residents are subject to. Our instrument records the tentative age of a setup, as reported by residents. But a structure may have been renovated, rebuilt, or expanded over the course of the reported age. We used a combination of standardised visual assessments and responses from residents to assess the degree of dilapidation. A setup was considered dilapidated when the damage was enough to cause distress or difficulty in carrying out day to day functions that a shelter ought to enable. For example, a crack in roof or wall resulting in leakage, seepage, broken floors, unplastered open spaces that flood during monsoons etc.

As seen in Chart 3, material conditions of a little more than 60% of the setups were reported as 'well kept', and around 40% of the setups were reported as 'partially dilapidated'. None of the setups in our sample set were reported as 'mostly dilapidated'. This is an important finding that suggests that these setups are mostly liveable. Chart 3 also shows the breakup of setup types along with respective conditions of dilapidation. Of these 38 setups, the most reported reason for dilapidation was unplastered or poorly plastered walls, or cracks in walls. This was followed by 9 setups reporting a leaky roof in the monsoons. Seven setups reported broken flooring in the interior areas of the setup. In 6 setups, wear was attributed to the age of the structure(s). Other reasons of dilapidation were related to kachha flooring in open areas of setups, damaged staircases, and drainage issues in monsoons.

This is a space ripe for investment by the state to improve the quality of rental housing, upgradation and repair of existing housing stock in the urban with opportunities for initiatives with tripartite actors — state-owner-tenant — incentivising and enabling this repair.

A state-wide repair program might be a useful way to address this. Scholars have argued that such repair may be an ideal component of both NREGA: National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and new schemes for urban employment being piloted across the country. Rajasthan's Indira Shehri Rozgar Yojana (ISRY), the largest urban employment programme currently, has, in fact, added repair of housing built under government schemes as a permitted work. Expanding this to more forms of housing, and specifically rental housing, would deepen this impact, and impact workers lives not just through wage support but through improvements in their housing

Chart 3 illustrates this distribution of setups by conditions and details of dilapidation. The details of dilapidation suggest that minor improvements and periodic maintenance may be able to significantly alleviate the living conditions in these setups. We also found that on multiple occasions tenants invested their own labour and capital for repair and maintenance to make these setups liveable. Notably, this gestures to modes of co-production of rental housing by tenant as well as owner. This is a space ripe for investment by the state to improve the quality of rental housing, upgradation and repair of existing housing stock in the urban with opportunities for initiatives with tripartite actors — state-owner-tenant — incentivising and enabling this repair. A state-wide repair program might be a useful way to address this. Scholars have argued that such repair may be an ideal component of both NREGA: National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) and new schemes for urban employment being piloted across the country. Rajasthan’s Indira Shehri Rozgar Yojana (ISRY), the largest urban employment programme currently, has, in fact, added repair of housing built under government schemes as a permitted work. Expanding this to more forms of housing, and specifically rental housing, would deepen this impact, and impact workers lives not just through wage support but through improvements in their housing.⁹

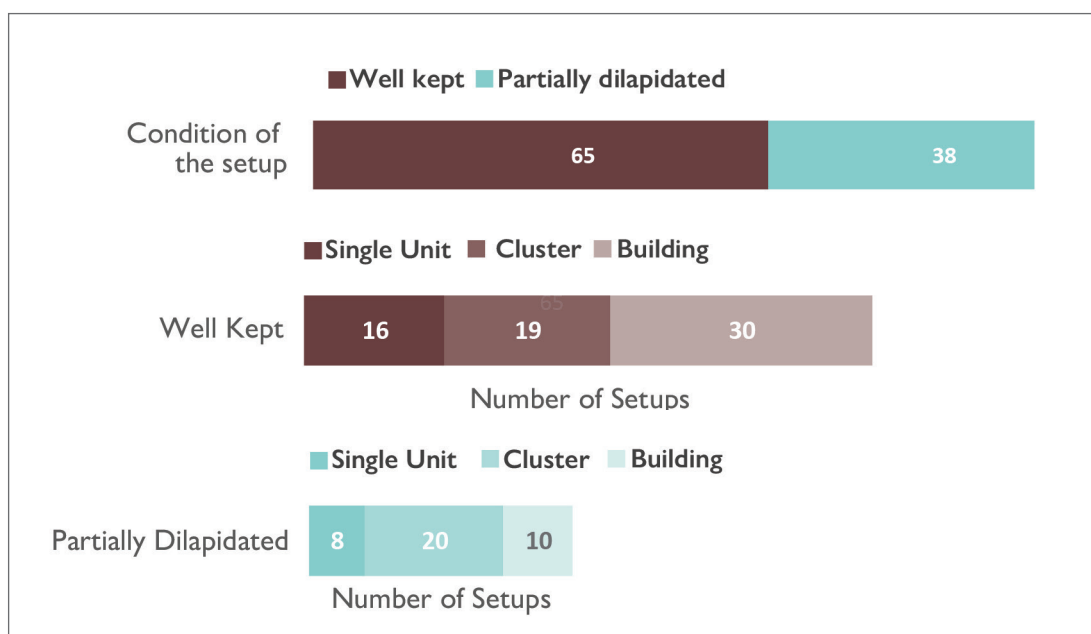


Chart 3. Distribution of setups by condition of dilapidation and details of dilapidation (N=103)

⁹ For details on the scheme, see <https://irgyurban.rajasthan.gov.in/Home/Index>. Accessed December 9th, 2022. For writing on urban employment programmes and the need to expand them to include infrastructure and housing repair, see Bhan and Anand (2022) An urban employment programme should not just be about wage. Economic Times, July 20, 2022. Available at: <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/opinion/et-commentary/an-urban-employment-programme-should-not-be-just-about-wage-and-work-but-about-skilling-too/articleshow/93012810.cms>. Accessed December 9th, 2022.

Details of dilapidation	Single Unit	Cluster	Building	Total
Leaking roof during monsoons	4	4	1	9
Unplastered/ badly plastered/ cracked walls	1	8	6	15
Damaged staircase			1	1
Broken/kaccha flooring		2	5	7
Kuccha paving		2		2
Drainage in monsoons		1		1
Wear due to age	2	2	2	6
Unspecified	1	4	2	7

Table 5. Details of dilapidation by setup type (n=96)

c) Physical risks to the setup

Around half of the total setups studied did not have any physical risk reported, while the other half had at least one risk reported. Only 10 per cent of the sample set reported more than one risk. Interestingly, wild animals posed risk in 12 setups. Flooding in premises was a risk in 10 setups, proximity to landfill or garbage a risk in 9 setups, and risk due to proximate open drain or sewer in 9 setups. Eight setups reported proximity to railway tracks or roads as a risk and 6 setups were found close to high tension electricity lines or precarious electricity poles. Other reported risks included absence of railings, precarious structures in setup, topographic features like cliffs, water bodies, and hillsides, and burglary. Chart 4 illustrates the distribution of setups by details of physical risk. We find that there was at least one risk in 12 of 24 total single unit setups. Similarly, 22 of 38 total clusters, and 14 of 41 total buildings were found to have at least one physical risk.

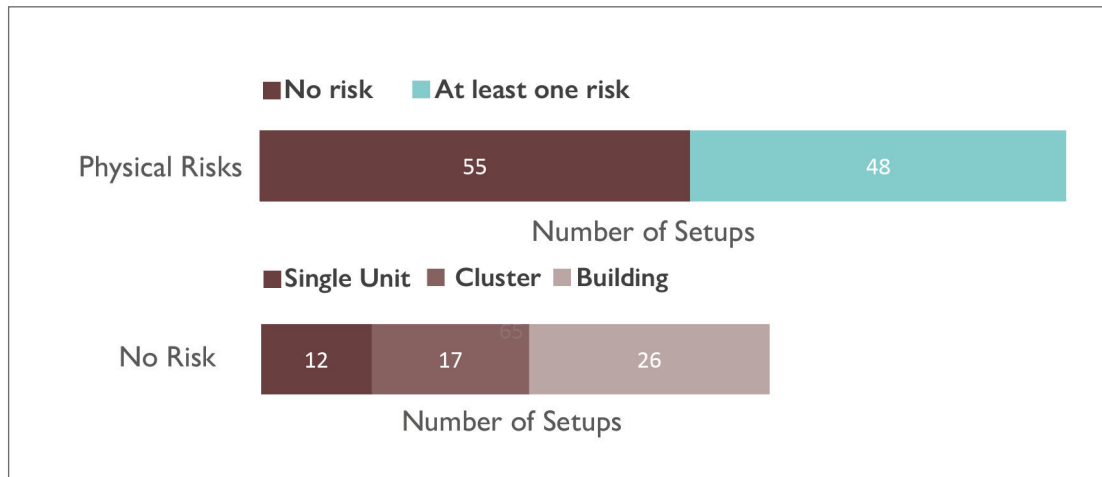


Chart 4. Distribution of setups by physical risks (N=103)

Risk	Single Unit	Cluster	Building	Total
High tension line/ precarious electricity pole	2	3	1	6
Topography viz. cliff, water body, hill	1	1	3	5
Garbage/landfill	2	4	3	9
Wild animals	1	9	2	12
Flooding inside premises	1	7	2	10
Proximate drain/open sewer	3	5	1	9
Proximate railway track/ traffic road	2	5	1	8
Burglary	2			2
Absence of railing on staircase/ Structural stability of premises	1		4	5

Table 6. Details of physical risk by setup type (N=66)

The observations in chart 4, are indicators for upgradation of these setups or the settlements they may be in to ameliorate risks that can be resolved through planning and improve the habitability of the setups. What we observe are largely issues such as high-tension lines, topography, garbage or landfill, wild animals, proximate drain or sewer, railway track suggesting that locations of rental setups often rank lower in tenability. Flooding inside the premises, another highly reported issue may or may not be a factor of the context, but suggests a lapse in planning of the setup – viz. through slope, material of paving or level vis-a-vis surroundings.

Many of these can be addressed by Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) particularly the ones that are outside the setup like treatment of open drains, sewers, and garbage dumps. Addressing issues such as proximity to landfills require participation of multiple stakeholders and a longer time frame. Proximity to high-tension wires and railway tracks cannot be resolved through planning interventions but need a set of serious interventions that balance valid concerns of safe residence with a dominant lens of in situ upgradation as much as possible. Some issues like internal flooding of setups and structural integrity of setups fall beyond the purview of planning and ULBs and fall in the jurisdiction of the owner making the setup itself the unit of upgradation. In more than one-third of our 103 setups, owners lived on the premises. Therefore site-based interventions for bettering rental have direct impacts for improvement in living conditions of owners themselves.

Many of these can be addressed by Urban Local Bodies (ULBs) particularly the ones that are outside the setup like treatment of open drains, sewers, and garbage dumps.

Section 3: Patterns of infrastructure, rent and legality

3.1 Physical Infrastructure

The various understandings of ‘housing’ have always argued for a definition that is indicative of the conditions that enable living in the house. Of primary importance are — water supply, toilet facilities and electricity. Given the small footprint of the houses we have also included access to wet areas as part of physical infrastructure as these areas enable key tasks like washing clothes and utensils, and bathing. We measure the quality of physical infrastructure on parameters of access — individual, communal, public — and cost of service. There are three distinct types of arrangements we observe with regards to utility — included in rent, as per rates and usage, or a fixed rate irrespective of usage. We detail the patterns in accessing water, toilet, electricity, and wet spaces below.

Access to water

Less than one-fifth of the setups had rental units with individual access to water. About 68 per cent of setups, provisioned water within the setup but not within the units. We consider this kind of access as communal access to water. It is shared with other households but strictly restricted to only certain sets of households. About 10 per cent of setups had no water supply and tenants access water via public taps situated outside the setups. About 19 per cent¹⁰ of the setups were such that they had rental units with water points within the rental unit. According to the 2011 census data for the state of Rajasthan, 78 percent of urban households have access to water within the premises, 14 per cent near the premises and 8 percent away from premises.¹¹ How ‘premises’ are being defined and delineated becomes critical here, as the unit of setup is seen to be the dominant scale at which water is accessed.¹² Setup proves a robust category in such contexts, as not only the unit of collection and analysis of data but also as our findings on access to infrastructure indicates, a unit suitable for intervention for improving infrastructure. In our survey, majority of

¹⁰ 16.5 percent setups had all rental units with water points inside rental units, and 2.9 percent had at least one rental unit that had water point inside rental unit. 13.5 percent of this 16.5 percent are single unit setup type alone.

¹¹ MoHUA 2013, State of Housing in India, A Statistical Compendium, Appendix 113

¹² As per the Census Act 1984 “‘premises’ means any land, building or part of a building and includes a hut, shed or other structure or any part thereof”

setups have communal access to water taps, with some overlaps with other sources. Chart 6 analyses those setups and illustrates the density of rental units per water point. Only about 8 percent of the surveyed setups have a tap for each rental unit. At the other end of the spectrum are 18 percent of surveyed setups with 10 rental units or more per water tap. When multiplied by average urban densities this means at least 36 people per tap if not more. One-third of the setups have one tap for 5-10 rental units and the most pervasive category is one tap for 2-5 rental units found across 42 per cent of the surveyed setups.

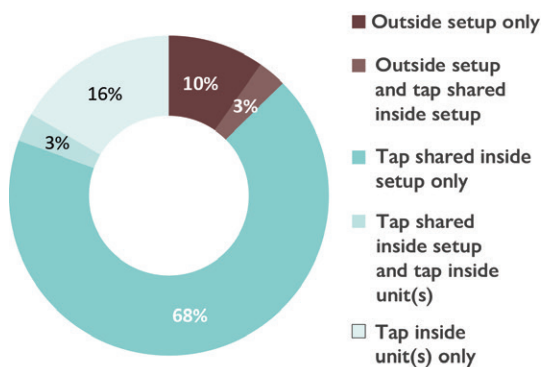


Chart 5. Distribution of setups by source of water (N=103)

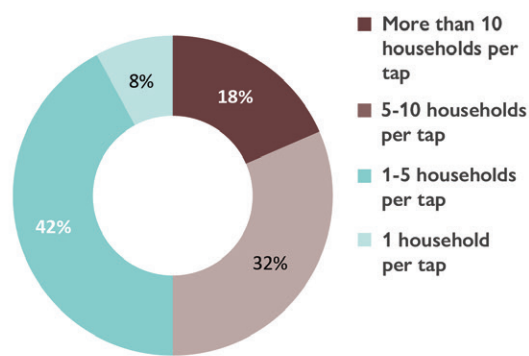


Chart 6. Density of rental units per water point (n=76)

We found no intra-setup variation in either the mode of calculating charges for water, or the costs themselves across all the 103 setups surveyed. We therefore find setup a well-suited unit to understand access to water. Rental units in close to 50 per cent of the setups did not get charged distinctly for water, instead the rent was inclusive of water use charges. Rental units of 22 of the setups had fixed charges per month charged by the owner as per the meter reading, in addition to rent. Residents of 3 setups had fixed charges per month that the owner charged per person. Residents from 19 setups split a metered water bill among rental units. Of these, 15 were distributed by splitting water bills and 4 had a submeter installed on the motor drawing water which was split and paid by each rental unit.

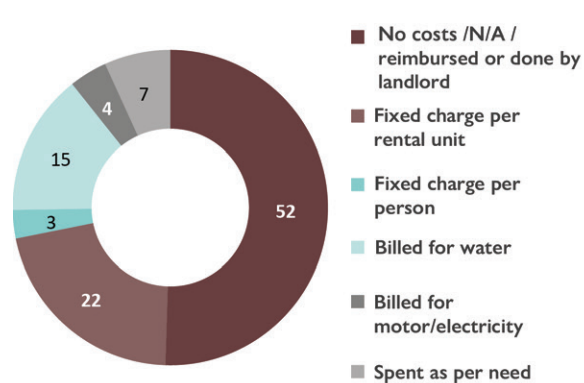


Chart 7. Distribution of setups by costs of water (N=103)

Fixed charge per rental unit	
Up to ₹ 100	15
₹ 101- ₹ 250	4
More than ₹ 251	1

Table 7. Range of costs for water

Fixed charge per person		Spent as per need	
₹ 50	1	Up to ₹ 250	1
₹ 200	1	₹ 251- ₹ 500	3
		More than ₹ 500	1

Table 7. (contd.) Range of costs for water

Access to toilets

According to the 2011 census, 82 percent of urban households have access to toilets within the premises, 1.3 percent use public toilets, and 16.7 percent resort to open defecation in Rajasthan.¹³ In 20 percent of the surveyed setups, the toilet was within the rental unit. Of these, 15 percent are single unit setups alone, the form of which shapes its access to water and toilet infrastructure. Like in the case of water, the most reported arrangement is communal access. Seventy percent of setups had a toilet provided within the setup, shared between rental units of the setup. Four setups did not have toilets at all, and tenants relied on public toilets entirely. Amongst the setups that have communal access to toilets, Chart 9 illustrates, about 26 percent of setups have more than 5 rental units sharing a single toilet, and a vast majority — 62 percent of setups — have less than five rental units sharing a single toilet. Only 7 percent of setups have one toilet per rental unit. It is important to note here that of the 103 setups surveyed, 24 are single unit setups which have a better access to toilets. The lack of toilet facilities is stark in building and cluster categories of setups.

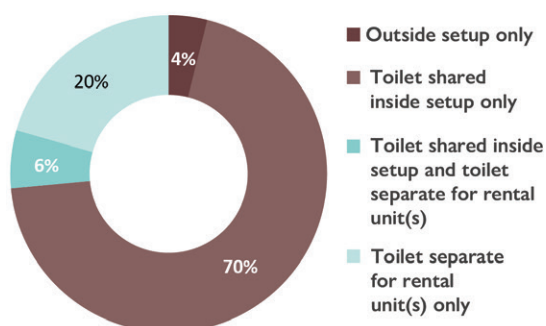


Chart 8. Distribution of setups by toilet access (N=103/ n=102)

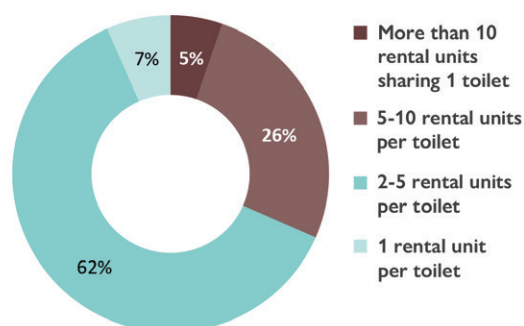


Chart 9. Density of rental units per toilet (n=76)

¹³ MoHUA 2013, State of Housing in India, A Statistical Compendium, Appendix 122

Like with access to water, we found no intra-setup variation in either the mode of calculating charges for toilets, or the costs themselves across all the 103 setups surveyed. Of the 103 setups surveyed, only 8 setups reported that there were no costs incurred by them for maintaining the toilet, and the responsibility rested with the owner. One setup reported that the owner charged them monthly for the maintenance of toilets. Rental units in 12 setups outsourced the cleaning and split the costs. A vast majority — rental units of 82 setups — reported that they cleaned the toilets themselves.

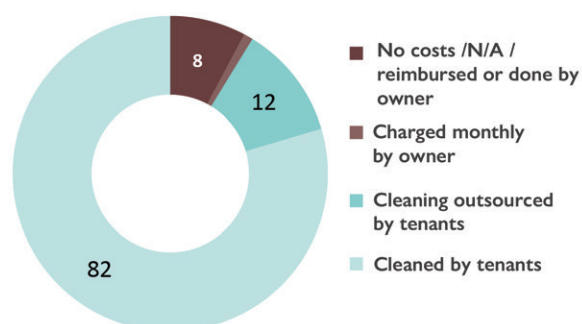


Chart 10. Distribution of setups by costs for toilet (N=103)

Charged by owner monthly	
₹ 30	1
Cleaning outsourced by tenants	
Up to ₹ 50	2
₹ 51- ₹ 100	1
More than ₹ 100	1
Difficult to say	7

Table 8. Range of monthly charges of toilet

Access to electricity

In our study, all setups have access to wired electricity¹⁴ while 94 percent of urban households in Rajasthan report having electricity as per the 2011 census. In this case the variation exists across setups in the way tenants pay for its use. Distribution of setups by mode of calculating electricity charges is illustrated in Chart 11. About 80 percent of setups report being charged as per reading of the electricity meter, while the remaining setups have a mix of fixed charges collected by owners and combination of both.

However, the amount charged by the owner per electric unit differed significantly across setups, as illustrated in Chart 12. While the official cost for consumption in Jaipur for up to 500 units of electricity is ₹6 per electricity unit, only 18 percent of

¹⁴ We use the term 'wired electricity' as separate from formal access to metered electricity. The former also includes cases which have an informal access to electricity.

the set ups report paying this rate. The rest pay much higher rates, with one-third of the surveyed setups paying more than ₹9 per electricity unit. An equal proportion of

However, the amount charged by the owner per electric unit differed significantly across setups, as illustrated in Chart 12. While the official cost for consumption in Jaipur for up to 500 units of electricity is ₹6 per electricity unit, only 18 percent of the set ups report paying this rate. The rest pay much higher rates, with one-third of the surveyed setups paying more than ₹9 per electricity unit. An equal proportion of setups report paying ₹8 per electricity unit.

setups report paying ₹8 per electricity unit. Another important observation about access to electricity is that meters are often shared between different rental units. This means that for most rental units the arrangement is splitting electricity costs calculated through meter readings with those they share the meter with.

Out of the 103 setups surveyed, we found only 5 instances of intra-setup variation in the mode by which households were charged for electricity, and 7 instances of intra-setup variation in rate. Since this diversity is limited to less than 7 percent of our sample size, we continue to study modes and rates at setup level.

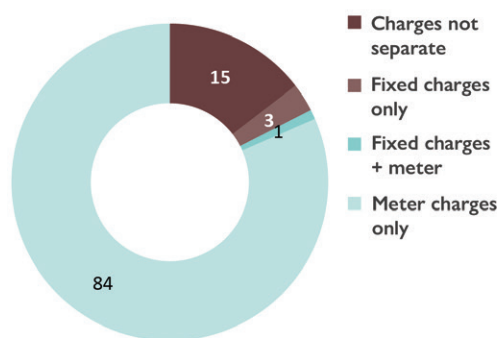


Chart 11. Distribution of setups by mode of calculating electricity charges (N=103)

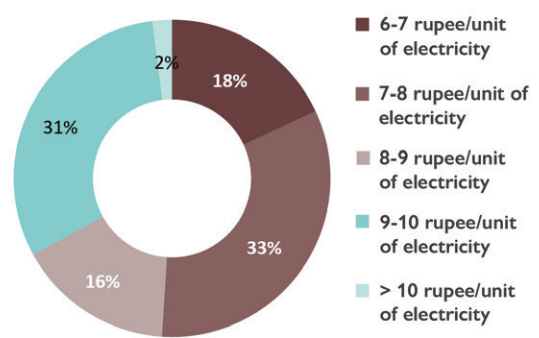


Chart 12. Distribution of rental units by per unit cost of electricity paid (N=103)

Access to Washing and Wet space

Out of the 103 setups, 92 had wet areas outside individual units for individual and communal access¹⁵ to wash and clean laundry, utensils, and often bathe, especially for male residents. The importance of these spaces for households with small physical footprints cannot be overemphasised. They allow for segmenting tasks and

¹⁵ This includes 18 single units with individual access to wet space.

keeping the interiors of the living spaces dry thereby improving quality of living for single room tenements by manifold. A simplistic reading of access to wet spaces as necessarily within the house would overlook this, however looking at the unit of the setup allows us to document the scale at which this is accessed. Considering that as per the census, over 40 percent of households live in single room tenements, an underemphasis on this can be grossly misleading in how we imagine provisioning of amenities. In our study we found that 8 setups did not have a wet space at all. Ninety setups reported anywhere from 1 to 5 wet spaces in setup. The reported densities among those setups that report communal wet spaces are as illustrated in Chart 13 below.

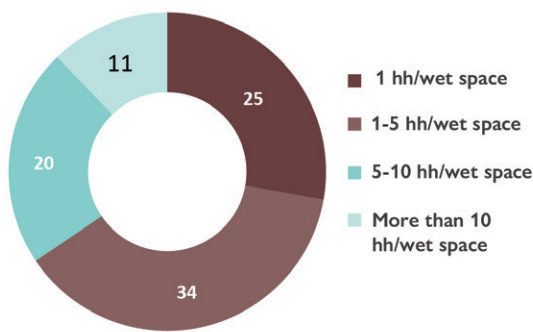


Chart 13. Distribution of setups by density of rental units per wet space (n=93)

The provisioning of physical infrastructure underlines the importance of ‘setup’ as an analytical unit while studying rental housing. For essentials like water supply, toilets, and wet spaces, setup emerges as a crucial unit in understanding how infrastructure in low-income housing is provisioned.

Density - Rental units/wet space	No. of wet spaces in setup						
	0	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Up to 1 rental unit/wet space		23	2				25
1-5 rental units/wet space		23	5	3	1	2	34
5-10 rental units/wet space		11	6	3			20
More than 10 rental units/wet space		8	1	2			11
Grand Total	8	65	14	8	1	2	92

Table 9. Cross-tabulation of number of wet spaces in setup and density of rental units per wet space (n=100)

Given the average urban household size in India of 4.4 persons per household, a density of 10 households (hh) per wet space means it is shared by 40 to 50 people. 54 setups in our survey, which make over half of our sample, can be categorised as high density as far as wet space is concerned. Given its central role in improving the lives

of people and ease with which this can be improved, increasing the number of wet spaces could be very effective in improving life for the poor. Unfortunately, no such programme exists in policy.

The provisioning of physical infrastructure underlines the importance of ‘setup’ as an analytical unit while studying rental housing. For essentials like water supply, toilets, and wet spaces, setup emerges as a crucial unit in understanding how infrastructure in low-income housing is provisioned. Setup is the intermediate space between the public and private, fulfilling very diverse use cases for households that have limited physical footprint.

3.2 Social Infrastructure

We measured access to social infrastructure by developing an index considering the distance of the setup from five key markers of social infrastructure, viz. government hospital, Public Health Centre (PHC), anganwadi, government school, and Public Distribution System (PDS) shop. We recorded distances of each setup from closest access points to these social amenities and awarded scores¹⁶. Chart 14 illustrates the distribution of setups by their score for each marker.

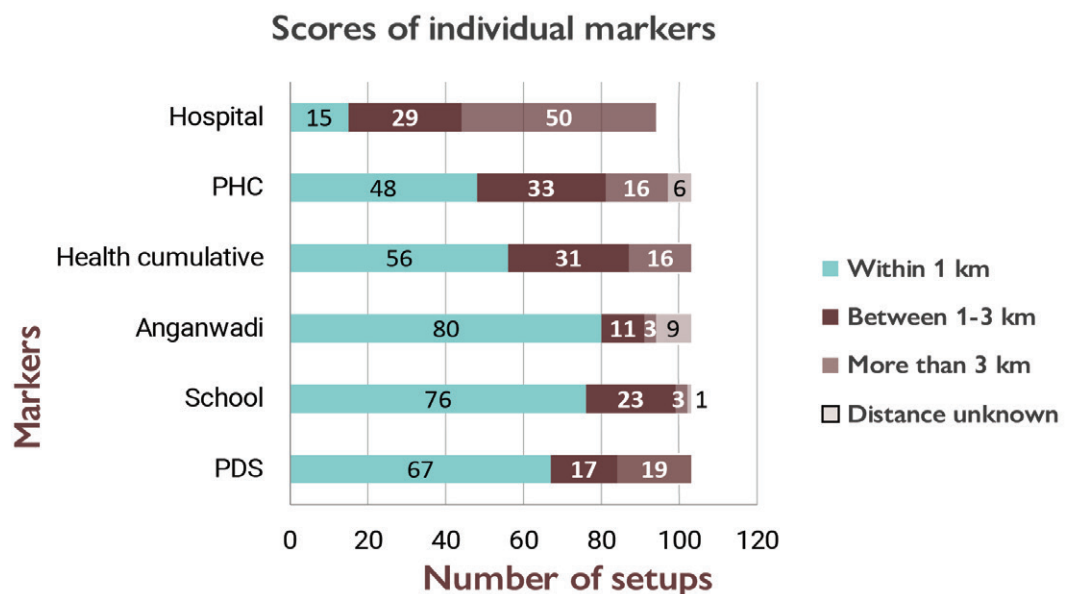


Chart 14. Distribution of setups by distance from social amenities (N=103)

Anganwadis were found to be the most accessible social amenity, well connected to more than three-fourths of the setups in the sample set. Government schools were the next most accessible. Close to 60 percent of the setups surveyed were also well

¹⁶ Setups were considered well-connected if the distance from a particular marker of social infrastructure was within 1km; passably connected if distance was between 1 and 3 kms, and poorly connected for anything more than 3 km. In cases where researchers were unable to find closest points, 0 was awarded.

connected to PDS shops. Less than half of the setups surveyed were well connected to PHCs or government hospitals. Even on taking a cumulative government healthcare score¹⁷, only slightly more than half of the setups surveyed were well connected to healthcare. We also saw that the least number of our setups were poorly connected to government schools, being one third of the setups which were poorly connected to anganwadis, considering setups where distance from a certain social amenity could not be ascertained as also poor connection. We found that the number of setups poorly connected to PDS make around 20 percent of our sample set. This number is also close to that of setups poorly connected to healthcare.

We then performed a cumulative analysis. The setups were now categorised into high, medium, and low connectivity to social infrastructure through a cumulative score of the above four markers viz. government healthcare, anganwadi, government school, and PDS. The following logic was used: high connectivity was when at least three of the four markers scored 3. In case only two of the four markers scored 3, none of the remaining markers should have scored 1 to qualify as highly connected. Low connectivity was when at least two of the four markers scored 1. Anything else was considered as having medium connectivity to social infrastructure.

A. Markers for cumulative score		B. Combinations of cumulative scores	
1	Government Healthcare (Best of Govt Hospital and PHC)	Connectivity to social infrastructure	Possible combinations. x= any score other than specified
2	Anganwadi	High	3, 3, 3, x 3, 3, 2, 2
3	Government School	Med	Remaining combinations*
4	PDS shop	Low	1, 1, x, x

* 3, 3, 2, 1; 3, 2, 2, 1; 2, 2, 2, 1

Table 10. Calculating cumulative score of social infrastructure

Among the 103 setups in our sample set, we see close to 70 percent fall under the category of highly connected. Only about a tenth of the sample have low overall connectivity to social infrastructure. Among the setups with high connection to social infrastructure, 13 scored 3,3,3,1, i.e., were well connected to 3 of 4 amenities, and poorly connected to one amenity. Chart 15 illustrates this distribution and tabulates the weakest performers in such cases.

¹⁷ Highest score among Public Health Centre and government hospital treated as government healthcare score.

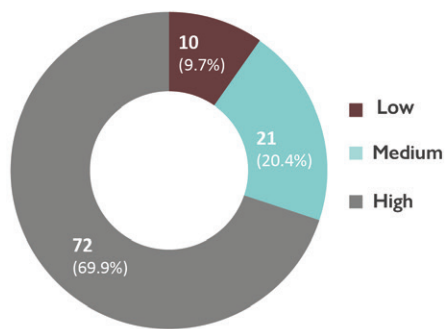


Chart 15. Distribution of setups by cumulative score for social infrastructure (N=103)

Weakest performers in scores of 3,3,3,1	
Amenity with lowest scores	Number of setups
Anganwadi	4
Healthcare	6
PDS	2
School	1
Grand Total	13

3.3 Financial

We find rent of units within the same setup often varies. Therefore, for this discussion we refer to the rental unit constantly in addition to the rental setup. Among the 235 rental units across 103 setups, 10 rental units don't exchange money as rent

All three — the mean, median, and modal values converge at ₹2400 per month.

The Satpathy committee recommended an addition of ₹1430 per month as rental allowance to determine national minimum wage. In this case the allowance amounts to just about 60 per cent of what is typically spent by households as rent.

and among the remaining 225 rental units, the range of rental payment per month varies between ₹500 and ₹8500. All three — the mean, median, and modal values converge at ₹2400 per month. The Satpathy committee¹⁸ recommended an addition of ₹1430 per month as rental allowance to determine national minimum wage. In this case the allowance amounts to just about 60 per cent of what is typically spent by households as rent.

In about 12 percent of cases, rents are exclusive of utility costs of water and electricity¹⁹. Household expenditure on water ranged from being included

¹⁸ Accessed at <https://pib.gov.in/PressReleasePage.aspx?PRID=1564590>

¹⁹ 13.19 percent (31 rental units) have rent inclusive of electricity; 47.2 percent (111 rental units) have rent inclusive of water costs. The intersection is 11.19 percent (28 rental units).

in rent, to spending as high as ₹800 per month as per need. Households²⁰ paying water charges separate from rent, pay about ₹220 per month on an average. Households²¹ paying toilet charges separate from rent, pay about ₹90 per month on an average. Households²² paying electricity charges by meter reading paid an average of ₹8.6 per unit. Only four households were found paying lumpsum costs which ranged from ₹100 to ₹700 per month. As demonstrated in the sub-section on infrastructure, the per electrical unit costs charged for electricity often exceed the existing rates and is another form of direct income for the house owners. While these data points are corroborated from two different sample sets one can robustly deduce that rental expenses constitute generally between 25 and 40 percent of the total household income.²³

Chart 16 illustrates the distribution of rental units and Chart 17 illustrates the distribution of rental units by annual increase in rents. Close to half of the rental units did not report a hike in the last one year or at all. Around one-eighth of the rental units report an annual hike of up to 5 per cent and 5-10 per cent each. About 20 percent of the rental units report hikes as high as 10-30 percent annually, and 5 per cent or 12 rental units report hikes higher than 30 percent. While formal rental housing may practice annual increase of rents, when it comes to low-income rental housing, it is occupied by those who are informally employed and often lack an annual increase in their wages, finding it difficult to keep up with the annual increase.

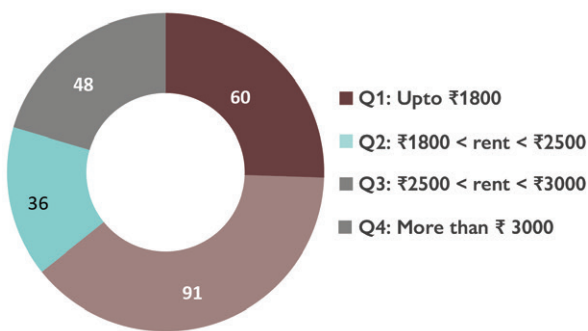


Chart 16. Distribution of rental units by rental quartiles (N=235)

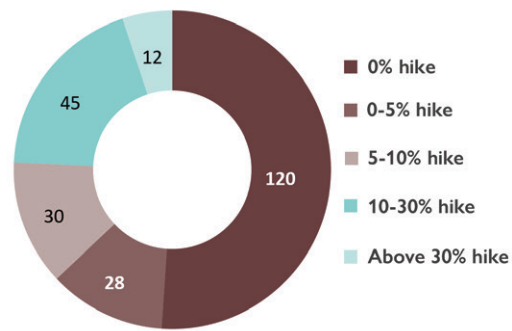


Chart 17. Distribution of rental units by annual rental increase (N=235)

²⁰ Water costs could be discerned for 72 out of a total of 235 households in our sample, across 103 setups.

²¹ Toilet costs could be discerned for 16 out of a total of 235 households in our sample, across 103 setups. Of the 103 setups, households in 82 setups cleaned toilets on their own.

²² Per electrical unit costs could be discerned for 200 out of 235 households in our sample, across 103 setups.

²³ Majority of the rental units in this sample set were inhabited by one household, making it reasonable to make this deduction assuming a rental unit to be representative of a household.

Table 11 illustrates a cross tabulation of rental units by the monthly rent paid in relation to the range of rentable units that a setup contains.

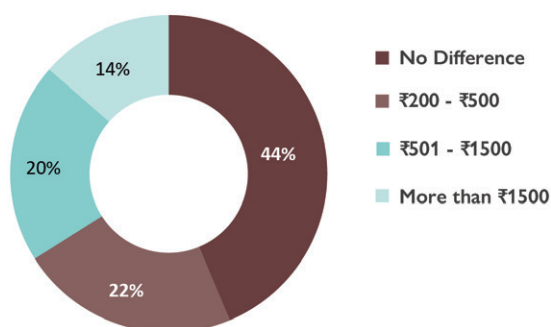
Range	Single unit	1-10 units	11-20 units	21-30 units	31 units and above	Grand Total
No rent exchanged	6	4	0	0	0	10
Up to ₹1800	6	28	15	0	1	50
₹1800 to ₹2500	5	56	19	3	6	91
₹2500 to ₹3000	3	17	6	6	4	36
₹3000 to ₹8500	9	25	10	3	1	48

Table 11. Rental units cross tabulated by rent and rentable units (n=233; missing value: 2)

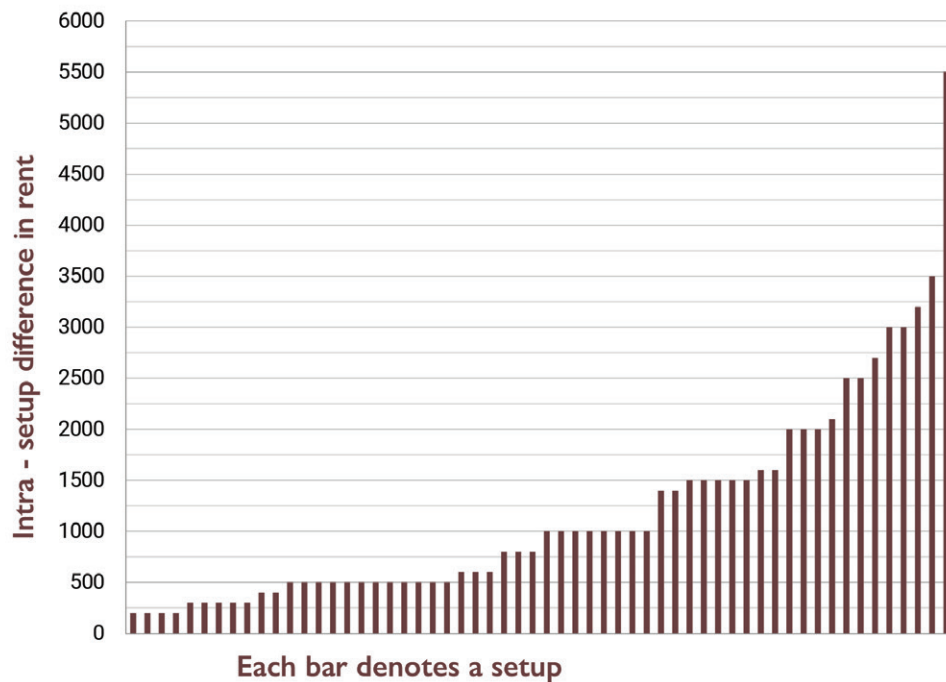
Part A of Chart 18 illustrates that in about 44 percent of the setups, there is no intra-setup variance in rent. Close to 22 percent of setups report a variation of up to ₹500. Hence for 66 percent of setups despite using setup as a unit we can deduce rent at the level of the household in a near accurate range.

However, there are significant differences for about 44 percent of setups. 20 percent of the setups report variance from ₹500 - ₹1500 and 14 percent of setups report a variance of more than ₹1500, going ₹2500 and higher in 8 cases, the variance roughly as much as the median rent. Part B of Chart 18 illustrates rental variance by each setup, arranged in order of increasing variance. Here is where we caution against using setup as a unit to collect and analyse data. The rent for units within the same setup varies for numerous reasons, often endogenous to the rental unit like varying size or materiality but many times exogenous reasons like years of residence, social connections etc.

A. Intra-setup variance in rent (N=103)



B. Intra-setup variance of rent



Part B of Chart 18. Variation of rent within setup

3.4 Legal

We consider legal status to be a spectrum, an increasing or decreasing degree of legality rather than discrete categories of legal and illegal. In addition to the existence of a written contract or rental agreement with the owner, we ask if the residence has been used as address proof for any kind of government documentation. Strictly speaking the use of residence as address proof does not legitimise the rental arrangement but it enables the residents who are largely interstate migrants to establish a status of person-in-residence of the city, in this case Jaipur. This in turn legitimises them not only for social protection programmes but to exercise voting rights. On the other hand, from our data we deduce that owners are more liberal with allowing the tenants to use the address to procure documents than they are particular about having a legal contract for a rental arrangement. This liberal approach is an opportunity to deepen protection for migrants in cities by further incentivising this practice.

Anyone falling through both these gaps is at the precarious end of this spectrum whereas those with both are considered as standing on much stronger ground. The instance of rental units of a setup having written contracts with the owner are illustrated in Chart 19 while a combination of written contract and documentation is illustrated in Chart 20. About half fall on the precarious end of the spectrum. This means that while they definitely do not have certainty of terms with their owner, they also lack an essential document that can elevate their status as citizens as they

are denied the ability to avail social protection, documentation or other government schemes even while living in the city. A silver lining here is that about 25 per cent rental units despite the absence of a legal contract have used their residence as address proof. Additionally, 2 cases report having a rental agreement but no address proof. Table 8 shows the rental range with legality. We find no direct correlation between the two, which is to say that our sample suggests that paying a higher rent does not ensure a more robust documentation of either the rent agreement or government documentation.

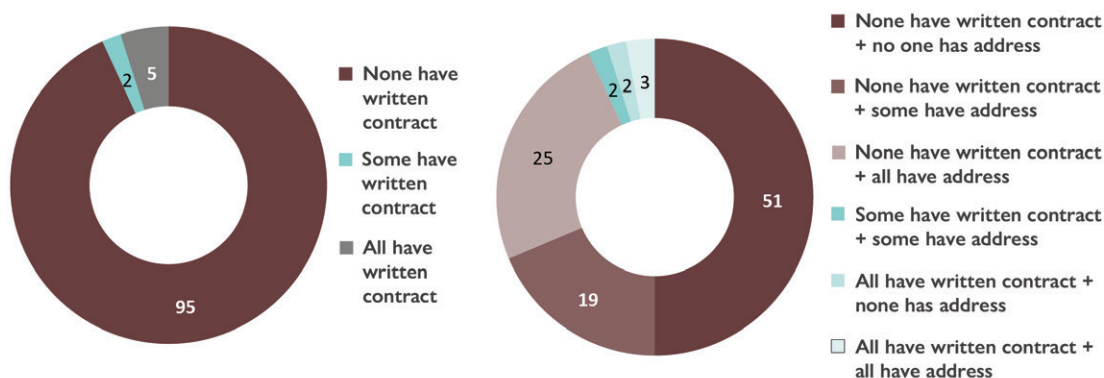


Chart 19. Distribution of setups by its rental units having a written contract (n=102)

Chart 20. Distribution of setups by its rental units having a combination of written contract and address proof

Range	(a) Have rental agreement + Have address proof	(b) No rental agreement + Have address proof	(c) No rental agreement + No address proof	Total
No rent exchanged	0	8	2	10
Up to ₹1800	1	12	37	50
₹1800 to ₹2500	2	32	57	91
₹2500 to ₹3000	1	14	21	36
₹3000 to ₹8500	3	10	33	48

Table 12. Households cross-tabulated by rent and legality (n=233)

Section 4: Conclusion and Going Forward

There are three big takeaways from this study. The ‘setup’ is a robust intermediary unit situated between the household and neighbourhood to assess and understand low-income housing in urban areas. Its absence in policy discussions and programmes is matched in its pervasive presence in the field. Insights from our fieldwork further validate the proposition that employment and housing, especially in the case of domestic workers, are inextricably linked and any policy intervention on either end should look at them as a whole rather than treating them as isolated problems. This study gestures towards 3 types of relationships between capital and rental housing which we elaborate on at the end. While the study never interviewed homeowners and owners, these relationships were pervasive, and we think they have the potential for being the basis of future work in improvements for low-income rental housing. Finally, we summarise the data presented above by reiterating major takeaways across each dimension we examined. Overall amenities, especially electricity, is better provisioned in our sample set than the averages for urban households from 2011 census data. Further, if setup is regarded as the delineation of premises, then the provisioning of water and toilets in our sample set also averages better than state urban averages.

The data elucidated in the previous sections makes a compelling case for complementing the unit of a household with other units like that of a setup which capture the rhythm at which everyday domesticity is reproduced. At the centre is not the physical structure of the house but the reproduction of domesticity.

Long-established analytical categories need to fashion themselves differently when intentions and modality shift due to commitment to co-creation. Adopting this approach in this research resulted in studying housing not at the unit of the household only but at the unit of the setup - the pertinence of which is established in Section 1. The study plays a direct role in reducing information asymmetry among the Union members and domestic workers, helping them negotiate better living conditions and

rental terms. But it also carries lessons and suggests questions for studying low-income rental housing. We find that the unit of a setup has a high explanatory value when it comes to amenities, material and physical characteristics, and socio-legal dimensions — intermediate unit of a setup that can hold dimensions of housing much better than an individual house or a neighbourhood. The unit of a setup is particularly pertinent to study from the supply perspective vis-à-vis ways in which capital is invested, housing is generated, and rent and value of housing conditions are set. The data elucidated in the previous sections makes a compelling case for complementing the unit of a household with other units like that of a setup which capture the rhythm at which everyday domesticity is reproduced. At the centre is not the physical structure of the house but the reproduction of domesticity. This approach carries the promise of not overemphasising physical structure and formal ownership, and not undermining connections that are essential for viability of housing. Low-income housing cannot be studied in isolation. While this is not entirely new knowledge, in this study we demonstrate how one may go about the same. We offer a framework which is at the nexus of materiality, spatiality, infrastructural, financial, legality and sociality to offer a comprehensive understanding. Finally we want to establish an analytical unit — we call it the rental setup here — broader than a household or rental unit but narrower than an area or neighbourhood as a useful one as setup is a unit that best allows us to study the interconnectedness of housing at the convergence of the six dimensions.

Relationship of Housing Adequacy and Type of Capital in Low-income Rentals

Housing adequacy we observed had much to do with how the owner approached the rental setup. Our data indicates three broad typologies.

In this kind of a relationship the owner made no investment, and the earnings from the rent were barely enough to sustain the needs of the owner.

Type 1: In this kind of a relationship the owner made no investment, and the earnings from the rent were barely enough to sustain the needs of the owner. A logical leap would suggest that these forms were in danger of becoming uninhabitable due to a lack of capital investment for upkeep and adequate access to amenities result-

ing in material dilapidation. The residents living here would generally have severe financial constraints that limited and restricted them to such set ups.

Type 2: In this kind the owner and tenants were in a sub-par equilibrium of investment and amenities. The owners invested just enough to make the setup liveable and

not let it dilapidate. This included basic structural upkeep, often taken up by residents. The rental income is too low for reinvestment and bettering living conditions, but its absence ensures longevity and the residents do not get priced out.

Type 3: In our study we come across at least two cases of this kind and we believe there are more. This type involved investment from the owner, with these units being an income generating and growing asset and therefore included standardisation of the rental unit to a higher degree as compared to the other forms. It exhibited housing as a product, with standardised means and planned infrastructure even if inadequate, and reflected a templatisation of housing. In such cases the setup was not co-produced and residents often complained about inability to appropriate and fashion the space to their needs, a strict adherence to code set by the owner, and a complete lack of agency.

In addition to providing dimensions and unit of analysis that comprehensively capture housing conditions, a unit of analysis to understanding this set of evidence also provides opportunities to scale improved conditions of living for low-income rental housing. Further corroboration with studies examining owner attitudes can lead to tripartite collaborations towards making them an improved, liveable, and viable rental housing alternative.

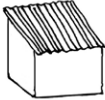

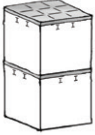


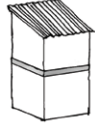



In this kind the owner and tenants were in a sub-par equilibrium of investment and amenities. The owners invested just enough to make the setup liveable and not let it dilapidate.

This type involved investment from the owner, with these units being an income generating and growing asset and therefore included standardisation of the rental unit to a higher degree as compared to the other forms.

Annexure 1

A1. Capturing and Score Material Scores for Walls and Roof of Lowermost and Uppermost Floors of a Multi-storeyed Structure

The survey instrument records material of walls and roofs of the lowermost and uppermost floors of a setup with multi storeyed structures through close ended questions with options from Table 3. Using Table 4 we award scores to the two floors. Scores of the two floors are combined, retaining them in different decimal places for ease of differentiation. Using this method, we score the 64 setups that are either single units or buildings. Table A1 illustrates the distribution of setups with a combined score for the structure. We find all the single units and buildings in our sample set made of either brick or stone masonry walls differ only in the roof. The score is not to be treated as an absolute value, but as a notation.

Combination of structural system	Visual representation	Material: Building floors combined	Number of setups		Grand Total
			Single Unit	Building	
Single Floor Chaddar		5.0	10		10
Tukdi (LF) + Chaddar (UF)		6.5		4	4
Multi floor tukdi		6.6	1	8	9
Tukdi (LF) + Concrete/Tukdi (UF)		6.7		4	4
Single floor tukdi		6.8	5	1	6
Concrete(LF) + Chaddar (UF)		7.5		9	9
Concrete(LF) + Tukdi (UF)		7.6		1	1
Multi floor concrete		7.7	2	12	14
Single floor concrete		7.8	3	1	4
Total number of setups across categories			24	40	64

Annexure 2

Assessment Instrument

This instrument was administered by the researchers of this report across geographies in Jaipur as illustrated in Fig 1 of the main report. A total of 103 rental setups were assessed using this instrument.

The instrument employed questions categorized and color-coded into three kinds based on how they were to be answered viz. by asking the residents (blue), by investigating (grey), and by observing (black).

Additionally the instrument captures materiality of the setups through a set of questions for single unit and building type setups (pink), and a different set of questions for cluster type of setups (yellow).

This instrument was developed iteratively by the authors in collaboration with the researchers and reviewers, through multiple field immersions and a pilot.

जयपुर किराए के आवास की स्टडी- सेटअप लेवल असेसमेंट

टीम मेंबर का नाम : _____
दिनांक : ____/____/____

इन सवालों के जवाब रहवासियों से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब देख कर भरे

(रहने की ऐसी जगह को सर्वेंट क्वार्टर कहेंगे जो किसी घर में काम करने के शर्त पर मिलती है)

(कमरे/जगह जो किराए पर कभी नहीं चढ़े हों- जैसे मकानमालिक के इस्तेमाल में जगह आदि)

1 एरिया का नाम :

2 सेटअप का लोकल नाम :

3 जी पी एस पॉइंट लें :

4 सेटअप टाइप क्या है?

- 1 सिर्फ सिंगल यूनिट
2 यूनिटों का समूह
3 बिल्डिंग/ इमारत

(सेटअप की परिभाषा: एक से ज्यादा यूनिट जो एक दुसरे के करीब हों, और इन में से किन्ही दो चीजों द्वारा जुड़े हुए हों :

- शोर्ड मूलभूत सुविधाएं
- बनावट
- मकानमालिक या किरायनामा)

5 सेटअप में किस प्रकार के यूनिट पाए जाते हैं? (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

(यूनिट की परिभाषा: वह जगह जिसके आधार पे किराया माँगा जाता है.)

- 1 सिंगल कमरे
2 एक से ज्यादा कमरे के यूनिट
3 अन्य : _____

6 क्या इस यूनिट टाइप को आप सर्वेंट क्वार्टर कहेंगे?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

7 ऐसे कितने यूनिट हैं जो आम तौर पे किराए पर चढ़ते हैं ?

8 लगभग ऐसी कितनी जगह है जो सेटअप में हैं पर किराये पर कभी नहीं चढ़ी ?

- 1 कमरे : _____ 2 पूरी मंज़िलें : _____

पूछ कर भरने वाले सवालों में सेटअप के किन्ही तीन अलग यूनिटों को a, b, c मानें. कोशिश करें की चुने गए यूनिटों में सेटअप की विभिन्नता पकड़ में आ रही हो. अगर सेटअप में तीन से कम यूनिट हों तो उस अनुसार a (सिंगल यूनिट सेटअप) / a और b (दो यूनिट) भरें.

9 a आप इस सेटअप में कब से रह रहे हैं?

_____ साल , _____ महीने

b आप इस सेटअप में कब से रह रहे हैं?

_____ साल , _____ महीने

c आप इस सेटअप में कब से रह रहे हैं?

_____ साल , _____ महीने

10 a क्या आप मकानमालिक को जानते हैं?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

b क्या आप मकानमालिक को जानते हैं?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

c क्या आप मकानमालिक को जानते हैं?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

11 a आप अभी कितना किराया देते हैं?

b आप अभी कितना किराया देते हैं?

c आप अभी कितना किराया देते हैं?

12 a जब आये थे तब कितना किराया देते थे?

b जब आये थे तब कितना किराया देते थे?

c जब आये थे तब कितना किराया देते थे?

13 a किराया कितनी बार बढ़ चुका है?

b किराया कितनी बार बढ़ चुका है?

c किराया कितनी बार बढ़ चुका है?

14 a यह रकम कैसे वसूली जाती है?

- 1 हर महीना
2 सालाना
3 पगड़ी *
4 अन्य : _____
5 लागू नहीं

b यह रकम कैसे वसूली जाती है?

- 1 हर महीना
2 सालाना
3 पगड़ी *
4 अन्य : _____
5 लागू नहीं

c यह रकम कैसे वसूली जाती है?

- 1 हर महीना
2 सालाना
3 पगड़ी *
4 अन्य : _____
5 लागू नहीं

* पगड़ी : कुछ रकम मकानमालिक के पास डिपॉजिट करते हैं जो मकान छोड़ने पर वापिस मिलती है. रहने के दौरान और कोई किराया नहीं देते

15 a क्या किराए के अलावा मकानमालिक ने किसी काम करने की शर्त रखी है?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

b क्या किराए के अलावा मकानमालिक ने किसी काम करने की शर्त रखी है?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

c क्या किराए के अलावा मकानमालिक ने किसी काम करने की शर्त रखी है?

- 1 हाँ 2 नहीं

इन सवालों के जवाब रहवासयियों से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

16 a अगर काम की शर्त रखी है तो दिन में कितने घंटे काम किया जाता है?

b अगर काम की शर्त रखी है तो दिन में कितने घंटे काम किया जाता है?

c अगर काम की शर्त रखी है तो दिन में कितने घंटे काम किया जाता है?

17 a इस काम के लिए मकानमालिक से कितनी तनख्वाह मिलती है?

b इस काम के लिए मकानमालिक से कितनी तनख्वाह मिलती है?

c इस काम के लिए मकानमालिक से कितनी तनख्वाह मिलती है?

18 a मकानमालिक के पास कितनी रकम जमा रखी है (सिक्योरिटी)? _____

b मकानमालिक के पास कितनी रकम जमा रखी है (सिक्योरिटी)? _____

c मकानमालिक के पास कितनी रकम जमा रखी है (सिक्योरिटी)? _____

19 a किरायानामा

- 1 लिखित दस्तावेज़
- 2 मुँह-जुबानी एग्रीमेंट
- 3 बस रह रहे हैं
- 4 अन्य : _____

b किरायानामा

- 1 लिखित दस्तावेज़
- 2 मुँह-जुबानी एग्रीमेंट
- 3 बस रह रहे हैं
- 4 अन्य : _____

c किरायानामा

- 1 लिखित दस्तावेज़
- 2 मुँह-जुबानी एग्रीमेंट
- 3 बस रह रहे हैं
- 4 अन्य : _____

20 a आपने इस पते पर कोई डॉक्यूमेंट बनवाया या सरकारी स्कीम का फायदा उठाया है ?

- 1 हाँ, मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी से
- 2 हाँ, मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी के बिना
- 3 नहीं, पर मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी है
- 4 नहीं, और मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी नहीं
- 5 पता नहीं

b आपने इस पते पर कोई डॉक्यूमेंट बनवाया या सरकारी स्कीम का फायदा उठाया है ?

- 1 हाँ, मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी से
- 2 हाँ, मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी के बिना
- 3 नहीं, पर मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी है
- 4 नहीं, और मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी नहीं
- 5 पता नहीं

c आपने इस पते पर कोई डॉक्यूमेंट बनवाया या सरकारी स्कीम का फायदा उठाया है ?

- 1 हाँ, मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी से
- 2 हाँ, मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी के बिना
- 3 नहीं, पर मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी है
- 4 नहीं, और मकानमालिक की रज़ामंदी नहीं
- 5 पता नहीं

21 a डॉक्यूमेंट /स्कीम का नाम :

b डॉक्यूमेंट /स्कीम का नाम :

c डॉक्यूमेंट /स्कीम का नाम :

22 सभी यूनिट का किराया

- 1 समान है
- 2 अलग अलग है
- 3 लागू नहीं

23 किराया अलग होने का कारण (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 यूनिटों का साइज़ अलग है
- 2 मकानमालिक के साथ सम्बन्ध
- 3 यूनिटों की बनावट अलग है
- 4 अन्य : _____
- 5 लागू नहीं

24 बिजली कनेक्शन : (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 यूनिट के लिए मीटर
- 2 यूनिटों के बीच शोर्ड मीटर
- 3 बगैर बिजली कनेक्शन
- 4 अन्य : _____

25 सेटअप में कुल कितने मीटर है?

- 1 _____
- 2 बता पाना मुश्किल
- 3 लागू नहीं

26 a बिजली रकम का सिस्टम :

- 1 फिक्स्ड रकम (यूनिट के हिसाब से)
- 2 फिक्स्ड रकम (जनों के हिसाब से)
- 3 मीटर रीडिंग से हिसाब लगाया जाता है
- 4 लागू नहीं

b बिजली रकम का सिस्टम :

- 1 फिक्स्ड रकम (यूनिट के हिसाब से)
- 2 फिक्स्ड रकम (जनों के हिसाब से)
- 3 मीटर रीडिंग से हिसाब लगाया जाता है
- 4 लागू नहीं

c बिजली रकम का सिस्टम :

- 1 फिक्स्ड रकम (यूनिट के हिसाब से)
- 2 फिक्स्ड रकम (जनों के हिसाब से)
- 3 मीटर रीडिंग से हिसाब लगाया जाता है
- 4 लागू नहीं

27 a अगर फिक्स्ड रकम हो तो बिजली रकम:

- 1 _____
- 2 लागू नहीं

b अगर फिक्स्ड रकम हो तो बिजली रकम:

- 1 _____
- 2 लागू नहीं

c अगर फिक्स्ड रकम हो तो बिजली रकम:

- 1 _____
- 2 लागू नहीं

28 a अगर मीटर से हिसाब लगता हो

- 1 रूपए/बिजली यूनिट
- 2 लागू नहीं

b अगर मीटर से हिसाब लगता हो तो

- 1 रूपए/बिजली यूनिट
- 2 लागू नहीं

c अगर मीटर से हिसाब लगता हो तो

- 1 रूपए/बिजली यूनिट
- 2 लागू नहीं

इन सवालों के जवाब रहवासियों से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब देख कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

29 पानी की व्यवस्था (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 यूनिटों के बीच शोर्ड नल
- 2 यूनिट के लिए अलग नल
- 3 सेटअप के बाहर से पानी की व्यवस्था

30 सेटअप में पानी के कुल कितने शोर्ड नल ? 1 _____ 2 लागू नहीं

31 अगर सेटअप के बाहर से पानी की व्यवस्था, तो पानी का स्रोत (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 नल
- 2 प्राकृतिक स्रोत
- 3 टैंकर
- 4 अन्य : _____
- 5 लागू नहीं

32 अगर बाहर से पानी की व्यवस्था, तो सेटअप से दूरी: 1 _____ मीटर 2 लागू नहीं

33 a पानी रकम का सिस्टम :

- 1 फिक्स्ड रकम (यूनिट के हिसाब से)
- 2 फिक्स्ड रकम (जनों के हिसाब से)
- 3 मीटर रीडिंग से हिसाब लगाया जाता है
- 4 अन्य : _____

34 a अगर फिक्स्ड रकम हो तो पानी रकम:

- 1 _____ 2 लागू नहीं

35 a अगर मीटर से हिसाब लगता हो

- 1 रूपए/पानी यूनिट
- 2 लागू नहीं

b पानी रकम का सिस्टम :

- 1 फिक्स्ड रकम (यूनिट के हिसाब से)
- 2 फिक्स्ड रकम (जनों के हिसाब से)
- 3 मीटर रीडिंग से हिसाब लगाया जाता है
- 4 अन्य : _____

b अगर फिक्स्ड रकम हो तो पानी रकम:

- 1 _____ 2 लागू नहीं

b अगर मीटर से हिसाब लगता हो

- 1 रूपए/पानी यूनिट
- 2 लागू नहीं

c पानी रकम का सिस्टम :

- 1 फिक्स्ड रकम (यूनिट के हिसाब से)
- 2 फिक्स्ड रकम (जनों के हिसाब से)
- 3 मीटर रीडिंग से हिसाब लगाया जाता है
- 4 अन्य : _____

c अगर फिक्स्ड रकम हो तो पानी रकम:

- 1 _____ 2 लागू नहीं

c अगर मीटर से हिसाब लगता हो

- 1 रूपए/पानी यूनिट
- 2 लागू नहीं

36 टॉयलेट व्यवस्था (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 यूनिटों के बीच शोर्ड टॉयलेट
- 2 यूनिट के लिए अलग टॉयलेट
- 3 सेटअप से हटके/ बाहर टॉयलेट

37 सेटअप में कुल कितने शोर्ड टॉयलेट ? 1 _____ 2 लागू नहीं

38 अगर बाहर तो टॉयलेट की सेटअप से दूरी : 1 _____ मीटर 2 लागू नहीं

39 a टॉयलेट रकम

- 1 हर इस्तेमाल पर पैसा : _____
- 2 महीने की फिक्स्ड रकम : _____
(गटर के लिए, आदि)
- 3 अन्य : _____

b टॉयलेट रकम

- 1 हर इस्तेमाल पर पैसा : _____
- 2 महीने की फिक्स्ड रकम : _____
(गटर के लिए, आदि)
- 3 अन्य : _____

c टॉयलेट रकम

- 1 हर इस्तेमाल पर पैसा : _____
- 2 महीने की फिक्स्ड रकम : _____
(गटर के लिए, आदि)
- 3 अन्य : _____

40 पूरे सेटअप के कितने मकानमालिक हैं?

41 कितने मकानमालिक सेटअप में रहते हैं?

42 मकानमालिक महीने में कितनी बार आता है?

43 क्यों/ किस काम के लिए आता है? (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 किराया लेने
- 2 देखभाल के लिए
- 3 निगरानी रखने
- 4 अन्य : _____

इन सवालों के जवाब रहवासियों से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब देख कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

44 मरम्मत - कॉमन एरिया / सेटअप में आगे पीछे दिया खुला एरिया

- 1 मालिक का पूरा खर्चा
- 2 किरायदारों का पूरा खर्चा
- 3 खर्चा मकानमालिक और किरायदारों के बीच में बंटता है
- 4 कह नहीं सकते

45 मरम्मत - मूलभूत सुविधाएं

(पानी टैंकर का इंतज़ाम, मोटर रिपेयर)

- 1 मालिक का पूरा खर्चा
- 2 किरायदारों का पूरा खर्चा
- 3 खर्चा मकानमालिक और किरायदारों के बीच में बंटता है
- 4 कह नहीं सकते

46 मरम्मत - यूनिट में रिपेयर

- 1 मालिक का पूरा खर्चा
- 2 किरायदारों का पूरा खर्चा
- 3 खर्चा मकानमालिक और किरायदारों के बीच में बंटता है
- 4 कह नहीं सकते

47 मकानमालिक की दुखलंदाज़ी

(मेहमान, राशन, रोकटोक आदि):

48 सेटअप में कितने परिवार रहते हैं?

- 1 _____
- 2 बता पाना मुश्किल

49 सेटअप में कितने लोग रहते हैं?

- 1 _____
- 2 बता पाना मुश्किल

50 क्या रहने के अलावा इस सेटअप में कुछ और कर्मशियल काम होता है?

(जैसे दुकान, गोदाम, होटल, फैक्टरी, स्टोर आदि)

- 1 हाँ
- 2 नहीं

51 सेटअप में ऐसे कितने यूनिट हैं जिसमें रहने वाले इस जगह

(गोदाम, फैक्ट्री, दुकान आदि) में काम भी करते हैं?

- 1 _____
- 2 बता पाना मुश्किल

रोज़गार के साधन (सबसे प्रमुख तीन)

52 औरत :

53 मर्द :

इन सवालों के जवाब रहवासियों से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब देख कर भरे

इन सवालों के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

54 ज़्यादातर लोग कहाँ के हैं (ज़िला, राज्य)

_____ , _____
_____ , _____
_____ , _____

55 किन धार्मिक प्रवृत्तियों के लोग यहां रहते हैं? (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 हिन्दू
- 2 मुसलमान
- 3 क्रिस्टियन
- 4 सिख
- 5 ट्राइबल
- 6 कोई धर्म नहीं
- 7 अन्य : _____

56 मनाये जाने वाले ख़ास त्यौहार, सेटअप के अंदर कोई धार्मिक स्थल

57 आपसी मेलजोल, भेदभाव (खासकर उनसे पूछें जो माइनोरिटी में हों)

58 इस सेटअप की ऐसी दो तीन विशेषताएं लिखिए जिन्हें अगली रिसर्च मीटिंग में उठाना चाहिए (किराएदारी के कानूनी, भौतिक, स्थानिक, सामाजिक पहलु)

59 कोई शंका, संदेह, ऐसा कुछ जो लोग कह रहे हैं पर सर्वे फॉर्म में नहीं बैठ रहा, या ऐसा कुछ जो सुनने में आया हो

60 कोई ऐसे मुद्दे जो यूनियन को उठाने चाहिए

61 सेटअप कितना पुराना है?

इन सवालो के जवाब रहवासर्थी से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालो के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

इन सवालो के जवाब देख कर भरे

62 सेटअप की दशा :

- 1 पूरा सेटअप अच्छे से बना है
- 2 कुछ हिस्सा टूटा - फूटा है
- 3 सारा सेटअप टूटा फूटा है

63 सेटअप के पास इनमें से कोई खतरा है?

- 1 हाई टेंशन बिजली लाइन
- 2 नदी, तालाब का किनारा
- 3 कचरे का ढेर/ लैंडफिल
- 4 जंगली जानवर/ सांप आदि
- 5 पानी भर जाने की दिक्कत
- 6 खुला बहता सीवेज
- 7 रेलवे ट्रैक
- 8 बड़ा नाला
- 9 खाई
- 10 अन्य : _____

चित्र बनाने की जगह

अगर सिंगल यूनिट का सेटअप या इमारत हो तो यह हिस्सा भरें

64 कितनी मंज़िलें ?

मटीरियल (ज़्यादातर)

दीवारें : 65 a सबसे निचली मंज़िल

- 1 प्लस्तर (अंदर का मटीरियल पता नहीं)
- 2 ईंट
- 3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
- 4 प्लाई वुड
- 5 मिटटी
- 6 पत्थर
- 7 बांस बल्ली / चटाई
- 8 तिरपाल
- 9 अन्य : _____

छत : 66 a सबसे निचली मंज़िल

- 1 कंक्रीट
- 2 पट्टी-गार्टर
- 3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
- 4 फूस
- 5 तिरपाल
- 6 चटाई
- 7 अन्य : _____

b सबसे ऊपरी मंज़िल

- 1 प्लस्तर (अंदर का मटीरियल पता नहीं)
- 2 ईंट
- 3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
- 4 प्लाई वुड
- 5 मिटटी
- 6 पत्थर
- 7 बांस बल्ली / चटाई
- 8 तिरपाल
- 9 अन्य : _____

b सबसे ऊपरी मंज़िल

- 1 कंक्रीट
- 2 पट्टी-गार्टर
- 3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
- 4 फूस
- 5 तिरपाल
- 6 चटाई
- 7 अन्य : _____

इन सवालो के जवाब रहवासयियों से पूछ कर भरे

इन सवालो के जवाब जाँच-परख कर भरे

इन सवालो के जवाब देख कर भरे

अगर यूनितों का समूह हो तो यह हिस्सा भरें

67 समूह में क्या- क्या शामिल है और किस संख्या में? (अनेक चुन सकते हैं)

- 1 इमारतें _____
2 कमरों का सेट _____

स्ट्रक्चर 1

68 कितनी मंज़िलें? _____

69 सेटअप के कितने यूनिट स्ट्रक्चर 1 में हैं? _____

मटीरियल (ज़्यादातर)

दीवारें : 70 a सबसे निचली मंज़िल

- 1 प्लास्टर (अंदर का मटीरियल पता नहीं)
2 ईंट
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 प्लाई वुड
5 मिटटी
6 पत्थर
7 बांस बल्ली / चटाई
8 तिरपाल
9 अन्य : _____

b सबसे ऊपरी मंज़िल

- 1 प्लास्टर (अंदर का मटीरियल पता नहीं)
2 ईंट
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 प्लाई वुड
5 मिटटी
6 पत्थर
7 बांस बल्ली / चटाई
8 तिरपाल
9 अन्य : _____

छत : 71 a सबसे निचली मंज़िल

- 1 कंक्रीट
2 पट्टी-गार्टर
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 फूस
5 तिरपाल
6 चटाई
7 अन्य : _____

b सबसे ऊपरी मंज़िल

- 1 कंक्रीट
2 पट्टी-गार्टर
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 फूस
5 तिरपाल
6 चटाई
7 अन्य : _____

स्ट्रक्चर 2

72 कितनी मंज़िलें? _____

73 सेटअप के कितने यूनिट स्ट्रक्चर 2 में हैं? _____

मटीरियल (ज़्यादातर)

दीवारें : 74 a सबसे निचली मंज़िल

- 1 प्लास्टर (अंदर का मटीरियल पता नहीं)
2 ईंट
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 प्लाई वुड
5 मिटटी
6 पत्थर
7 बांस बल्ली / चटाई
8 तिरपाल
9 अन्य : _____

b सबसे ऊपरी मंज़िल

- 1 प्लास्टर (अंदर का मटीरियल पता नहीं)
2 ईंट
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 प्लाई वुड
5 मिटटी
6 पत्थर
7 बांस बल्ली / चटाई
8 तिरपाल
9 अन्य : _____

छत : 75 a सबसे निचली मंज़िल

- 1 कंक्रीट
2 पट्टी-गार्टर
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 फूस
5 तिरपाल
6 चटाई
7 अन्य : _____

b सबसे ऊपरी मंज़िल

- 1 कंक्रीट
2 पट्टी-गार्टर
3 चद्दर (टिन/ सीमेंट)
4 फूस
5 तिरपाल
6 चटाई
7 अन्य : _____

76 सेटअप में कितनी गैलरी?

77 सेटअप में कितने आँगन/ बरामदे/ चौक? क्या इस जगह को लोग बैठने या मिलने के लिए इस्तेमाल में लेते दिखे?

78 सेटअप में कितने नहाने-धोने की खुली जगह?

79 नज़दीकी सरकारी हेल्थ सेंटर :

, km दूर

80 नज़दीकी सरकारी स्कूल :

, km दूर

81 नज़दीकी आँगनवाड़ी :

, km दूर

82 नज़दीकी सरकारी अस्पताल :

, km दूर

83 नज़दीकी पी डी एस :

, km दूर

84 क्या यह सेटअप कच्ची बस्ती में है?

1 हाँ

2 नहीं

85 जे डी ऐ तहत केटेगरी :

1 गाँव

2 रेज़िडेंशियल

3 इंडस्ट्रियल

4 कमर्शियल

5 इंस्टीटूशनल

6 इकोलॉजिकल

7 आर्मी

How do domestic workers live in our cities?

By following them into their homes, this report reflects on issues of adequacy, affordability and viability of low-income rentals in Jaipur. It looks at employment and housing in conjunction, and defines housing as encompassing not just the physical structure of the house but access to amenities, social infrastructure and legal status. It introduces 'setup' as a unit of analysis to better understand the everyday reproduction of the domestic life of workers. This report is useful for urban local bodies to run improvement programmes, worker organisations to better understand issues of housing for workers in cities, and researchers for re-evaluating their conceptualization of low-income housing.



IIHS is a national education, research, practice and capacity development institution committed to the equitable, sustainable and efficient transformation of Indian cities and settlements.



The Rajasthan Mahila Kamgar Union (RMKU) is a 12 year old registered Trade union with membership of 16000+ domestic workers in Jaipur and neighbouring regions. The Union has been at the frontlines of relief work for their members through the lockdown last year as well as this year.