

MIGRATION FOR DOMESTIC WORK-A CASE OF FEMALE DOMESTIC WORKERS IN BANGALORE

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ABSTRACT

Many Bangalorean households are increasingly dependent on domestic workers and without them their employers could n't go out to work in the "productive" economy. In this way, transnational, globalised economy is brought into the private home, not just in goods consumed there, but at its very core in the organizing and delivery of "reproductive" labour.[B.Anderson 2000]. This is very much true in the case of working womens', Elite, Rich people , Middle class , and lower middle class [those who can afford]to have domestic worker for the menial jobs at home .

The demand for the domestic workers is increasing on and on in the city of Bangalore. This is because of the booming industrialization, housing, trade commerce. Apart from this the soft ware industry, ITand BT, manufacturing of computer peripherals. Major soft ware industries are based in Bangalore. Viz Infosys, Wipro etc. People do migrate to Bangalore for the sake of Jobs from all other states of India. Migration of women remains more or less unexplored as it is often viewed as more domestic and private, which is outside the sphere of production. Nevertheless, of late, it is increasingly being: recognised that women are no longer passive movers, who follow the male household heads. This paper conceptualises domestic services as a major informal sector activities which assumes importance due to transformations in class relations and the development of new life style combined with unprecedented mobility of labour. The development of the city attracted many more people for the menial jobs. The case of women domestic workers in Bangalore shows that migration for domestic service is largely a female driven phenomenon from with in the state[from other districts] and from neighboring states, like Tamilnadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh for the menial jobs where migration is primarily due to employment availability of women. The conditions of work in domestic service are deplorable with long working hours, low pay and absence of job security. In this paper an attempt has been made to anlyse the above issues.

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is an important feature of human civilization. It reflects, human endeavour to survive in the most testing conditions both natural and man made. Migration in India is in existence historically, but, in the context of Neo Liberal Globalisation assumes special significance, for Trade Unions and Civil Society.

As a consequence of the neo-liberal policies followed by the successive governments, there are serious income disparities, agrarian distress, inadequate employment generation, vast growth of informal economy and the resultant migration from rural areas to urban, urban to urban and backward to comparatively advanced regions in the most appalling conditions. Under the pressure from the International Finance Capital, Governments both Central & Provincial are further de-regulating the labour markets and further enlargement of the informal sector. In the given context Migrant Labour poses a serious threat and challenge to Civil Society in general and Trade Unions in particular.

Migration in India is mostly influenced by Social Structures and pattern of development. The development policies by all the governments since Independence have accelerated the process of migration. Uneven development is the main cause of Migration. Added to it, are the disparities, Inter regional and amongst different socio-economic classes. The landless poor who mostly belong to lower castes, indigenous communities and economically backward regions constitute the major portion of Migrants. In the very large Tribal Regions of India intrusion of outsiders, settlements by the outsiders displacing the local tribal people and deforestation also played a major role in Migration.

Migration in India is predominantly short distance with around 60% of migrants changing their residences within their district of birth and 20% within their state (province), while the rest move across the state boundaries. The total migrants as per the census of 1971 are 167 million persons, 1981 census 213 millions, 1991 census 232 million and 2001 census 315 millions. As per the census of the year 1991, nearly 20 million people migrated to other states seeking livelihood. Within a decade, the number of interstate migration doubled to 41,166,265 persons as per the census figures of 2001. It is estimated that, the present strength of interstate migrants is around 80 million persons of which, 40 million are in the construction industry, 20 million as domestic workers, 2 million as sex workers, 5 million as call girls and somewhere from half a million to 12 million in the illegal mines otherwise called as "small scale mines".

It is estimated that at present around five and a half million Indians are working in the oil exporting countries of middle-east and another 2 millions in the developed world. 92% of the domestic workers are women, girls and children and 20% of these females are under 14 years of age, as per a study conducted by an organization called "Social Alert". There is a perceptible phenomenon in this migration, that is, the tremendous increase of women workers migrating either individually or in groups to find work. They are travelling very long distances even for short-term employment, in the absence of any prospect or promise of employment, still they are migrating. This is a disturbing trend, as in the event of not getting employment, they end up as victims of sexual abuse. Even if they get employment, they have to work under inhuman conditions.

2. CONDITIONS OF MIGRANT LABOUR

In terms of employment, Domestic servants are the largest sector in India after agriculture and Construction .Most of the employment in Domestic workers are migrant labour. The working hours are from sunrise to sunset. The working day of women often stretches from 14 to 16 hours, combining house work and working in others houses, women are paid very less wages. The work place is unsafe. The workers have no social security, compensation to injuries, access to drinking water, and health care. India has the world's highest accident rate among construction workers.

There are 20 million domestic workers mostly migrants from rural India. Regular streams of new migrants, leaving behind. They are desperate to join the army of domestic workers. They are willing to work for much less than those who are already working. They are victims of constant verbal and sexual abuse, working without any grievance redressal mechanism. Worsening their situation are the local Governments brutal eviction drives - dislocating and destabilizing the lives of the very people without whom the cities would come to a crippling halt.

Further, they have to live in make shift tents with plastic covers. They are forced to bathe and defecate out in the open. As they are migrant workers, they do not possess Public Distribution System (PDS) Cards and hence forced to buy food grains and kerosene at higher market prices. The ruling elite which consider Child Labour as a menace little realize that it is a natural consequence of migrations.

Migration will be much larger phenomenon encompassing half of the workforce in informal sector. The Governments are encouraging external migration for remittances and internal migration for cheap labour to meet the profits of finance capital. The problem of Migrant Labour is too huge and requires cooperation and coordination between trade unions and other social actors. Trade Unions being a dynamic and vibrant social institution can contribute to social change in a big way, provided, they absorb migrant workers in their rank and file and make them equal partners for sustainable development and social justice. The NGO's having skilled manpower and resources can provide the trade unions with research and background. Trade unions with their organisational structures, organizing skills can take on the employers, Policy makers and governments for a better deal to the Migrant Workers and contribute for social harmony and sustainable growth.

3. MIGRATION FOR DOMESTIC WORK: FEMALE DOMESTICS IN BANGALORE

Migration of women remains more or less unexplored as it is often viewed as more domestic and private, which is outside the sphere of production. Nevertheless, of late, it is increasingly being recognised that women are no longer passive movers, who follow the male household heads. Migration for domestic service is largely a female driven phenomenon, where migration is primarily due to employment availability of women. The conditions of work in domestic service are deplorable with long working hours, low pay and absence of job security.

The informalisation process in the economy has resulted in the mobilisation of new

segments of the population into migration for employment. Recent evidences suggest that with high. Insecurity in employment coupled with low wages of male. members, family migration for employment is becoming increasingly common (Schenk-Sanbergen, 1995; Momsen, 1999; Pamela, 2001). In the literature on migration women staying back in rural areas, looking after the households conditioning male migration is often highlighted. The paper argues that traditional image of individual male migrant supporting the family back at the rural areas, where women are tied to home and family is not true for the working class masses, which forms a large chunk of urban population.

Recent literature on migration has not only shown that female migration is on the increase, but also that movement of women is complex and varied. Though women are increasingly migrate independently and for economic reasons, family migration or joint migration with the husband still continues for the majority of women's move in India. The employment implications of those women who migrate with the spouses are not much discussed in the literature on migration of women. It has generally been argued that family rather than work considerations take on the greater importance for women when making migration decisions. This paper examines the employment consequences and the economic role of women, when they migrate with the family. It is based on a case study of Domestic workers who are migrated to get opportunities to work and survive in the city of Bangalore. Female domestics plays crucial role in the survival of working class and rich class families.

4. CONCEPTUALISING DOMESTIC WORK

The term domestic service is difficult to define, as the duties of the domestic servants are not so well defined. In common parlance, the term is defined as a person who is engaged in part time or full time domestic work in return for remuneration payable in cash or kind for a fixed period. The terms of employment may be expressed or implied. Domestic service is becoming a major and growing informal sector activity in the urban areas, especially in big cities. It is one of the informal sector activities where the conditions of work are disgusting with long working hours, low pay and absence of job security. The modern system of domestic work is an outgrowth of the system of slavery, though its nature, functions and relations have undergone considerable changes over time. Historically, though the character of the industry did not change much, certain temporal and. spatial distinctions could be traced.

In the literature. On domestic service, trends in domestic service have always been explained in terms of the process of industrialisation and modernization (Katzman 1978; Pahl 1984, Saptari 1999). Combination of cultural and economic factors is often put forward in explaining the feminisation of domestic service and the corresponding devaluation of domestic work. Close linkages between class, size of the family, cultural factors and the nature domestic employment could be established. Domestic service has been the commonest and also normally the first occupation in all the countries. Though the period [age] of entry of labour varies across countries, D.W assumes an important position in women's employment. Cultural shifts which emerged out of economic transformations became the major force behind the domestication of women. The patterns of male employment and wages are found linked to the fluctuations in women's employment in domestic service. To maintain the family, women have entered into

domestic service at times when male employment becomes highly seasonal, insecure, and less rewarding.

On the demand Side, with industrialization, households also became more inward oriented and nuclear. The feminization of domestic work is also associated with the advent of smaller households where the pattern became that of single servant households. In England, in 1851, 40 per cent of women workers were absorbed in Paid domestic sector and in 1880, 50 per cent of all service employers were domestic servants. Accounts on Domestic workers have particularly stressed women's vulnerability, social isolation, depressed wages, long working hours and degrading work. The experience and conditions of domestic workers in the 18th and 19th century in England and 19th century America, Italy, and France seems to be repeating in many countries of the world over [Katzman 1978; Malos 1980, Kessler-Harris 1981].

Apart from the devaluation and feminisation of domestic service and the varieties in the nature of labour market for domestic services, an important issue is the nature of domestic labour relations. In the erstwhile aristocratic set up, the work relationships were based on non-written agreements and expectations, in paternalistic line. The power of the servant in this regard is highly debatable which would depend undoubtedly on the nature of the household relations and the resources that the servants have in confronting the employer. Current situations show that in many societies both patronage and contract based relations exist simultaneously which may differ across societies and regions. Work relations, thus, become the products of both economic and cultural factors.

In India too, the institution of domestic service is not of recent origin. Domestic work has strong links to the system of slavery and evidences and references to these are available in the histories of all civilizations. The social and economic history furnishes ample information that Domestic Work was the occupation of the Sudras and slaves not only in ancient period .But also through out the medieval ages right up to the nineteenth century. Domestic slavery of some form or another existed in practically all parts of India till Act V of 1843, which finally abolished slavery. While slaves in the urban areas performed most of the domestic work. Where as in rural areas, it was chiefly confined to the serfs. The data on the number of DW's though sketchy, are found as an inevitable part of the feudal landlord system and the colonial British rulers. The caste division of the society ensured the landlord the service of different castes in performing different domestic duties. the fact that this was not seen as a separate occupation is evident in that there was no caste or *Jati*, which was associated with the occupation. The contemporary demand for domestic workers is very different from the traditional system of domestic help. Urbanisation and industrial development is believed to have encouraged the growth of domestic service, as it produce a servant employing middle class and a surplus of unskilled workers .The increased importance of domestic service has been seen as a result of transformations in class relations and the development of new life style combined with unprecedented mobility of labour. The new middle class has seemingly developed a life style which has increased the demand for domestic service.

It is found that among all categories in the informal sector, earnings of domestic servants are lowest and their problems are many. They are being employed generally for household tasks

which include washing utensils and clothes, fetching water, sweeping and cleaning house along with a few outdoor tasks like irregular marketing, grocery shopping, ration drawing even childcare activity. Clearly, one of the main differences between paid and unpaid domestic work is that former involves following a work routine, which is imposed by the employer's order rather than evolved for oneself (Cock, 1989). In fact, many of these women are looking after more than one household but spend more time and work far more for their employer's than work in their own household.

In many studies the focus has been on women's labour participation in agricultural and allied activities often erroneously considered to be only form of paid work available to the women of lower strata. In fact, in many rural areas female labourers work as domestic servant, often combining this employment with agricultural work on a seasonal and even daily wage basis (Kothari, 1991). Hence, domestic work contributes a substantive type of employment and generation of earnings for many women.

As the number of female workers in the informal sector in India has gone up considerably, it implies employment opportunities for them in the formal sector have become restricted. On account of easy availability of low paid labour in the informal sector, there is every possibility of more and more economic activities in this sector. Therefore, an attempt has been made in this study to trace out the problems associated with the process of women participation as well as the manner in which working women's lives in the informal sector in the city are being affected by the process of economic development and social change.

The sources of supply of domestic workers have also changed over time, with new classes and groups entering into the service. Domestic work was largely a male job in the post-independence period as men dominated rural –urban migration [Mehta, 1960]. Overtime, domestic service has become more feminised. Due to the lower social status attached to domestic work, migrant workers are found to dominate the activity, especially in cities, who are mostly first or second generation migrants. The growing demand for DW's has also resulted in regular flow of domestic helps from particular pockets of out migration. The lack of any former skill and training requirement and the flexibility in employment are some of the factors, which ensure a regular and increasing inflow of domestic workers.

5. DOMESTIC WORKERS IN BANGALORE

Globalisation has contributed positively to migration flow all over the world and the flow of temporary migrant workers from all parts of the world to all directions is increasing. With this the movement of unskilled women workers from developing countries to developed countries, and from underdeveloped regions to most developed cities and towns is a common phenomenon, in which most of them migrate for occupations such as domestic work..

Bangalore is one of the fastest growing cities of the world. Due to the overall development of the city in all directions, people do migrate from different states and union territories of our country for the sake of professional jobs in Industries, software, service sector and for other

types of business deals. In the same way the uneducated, unskilled people will also migrate to city of Bangalore to undertake menial jobs in the informal sector., Viz, construction Industry, to work as Domestic workers and and to undertake other low paid jobs. Any calamity either natural or otherwise in and around Bangalore [within the state or in neighboring states of Tamilnadu, Kerala and Andhra Pradesh] will bring in lot of people to Bangalore in search of menial jobs in the unorganised sector. In the process, they earn low wages and tolerate harsh working conditions. DW's probably form one of the most vulnerable groups.

Broadly there are two systems of domestic workers in the city of Bangalore. Viz, the live-in and the live-outs. Among live-out's, again there are two types i.e. Full Time and Part Time Domestic Workers. Live-in maids are full-timers, who stay either in the servant quarters or within the house of the employer. The live-outs are those domestic helpers, who report at their employer's house in the morning and return to their homes in the evening. In these live outs, there are Full time domestic workers, who work through out the day in a single house. They stay since morning to evening. Where as the the part-time DW's are those who work for 2-3 hours in different houses.

Domestic service is a highly scattered and unorganised activity hence no scientific sampling techniques could be used in selecting the sample workers. In view of this the scope of the study was limited to selected localities - three squatter settlements/slums of Bangalore , namely Indiranagar, Koramangala and Adegudi. The selection of these residential clusters was based on the ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds of the workers gathered through the initial mapping of various localities. The study is based on the household survey of 100 domestic workers in these settlements.

Women constitute the major chunk of part-time domestic workers in Bangalore. In the case of domestic work there exists a strong preference for female workers. Much more than the issue of femininity attached to the jobs, it is the security considerations of the employer households, which makes the occupation largely female dominated. With the increased number of crimes in the city involving domestics, there is a growing insecurity among the employers. As the risk is found high when male domestics are employed, there exists a strong preference for female workers. However the degree of femininity is found to vary across operations, within domestic service. Household cleaning, especially, washing utensils and clothes are found to have a strong degree of femininity, while cooking and marketing are perceived as jobs with some degree of masculinity.

Domestic service is also influenced by the social and cultural notions on the appropriateness of type of workers for particular work pushing the socially backward migrants into domestic service.

Table: 1**Distribution of Domestic Workers**

State/Region	No. of workers/percentage
Different regions of state	38
Tamil Nadu	45
Andhra Pradesh	12
kerala	05
Total	100

Source: Primary Data

The table 1 shows that the prominent feeding states of domestics are from Tamilnadu [45percent], from different regions of the state, especially from rural underdeveloped regions [38percent], from Andhra Pradesh [12percent] and from kerala it is just 5 percent. These workers are mainly in the age group of 20-45years [78.5percent], most of the domestic workers belong to Hindu community [88], 10percent of them belong to Muslims and the rest are Christians [They are mostly converted from Hinduism.

This is observed from their names and the information gathered from them during discussions]. Caste wise distribution of workers shows that a majority of them belongs to down trodden sections of the society, S.C's[75percent], OBC's[15percent] and others are scheduled tribes[8percent] and 2percent belong to forward castes. Most of the people who migrated from Tamil nadu are scheduled castes, and those who migrated from the backward regions of Karnataka belong to scheduled castes, BC's and Forward caste.

They also revealed their economic status, poor living conditions, average income of the family, education of their children, illness among family members etc.,all these factors clearly says the D.W's are most vulnerable sections of the society., irrespective of the caste and community, all domestics are suffering from various identical problems like low income, mal nutrition, illiteracy of their children [unable to send to schools] etc.,Their major income goes to food and essentials, rent, medicines, expenditure on education of their children etc.

6. WORKING CONDITIONS, HOURS OF WORK, WAGES AND RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EMPLOYER

Domestic service differs from all other occupations and presents distinct characteristics compared to other wage earning jobs. The important distinction is with regard to the indefiniteness in wages, hours and conditions of work. Wages vary across locations and geographical areas depending on the economic and social characteristics of the employers and employees. Also as employer within the premise of the household engages domestic workers variation exists across houses depending on the personal and economic characteristics of the employer. As domestic work involves a number of activities, wages vary depending on the type of domestic work that a particular employee is entrusted with. Also, the fact that domestic service produces utilities not commodities or anything fully tangible, the output is difficult to be

measured directly by total output and hence becomes difficult to fix wages.

“In domestic service, work cannot be subjected to any comparative tests, since it has the character almost unique in wage paid industry, of being carried on for use, not for profit and the settlement of wages remains an individual bargain between employer and employed” (Caplow, 1954). Thus, one of the characteristics of domestic service is that the relationship of employer and employee is indefinite and unorganised .

Table: 2:Type of work performed by the Respondents

Type of work	Frequency
Cooking	30
Washing clothes	60
Cleaning vessels	95
Sweeping and swabbing	85
Bathing children	52
Taking children to school	15
Looking after children	12
Looking after Elderly	8
Looking after Sick	23
Shopping	56
Preparing for special occasions	40
Other miscellaneous work	86

Table 2 shows the kinds of tasks the maidservants do in their work. These multiple tasks involve mainly cleaning vessels, sweeping and swabbing, washing clothes and taking care of the employer's children etc. The major tasks performed by the maidservants are cleaning vessels (95 percent). Sweeping the house and swabbing (85 percent), washing clothes (60 per cent). In most of the houses the affluent class use the modern gadgets to reduce the work burden. As per the information, many households use washing machines for clothes, where they have continuous water facilities and they assign the washing work to D.W's where there is no continuous water. Due to this reason, the activity of washing clothes is optional based on the facility available for the employers of D.W's. Cooking is a very important activity in every house. As per the survey the D.W's do perform as a cook in many houses along with the usual works like cleaning vessels, sweeping and swabbing, and washing. But the percentage is very less, it is around 30

percent. Assigning cooking to a D.W depends upon the time availability, type of dishes prepared and other factors of the employers.

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But they help in other activities in the kitchen during special occasions like festivals, on birth days at the employers' houses (40 per cent). For an equal proportion of them (52 per cent) bathing the employers' children is a regular activity. About half of them (15 per cent) take the employers' children to school and bring them back, but most of the domestics drop employers children till the bus stop, where the school bus arrives in the morning and picking them while they come after the school, 12 per cent look after the children at home.23 percent of the Domestic who care for the sick in the employers house and 8 percent who care for the elderly. About half of them (56 per cent) go for shopping for their employers. Though these respondents do not perform all these tasks together, they perform at least three or four tasks. Their main work areas are washing, cleaning and sweeping. Another major area is taking care of the employers' children, showing that the modern urban parent do not have enough time to take care of their children and this' is one of the reasons for employing maidservants. Apart from this, they also perform other miscellaneous works at times like dusting furniture, going for floor mill, going to neighbor's house etc.

Table: 3:Average Monthly Wages of D.W's

Wages	No. Of workers
Less than 500	3
500-1000	78
1001-1500	12
More than 1500	7
Total	100

Wages received by domestic workers is one of the lowest paid occupations (Table 3). The wage category of 500-1000 accounted for the largest chunk of workers (78 per cent). This is clearly not sufficient to maintain an adequate standard of living in the city like Bangalore.

To understand wages, it becomes important to highlight the fact that clear distinction exists in wages between workers engaged in different activities. Domestics engaged in cooking and other related activity occupies the upper strata and those involved in cleaning and dusting belongs to the lower strata once again, the wages given to the domestics depends upon the type of work they undertake.

Karnataka is the first state to fix minimum wages for domestic workers. A bill namely Karnataka unorganised workers welfare bill (2001) was enacted and implemented. The state has come up with a notification, which ensures minimum wages for the domestic workers. According to the notification, a domestic worker who works for eight hours in a house is entitled to an amount between Rs 1,600 and Rs 1,800 per month. But if the members of the household where the work is done are more than four, the charges will go up to Rs 2,200. If she/he works more than eight hours, they have to be paid double the rate. It also directs the employers to pay the workers who are engaged in performing single chores like washing, sweeping or cleaning. A worker performing a single chore for 45 minutes will now have to be paid Rs 150 per month. But people are happy because at least a domestic worker is assured of a fixed wage.

It was implemented in 2001, but as on today, if we examine the same wages fixed by the government may not be sufficient due raising inflation and other factors. The Labour Department of Karnataka state seems not very serious in implementing the act. It has not taken serious steps to implement either through creating awareness among the employers through media, or through inspections or through other activities. The officials of the Labour department say, since the house is the private domain of the households and they are not supposed to visit the employer's houses. But they were working for extremely poor wages. If the Labour department takes initiatives in better way, it will be a boon in the days to come.

As domestic work involves more of personal relationships, payments are sometimes paid in kind than in cash. Since the quality of food and the facilities given to D.W's are difficult to quantify. In addition to wages, some domestics receive pecuniary benefits such as clothes old as well as new, allowances and donations for festivals and other occasions and food. These are found to supplement the wage income, which is most important form of compensation. A large number of D.W's were found to receive old clothes from their employers. But once in a year, on a particular festival, they also give new clothes.

Though a good proportion of workers receive benefits than wages, many workers were not receiving anything more than wages. Other benefits were mostly in the form of old clothes or old food. This suggests that D.W's do not add much as other benefits to their income. It seems that the importance of other benefits are decreasing with the increased formalisation of the job.

Workers showed a prefer to get the maximum compensation in terms of wages. This was reported to restrict tendency among employers to give old clothes and other provisions and thus institute a cut in money wages for other miscellaneous works.

Table: 4:Average Hours of Work in a Day

Hours of Work	No. Of Workers
1-3 hours	04
3-5 hours	12
5-8 hours	56
8-10 hours	10
More than 10 hours	06
Live –In’s	12
Total	100

Domestic work is known for its long and irregular working time. The working hours of domestics were found too long, the average working hours must be 8 hours. The largest proportions of workers have daily working hours of more than 8 hours are 56 percent. The working hours and intervals of these workers need to be looked in a wider context. These workers are burdened with their own household work. Workers have shown a preference for part time rather than full time. In our study 12 percent are live-in’s, they will have extra work load, apart from their regular assigned works, they have to do all other works exist timely, the nature of those works varies, and they are not similar everywhere.

Full time workers, as they stay with the employer are seen as unfree as the sarvices may be required any time during the day. But the part time workers better off in terms of free time? The expenses on food, rent clothing and education of their households in the city are unaffordable, and given the low wage rate for domestic work, the worker has to struggle throughout the day. Own household chores, transportation and matching the time schedule of different houses add to the tensions of these these workers. These workers are always in a hurry, running from one house to another, from one housing complex to another. The tendency to take up maximum number of Jobs (in the context growing job and income insecurity) and the need to follow strict time schedules put these workers on pressure, the time schedule of a typical part time worker which is shown in the following table .

The burdens of work at home combined with work at the place of employments place these workers in a worse situation.

Table: 5: Daily work profile of the live-out Women Domestic

Time	Daily Routine work
4.00am-6a.m	Doing household chores like cleaning , cooking getting ready their children for school/work., etc
6.00-6.30 a.m	Travel time from home to work place
6.00a.m-1.00 p.m	Paid domestic work in 5-8 households
1 p.m- 1.30. p.m	Travel from work place to home
1.30 p.m – 3.p.m	Household chores at home
3 p.m- 3.30 p.m	Travel from home to work place
3.30 p.m – 7.p.m	Paid domestic work in 3-4 households
7p.m – 7.30.p.m	Travel from work place to home
7.30 p.m – 9.p.m	Cooking, attending to children and family , dinner etc.,
9.00p.m -10.p.m	Entertainment- watching T.V, listening to music etc
After 10.p.m	Goes to bed

Depending on multiple employers also add to the problems of part-time worker. The domestics have to get themselves acquainted with the varied requirement and temperaments of the employing households. In a day each worker has to adjust to the requirements of the various members of several households.

Apart from the unduly hours of work required in domestic service, it was also noted that there is a woeful lack of stand regarding holidays, servants day offs and sick leave for at workers. Workers do not have any fixed number of leaves and on an average of one leave in a month was found existing. Extended leaves very often have the risk of losing wages. This is found true even in the event of illness. Prolonged and reguJar leave also carry the danger of losing jobs. Annual holidays are unknown to most of the workers. When they go on leave they have to make alternative arrangements by engaging other workers or will be at the risk of losing job. This means loss of pay during the period. During the survey of domestic workers, it was found few have forced to leave some previous jobs due to unexpected long leave (5-10 days) either due to illness or some contingency at home. The same was found applying to maternity leave. Sick leaves are often without pay. Added to

this is the fact that they have to meet their medical treatment from their own expenses, Only 10 per cent of the respondents reported of some medical aid by their employers.

All these clearly show a great deal of indefiniteness in domestic service, Job tenures' are not fixed and are mostly left to the employer to terminate the worker at any point of time, Termination is found quickest and mostly a unilateral decision of the employers, The employee is also free to leave job, but given the economic pressures and difficulty in finding fresh employer, employees do not tend to leave jobs. Only 8 per cent of the workers surveyed were found to have left job on their own, when they get good opportunities ,while in all other cases whenever such termination was cited has been as per employers decision.

Sexual harassment is yet another serious issue faced by domestics. This is found to range from sexually coloured remarks/ gestures, unwanted physical contact, molestation and even rape. Growing job and income insecurities coupled with comparative social disadvantages add to the vulnerability of the domestics. The major cause domestic work becoming unpopular and unstandardised is the low social status attached to the occupation and the concentration of lower castes in it. The domestics have complained of being treated as a class apart, and the stigma of social inferiority was found among all the workers.

The organisational status of the domestics was found poor, they are Scattered all over the city and are highly individualized .Workers are also found to lack organisational initiatives. Since they are mostly the migrants, they have little opportunity to develop group sensitivity. They comprise of people from different communities, having widely different cultural and religious affiliations. The caste and communal differences is found to be sharp among the workers. Moreover there is no homogeneity the group as regards age also and family status. In this study the age category of these workers ranges from 16-55 years with different positions in the family. This means that the interests of the group differ and hence cannot be seen as a single homogenous group.

The indifference among the workers to organise can be related to the personal relationship that exists in the job. Even workers themselves see collectivity among domestic workers as inappropriate. This is due to the fact that there exists wide variation in conditions of *employment* from house to house. While a majority of D.W's are unhappy about the conditions of work, there are a significant proportion of the workers who are happy and enjoy better position. There are many cases workers were satisfied with me employers and highly dissatisfied with others. Workers consider that their existing privileges will be threatened by forming the association and hence wants to keep away from organisations.

For many workers, domestic service is not yet a regular employment and is engaged only for selected and limited period. As these are mostly migrants, their interest is to make as much money as possible in a limited time and the aim is to go back to the native places even though in reality this may not occur. This short-term interest in the job is also found to

hinder the organisational move of the domestics. Added to this is the fact that most of these workers are females, and as in the case of any other female labour, the social problems in organising are high.

7. MIGRATION PARTICULARS

Domestic work is found to be closely related to migration on women from rural to urban areas, owing to the ease with which migrants can enter this occupation and the gendered nature occupation. Migration for domestic work with a deep historical root, have been reinvented in the past two decades. Domestic service service has been the commonest and also the normally the occupation of women in almost all the countries in the world, though the period varies across countries. The entry restriction is almost zero in the case of domestic service, as the occupation does not demand any capital or skill. Changes in the gender balance of the migratory stream, the migration of families kinship units, have influenced the nature of domestic work.

As has been seen, migrant women are the most important source of domestics. The nature of the migrant unit is influenced by the causes of migration and the social and cultural norms of the rural area from which the migrant originates. The primary unit of migration among these workers is often found to be the family or the household. Of the sample, only few of the workers migrated as individuals while the rest migrated along with the family. In most of these cases, availability of work for women as domestics in the city has played as an important incentive for the migration of the family. Most of the respondents had come to Bangalore directly form their place of origin. The decision to migrate was taken mostly in the context of the household; as for many it is part of the family survival strategies. Poverty, lack of food and scarce job opportunities at the place of origin [was found during the survey] to be the most important reason for migration. In the absence of employment opportunities for male members women are found forced to migrate themselves to support the family and children. Domestic work is also seen as occupation, which enables the urban working class family to survive, an important component of the aggregation of individual means of survival in the urban informal sector. Women

migrating for employment are aware of the availability of domestic jobs in the city, higher wages (compared to rural areas) and the conditions of work. Single women (abandoned, separated or divorced) with children to support also migrate and take up domestic work, as few are belong to this category also.

Some of the migrants are influenced to migrate to urban areas by their relatives, kiths and kins [who are migrated earlier and settled in cities [slums]. Since they have an exposure of city life viz., benefits, advantages, disadvantages, problems, facilities, etc. Some times they reveal all these to their own people before migration. Some times they also compare between rural and urban in terms of facilities, earnings etc.

So they tend to migrate to urban areas to become domestic workers. The off-discussed reasons of female migration as quest for personal freedom, modernisation and the rejection of gender roles were found inapplicable in the case of these workers.

**Table: 6:
Reasons for Migration**

Reason	No. Of D.W's
Marriage	21
Lack of Employment	46
For Children's Education Facilities	05
Poverty	13
Others	14
Not responded	01
Total	100

The above table shows the reasons for migration of the respondents. Out of respondents one did not respond to the question. Out of 100 respondents who answered the question were majority, of which 46 percent migrated due to lack of employment opportunities in the place: where they resided earlier. It is a push factor that led to this type of migration. Another 21 migrated due to marriage. It is quite common in a country like India the girls after marriage necessarily migrate from parents place to in-laws place to join the husband. Another 13 migrated due to poverty. Poverty is very high in India. 4 respondents, who migrated, because of other reasons, which includes droughts, floods, and under development of their places and other natural calamities in their native places. People generally migrate in search of employment opportunities in the place of destination. On the whole unemployment, marriage, calamities and poverty are the main causes for migration of the respondents in the present study. Similar pattern is also observed in the general population in the other parts of the country.

Domestic work is also no longer seen as a bridging occupation permitting entry to a place with greater potential or social and economic mobility. Conformingly, most of the women domestics had some prior knowledge of the possibility of employment as domestics before migrating to Bangalore. A significant part of these workers have migrated before 20 years, only 30% have migrated during the last 5 years in our sample.

The centrality of women continues to characterise the household survival even after migration. The contribution of domestics to the total family income is found substantial. Women domestics bear the entire burden of family expenditure in a large number of households (56 per cent). The day to today expenditure on food, clothing, education and health care are met largely by the domestics. Even the dwellings are mostly leased-in by women domestics themselves. In many cases the female member is the sole breadwinner of the family (around 70 per cent). The average contribution of women domestics to the total family income is found at a strikingly higher level.

Occupational pattern of the husbands of the female domestics further substantiates the prime breadwinner status of women in the households. Husbands of a large number of domestics are found unemployed (42.27 per cent). The share to family income by female workers is substantial even in the cases where husbands they were employed as they are mostly engaged in the informal sector with high wage/income insecurity.

The occupational distribution of the male household heads of domestics shows that majority of them are engaged as casual labour for low wages in construction , as helpers in garments , as hawkers, auto rickshaw drivers, cab drivers, factory work, petty trade , street vendors [selling vegetables, fish and other house hold articles.] and other menial jobs. But they spend considerable portion of their income on their personal expenditure like alcohol, smoking, pan etc. Few of the respondents also revealed that their husbands have another wife and have extra-marital relationships also. Due to all these reasons even though husbands earn more income, it is not been spent for the family. In this sense the most of the households of DW's are female headed. What ever income they earn, it spent on the welfare of the family.

Despite women's considerable contribution to family income and survival, social control largely rests with male under the patriarchal social order. Women have control over household expenses and its allocation on various heads, especially when the contribution to family income is higher compared to the male members. The patriarchal relations are visible in terms of violence against women such as wife beating even in cases where husbands are unemployed. Nevertheless, migration is also a terrain where gender relations are renegotiated. The before and after experience of women domestics, the shift from old world values, customs, habits and traditions and the demands of the new place are found - redefining and repositioning their status within home and in the community. Every day interactions at me household and workplace bring in changed perceptions and norms of family and community life. They also assume crucial roles in keeping contact, maintaining relationships, upholding communications, which are traditionally conceived as male arenas.

8. CONCLUSION

Domestic service is a major and growing informal sector activity in the urban centers among women migrants. For a large proportion of such workers domestic work is the only option available. Women from certain areas or regions with specific socio economic backgrounds are found concentrated in this informal sector occupation. The wages of D.W's is very low compared to the other workers in the informal sector. Usually cooking will be assigned to the experts in cooking, not to D.W's. But there are few D.W's who work as a cook and as well as a D.W as found during survey. The D.W's enjoy both money wages and real wages. They also face various problems at the work place, which include over work load, low wage, minimal pay or no pay for extra work, absence of leave facility, no rest, sexual harassment by male employers etc. The working conditions of domestic workers are deplorable with long working hours and absence of job security .

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