Photovoice as a tool to study inequalities in access to water and sanitation services, through the eyes of domestic workers in Delhi, India.

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Photovoice as a tool to study inequalities in access to water and sanitation services, through the eyes of domestic workers in Delhi, India.

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Abstract

The research aims to study Delhi’s, water distributions through the eyes of women working as domestic workers, who in their work do most of the household chores related to water, but face challenges to obtain sufficient water (and get rid of unclean water) once they go back to their houses. The research focuses on a group of women, who work as domestic workers in the south Delhi area, to document their daily journeys and daily strategies to access water and dispose of waste waters.

I chose the Photovoice methodology, a visual research technique that provides participants with cameras, so that they can document their experiences. After a number of information meetings with women working as domestic workers, Rajni, Anjali, Sonia, and Sharda, all living in the Madanpur Khadar settlement colony in the banks of River Yamuna, agreed to collaborate in the research. Through their pictures and stories I document and the everyday consequences of asymmetric power relationships based on economic status, gender and caste.

The thesis aims to answer two research questions: 1) which are the everyday practices through which domestic workers of Delhi access safe water and sanitation? How do women working as domestic workers obtain water and interact with water in their daily lives? 2) How does photovoice methodology help us to examine urban water distributions and document domestic workers daily experiences?

The photovoice results presents a trail of reflections and deeply contradictory images and displays the disparities in water distribution in Delhi, India. These inequalities are not only about clean water distribution, but also about dirty waters – sewerage, rain water, and grey water – running through some streets and being drained out of others. Participants use multiple strategies and routines in order to stay in the city.

While taking photos, personal and group reflections, critical dialogue made them more aware about the issues and institutions involved it. The whole research process gave them an opportunity to work as a journalists and they slowly became very vocal and got involved in reflexive dialogues and displayed their knowledge and understanding of water and sanitation in the urban settings.

The ethical challenges emerged from the daily dialogues with the research participants. Their keen interest in about the final outcomes and quarries “what comes next? ” had somehow made me conscious about the social action process or some fruitful work such as poster exhibition with ministry in India or making a documentary, publishing a paper that can influence water institutions and policy makers at large.

**Key words:** India, Delhi, Photovoice, Visual methods, Wastewater, Water, Sanitation, Domestic workers, Women, Gender
Acknowledgements

The photovoice research could not have been possible without the women (domestic workers) who took the challenges of the visual research. The women had not used the phone cameras before in their life and had to capture their daily life pictures and work related activities in this research. After initial orientation and training of photovoice, they took the challenges and showed their deep interest in this evidence-based research where they had to document their routine with photos. I sincerely thank my research participants (Co- Researchers) Rajani, Sharda, Anjali, and Sonia, who participated during my entire field work with full dedication. Although they were so busy with their household chores and duties at employers houses, they tried their best to support me in collecting visual data for my research on "Inequalities in access to water and sanitation" in Delhi, India.

Visual research requires enough time to contact the community and establishing rapport for collecting, analyzing and expanding a variety of visual data. Hence, I cannot ignore the help and support provided by a local NGO (EFRAH) staff, which helped me to contact these women and made it easy for me to win the trust of the domestic women workers due to the already established rapport amongst the community in Madanpur Khadar area.

I am also grateful to my mentor Tatiana Acevedo Guerrero for guiding me, from the starting of the research topic and providing required supervision, Dr. Margreet Zwarsteven for pouring the knowledge of this visual research and supporting us for her treasure of experience. Special thanks to our lecturer Dr. Emanuele Fantini for passing his Photovoice expertise in my research.

Last but not the least, my family members especially my mother who has always been a great support, and encouraged me to continue living and fight back without losing hope. She played a great role to keep me motivated in my mission to contribute substantially to all efforts that bring constructive changes in the life of deprived sections of the society. With this mission and everyone's support, I visualize a society which practices equality, liberty, and justice for all as enshrined in the Constitution of India. I would continue contributing to all efforts in different capacities to fulfill these goals and ideals in my life.

Note for the Employers: The aim of this study to show the present conditions (Water distribution) persisting in the penurious parts of Delhi and to facilitate conditions aiming at resolving the same. This is not meant to offend anybody.

Thanks, Everyone!!
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## Abbreviations

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DJB</td>
<td>Delhi Jal Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>CTC</td>
<td>Community Toilet Complexes</td>
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<td>EFRAH</td>
<td>Empowerment for Rehabilitation Academic &amp; Health (NGO)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisation</td>
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<td>MDG</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>SDG</td>
<td>Sustainable Development goals</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>OHCHR</td>
<td>Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights</td>
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<tr>
<td>DW</td>
<td>Domestic Workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCD</td>
<td>Municipal Corporation of Delhi (Recently divided in North, South &amp; East Delhi Municipal corporations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organisations for Economic Co-Operation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAP</td>
<td>Aam Aadmi Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNNURM</td>
<td>Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission.</td>
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<td>MoUD</td>
<td>Ministry of Urban Development</td>
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<td>CBPR</td>
<td>Community Based Participatory Research</td>
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Domestic workers constitute a large proportion of the global workforce and engage in informal employment and are a very vulnerable group of workers (International Labour Organisation, 2016). According to United Nations Commission for Human Rights (UNCHR, 2015, p. 8), in 2015, there were at least 52.6 million domestic workers involved in a variety of domestic works, such as cleaning, cooking, driving, caring for children, and other tasks in households. Despite the fact that many men work in this sector, it remains a highly feminised sector. A total of 83% of all domestic workers are women (International Labour Organisation, 2016).

In history, several democratisation movements happened, and increased attention has been given to indigenous movements, women’s movements, landless movements, and equal rights movements globally (Blofield, 2009, p. 14). However, domestic workers have been overlooked and discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, and class (Blofield, 2009). Domestic work has been mainly studied when it involves migratory movements, through which women move from cities in the global south to other countries to work (Sharpless, 2010, p. xi). Tackling a void in this analysis, this thesis focuses on the lives of domestic workers that stay in the country of their birth (India), moving from the countryside to the city (Delhi).

Words like “empowerment” and “equity” are quite popular among development organisations and policy makers in the context of water and sanitation projects in the global south (Zwarteveen, Ahmed, & Gautam, 2014, p. 167). However, my experience working with municipal corporations and living in Delhi has shown me how that the hasty and unplanned

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1 According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) report, 51% of the immigrants in OECD countries are women, and a majority of them are involved in the domestic service and long-term care sector (OECD, 2008, p. 14). The UNHCR (2015, p. 8) reported that a majority of domestic workers at risk of being ill-treated due to their irregular migrant status and being denied their dignity as human beings.
development of the city has contributed to a situation where many get excluded from the water network.

During my work on solid waste management in southern Delhi, I witnessed how the irregular systems of garbage removal in slums forces people to dump their waste in open drains, roads, and open sites in and around the slum areas. As far as water and sanitation are concerned, these southern slums struggle a lot to access water for their use: they purchase water from private vendors, bribe municipal water tanker person to get regular or more water or go far to fetch water from common water taps. They also depend on public or community toilets or go to open fields or railway tracks for defecation or to dispose of waste water.

Women and girls who live in these informal settlements usually go to work in nearby high-class gated communities or middle-class neighbourhoods. Many, work as domestic workers. While growing up in Delhi and observing domestic help in my family (as a majority of Indian population are reliant on domestic help for daily chores such as sweeping, booming, washing clothes, mopping, cooking and cleaning dishes) I also observed the challenges the domestic workers also face. Their repetitive effort to cope with the upper or middle-class families demands and at the same time coping with the domestic work at home. This is why I decided to focus on the case of domestic workers in Delhi.

1.2 Research Objective

In Delhi, many middle and upper-class households depend on women servants who work seven days a week and do not get sufficient time off to rest or sick pay (Wilks, 2015). Domestic workers are engaged in domestic work, such as cleaning, washing, cooking, and taking care of children. As such, these women are in constant contact with clean water and proper sanitation facilities in their workplaces. However, when they return home, they often lack affordable and quality water services. Delhi’s water distribution is highly unequal (Baviskar, 2016; Roy, Truelove, & Parker, 2011).

Hence, I aim to analyse the routine strategies of domestic workers when they access water and dispose of wastewaterr in Delhi. The photovoice research methodology will be used to document women domestic workers' experiences with water. How they access it but also how they know it and generate meanings about it. The photovoice research methodology is a visual research
technique to understand the people who have little influence or voice within their society. This participatory method is inspired by social constructivism, empowerment education, feminist’s theory and documentary photography (Fantini, E, 2016,p 2) that will give me an opportunity to study women’s (domestic workers) views, emotions, practices, and aspirations. This methodology also allows for the production of visual outcomes of domestic workers situation, challenges, and views on water-related issues and concerns (Fantini, 2016). Through this methodology, the thesis aims to understand the complexity of water issues evidencing the everyday consequences of power relationships based on socio-economic status, and inequalities based also on gender and caste.

I analyse how, in Delhi, mechanisms of access to (and exclusion from) water supply, sanitation, and drainage, are evidence of economic, gender, and caste power relationships. I focus on the everyday practices through which domestic workers of Delhi access water and sanitation. These everyday practices, lay bare political-economic and power relationships, and the ways in which they are contested. Finally, I study the ways in which this lack of access to water has specific effects on the bodies of women. As such it analyses women’s access to resources, embodied practices, and consequences, which are a central concern in water governance (Baviskar, 2016; Parker & Sultana, 2011).

This thesis is of interest as it can inform public policies regarding gender equality and water services in India. Recent work in this field has showed how resource struggles and conflicts are not only material challenges (for example, not having access to piped water) but also emotional ones that are mediated through bodies, spaces, and emotions (such as feeling ashamed or humiliated due to lack of sanitation resources or feeling sick or tired after collecting water for the family).

Academically it follows calls by Zwarteen, Ahmed, & Gautam, (2014) and; Bhaviskar (forthcoming) to study the multiple embodied consequences associated with access to clean water and wastewater disposal. Also, it contributes to debates on urban environmental processes that have negatively impacted specific social groups, such as female domestic workers.

1.3 Research Questions

The two main two research questions will be investigated,

1. Which are the everyday practices through which domestic workers of Delhi access safe water and sanitation? How do women working as domestic workers obtain water and interact with water in their daily lives?
2. How does photovoice methodology help us to examine urban water distributions and document domestic workers daily experiences?
1.4 Context and literature review

India, Delhi, and water

India has observed an extensive level of migration from rural to urban areas over the last two decades due to various reasons, such as poverty, ecological degradation, unemployment, and other factors (Barbhuiya, 2016). Some authors argue that the Indian territories are dominated by privileged upper and middle classes which frequently exclude the poor and make experiences of citizenship very vague and contradictory (Mehta, 2014, p. 163). Therefore, neighbourhoods with wealthy occupants are provided many services, like water, drainage and sanitation, exclusive schools, golf courses, tennis courts, and private security and police. There are also illegal settlements in which water is only available at public fountains. Electricity is pirated by a privileged few, and the roads turn into mud streams every time it rains, house sharing is common, and no sanitation system exist. Each section of society appears to live and function on its own (Waldrop 2004, p. 6, Harvey 2008, p. 32).

Delhi is approximately 1465 sq. km in area. It is located in the north-central region of India within the basin of River Yamuna. The current population of Delhi is 18,686,902 (Census of India, 2016). It is the world’s second-largest city and the capital of India and has been attracting many migrants from all over India since it gained independence. As per Delhi Human Development Report, the city welcomes around 78,000 migrants annually (Haider, 2016, p.1). People from rural areas come to the city in search of employment or a better quality of life. This growth has modified the city’s social and political structure, which is split into different classes and groups according to their ethnicity, caste, sub-caste, religions, and languages. Many of the female migrants find work as domestic workers (Rao, 2011).

Thus, although the city generates an enormous amount of job opportunities. Many of these migrants are welcomed with deep unequal resource distribution (Mehta 2014). Despite the claim that Delhi has adequate water for its residents and an adequate piped infrastructure, research findings and reports indicate that the majority of people in Delhi do not get regular water supply (Truelove, 2011). Water distribution contributes to the unequal distribution of wealth among the city inhabitants. Due to inadequate distribution and water shortages in Delhi, city dwellers are forced to embrace various means and practices in their everyday lives to access water and sanitation services (Truelove, 2011). Various research findings also demonstrate that water is highly contaminated, which poses hurdles to residents who cannot afford good water purification technologies and need water for daily uses (Roy, 2013).
Introduction

Truelove’s (2011) study in Delhi and slums demonstrated people that are forced to break laws and adopt illegal practices to access water. She also documents how water and sanitation practices sometimes lead to physical and emotional violence among poor women as they are largely responsible for managing water for households. There are also risks of rape and other kinds of threats when women and girls travel far to retrieve water—or relieve themselves—from areas like canals. They face risks of violence and the severe physical and mental stress associated with it. Water flows through Delhi city in large quantities, but parts of the city have little, and what little water inhabitants can get is expensive. In my thesis, I will be able to document how the production of urban nature’s in Delhi is uneven, deeply political, and highly contested.

In the same vein, Indian anthropologist, Amita Baviskar (Forthcoming) has described how Indian cities have become the centre of environmental politics and are expanding and overtaking countryside’s quickly but have not much to do with equity (Baviskar, 2016, p. 6). She also illustrates how, in the context of the Commonwealth Games, Delhi acquired an opportunity to represent India as a superpower. Delhi was then portrayed by urban planners as a world class city by expanding infrastructural developments and by pushing poor slums and street dwellers to beggar’s houses or towards outskirts of the city that lack basic services (Baviskar, 2011, pp. 142-143). The development, restoration, or revival of deteriorated urban
neighbourhoods by means of investment and the arrival of more affluent residents have led to increasing property values and the displacement of lower-income families (Parker, 2011).

**Domestic workers**

Care based domestic works such as taking care of kids and elderly people based on love and affections and a kind of close and embodies attributes of femininity. Where domestic workers are required to provide all care work such as cleaning them, bathing kids or dependent elderly or other tasks to guard them without any harm or hurt feelings (Mc Dowell, 2009, p. 82). However, the report says that these care services such as cleaning, cooking, taking care of children or elderly people are hard to conceptualise as work due to fact that close embodied and emotional characteristics attributed to feminity are difficult to commodified, thus the majority of women involved in the sector are poorly paid (McDowell, 2009). Cleaning and care services have emerged as industry, providing domestic workers to private households, industries, schools, and other public or private institutions. Despite the high level of bodily work perform by domestic workers, they face several challenges as it is largely unregulated sector and work environment (McDowell, 2016).

India has a long history of rich and affluent people being dependent on domestic help. This leads women and girls from tribal or rural areas of Assam, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, and Orrisa to cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, and other large cities in search of employment (Mehrotra, 2010; Barbhuiya, 2016). Domestic work is gaining importance as a source of occupation among unskilled, poor women, and there are around 16.8 million female domestic workers in India (Barbhuiya, 2016, p. 13). Different authors sustain that domestic workers are the backbone of the Indian economy because they support thousands of people while they work and accumulate progress in the city (Mehrotra, 2010; Sharpless, 2010; Barbhuiya, 2016).

Domestic workers in India who are engaged in household work are victims of various hazards and threats (Barbhuiya, 2016). Domestic work falls under the umbrella of the non-institutionalised, unorganised sector, and female domestic workers face many problems due to their working environments, which are unregulated² (Barbhuiya, 2016; Raghuram, 2001). The present laws and legal concepts in India are insufficient to, deal with the specific nature of domestic workers, their workplaces, and their employment relations (Neetha & Palriwala, 2016).

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² In some regions of the country domestic works are based on the caste division of labour. Caste is very important in the assignment of different household tasks, such as cooking and sewerage removal. Cooking can be done by the upper caste and sewerage removal and other dirty tasks are to be done by lower caste people (Raghuram, 2001).
Sharma (2014) has shed light on domestic workers lives and working conditions in Delhi and the rapid increase in the domestic work sector due to urbanisation, agrarian crises, rural–urban migration, and other factors. She describes how domestic workers (mostly women and girls) suffer most from the city’s beautification programme that aim to “clean” Delhi and push poor neighbourhoods to the outskirts of the city (Sharma, 2014).

Truelove (2011) points to the concessions domestic workers need to make (such as working additional time or receiving smaller payments), for their employers to accept their delays (when they need to collect water in the morning). Sometimes they will also owe favours to their employers if they allow them to borrow clean water to take back home.
CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework

I will draw my theoretical framework from the two group of literature that will help me to trace how water and water supply systems become politicised as various groups contend for access to, or are excluded from, water networks. The first group of literature will be on (1) Power geometries, thesis considers power geometries (who will have access to or control over water and sanitation) and the embodied Consequences of this inequalities and Second (2) On the photovoice methodology, a process by which people can recognize, represent, and enrich their community through a specific photographic procedure. This methodology entails community participation for the purpose of the social action. It recognises and appreciates communities subjective role as researchers, advocates and participants (Kuratani & Lai, 2011,p: 2). My theoretical background will allow me to discover political, ecological and social factors to address complexities associated with water and sanitation issues.

2.1. Power Geometries: on how water reflects and reinforces power inequalities

Environmental and social changes are interconnected and are inseparable. Cities and urban water infrastructures are not unnatural: they are by-products of socio-environmental processes (Swyngedouw, Kaika, & Castro, 2002). Thus, urban water infrastructures portray relationships between social, economic, political, and environmental processes because and socio-environmental changes are never socially or ecologically neutral (Swyngedouw, Kaika, & Castro, 2002). Some people or groups in the city have access and control over environmental resources, and others get excluded.

Therefore, an environmental transformation is not independent of class, gender, ethnicity, and other power struggles (Swyngedouw, Kaika, & Castro, 2002, p. 125). This results in conditions under which particular trajectories of socioenvironmental change undermine the stability or coherence of some social groups, places or ecologies, while their sustainability elsewhere might be enhanced. This thesis considers power geometries (who will have access to or control over water and sanitation). In the specific case of water, for example, as Swyngedouw (2007b) and Kaika (2005) illustrate, as soon as water was identified as a potentially major resource for energy purposes or irrigation, a powerful political-economic elite emerged around its
mobilisation and transformation. In the process, particular power geometries developed and became consolidated: relations that produced, simultaneously, an interconnected group of elites and a series of mechanisms of water exclusion and water stratification. In fact, sustains Swyngedouw (2004), the elites never go without water, while water - as Kaika (2005) describes - becomes also a potential basis for elite formation.

Gandy (2004) reminds us how the production of city natures is an intensely political process that reflects wider tensions in urban society. As such, the production and circulation of drinkable water (and the circulation and disposal of waste water and sewerage), cannot be separated from processes of gender, race, and class (caste) formation.

Truelove (2011) describes how, since in many contexts women and girls are primarily responsible for water, they can face several challenges while procuring water for families, such as giving bribes to water providers to capture water that makes them feel like a criminal and impacts their psychological condition. As women develop different kinds of strategies to access water and contest existing water power geometries, they engage in difficult and time-consuming activities.

It is important to mention that gender and material inequalities intersect to influence and reflect water access. It is possible to state that this thesis will address gender by remaining conscious of its interactions with class and caste. Drawing on the work of Cleaver (2000) and Sultana (2006), this research is conscious of the changing and negotiated nature of gender relations. In Sultana's (2006, p. 366) words: "the focus should be on how gender is produced through daily practices, technologies, and customs, in brief, its socialisation". This way, gender differences in knowledge and practices related to water management, will be analysed as produced through everyday interactions and not derived from any "natural" difference between men and women.

In the case of gender formation, some studies have neglected the diversity among women from different social classes, incomes, castes; as women are often represented as homogeneous groups (Sundberg, 2015, p. 4). This thesis aims to analyse social and gender relations as they interact and produce different degrees of access in terms of water quality, quantity, and reliability. As Sultana et al. (2013, p.13) points out: “Looking at sex and gender gives us but a small slice of the unequal social relations that mediate gender-water relations; too often, inequalities among women are overlooked in initiatives promoting women’s rights and interests.”

**Embodied consequences of water power geometries (and their contestation)**

“The concept of embodiment acknowledges that “our awareness is profoundly influenced by the fact that we have a body, which is shaped by connections and larger networks of meanings at multiple scales” (Parker, 2011, p. 435).

This thesis draws on work by scholars who have drawn attention to cultural and material aspects of identity and power as well as to the embodied experiences and emotional experiences
They have argued that the relationship between bodies and cities has active roles in the production and transformation of urban spaces. Cities and bodies mutually define one another and constitute each other because cities develop according to human needs and desires (Parker, 2011). Klodawsky (2006), for example, explains how homeless women use personal hygiene as a way to hide or get rid of bodily markers of their statuses (dirty clothes, for example) as well as their vulnerabilities to public shame and violence. Thus, following this ideas, this project aims to study domestic workers’ access to resources and the embodied consequences and practices related to this access/lack of access to water and sanitation (Parker, 2011, p. 435).

Water is an important component of sanitation and hygiene, and women’s bodies get much attention and screening and are closely linked to water due to social and cultural norms surrounding men and women’s bodies and identities (Zwarteveen, Ahmed, & Gautam, 2014, p. 184). Besides being screened, women also face gendered responsibilities related to water availability for the household. Therefore, when "Good women and good wives" lack sufficient water and waste sanitation infrastructure, they can face huge challenges in their daily lives (Zwarteveen, Ahmed, & Gautam, 2014, p. 185).

Here it is important to mention that in the context of Indian society, water and human bodies are closely connected because Vedic philosophy in Hinduism has been recognised as a spiritual symbol. Water also has been recognised as an instrument with which to determine socio-ritual purity and pollution of the human body (Joshi & Fawcett, 2006, p. 119). Caste based social hierarchy is then determined through the notion of purity and pollution which reinforces an inequitable access to and control over water and water rights (Joshi & Fawcett, 2006, p. 119).

Further, the meeting (overlapping) of caste, class, and gender is evident in Indian society due to the normative practices of lower-caste Hindu women which during menstruation or childbirth are considered to be highly polluted, and these women are not allowed to touch anything (Nightingale, 2011, p. 156; Sundberg, 2015). Several examples are given by Nightingale (2011) in her study of Nepal, where water is also related to culture and purity. Hence, women's bodies become detrimental to the environments of water sources. Some social and embodied practices are then adopted by women to access the water and to maintain personal hygiene and the ritual purity (Nightingale, 2011, p. 156). Women's bodies and gender ideologies directly affect both their needs and roles in sanitation. Both shame and dignity associated with female bodies. Ritual cleansing is also enforced on women by religion such as bathing early in the morning for prayer, before entering the kitchen, after sexual intercourse, during menstruation, and after using toilets. As was mentioned, women are not only responsible for their personal cleaning and hygiene but also manage water sanitation needs for other household members (Zwarteveen, Ahmed, & Gautam, 2014, p. 185).

Not only Hindus but other religions also strongly connected with water and female purity issues. In a case study by ” (Zwarteveen, Ahmed, & Gautam (2014, p. 191), a Muslim woman discussed how she senses water in her daily life "I feel impure during my menstruation, and we do not read the “Koran” or perform “Namaj.” I try to bath twice a day if I get water and wash all my clothes after menstruation this makes me “Pak.” I try my best to keep my family as clean as possible, avoiding dirt and we don’t want our husbands to wash our clothes.
It is worth mentioning that some researchers have traced the specific challenges faced by domestic workers, who are asked to clean the house (and for that are sometimes considered "dirty") but at the same time are expected to fulfil expectations of hygiene and cleanliness because they work with children. Thus, child care is supposed to be clean, while housework is thought to be dirty. As explained by one testimony in McDowell (2009, p. 95): "As soon as I came to London and to her house I felt like she brought me to jail… I have to sleep on a shelf…. so morning 4.30 to midnight I have to be up. I have no rest, and I have no place to sit. She asked me not to be near the children… she treats me as if I have a bad disease". The majority of residents and employers avoid the areas where these domestic workers lives and used notions of “dirt” and sets rules to separate their bodies from the rest of the household (like the use of a different toilet, sleeping in a different part of the house) (Waldrop, 2004).

Sultana, Mohanty, and Miraglia (2013) and Truelove (2011) equally highlighted the consequences of water inequalities on women’s bodies by illustrating the example of the urban poor who must adopt an extensive range of everyday practices and negotiations to obtain water for daily use. These authors explain how practices and processes of water management are negotiated through constructions of gender, embodied practices, and related emotional reactions (Sultana, 2011, p. 163). Emotions matter, and in her research in Bangladesh, Sultana (2011) illustrates how nature–society relationships function in everyday life in any given situation as well as the suffering of people, especially women when seeking safe water. The disarray of daily politics and struggles over critical resources, such as water, prove that resource access, use, and control are linked to the emotions and embodied practices that are experienced and negotiated in resource management practices on a daily basis (Sultana, 2011; Truelove, 2011).

2.2. Photovoice –A Participatory Action Research

Photovoice research methodology (a qualitative study design) to document experiences of domestic workers in detail by handling over the cameras in their hands. The photovoice research methodology is based on the Freire methods, where Freire stated that this visual methodology offers and enables people to think critically about their community and also offers an opportunity to discuss the everyday social and political factors that influence their lives. This methodology recognises that such people often have expertise and insight into their communities and worlds that researchers and outsider's lack.

Photovoice methodology offers several unique contributions and enables researchers to see the world from a different angle or from the people whose voices are curbed and do not reach the wider audience. It addresses the need assessments of society's most vulnerable population in different social and behavioural settings through an exceptional strong instrument that is: Visual images. The method increases community participation and empowers participants to bring the
stories, ideas, and illustrations by taking a variety of pictures of their daily lives) into the assessment process and initiate a critical dialogue on the issues (Wang & Burris, 1997, p. 372). The photovoice is a photographic method of conducting research and usually targeting people who have little influence or voice within their community; such as children, homeless people or those who are on the fringes of society. The method is reachable to anyone who can learn to operate a photo camera and not necessarily to have formal education, reading or writing abilities (Wang & Burris, 1997).

Various authors have perceived it as a useful tool of empowering people and building their self-confidence due to its unique community participatory approaches such photography, documentaries and real life evidences ((Davtyan, Farmer, Brown, Sami, & Frederick, 2016 p.1). Various health related studies have been conducted through photovoice and attract a wide range of scholars, researchers and academicians due to its participatory visual methods and also participants play a very active role in the entire research process. Visual representations of social issues can foster public interest and galvanise social action (Warr, Guillemín, Cox, & Waycott, 2016 p.6). However, there are some ethical challenges that may lead to the failure of the whole process as it has been said that social science involving human participants fastened with the issue of morals and researchers bear the responsibilities of protecting participants from the danger of exposure and misrepresentation (Warr, Guillemín, Cox, & Waycott, 2016 p.2).

The photovoice is a community-based participatory approach recognises the community as an equal partner throughout the research and analysis ((Díez et al., 2017 p.2). The process is in lined with feminists theory, empowering and educating people and documenting their daily life through pictures (Robinson-Keilig, Hamill, Gwin-Vinsant, & Dashner, 2014). The process transforms people from a passive research subject to an active participant and co-researchers that help them to realise their self-worth (Darrah L Goo Kuratani & Elaine Lai, 2011 p.2). It first encourages individuals to become vocal at an individual level and discuss about community needs that would lead to the institution level and to advocate for policy level issues and concerns (Díez, J., Conde, P., Sandin et al 2017 p.2).

Photovoice processes the theoretical framework itself and empowers participants to take social action for a change. However, there are several studies that have been reviewed which lack social action element, "there were six studies reviewed (Short, 2006, Gosselink, 2007, Graziano, 2004, Nowell, 2006 Hergenrather, 2006 & Strack, 2000) that did not include a social action component and community has not gained anything from the project (Darrah L Goo Kuratani & Elaine Lai, 2011 p.8). The main goal of the photovoice methodology in the context of this project is; to foster understanding and facilitate critical dialogues over water access, exclusions, and contestations on a daily basis.
Furthermore, visual research methods are increasingly popular in social sciences to obtain in-depth knowledge and document cultures, perspectives, and practices. This method has been used in a broad range of academic work to capture and provide rich, holistic insight into people’s thoughts, living and natural environments via visual outputs (photographs). Most of the studies in water have been done by reading and writing or using conventional research methodologies, but water is one of the most sensual experiences by which people know water and generate meaning about it (Fantini, forthcoming). The aim of this study is to map and document the daily lives of domestic workers and their personal opinions and biographies to get inside information about the way they see the water-related difficulties in a growing city like Delhi. Also to study existing power geometries (and inequalities in access) by linking participants feelings and opinions to natural spaces, technical systems or infrastructures. In the review on visual methods Fantini (2016) specifically stated, “When it comes to water governance, further research is badly needed to access participatory photo-voice promise in terms of reaching policymakers and fostering social change.”

2.3. Lenses of Analyses

Power Geometries

- The distribution of water is an intensely political process that reflects wider tensions in society.
- The production and circulation of drinkable water (and the circulation and disposal of waste water and sewerage), cannot be separated from processes of gender, race, and class (caste) formation.
- Since women and girls are frequently primarily responsible for water, they can face several challenges while procuring water for families. Less privileged women develop different kinds of strategies to access water and contest existing water power geometries, they engage in difficult and time consuming activities

Photovoice

- Recognise that people often have expertise and insight into their own communities and worlds that researchers and outsider’s lack.
- The process increases community participation and inspires participants to bring the stories, ideas, and illustrations by taking a variety of pictures of their daily lives) into the assessment process and initiate a critical dialogue on the different issues they might face
- When it comes to water governance, further research is badly needed to access participatory photo-voice promise in terms of reaching policymakers and fostering social change.
CHAPTER 3

Photovoice Research settings

3.1. Site Selection

I gathered information from local and national newspapers such as Dainik Jagaran, Hindustan times, The Hindu, NGO (EFRAH) and Municipal Corporation regarding a resettlement colony to conduct the photovoice research. Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi, one of the resettlement colonies situated in the outskirt of Delhi was chosen for the study due to the water and sanitation situation which I could find in my archive work. Most of the inhabitants of Madanpur Khadar was given this alternate colony during to the beautification drive and commonwealth games, preparations for 2010.
The inhabitants of these colonies are mostly economically backward section of the society and victims of the changing government policies and shifting attitude of the judiciary that left these people with no choice and they start their life all over again in a new place. Most of the people resides in these resettlements colonies go to nearby gated colonies or posh areas for their living as labourers, vendors, domestic servants, security guards etc. These resettlement colonies have been developed for migrant population who cannot afford land in the city and settled upon the riverbed, around 15000 inhabitants live in the area (EFRAH, NGO Workers). “There is a possibility that Madanpur Khadar would have been named after a person. And the word ‘Khadar’ was added as it was situated on the bank of Yamuna. Khadar means a low floodplain located alongside a river,” (Tripathi,S 2016).
Figure 4 Delhi Metro Project on River Yamuna to widen its reach to more residential areas in NCR (National Capital Region)

Figure 5 Government removed us from Nehru place in 2001 we live here in Madanpur Khadar since then-Rajani & Sharda
“We used to live in jhuggi’s near Nehru Place but Delhi government evacuated us from that area due to commonwealth games, 2010 preparations and my “jeth” (husbands elder brother) received a plot in 2001 here in Madanpur khadar area. It was a small piece of land for a big family like us (Husbands three brothers and their families). Hence we rented (Me and my husband) a room in the same area as the plot was in the name of my brother in law and it was difficult for him to manage everyone there in the same house with no drinking water and toilet facilities. – Sharda, Domestic worker

Figure 6 - I was living with In-laws initially but it was a small house for a big joint family-Sharda (Left) bathing space at in-laws house (Right)

3.2. Community mobilisation/Consulting the community

Door-to-door meetings (3-4 days) had been done by me to interact with domestic workers living in the Madanpur khadar area. Evening time was good to meet women as they go to work since morning till evening. The area was little far from main road of Sarita Vihar metro and was full of challenges due poor road network, drugs and alcohol mafias. A local NGO (EFRAH) helped me to introduce people and I could able to invite around 20 women domestic workers for our initial orientation meeting at local NGO’s (EFRAH) office cum training centre situated in the same locality.

Figure 7-Door-to-door meeting for initial orientation
3.3. Orientation meetings

More than 20 women came for the initial orientation workshop. Most of them were working as domestic workers and travelling every day to nearby gated colonies for the work. Photovoice project had been discussed with them to make them clear about their roles during our field research. Most of them liked the idea of capturing photos of their daily routine with water but found it challenging due to the risks involved in it such as safe handling of phone cameras, taking pictures in the locality or at employers place.

Figure 8 initial orientation meetings

Figure 9 Initial orientation meeting
3.4. Selection of Participants

Six women domestic workers were chosen after initial orientation meetings to begin our photovoice journey. I randomly selected women who were ready to take up the challenges of Photovoice. Domestic workers were given cameras after initial orientation for capturing their real life pictures and daily routine with water for this photovoice project.

Details of the research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Address/location</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>People per households</th>
<th>mobile number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajani</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
<td>Domestic workers</td>
<td>House no A-1/974, Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>5 (husband and 3 kids)</td>
<td>+919540979538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anjali</td>
<td>18 yrs</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>House no A-1/861, Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>5 (Mother and brothers)</td>
<td>+919582626357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonia</td>
<td>28 yrs</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>House no A-1/905, Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>5 (husband and 3 kids)</td>
<td>+919891748701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharda</td>
<td>35 yrs</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>House no A-1/63, Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>6 (Husband and 4 kids)</td>
<td>+917836972234</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10- Rajani, Anjali, Sonia, Sharda, Rajwati & Guddi (Research Participants)
### Photovoice Research settings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Address</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Additional Info</th>
<th>Contact</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajwati</td>
<td>35 yrs</td>
<td>, ,</td>
<td>House no A-1/933,Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>No information as she did not participate in discussions</td>
<td>+917834956477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guddi</td>
<td>30 yrs</td>
<td>, ,</td>
<td>House no A-1/958, Madanpur Khadar, South Delhi</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>No information she did not participate in discussions</td>
<td>Do not own a mobile phone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.5. Photovoice training and handing over the cameras

After the initial selection and orientation process, participant’s attendant a two hours training programme. Participants learned about safe handling of phone cameras, how to capture photos and other ethical issues. It was difficult for them to take employers permission for photos of their private spaces such as bathroom, kitchen etc. but they decided to conduct it in a friendly manner with the support of other co-workers.

![Training & Handing over the cameras](image)

*Figure 11 Training & Handing over the cameras*
3.6. Developing photo albums for personal interviews and group discussions

More than 400 photos had been captured by the participants and it took more than two weeks to get all the information as they started taking interest and wanted to capture more and more pictures of their interests. We set some group norms such as group meetings, calling each other in case of any problem and also supporting for capturing photos. All photos had been collected, developed and separate albums had been prepared for each participant. Personal interviews and group discussions have been conducted and recorded to understand and get participants' perspective about photos they took. It was very participatory and they were so involved and vocal while describing images and had critical dialogues on related issues and concerns. Around 100 videos have been recorded as the visuals were more effective than textual information. They agreed for the video recordings and the presentation of the facts to the concerned government and non-governmental organisations and institutions.
Photovoice Research settings

Figure 12 Personal Interviews & Group Meetings, personal reflection, storytelling, critical dialogues
3.7. Data Collection

The data collection for this study started with personal interviews and group discussions with the participants (Women Domestic workers). They were given an easy question “**How do you obtain water and disposes waste water in their daily lives?**”. A variety of photos had been captured by participants to reflect their daily routine with water. Personal and group meetings and discussions had been organised to get the reflection of the photos, different perspectives and stories behind the pictures taken by them. Several stories were told by the participants in their native language (Hindi). They were so involved and comfortable while choosing and describing each picture.

Voice and video recordings have been done and saved in separate folders to store them properly. Photos reflections and stories have been translated and documented here later in my thesis to study the domestic workers' daily lives and their interaction with water and disposing of wastewater and associated embodied consequences. These domestic workers (I better call them Co-Researchers) travel daily from the resettlement colony (Madanpur Khadar) to nearby gated colonies at Nehru Place, Defense Colony for their work. Hence, they live in two different set-ups and took photos accordingly to show the difference in access to water and sanitation at the place they live and the place they work (Employers house).

Consequently, the photos have been documented and analysed accordingly to examine the two different situations they experience in order to access to water and sanitation services. I engaged video recording techniques to make it transparent and ensure the accuracy with the consent of participants. Writing those reflection was difficult when were so involved in the story telling and describing images they took.

*Figure 13- We go to Kothi's to work - Sharda, Domestic workers workplace (Independent bungalows)*
Photovoice Research settings

Research Process

All participants were slowly became so involved the process and worked with full dedication. I also visited them daily in the evening (During my field work). Initial meetings were started at NGOs office but we mutually decided to meet at their homes as they were working since morning till late evenings. The results of the photovoice process will be explained further in the next chapter.
Photovoice Research settings

**Figure 15** the photovoice process, Schematic representation, Source: Haldenby (N.d)
CHAPTER 4

Inequality: Power Geometries

Domestic workers (Research Participants) live in Madanpur Khadar area (One of the resettlements colonies) and travel to the nearby gated communities. Gated communities are the people who live in the posh area such as Nehru Place, Defence Colony and Kalka ji. These are the planned areas full of mid and high rise apartments or independent bungalows (Kothis) surrounded by fencing, gates, security guard and access to all the basic facilities and attention from government, politicians, planners and policy makers (Zhao & Zou, 2017 p. 1). Domestic workers experience two different situations in respect to access to water and sanitation services and similarly captured photographs of the places they live and the place they work. In this chapter, I will answer the first research, “Which are the everyday practices through which domestic workers of Delhi access safe water and sanitation? How do women working as domestic workers obtain water and interact with water in their daily lives? .This I will document question document and analyse the two situations illustrated by participants with the photographs they took.

Figure 16 All rich people live there and Nehru place area where we work-Rajani showing a nearby city Noida
4.1. Access to safe water and sanitation at her place (Madanpur Khadar)

4.1.1 Managing safe and affordable water

The right to water and sanitation means having access to safe, accessible and affordable water and sanitation for all without discrimination. Having access to safe water and sanitation means leading a life with dignity (OHCHR, n. d). “Ensuring access to water and sanitation for all is one of the SDG goals (Goal 6)” which aims to achieve universal and equitable access to safe and drinking water for all and access to adequate and equitable sanitation and hygiene for all, ending open defecation and special focus on women and girls who are at risk (UN 2016). Official data says that Delhi is producing a high amount of water that is 250 per capita per day and 878 MGD (DJB, 2007, Truelove, 2011, AAP, 2017). Delhi has enough water to run through its piped infrastructure (Truelove, 2011 p:1) and the new Delhi government claims to covered 217 unauthorised colonies with piped connection in 2016 and target to cover every household with piped water supply by December 2017 (AAP, 2017). However, pictures taken by domestic workers shows different stories. Residents of the Madanpur Khadar area are highly dependent on the groundwater sources for their daily needs. Women and girls are primarily responsible for collecting and storing safe drinking water from government installed water points (Kiosks) or water tankers. Private water suppliers are mushrooming in the area due to increasing water demands and unreliable water supplies from the government (DJB). According to a newspaper report, the city’s tankers mafias are doing a thriving business and around 2,000 illegal tankers are delivering water every day due to the city’s dysfunctional water system (Reevell, P. 2014).

“Collecting and storing water for the household chores is our main responsibility. The Men (Our husbands) do not care about this. We go to collect water from a government supply as soon as we finish our morning routine (freshen up). Water from government water supplies (Water points) usually comes (morning, two hours, no fixed timing) between 5 to 9 and sometimes water flows the whole day and we cannot control it due to the damaged tap or no water at all for 3-4 days. The water we have is from handpumps and it's not of good quality. If
we don’t store water for our family needs, we have to buy filtered water from private vendors which is Rs 20 per 10 litres of water. We usually spend around Rs 800 -1200 per month for filtered water due to this unreliable water supply in our area” (Rajani & Sharda).

Figure 18 Water collection form government kisoks, tankers are our daily routine (Pictures taken by participants)

4.1.2 Water from government tankers

There are no piped water connections in this area so majority depends on government water tankers as well. DJB claims to provide clean water through 800 departmental and hired water tankers and water delivery schedule has been uploaded on the official website (NDTV, 2014; The Indian Express, 2015). It is believed to deliver free and safe water but do not come frequently or do not have designated points or time to stop. People find it difficult to track the tankers with all their responsibilities and jobs. Women store water from tankers when they see it the area. “It’s not a reliable or safe water as most of the time we get white worms in it and it smells very bad. I know they sell all the clean water to private water vendors and fill dirty water from river Yamuna for distribution” – Rajani, Sharda & Anjali

“There is a huge rush and a mad crowd can be seen for water tankers in the summer due to much demand and water crises. Some powerful people try to get much water from water tanker or call them for their needs. You can see frequent fights in the area for water. I recently saw an influential lady called water a water tanker person and others were not informed about it which led to huge fights and they attacked each other with buckets” - Anjali
Figure 19 water collection from government water tankers, I don’t prefer tanker water as I found white worm in it & it smells bad - Anjali

4.1.3 Water from private vendors
Due to unreliable water supplies and increased water demands, private water suppliers business is flourishing in the area. There are several local water purification systems (Reverse Osmosis) that have been installed to purify ground water and trade clean water to the residents. This informal sector is booming and people are forced to buy water from private vendors that costs Rs 10 to Rs 20 per 10 or 20 litre bottle. Public water utilities are responsible for water management and provide adequate water to the whole population in India (Kacker & Joshi, 2012 p .3). Delhi Jal Board (DJB) who is responsible for Delhi water management is under pressure like other utilities in India due to poor infrastructure and low investment in this sector that is leading to acute water crises (Kacker & Joshi, 2012 p .3).

Figure 20 Private vendors are everywhere in the area, it has become a good business here- Sonia

Figure 21 A private vendor going for door to door water delivery- Sonia
“We buy water frequently in the summer as we are unable to store water due to our job and we need to reach there on time. The mad rush and frequent fights can be seen in the summer for the water. It is this water that is most used for cooking and drinking. We have hand pumps/ground water available for other purposes”-All Participants

4.1.4 Private vendors create problems at public water distribution points

Private vendors also fill their cans from public water points (Kiosks) and sell to the people who do not wish to come there to queue or wait for their numbers. “These vendors are powerful men who usually come with private tricycles to collect and store water for marketing purposes. They normally do not let us fill water and we need to wait for our turn”-Sharda
4.1.5 Water collection is difficult with small children

Women with small kids face difficulties and fear to leave children behind at home. Government water kiosks are far and require time to wait for the water. It creates an extra financial burden on women and they are forced to buy water from private suppliers who come at the doorstep and charge a little extra for service delivery. “Being a mother, it is difficult for me to go the water kiosks to collect safe water for drinking and cooking purposes. I can not leave my kids alone as they are so small. Hence, I need to buy water for my daily needs. I mostly buy water from private vendors and pay Rs 20 for each bottle as they come to my place for delivery (service at doorstep). I leave my kids to the anganbari cruch (government set up to combat child hunger and malnutrition) situated in the area where I go to work. Anganbari is not so safe as my kids get frequent health problems but I need to work and supprt my family”.-Sonia
4.1.6 Bad quality water

Every household have handpumps, private borewells or jet pumps for daily water use (their own or provided by landlords) but the quality of water is very poor and not safe for drinking and cooking purposes. NGOs and local news also claim that water provided by the public and private sources contains chloride, iron and nitrate contents above the desirable limit and handpump water is fecally contaminated (The Hindu, 2016).

Women (Participants) had the similar observations “We pay extra water bills and electricity bills from their income. We need to take care of our homes and manage everything for husband and kids before we go for the jobs at Kothis (Rich people’s houses). Our day’s start with

Figure 24 I cannot leave my kids alone, government water kiosks are far away and it gets crowded-Sonia
managing water for family and other needs such as buying milk packets, arranging money for each member so that they can use community toilets. Cooking is important as we need to eat something to keep food for our kids before we go for our work. We can store clean water for drinking only and it gets difficult to carry and store much water for our daily needs. Hence, we are forced to use handpump water which is not good for our health. We get sick frequently mostly with stomach disorders, we get skin rashes too when we use this water for bathing. You can see the water in buckets which gets yellowish in colour with bed odours in few hours of storage. We poor people cannot afford bottled water for cooking and bathing.” Sonia, Sharda and Rajani

![Figure 25 you can see the water, it gets yellow and food doesn't taste good-Sonia, Rajani & Sharda](image)

### 4.1.7 Water Leakages

Resettlements colonies or slums in Delhi are largely without piped water connection (Sheikh et al, 2015) in the absence of the piped supply, the residents are highly dependent on public water kiosks set up by Delhi Jal Board. In winter they get steady water supply (2 hours in the morning and evening), and water sometime flows all day and create waterlogging situation everywhere in the area. Every household have handpumps, private borewells or jet pumps for daily water
use (their own or provided by landlords) but the quality of water is very poor and not safe for drinking and cooking purposes.

“We do not have government piped connection in our area (Madanpur Khadar). Several promises made by political leaders during election campaign but nothing happened. I do not see any political leader visiting us after winning the election. Few government water points (Kisoks) have been installed for safe drinking with water that comes untimely in the morning and evenings. You can see huge queues and frequent fights in summer and excess water flowing in the winter that cannot control by us due to broken taps and nobody from jal board (Water utility) ever came to repair it. It creates waterlogging situation everywhere and gets worse during rainy season and creates a flood like situation by a build-up of solid wastes in temporal drainage systems”-All participants

Figure 26 Broken taps, water leakages are common in the area - All participants (Group discussions)
4.1.8 No water at government water kiosks

“Water supply is very irregular in this area mostly in summers. Sometimes there is no water supply for 3-4 days and we get dependant on private water suppliers for our drinking needs”-All participants (Group discussions).

![Figure 27 A dry water kiosk - Picture taken by Anjali](image)

4.1.9 Large volume of human excreta going into river Yamuna

The resettlement colony, Madanpur Khadar situated in the bank of the river Yamuna. River Yamuna, the largest tributary of river Ganga often called Delhi’s lifeline is “Ecologically Dead” (The Hinu, 2016, A, Mishra 2010). Several reports say that untreated domestic and industrial waste severely affecting the quality of river (A.Mishra, 2010). Women expressed the similar concern about river “I usually see septic tankers empty human excreta in River Yamuna whenever I go to my workplace passing the jungle area. I also observed all private vendors (vegetable sellers) wash their vegetables with dirty water at the same place before bringing it to the local market”-Sharda & Rajani
4.1.10 No sewer lines

There are no sewer lines in the area so people use community toilet complexes (CTCs) for the sanitation needs. Some of the households have built their toilets at home which is temporary (Septic tank pit) and need septic tankers to empty the pit twice or thrice in a year.

Anjali shares her experience and said, “We do not have a sewer line in the area so most of the household are dependent on the CTC s and some of us have septic pit toilets attached to our home. Septic tankers can be seen regularly in the area for emptied the pits and charge Rs 500 for each cleaning”.

Figure 28 Human excreta goes to river Yamuna-Rajani and Sharda
4.1.11 Drainage/waterlogging

Lack of a drainage system makes the environment very filthy as wastewater flows everywhere and overflow from the temporary drainage system (Nali) they have in the area. All surrounding streets are very dirty, unhygienic and full of insects, mosquitos, etc. Faecal matters too can be seen flowing everywhere in nalis (Temporary drainage). "I can show you the faecal matter everywhere flowing through the temporary nalis (Drainage) as people use the bath places as latrines during the night and in an emergency. The situation gets worst during monsoon (rainy season)." - Sonia
4.1.12 Safety and security concerns

The majority of residents in the area use community toilets complexes for their sanitation needs. There are 5 or 6 CTCs available in the area (8 community toilets, 94 seats for women, 24 seats for children, 114 seats for men-EFRAH NGO). There are safety concerns as most of the youth and men are involved in drugs, gambling and alcohol addiction in this area. “We do not feel safe when we go to use community toilets, they stare at us and make lewd comments on us. You can always find drunk men all around the area playing “jua”(gambling). I sometimes feel so scared for my daughters when I go for work leaving them alone at home”. – Sharda

Figure 30 Dirty streets, overflowing naalies and human excreta flowing everywhere-Sonia and other (Group discussions & Personal interviews)

Figure 31 these men (Gamblers) are always here, we fear going CTCs during nights-ARajani and Sharda
“My friend (16 years old girl) was harassed by men when she went to use community toilet as she reacted on the lewd comments made by a guy that had been following her since long and nobody came forward to rescue her”. - Anjali

“Whenever my young daughter goes to the toilet, she looks for a friend or I accompany her as she feels insecure and I too always have the same fear for her in my mind”. - Sharda

“A jungle (Forest area) near our colony is dangerous for women as there are many rape cases reported and not much has been done to improve the situation. We fear while crossing this area in the evening or as many alcoholic people can be seen and fear of attacks on women and girls are always there”. - Rajani & Sharda

Figure 32 Research participants shares their experiences during personal and group discussions

4.1.13 Managing user fees per visit
Community Toilet facilities are there with a person sitting and collecting user fees for the cleanliness and maintenance of the facility. Men can go and use the facility but it's a woman who bears the responsibilities of managing user fees for all the family members. Men do support the families but do not feel responsible for these issues and spend evenings with friends, gambling or drinking alcohol that is easily available in the area.

"Not only drinking water, I need to care for our morning necessities like managing Rs 2/ for each family member so that they can use community toilet as soon as they get up. I have a room with a small kitchen and no toilet facilities attached with it. There are 4 or 5 community toilets in the area. We try to use the nearest facility first and look for another one there is a long queue. Meanwhile we need to control our bladder and bowel as much as we can" - Sharda and Rajani

"We do not get water in the community toilets frequently in summer and we need to carry water bottles with us. It is a very stressing situation to manage water for each of the family members" - Rajan and Sharda

*Figure 33 Sharda (left) using community toilet and paying user fee, Rajni (Right) using community toilet (Bath space at Sharda's house in right up)*
“Community toilets open at 5.00 O clock in the morning and closes around 10.00 at night. We try to manage our body accordingly such as less eating in the night to avoid the need of the toilet but in the case of emergency or illness we have no option rather than using our bath spaces or nali (Temporary sewer system). Rajani and Sharda

4.1.14 Bathing Space

Women and girls cannot bath in the open and we cannot spend much on our bathing requirements. Women's concern is about their teen daughters whom they have to bath in the open space too and also wait for their fathers to go out. It gets difficult for them when guests come as they have to wait for them to go. "My daughter had to wait for her father to go out as she is now 12 years old and cannot bath in open"-Sharda

"I know one incident about my friend. She got harassed by her father as he tried to rape her, she secretly shares this with me, but I want you to write about it"-Anjali

![Figure 34 my daughter wait for her father to go and she can take bath as we have a small open space for that-Rajani & Sharda](image)
4.1.15 Unhygienic situation

I hate my in–laws as they use bath space as a toilet, you can see potty spots there in the picture and near hand pumps. They are so lazy and avoid going far for the community toilets. I left that place as I was feeling so sick and rented a room in the same area with an attached toilet facility. There are many families here who use bathing place as toilet and you can see faecal (Human excreta) flowing through the nali s (Temporary sewer system)- Sonia

4.1.16 Community toilets poorly managed

Community toilets are often not so clean despite the service charges Rs 2/- we pay for each use. Broken doors, taps, water leakages, seats full of menstruation clothes can be easily seen. But we need to manage with whatever facilities we have in the area- All Participants
Despite paying Rs 2/per use, we do not get cleanliness in community toilets. They are dirty seats, damaged doors, taps, sanitary napkins or menstrual clothes everywhere.

4.1.17 Garbage dumping
Urbanisation and growing population in Indian cities like Delhi posing a serious problem on Municipal Corporations (government organisation responsible for SWM). Uncontrolled waste generation and bad practices are severely causing the air, water and other land pollution in India. Government have been failing to manage the waste in Delhi hence, several public-private partnership projects are on the ground to manage solid wastes in the areas in Delhi. (Ahmed & Ali, 2004 p.469). South Delhi Municipal Corporation is formally responsible for waste collection, segregation and disposal activities. However, growing informal waste collectors (Waste pickers), dealers, waste traders can be seen in the area. Damaged dhalaao ghar (designated place for the solid waste), a pile of garbage, human excreta, plastic wastes, sludge from the temporary drainage are creating a grimy environment in Madanpur Khadar area. Photos captured by participants and illustrations can best describe the situation.

“People throw garbage anywhere in the area. Even if we try and throw our garbage at MCD designated points, it is always there and nobody comes to clean the place or emptied the bins for a month or so. Only waste pickers pick their stuff from the area as they live here in government parks (waste pickers community) and they are our neighbours too. "I feel pity to see an 80 yrs old woman frequently come and collect garbage (Anjali). The situation get worse during rainy season as we do not have a sewer system and water cannot go out of the area and it gets filthy and smelly. You can see mosquitos, animals and flies all around in the area”-All participants

Figure 37 Improper dumping and no proper waste collection system in the area-Picture taken by all participants (Group and personal meetings)
4.1.18 Youth in the area

The majority of the men are indulged in drugs, gambling and other illegal activities. They spend most of their time or free time in gambling and do not care about the household needs. Women are stressed and feel helpless as they cannot do anything in fear of losing their husbands or son. Many people threaten to have another woman or kill themselves. Frequent suicide cases have been reported. “Young people are getting addicted to drugs, alcohol and gambling. There are several drugs and alcohol owners here freely selling these stuff and they bring at the doorstep. Hence. Many youths are involved in stealing, rape, murder, suicide and anti-social behaviours that is increasing day by day. Girls, on the other hand support us in doing daily household chores”-All participants

Figure 38 boys spend their free time in gambling whereas girls support us in daily households work- pictures taken by Rajani ,Sharda,Anjali and Sonia (Group discussions and personal interviews)
4.1.19 Humiliation-Untouchable Status

I randomly selected research participants who were working as domestic workers. We started working on photovoice and slowly became so friendly. I used to go to their houses for the personal and group interviews. They were feeling great to offer tea, coffee and food whenever I visited them and used to ask about my religion, caste and marital status. I slowly figured out the reason for their curiosity and they disclose the same,

"we come from a lower caste (Balmiki’s) and our descendants used to do manual scavenging and other cleaning services at upper castes people's houses (in villages of Uttar Pradesh). Now the practice has been banned by the government of India and more people are having modern toilets. That made our people jobless and people did not allow us to do any other tasks like washing clothes, utensils, cooking due to our untouchable status in our villages. Not only upper caste Hindus but Muslim families too did not allow us to enter inside their houses as we eat and worship pork. They think touching us make them “napak” (impure). As a result of this our..."
families started migrating towards the cities in search of jobs and could manage to work as nobody knows us here and we do not disclose our identity as much as possible”—Anjali

Similar experiences were shared by other participants as well. “I remember one incident when I went to visit a doctor with my mother-in-law in my village and doctor did not touch her and told her for a basic check up to stand far and write some medicines only”—Anjali’s mother

Even in cities sometimes people inquired about our caste and say "hang on, stand there far from us and tell which caste do you belong to, Mali or Jamadar (Gardner or manual scavenger)"? We try to hide our identity and say no I am not a "Jamadar" and then they give us jobs of cleaning and washing utensils. People who cannot hide the identity can get toilet cleaning jobs and not allowed to do or touch anything inside the houses—Rajani

“We have a good number of Muslim people here in Madanpur Khadar area and they still don’t want to touch us, they feel bad if we pass from their area or collect water from the water points situated in their area (In case of an emergency). I had a big fight with one of the Muslim girls recently as she passed a bad comment on my body when I touched her unintentionally”—Anjali

4.1.20 Travelling every day to get to work

“We travel more than two hours daily to reach our work place and we do not receive any money for commuting from one place to another. We spend local expenses from our salary that is already too low (Rs 1,500 to 5,000) depends on the task we perform”—All participants
4.1.21 Cities does not exclude us from Hindu temples

Culturally, There is a certain caste to do all the cleaning jobs in India which is “Balmiki”. Indian society divides by caste system that consists five level (Hierarchy), Brahmans, Kshatryas, Vaishya’s and Shudras (Dev Sharda, 2004). “Scholars agree that the Hindu conceptions of purity and pollution is the basic principle according to which jatis are placed in the hierarchy” (Dumont, 1970; Marriott, 1959; Srinivas, 1968; Stevenson, 1954, Dev Sharda, 2004 p. 227 et al). I finally figured out that all my research participants are from Shudra (Balmiki, a Dalit community) and culturally, faced exclusion and subjugation in Indian society since ages (Guru, 2004). I was amazed and did not have an idea that they would tell me the story behind the temple visit pictures.

"We were not allowed to enter inside any temple in our villages due to our caste and untouchable status. Cities gives us freedom to visit any temple and they do not ask about caste and other related issues" - Sharda
4.2. Access to water and sanitation at work place

All research participants work in “kothi’s” in Nehru place, Defence colony, Kalka ji and get wages from Rs 1,500 to 6,000 per month ($ 20 to $ 70) as per the tasks. They do not receive any money for travelling daily which costs around Rs 800 per month. No provision for other basic services such as health and emergency. They sometimes receive clothes or little money during special occasions such as marriages and festivals. They also do extra work when guests come or marriages etc. They normally do not receive any tea or food sometimes a cup of tea and bread. The domestic workers live inside the houses (24X7) get a room and other basic facilities such as breakfast, lunch and dinner but not the same as employers. As far as water and sanitation is concerned the following images have been taken by research participants (Domestic workers). It was challenging for them but they were able to capture and document some of their everyday practices and relationship with water. They work with 2 or 3 employers and pictures are from everywhere they work.
4.2.1 Washing clothes with hands/cold water in winters

Washing clothes with hands is our routine job at our employers place. They didn't allow us to use the washing machine even if they have it. As far as water is concerned, we use cold water which is tolerable in the summer but not in winter. We do not get hot water for washing clothes as hot water facilities are for employer's use - All participants

![Image of Rajani washing clothes at employers place.](image1.jpg)

*Figure 43* Rajani washing clothes at employers place. "Its winter time and my maam saab (Madam) wants me to wash with hands and cold water (PC-Rajani)*

4.2.2 Washing utensils

Washing utensils is one of the major responsibilities of the research participants, they are not involved in cooking task due to doubtful caste status and the employers prefer women who can stay 24 x 7 (kind of a permanent stay with employers family). I conducted research in January month which is winter in Delhi India, hence got some of the reflections accordingly.
"Even if the employers have good facilities in the kitchen, they do not allow us to use the same. We need hot water for oily utensils or during winter when water gets too cold and difficult to touch. They shout on us if they know we try to use hot water." —All participant.
4.2.3 Watering plants

All employers have their special gardeners, who maintain the garden and take care of the plants. But watering plants is domestic workers (Participants) responsibly, they use buckets to collect water from the tap and watering the plants.

"Watering plants is also my responsibility and I do take care of this with my other responsibilities"-Rajani
4.2.4 Sweeping, Dusting and Mopping

Each employers at least have 6 to 10 domestic helps including a security guard, cook etc. Servant quarters are provided to them for the stay with a common latrine facility and an open bath space. Women workers stay in kids rooms and sleep on the mattress (ground) and also use the common facilities in common areas. Research participants reveals the information and tried to capture the pictures that had been described later in the analysis,
"We handle all dusting, sweeping and mopping tasks at employers place and there are many other domestic servants who do other tasks such as gardener, security guard, baby sitting, cooking many others".
4.2.5. Well equipped kitchen with 24x7 water supply

All colonies and employers places are well connected with piped water supplies and have water purification systems due to bad quality of drinking water in Delhi.

"Kitchens are very well equipped with 24x7 water supply. They have geyser for hot water requirement and water purifier, ROs installed in the kitchen. We are not allowed to touch fridge but we can take water from purifiers for our drinking needs. Cleaning and the kitchen is our major responsibility with other work and we keep it clean and tidy as much as possible"-All participants
Figure 47 Employers Kitchen with 24x7 water supply and other advance equipment’s
4.2.6 Bathrooms fully equipped

Their bathrooms are also fully equipped with all necessary facilities and a special sweeper to clean the toilets seats other cleaning are done by domestic workers (Research participants).

"We desire to have the same but cannot think of using the same. We will lose the job if they catch us using the same facilities."
4.2.7 Servant rooms/ toilets

Good thing here is having a separate bathroom which can be used in an emergency. It is not as clean or fully equipped but at least better than their own place and have piped water supply.

"We are allowed to use a separate toilet (Servant toilet) usually on the separate part of the house or outside of the building and common for all servants (men and women). A common servant room for men with a bathing space for those who live there in 24x7. The women who take care of kids can stay in children's room and sleep on the floor (mattress provided by their employers). These women (Domestic servants) are not allowed to use kids toilets and usually go the servants toilets for their needs"-All participants
4.2.8 Sweepers (Domestic servants who does toilet cleaning)

Research participants mention a separate class of people for toilet cleaning who reveals their caste (Balmiki) and come for the toilet cleaning or sweeping outside areas.

"We do toilets and can't touch anything inside the house. We leave the place just after cleaning the toilet seats and sweeping outside areas"-Anjali’s aunt
My research participants reveal that there are many domestic maids who live with families inside the house and cannot come openly to share their routine lives as they work under strict supervision. Not allowed to keep their husbands and kids together. They cannot eat the same food as employers, separate lunch and dinner for them and a few pieces of bread and tea at breakfast. They mostly handle kids or cooking responsibilities.

“Rachna ji, You cannot go and interview them. They work under tight security and I will lose my job if they come to know. We captured pictures to share this information with you”.- Sharda and Rajani
Figure 51 Permanent women domestic workers, stays with families
4.2.10 Suicide attempts

As women are not allowed to bring their husbands and kids, they feel lonely and husbands sometimes gets involved in extramarital affairs.

“The woman I am standing with in this picture tried to kill herself once and was hospitalised for a week or so. She works 24x7 and live inside the premises (Kothis) and not allowed to bring her husband and kids with her. The reason for the suicide attempt was husband's affair with another woman as she was unable to give enough time to him-Rajani

Figure 52 Rajani (Research participant) with co-worker who tried to kill herself

4.2.11. No slippers while working

They cannot sit and take rest inside the houses in case of need, the domestic workers can sit on the floor or mattress but not on the sofas and chairs.
"We are not allowed to enter inside the house with sleepers on even in winters and cannot sit anywhere on sofa and chairs. We need to stand and do all the work or sit on the floors"-All participants

![Figure 53 An Employers drawing room, I want to sit sometime when they aren’t around-Anjali](image)

### 4.2.12. I don't feel safe at work

Domestic workers are young and beautiful hence shared some of their personal experiences about fear of rape and molestation. Not all were comfortable sharing it but Anjali, a teenage girl (Research participant) desperately wanted to share this about her and others.

"I am just 18 years old and do not feel safe at my workplace as there are male servants that stare at me and comment on my body. I need to support my mother as my father died due to excessive alcohol consumption and she has to work for our well-beings."-Anjali
4.2.13 Strict Supervision and bad behaviour

Sonia, one of the research participants mainly discussed the employer's bad behaviour at work and fear while capturing the photographs.

"The place I work has very tight security and we are all domestic workers being monitored round-the –clock. Hence, it was difficult for me to get my photos as I could not ask others and
if I do I would lose my job. Sometimes ma’am saab (Madam) behave badly with me too on small issues and point fingers on my character”- Sonia
4.2.14 Caste play and important role

“Employers usually ask about our caste before hiring us for work and they want us to stay away from them.” Stay away and tell me which caste you belong to? Mali or Jamadar? I hide my caste otherwise I don’t get work here. Few families like Punjabi (Sikh community in India) people do not ask much - Rajani
4.2.15 Body Cleanliness at work

“See we look beautiful without make up”, Rajani said during a group discussion, I asked, yes you are beautiful but why don’t you wear makeup”?

“We need to wear clean clothes and shower before we go to work, otherwise we get noticed and they behave like we are untouchable or stink bad”—Anjali

We do get this lewd comments at the employers place too they (Maam Saab) want us to be clean all the time and do not like us if we wear the same clothes twice. At the same time, they do not want us to put makeup and look beautiful. They put such bad comments, “why did you wear new clothes today, "Aaj to Veda lipstick laga ki aayi (why did you put lipstick today, is there anything special?)". Anjali
Male staff also stare at us as if we are sex objects. Anjali & all participants

**Figure 56 - We look beautiful without make up-Rajani (Pictures of Rajni and Anjali with co-workers)**

### 4.2.16 Extra hours and work demand by employers

Most of the participants feel that the employers always ask for extra hours work or think about our bodies and health. We also feel tired like other normal human beings. "The old lady in the picture want me to massage her body or do some extra work for her every day. She is quite healthy but try to behave like a sick when she finds me there"-Anjali
Figure 57 Anjali with her employer (Madam)
Role of photovoice in addressing inequalities in water and sanitation

Like other resettlements colonies in India, Madanpur Khadar is like a patch on high class gated area such as Sarita Vihar and presents a contradictory picture of the rich and poor divide in Delhi, India. High rise apartments, corporate offices, magnificent shopping malls, metro trains and full of amenities (Jha .S. 2012). These slum people often provide cheap labour and play an important role for city's development but left unattended as soon as the project gets completed. Several projects on water and sanitation for all with especial focus on women and girls getting implemented by government and Non-government organisations every day and huge funds for addressing their needs. Water supply and sanitation is a national agenda, the Delhi statement "some for all" ( United Nations, 1990 :4, Kacker & Joshi, 2012 p. 1) or "clean India campaign "by the government of India to reduce or eliminate open defecation through construction of individual, cluster or community toilets (Ministry of Drinking Water and sanitation, 2014). However, too little attention has been paid by planner and policy makers on women's diverse status and their effects on the bodies by daily practices they do to access to water and sanitation.
Larger consideration are being paid to informal private providers such as bottled water vendors, water purifier establishments etc. These small-scale water providers, vendors are very well linked with local politicians and influential residents (Kacker & Joshi, 2012 p.5). This Photovoice researched findings clearly shows the contradictory images and struggle of domestic workers in access to water and sanitation in two set ups. Pictures taken by domestic workers and the reflections clearly showing the two contrast images of water governance in Delhi, of India. Everyday practices to access the water and sanitation and varied embodied experiences supports me to understand the relationship between bodies, cities and infrastructures. While inhabitants living in gated or planned areas are very well connected with piped water supply the resettlement colony denied the centralised piped water connections. Not only unreliable water supplies they are forced to buy bottled water and for their drinking needs and face chronic health impacts due to severely contaminated water supplies in the area. Some rich and influential people in the resettlement colony can have their own tubewells with the help and support of the local politicians or can have better access to tankers water. Government water tankers claim to distribute clean and free water to the people in Madanpur Khadar, though unable to win the trust of people due to their dirty and contaminated water supplies. Research participants experience and pictures raise a serious question on the tanker services which is unreliable and sometimes distribute dirty water with bad odours and worms. Water distribution kiosks are there and free of charge Domestic workers everyday negotiations to procure clean water and sanitation at her place and the place she works put a serious question on city's water governance that is highly patchy.
Several stories and reflection of the photos also helped extend my understanding of other emotional and embodied consequences of this inequalities. Carrying heavy loads of water canes every day, controlling their bodies for urination or holding on faces due to unavailability of toilets in the night can have harmful health impacts on their bodies. Fear of rape and sexual harassments when they go and want to relieve themselves in the night or early morning. Holding on during menstruation or stomach disorder can be very difficult for some privileged women as they live in planned areas and have easy access to clean water and facilities to dispose waste waters. They have plenty of water available for their daily work which can be easily seen in the pictures such as washing, cleaning, bathing, mopping etc. and money to buy equipment's (Reverse Osmosis filters - ROs) to get the clean water for drinking.

This photovoice journey of domestic workers clearly supports the question raised by the Amita Baviskar and Raka Ray in her book, "Elite & Everyman about Indian middle class and elite group and reject the idea of homogenous middle class as they all are not detached the notion the religion, caste and class categories (Chandola, 2012). These elite groups and middle class are families are powerful enough to raise their voice to get the attention of planners, policy makers and other concerned government officers. But then what happened to them when it comes to other women and girls who live in a slum or not as privileged as they are? Not letting
them (women domestic workers) enter in their houses with their socks and shoes on even in winter. They work with water for the comfort of rich women as they feel cold in winters or get tired with too much work such as washing, cleaning, cooking etc. but the same women are not allowed to use hot water for their bodily comfort when they feel too cold and forced to wash utensils and clothes with cold water.

Employers hire them and want them to do all care work for their children and do all tasks to give them a motherly attention such as bathing, cleaning, feeding and washing their clothes but do not allow them to keep their own kids or husbands with them. An incident described by Rajani, where another domestic worker who does 24x7 work inside the house and attempted suicide due to her husband's extramarital affair can give us the emotional agony and sufferings they go through. Privileged women in gated colonies have desire and money to fulfil their needs, they wear good clothes and their bathrooms are very well equipped with all expensive items with hot and cold shower facilities but the women who cleans the washroom are not allowed use the same facilities and have fear to lose the job if they try to use the same. They even feel anxious of wearing good clothes, carry make ups or put lipstick due to fear of these elite women who can categorise them as thieves or bad character women without and sensitivity and concerns.

Regarding water quality, we notice that Indian market is flooded with advanced technologies to deal with water quality and expected to reach $4.1 billion by the end of 2024 (Business Standard, 2017). There are big national, international and local companies expanding their business in India and promise to provide safe and affordable water to everyone. Whereas, Indian public sector agencies such as Delhi Jal Borad (DJB) are struggling to provide adequate water services to the population due to poor infrastructures, inefficiency and low investments (Dutta, Chander, & Srivastava, 2005). Policy makers did not put much focus on increasing water tariffs or privatisation of water services believing that water is a human rights and people living in unplanned settlements will not pay for water (Dutta, Chander, & Srivastava, 2005). However, the photos illustrations and group discussions on the daily practices proves that they are paying more to the informal sectors for safe water and adopt several coping strategies that have severe impacts on their body, emotional and psychological statuses.

Yamuna, the lifeline of Delhi also one of the most worshipped and sacred river and supposed to rinse out all the acquisitive and impurities from body and to fill with all spiritual insight (Shiva, 2002). Similarly, research participants also expressed their concerns about the pollutants and faecal matters going to the river and getting contaminated by the same people who worships the river water. It also exposes the hypocrisy of the religious Hindu societies in India. On the one hand, they believe getting body and spiritual purity from river water and do not touch the people who cleans or works with human excreta on the other hand they do not hesitate to throw faecal matters in this holy river.
Untouchability, something people assume that progressive India has solved this problem and if not it's about Hinduism which creates this caste division. But the photos and their meanings gave me a new insight of untouchability that is present in Muslims communities as well. Balmiki's are "Napak" mean not pure and reason of this status is eating Pig (Pork) who eats urine and faces of humans. It creates social distance and humiliating the people who used to work as manual scavengers and facing all and manually cleaning human excreta from dry latrines and sewers.

Domestic workers' everyday lives include a commute that takes them from places of water scarcity and poor sanitation to places with water abundance and back. In their households, they experience long queues to access toilets and water from tankers, in their workplace they can access a servant's toilet in which they can flush. As per anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, (Holston & Appadurai, 2003), that inequality in many Southern cities not only as a matter of horizontal geography in which some communities have water infrastructure and some don't but rather as a geography that entails a helical movement. That is, a movement that follows a helix or spiral staircase: a movement of servants, drivers, cleaners, and domestic workers of various kinds that don't have access to infrastructure but spent their days dancing between the formal wealthy city and the infrastructure free city (where they try to live).
5.1. Experience Sharing

5.1.1 “I am a researcher”

"It will help me to observe and communicate something about our community and the issues we have been facing since long. Nobody cares for us and there are no projects to work with domestic workers. We work like machines at home and at employers place without rest. I am uneducated and I cannot do any other work but you teach us about the photo thing and make us feel good as we are an educated person helping you in your research”-All participants

![Figure 62 I feel so good and confident when i have a camera in my hand-Anjali](image)

5.1.2 Accepting Challenges

They slowly became more confident and involved in the process capturing photos, asking for few more days so that they could capture more images and concerns related to water and sanitation issues.
“It was difficult but interesting though, I get a chance to tell everything about my life, what we go through in access to water and sanitation. It is hard to capture photos at employers place in the presence of other servants and under tight security. However, we took it as a challenge and adopted different strategies to get the pictures what I wanted to show” - Anjali

5.1. 3 Photos describe everything

“I wanted to raise my voice against these people who are involved in gambling, drug dealing, alcohol and do create problems for our girls. We are scared to send our girls for water collection or when they go to use community toilets in the area. I secretly tried to capture the pictures as they will fight with me if they to know”. Sharda

Figure 64 The photo says everything
5.1.4 Increased Awareness

“I became more aware about the things we have as compared to our neighbourhood and I am able to discuss about the issues and desire we had but we could not get a chance to discuss”- Rajani

![Figure 65 I desire the same bathing room- Rajani’s Bathing space (Left) Employers bathroom (Right)]

5.1.5 It ignited my inner aspiration

“I wanted to study but my father was an alcoholic man and died a few months ago. My mother work as a domestic worker and bear most of the household responsibilities. I could not complete my studies and started supporting my mother and took few of the kothi’s (Rich people’s houses) work. I occasionally participate in NGO’s activities but after working with cameras organising photos , telling stories gave me hope that I can do something better for my community. I want to speak English like my employer’s kids do so I study by myself”- Anjali.
5.1.6 Understanding the issues

“Now we understand the communities and issues in a better manner. I took this picture to show our feelings when we get harassed because of our caste and untouchable status. Cities and slums do not make us feel low or create social distance as we live here together. We do not tell people about our caste and it does not make any difference even if they know about it. Only Muslim area in kacchi colony do not like us and make us feel bad and dirty. We eat pork and and they hate us but we do not dislike them even if they eat beef which we don’t eat”-Sharda
5.1.7 Increased Social bonding

“We were so busy in our daily work and could not think beyond that but were very close to each other during photography and we discussed things together about our life. It helped us to know the daily practices we do to survive and related issues and concerns. We now try to meet each other to discuss our daily routine and look for the better future together”-All participants

Figure 67 Yes, Muslims do not eat pig but it doesn’t mean they should hate us-Anjali and Sharda

Figure 68 It made us love each other more-All participants
5.1.8 Working together – Confidence in oneself

“I first time experienced this in our life, I am an illiterate woman and you chose us to for this. We are very amazed and happy as we did something for our country. When you came to our house and had tea with us and did not care about the caste”- Rajani

5.1.9 Children as active participants

“I discovered that my kids are interested in this photo things and do participate in the discussions. My daughters were trying to tell you many things about the photos I took and that make me so happy”- Sharda
5.1.10 Motivation for the husbands/brothers

“Men in our families are not that bad like others in the area. However, they were initially rejecting the idea of taking photos and were concerned about us. We took the challenge and it helped them to change their mind and now they feel proud on the work we did”- All participants

Figure 71 I support my wife and feel good for her - Sharda's husband

5.1.11 Encourage participants and other women to become vocal

Participants. Go through the whole process, for example, photography training, capturing photos of their concerns or interest, discussions about the images, reflections, and storytelling. Hence, they slowly become very vocal about improving the situation.

"Anjali informed me of the work she is doing with you so I could not control myself to join you all for the discussions. I also work as a private sweeper and clean toilets in the same house where Anjali works. I tried to mobilise women for the social action once with the help of a government programme, and I was investing so much time for that. Meanwhile, my husband got an opportunity to interact with more women and started living with one. I have been fighting and trying to get him back but nothing helps and I got under depression”- Anjali's Aunt

Figure 72 Anjali's aunt joined later in discussions
5.1.12 Encourages women to share the knowledge and understanding on how communities and institutions affect their lives.

Placing cameras in their hands gives them power and control of showing their lives and facts about the situation and sometimes they observe better than a journalist.

“This woman in the picture is responsible for cleaning (sweeping) the area. She is an MCD (government) employee but she does not come regularly and sometimes she will just come and clean the small area for the pictures they need for “Swacchh India Abhiyan” (Clean India Campaign)” - Sonia/Anjali

5.2 Ethical challenges /Ethical consideration in Photovoice

Many ethical issues emerged during the photovoice process as women were in constant touch with me. We work together for a month continuously and the co-researchers were so much involved in this study. I would like to discuss some of the ethical issues that has been observed throughout the process or emerged while personal and group discussions with women.

5.2.1 Mobilisation/winning trusts

Building rapport amongst the community plays a very important role in the visual and community based participatory research (CBPR). It is a time taking process where you regularly do field visits and establish a relation between community members and researcher. Prior
experience of working on the CBPR helps due to human factors and other sensitive issues involve in this such as their daily life pictures and interviews. Doing door-to-door talk with the support of a local NGO helped in organising women domestic workers and wining their trust in a short duration.

5.2.3 Informed Consent

Before starting the research, it was important to take the approval of the participants, whether they want to participate or not. I respected their personal life and clearly explained the purpose of the photovoice research. The oral (video) and written consent had been taken from the participants. It was a voluntary decision and they were informed of how data can be used for the thesis work, booklet, exhibition or other scholarly purposes. The whole research can be failed if they denied permission or access to data and information for any personal reasons or issues.
5.2.4 Minimising risks

Protecting participants from any kind of risk during research is solely researcher’s responsibility. Keeping this in my mind I was in a constant touch of the NGO staff and participants as well. Organising frequent meetings, asking about the progress and other updates had been done by me regularly. Also Delhi is a complicated city. Robberies, trouble for taking pictures outside can be a risk. Two of my participants (Rajwati and Guddi) dropped out due to family pressure (fear of husbands and employers). I later identified two more (Anjali and Sonia) and completed the whole photovoice process (field work).
Two of my participants (Rajwati and Guddi) dropped out due to family pressure (fear of husbands and employers) I later identified two more (Anjali and Sonia) and completed the whole photovoice field work.
5.2.5 Ownership of visual data and information

Pictures and information collected through photovoice were done through a collaborative approach. I, as a researcher initiated with my research objectives, providing trainings and phone cameras, then research participants were involved in generating visual data and information for the same. Therefore, it will be a researcher’s responsibility to consider and acknowledge the work to avoid any conflict in the future. Accordingly, separate photo albums had been prepared for everyone meant for their use and the informed consent for using the data was already taken to proceed further in my thesis and other work.

Figure 79 Equal ownership on data and information (they are the owners but don’t get anything in turn)
5.2.6 Data representation

Visual information's and videos have been produced throughout the process. The photos and videos depict their personal lives and other issues and concerns which can be replicated or published for other useful purposes. I felt responsible for the whole information I collected and used in my thesis and tried not to misrepresent their unique thoughts, reflections and other feelings in my analysis phase or for further any scholarly work.

Figure 80 Personal life - A matter of privacy

5.2.7 Interpreting the stories from field
Several stories (More than a 100) have been recorded (videos) to capture their real expressions and feelings about the pictures. It had made the process more interesting and they somehow looked very keen and motivated for this. I did not find him uncomfortable in front of my phone video cameras and it went very normal and real. The video recording process also helped to gain the confidence and trust of participants in me that I will present the real information in case I use it for further research or scholarly work.

Photovoice places the cameras in participants hand to capture their daily lives and other realities. The process makes them empower and aware about the subjects when they discuss personally or do critical dialogues on the images captured by them. I discovered their curiosity and enthusiasm during the process and it had been difficult for me to ensure the future or changes that can be made after the process. Hence, I strongly feel the need of sustaining the motivation by presenting the facts through a research paper, exhibition or a documentary that can help to manage a social action projects or for a policy level advocacy issues and concerns.

**5.2.8 Sustaining the motivation**
Role of photovoice in addressing inequalities in water and sanitation

Figure 82: It is always better when we come together - Towards a new beginning
CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

In this final chapter, I would summarise the overall conclusion of my research findings where we have already observed rich and middle class women in gated community’s life in respect to water and sanitation as compare to women working as domestic workers. Pictures taken by domestic workers, reflections, stories evidently displaying the disparities in water distribution and power dynamics, where some dominant people have better access to water and sanitation services and other get excluded from the system. Theoretical framing of the study and Photovoice methodology was a useful way to investigate Delhi water distribution and daily routine of domestic workers to obtain safe water and dispose waste water. Everyday practices to access the water and sanitation documented and alysed by domestic workers confirms multiple strategies had been adopted by poor women in order to access water and sanitation facilities in Madanpur Khadar area. In contrast, they get abundance water for use when they go to wealthy neighbourhood for the work. Varied embodied experiences on the bodies of poor women demonstrate that Delhi water distribution (and the circulation and disposal of waste water and sewerage), cannot be separated from processes of gender, race, and class and caste formation. This disparities are not only about clean water distribution, but also about dirty waters – sewerage, rain water, and grey water – running through some streets and being drained out of others. Participants (domestic workers) use multiple strategies and struggle to survive and stay in the city which is evidently very unequal.

City’s water problems effectively viewed by domestic workers as they were the primary participants also help me to understand the complexities associated with access to clean water and dispose waste waters in a mega city like Delhi, India. Power inequalities and everyday struggle for water has been examined through visual images taken by domestic workers that shaped serious dialogues on water access, exclusion and contestation on a daily basis. Upper and middle-class families in Delhi can manage water for their daily needs as they have abundance of water for use through piped connection and equipped with advance equipment’s to obtain clean water. Whereas, the women (DW) from poor neighbourhoods struggle daily to obtain water and sanitation services. My practical experience, literature reviews and research findings visibly proves that important portion of Indian population reliant on domestic helps for daily chores such as sweeping, booming, washing clothes, mopping, cooking and cleaning dishes, these domestic helpers face challenges in their daily life in order to ensure water for their family members, also their repetitive effort to cope with the upper or middle-class family’s needs in order to save their jobs.
Water creates power relations based on gender, caste, and socio-economic status. The research using visual methods proved a great contribution to examine water governance issues also give voice to the participants. Water is an important resource and it was a part of their daily life but holding cameras in hands gives them a special power to understand water as an important resource and document their experience with water and waste waters in their daily lives. Nonetheless, photovoice methodology bring some important changes in their understanding related to water and sanitation services and other related concerns. While taking photos, personal and group reflections, critical dialogue made them more aware about the issues and institutions involved it. The whole research process gave them an opportunity to work as a journalists and they slowly became very vocal and get indulged in to some serious dialogues and display their knowledge and understanding of water and sanitation in the urban settings. We provide cameras to grassroots people who has least access to the people who makes decisions such as policy makers, planners, political leaders or other influential people but better understanding about the real life situations.

Displacement from one place to another due to government policies and denial of access to basic services is a human right violation. Eliminating discrimination and inequalities in access to water and sanitation is one of the major SDG goals. “Some for all” and “clean India Mission” are the major programmes in India. However, the Photovoice journey of women from one place to another portrays the picture of social, economic and other form of rising inequalities in India. Most of the government policies favours rich and powerful elite groups and exclude poor, especially women who are the major responsible person for water and waste waters management at household’s level.

The photovoice research methodology help me to observe and study some of the most important issues and struggles of their daily to access clean water and dispose of wastewater. As a facilitator and researcher, it also helped me to document the complexity of water issues, which policymakers often fail to understand while making important and relevant decisions related to water governance issues. Asking domestic workers how they obtain water for their daily use describes the poor water governance and complexities associated with this. The selected photographs and reflections demonstrates their life and a vigorous relationship with water .It was very challenging for them initially when we started and few of them dropped out due to family pressure or fear of their employers. However, it went well and they started getting involved in the process and took varieties of photographs about their daily life and interaction with water and wastewaters. The process helped them to recognise their inward talent and increased their confidence. The participants (Domestic workers) is a way of outsiders, secluded, oppressed and not much educated. Hence, and Photovoice research methodology provides them a platform to express their views and shed light on the issues that they never shared with anyone.
While taking photos, personal and group reflections, critical dialogue made them more aware about the issues and institutions involved it. The whole research process gave them an opportunity to work as journalists and they slowly became very vocal and get indulged in to some serious dialogues and display their knowledge and understanding of water and sanitation in the urban settings.

The ethical challenges which had been mentioned in the thesis emerged from the daily dialogues with the research participants (DW). Their keen interest in about the final outcomes and quarries “what is next” had somehow made me conscious about the social action process or some fruitful work such as poster exhibition with ministry in India or making a documentary, publishing a paper that can influence water institutions and policy makers at large.
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Appendices

Appendix A

Informed Consent Letters from the participants

Anjali (Research Participant)
Age - 18 years
Job - Domestic worker
Rajani (Research Participant)

Age 30 yrs

Job – Domestic workers
Sharda (Research Participant)

Age 35 Years

Job – Domestic Worker

Dear Sharda,

I am currently compiling all our research work we did together for my thesis in Mad\nKhadar area, South Delhi. I would like your permission to include the above men\nmaterial in public display/exhibition/poster/booklet at UNESCO-HIE, Delft, Netherlands.\n
Please indicate your consent by signing this letter and returning it to me. If you need\nadditional information, please feel free to contact me.

Sincerely,

Rachana Sarkar

MSc Participant - Water Management
UNESCO - IHE Institute for Water Education
Westerstr. 7, 2611 AX Delft, The Netherlands
Mobile: +31 6 17476422 | E-mail: r.arkia@gmail.com

Permission granted for the use of the material as described above:

Name & Address

Date: 6/02/2017

Agreed to: 

[Signature]

References

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Sonia (Research Participant)

Age - 28 yrs

Job - Domestic worker

Appendix B

References
Picture courtesy – In Collaboration with participants (Rajani, Sharda, Anjali & Sonia)