

Original Article

Rights on Paper, Risks at Home: Legal Visibility and Everyday Precarity of Women Domestic Workers in Mumbai

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Abstract - Domestic work in Mumbai is one of the most legally unprotected forms of labour today, with around 50 million workers excluded from basic legal rights. Even though women's domestic work facilitates India's middle-class economy and sustains millions of households in the country, the poor workers are still left with welfare provisions that exist solely on paper, as they have no meaningful enforcement. This research focuses on Mumbai specifically and the difference between the formal legal rights available to women domestic workers and their actual lived experience of those rights in the workplace. While existing literature does include the workplace conditions of women and policy frameworks nationally, there is no notable socio-legal research that provides the lived experiences of workers in Mumbai. That is what this research aims to address. This study is built on six semi-structured interviews with women domestic workers, which are then analysed using thematic analysis to form patterns. These patterns reveal that the awareness of welfare schemes does not always lead to access to those schemes for individual domestic workers, and how the constrained conditions of the interview itself turned out to become the most prominent evidence of the invisibility of women domestic workers in the workplace, which was the main goal this research set out to explore. All the findings concluded in this research contribute to the developing field of socio-legal studies that argue for the legal protection of domestic workers by making it easier for domestic workers to be aware of their legal protections, and, as concluded from this research, make it easier for workers to access them.

Keywords - Awareness And Access, Labour Laws, Mumbai, Welfare Rights, Women Domestic Workers.

1. Introduction

Domestic work for women in Mumbai continues to remain one of the most invisible sectors of India's labour economy, simultaneously fundamental for the functioning of urban households while being almost completely absent from formal labour protection. An estimated 50 million people are employed as domestic workers in India, with an overwhelming majority being women (Singh, 2023), yet domestic work is still excluded from main labour legislation like the Factories Act and the Industrial Disputes Act (Singh, 2023). Domestic work also falls outside most of the state-level minimum wage requirements (Chanda, 2023). In certain situations, even when wages are present for these domestic workers, they remain very low. For example, most women part-time cooks in Mumbai earn as little as 1000 rupees a day, with no legal floor to protect them (Singh, 2023). In 2024, around 1,200 domestic workers across South Mumbai faced a severe 'rights vacuum', where 92% of the workers had no written contract or help (Datta, 2011). While national frameworks like the Code on Social Security, 2020,

protect registration and minimum wages, the implementation of such laws is still limited. This is supported by surveys in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region, which reveal that registration rates are as low as 11.89% with the Maharashtra Domestic Workers Welfare Board (Yuva India, 2020).

This study focuses on Women Domestic Workers (WDWs) in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR), including Mumbai city, suburbs, and satellite areas like Thane and Navi Mumbai. This is because the city of Mumbai includes one of the largest populations of women domestic workers in India, with an active environment of NGOs and a state-level legal framework, making it the ideal city for conducting research focused on the everyday problems of these workers. This research focuses on in-depth interviews with domestic workers in the city, who help provide their personal experiences and insights on the matter. This topic is important because domestic work silently runs the middle-class economy of Mumbai, yet the women responsible for it are hardly visible. This is seen in a survey of 1,510 women domestic workers in Mumbai, which showcases the scale of



this issue and found deficits in social security access and healthcare for domestic workers, while also revealing how little is known about women domestic workers and their rights (Sudesh, 2019). Therefore, this topic is of the utmost importance in order to ensure that domestic women workers are not excluded from their basic rights. Lastly, since most of these workers are migrants from other states, they continue to face low wages, irregular pay, long hours without contracts, and sudden losses of jobs (TATA, n.d.). This makes this issue a major sociological problem as well as a legal one, which requires further attention to understand how undervalued women's work truly is.

The core objectives of this research are simple yet will effectively outline the aims of this research. The first objective is to examine the formal legal rights and welfare provisions available to women domestic workers in Mumbai, as outlined in labour laws, state notifications, union charters, and NGO reports. The second objective is to analyse the gap between legal recognition and the enforceability of rights. This objective is thoroughly examined in daily domestic work areas like private homes and societies, because this is where most domestic work in the city happens. The third objective also explores how women domestic workers and labour organisations, like NGOs, understand legal protections related to wages, working hours, and workplace harassment and termination. Lastly, the fourth objective of this research is to identify structural factors like informality, gender inequality, and caste hierarchies that are the main causes of limiting the awareness of legal rights into society. This paper follows a structured pattern that includes five main sections. The research begins with an introduction that clearly defines the problem, the research objectives, the foundation of the research, and how the research aims to raise awareness to examine the issue. Following the introduction is a review of existing literature on domestic work in India around social and legal conditions, everyday struggles, and the causes of poor working conditions for women domestic workers. The literature review then moves into explaining such causes, including the ratification of the ILO Convention 189, and closes with the specific gaps that this research aims to address. One such gap is that despite the volume of literature on domestic work in India, no current socio-legal study focuses specifically on the lived experience of women domestic workers in Mumbai. This research, therefore, addresses that gap. Following the literature review is the Methodology section, which highlights the study's methods of collecting data and details its use of sampling, qualitative analysis, and primary and secondary data. The next section presents the thematic analysis, which sets out the research findings from the interviews with women domestic workers in Mumbai across three themes, moving from independent participant claims to structured analysis and the identification of patterns that satisfy the research goals and the overall research claim of the invisibility of women domestic workers in the workforce. The analysis

section supports the claims made in the rest of the research paper, and by using a table filled with collected interview data, the analysis section showcases the difference between legal provisions and their actual impact on domestic workers. Lastly, the research ends with a conclusion that addresses the limitations, research objectives, and guidance for future development of this work.

2. Review of Literature

Domestic work in India is one of the most socially devalued aspects of the country today, with an estimated 35 million women domestic workers facing bare minimum wages after long hours of labour (Thakkar, 2023). Despite the unprecedented importance of these labourers to urban households, domestic workers struggle to escape situations of informality and gender and caste discrimination, due to the lack of legal protection that is otherwise offered to organised-sector workers (Thakkar, 2023). This leads to domestic workers having to face precarious socio-legal challenges on a day-to-day basis in India. A TISS Mumbai-based study confirms this, through a project that investigated the daily invisibility and harassment faced by women domestic workers, especially migrants. It found that low pay, insecurity, and a lack of municipal service access are just a few of the numerous measures of workplace and home-based vulnerability that domestic workers face on a daily basis (Datta, 2011).

Furthermore, the ILO's employer survey across India shows that instead of the country treating informal labour as an issue, it has become an accepted and practical way for employers to bypass the law (Rustagi, 2017), leading to wage exploitation of domestic workers. As a result, millions of domestic workers in India are left without basic legal rights such as minimum wages, regulated hours, or freedom from abuse (Marchetti, 2018).

The day-to-day lives of women domestic workers are even more challenging, "characterised by struggles beginning from their homes to the workplace" (Sumalatha et al., 2021). Additionally, studies report a steady decline in working conditions for women domestic workers through longer working hours and the absence of written contracts (Singh, 2023), causing intense vulnerability that was further amplified during the Covid-19 pandemic, with 62% of women domestic workers losing their jobs in Maharashtra, and most being unable to rejoin the workforce (Sumalatha et al., 2021).

One of the many challenges faced mainly by women domestic workers is sexual harassment. Domestic workers continue to remain legally unprotected from sexual harassment at the workplace. The only civil legal protection available in India, the POSH Act (2013) under the Vishaka guidelines, is highly under-resourced, poorly enforced, and also geographically inaccessible to many workers (Verma,

2025). This indicates that while the law may exist, it is not only structurally ineffective but also out of reach for the majority of domestic workers, leaving them without sufficient protection. Lastly, most women workers also face the burden of childbirth without support or flexible hours due to the absence of relevant legal provisions (Banerjee, 2015). This further decreases the quality of life for women domestic workers in Mumbai, which can ultimately also force some to leave the workplace entirely.

The reasons for poor conditions among domestic workers can be studied structurally by examining older hierarchies of caste, class, and gender that continue to shape the working conditions of women today. A main structural cause of poor working conditions for domestic workers is the deliberate exclusion of domestic work from major labour legislations over the past few years (Chanda, 2023). Laws such as the Factories Act, the Industrial Disputes Act, and the Employees' Provident Fund Act, which are aimed at improving working conditions across the country, end up neglecting domestic workers, leaving a highly vulnerable workforce without basic workplace protections due to class discrimination (Chanda, 2023). A second structural reason for the absence of legal protection for some domestic workers is that the government treats the entire domestic labour sector as a single category (Neetha, 2021). This is, however, very different from reality, as the domestic labour sector is highly diverse, with domestic workers in many different situations requiring different protections. Therefore, as the government enforces policies for the entire domestic labour force, they are often highly ineffective for individual workers, since a single policy does not work for everyone. Due to the differences among categories of domestic work, most governmental regulations are often unsuitable, making a domestic worker's workplace 'highly fragmented' (Chadha, 2020). Despite these conditions, some domestic workers have been able to organise collectively. One such example is the unionisation efforts in West Bengal (Banerjee, 2015) alongside the mobilisation in South Asia.

While the studies reviewed are thorough and provide valuable information about the legal and social conditions of domestic work, significant gaps remain, some of which reflect the scope of this paper. Firstly, despite Mumbai being the financial capital of India and home to a vast number of domestic workers, there is not yet a nuanced socio-legal study focused specifically on domestic workers' rights in the city. Most existing studies, such as Chandramouli (2018), focus on India as a whole, while local studies, such as Parpiani (2021), focus on the social aspect, or, like Karunakaran (2024), on the legal aspect of domestic workers' rights in Mumbai. This research study aims to address this gap by providing a socio-legal and socioeconomic assessment of the challenges, legal protections, and resulting daily experiences of Mumbai's domestic women workforce. Furthermore, there is little modern research aimed at a young

readership to raise awareness of domestic workers' rights; doing so is another core objective of this research, since awareness among younger generations is one of the most effective ways to drive cultural change. Lastly, many other studies do not explicitly foreground the personal narratives and lived experiences of domestic workers in Mumbai. As a result, this research study aims to shed light on the actual implementation of the legal rights of domestic workers through narrative and lived experience.

3. Methodology

This research focuses on qualitative analysis of data by prioritising human experiences instead of neutral statements. This helps in analysing how overlapping thoughts and identities can produce unique claims. This method is referred to as the Intersectional Feminist Framework (Collins, 2010). The interpretivist approach, in the SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis, details that social reality is built by someone's lived experiences and memories and the significance attached to each experience, rather than through simple measurable facts (Flick, 2014). For this project, basic legal rights are not treated as guarantees, but as provisions that can mean different things to a woman domestic worker depending on her gender, caste, class, and the nature of her work.

As a researcher based in Mumbai, the research site is the home city of the author, as the local positioning ensured easy access to participants and NGO networks. This helped in the collection of data, given the limited scope of research. However, this could have also changed the way participants responded, mainly because most interviews of participants took place in their employers' homes. Mumbai, as the research site, is very beneficial for two main reasons. Firstly, it is one of the largest cities in India with a well-documented and large population of women domestic workers, and Maharashtra's legal framework for domestic workers is specific and easily researchable. Secondly, Mumbai has a large number of developed local NGOs and trade unions for domestic workers, which made the collection of both primary and secondary data much easier. Participants across the city of Mumbai, between the ages of 20 and 40, were able to provide valuable data for this research by sharing information about their lives as domestic workers in the city. The participants were both local and migrant workers.

The main sampling strategy for accessing participants was purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a technique that selects the specific participants who are most likely to provide relevant data to the research. This was coupled with snowball sampling, which is a technique that uses current participants from NGO to recruit participants further. This combination of sampling techniques was very important and useful due to the difficulty of reaching out to domestic workers.

The main method used for collecting primary data was a semi-structured interview. To conduct this interview, a research tool was used, which was an interview guide built around multiple themes. These themes included the awareness of legal rights, socioeconomic conditions, experiences in disputes, abuse of employer power, fear of job loss, and personal opinions of Maharashtra board laws. The main method used for collecting secondary data was a systematic document review, built by collecting data on government websites, NGO and union reports, and social media.

Secondary data collection took place over two weeks, and primary data collection took place over a further two weeks, for a combined data collection window of four weeks.

Since the interview transcripts consisted of open-ended data, they were analysed using thematic analysis, which involved identifying recurring patterns and themes of legal visibility, silence, negotiation, fear, dignity, and resilience as they occurred across participant responses (Flick, 2014). The secondary data was analysed using descriptive comparative analysis, which produced a visual, graphical representation of the difference between the written laws and their actual impact on workers' lives. This can be seen in Table 1, in the analysis section, which represents the interview data collected from six participants about certain domestic workplace laws and their respective awareness about them. The six participants are split into three groups: migrant workers, multi-household workers, and single household workers. Each group provided valuable insight into the true impact of domestic workplace laws on domestic workers in Mumbai.

Data organisation was handled manually by the author, alongside the descriptive comparative tables. Microsoft Excel was also used where required, for calculations, simple frequency counts, and structured comparison tables.

This study is based on a participant group made up of only women domestic workers. These women are part of India's most economically marginalised and legally unprotected labour categories because they continuously face regular discrimination of gender, caste, and class. The participants sampled, therefore, become a vulnerable group that requires care and ethical handling because there is a great risk that they may fear employer retaliation, such as job loss, for speaking negatively about workplace rights and conditions.

The ethical considerations followed during data collection included ensuring voluntary and non-forced participation, and informed consent that was clearly explained before the interview. Furthermore, the author ensured that participants had the right to withdraw from the study or decline any question at any point in the interview

without any consequences. This was done so that the participants felt comfortable throughout. This research does not make legal conclusions on specific employers or households, and instead focuses only on participant opinions and answers alongside publicly verified legal information.

Confidentiality was maintained in the interviews. This was done through the exclusion of personal information, like names, locations, and employer details, from all transcripts. Any potentially identifiable details were paraphrased rather than quoted directly to reduce the risk of recognition. All other data, like audio recordings and transcripts, were stored securely with the author. Lastly, findings are reported in a method that ensures participants remain non-identifiable in the final research paper.

4. Analysis

The analysis is the section based on structured interviews conducted with women domestic workers in Mumbai. The interview data were classified into three themes, which were then further analysed. These themes were the Legal Visibility and Awareness of Rights, the Gap between Legal Recognition and Enforceability, and the Structural Conditions that Shaped Lived Security. Each of the themes provided data that helped support the final conclusion.

4.1. Legal Visibility and Awareness of Rights

The current common claim in existing literature is that the main problem for women domestic workers is the low awareness of legal rights. The data collected from the interviews showcases a more in-depth story. Participant 1, for example, can name the Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana, a welfare scheme, and is aware of several redressal schemes; however, even where awareness exists, it does not lead to any action ("Yes, I know about them, but I have not done anything regarding them"). Participant 2 similarly confirms awareness of schemes but cannot name any specifically, and so no action is taken. Participants 4 and 5 report no actual awareness of schemes at all: "We have no information about it." Participant 6, a migrant to the city of Mumbai, is also unable to name a single scheme or redressal mechanism: "Where would we go... I do not know about that." This shows that most of these participants lacked the basic knowledge of naming many redressal schemes, which could be one of the reasons why less action has been taken.

Participant 3, however, is distinct from the rest. Not only is this participant aware of several schemes, but they have also actively tried to enrol — yet the outcome is unfortunately the same, as no response has been received from the government ("We have filled it out so many times, but nothing." — Participant 3). Participant 3's example shows that, sometimes, instead of awareness being the issue, enforcement of the schemes is the true problem. Despite the worker following all the correct protocols, no action was

taken by the local governments' schemes, which is the real issue here.

Across all six cases, the extent of awareness of legal rights and schemes differs, with some participants aware of considerably more than others; yet the end result remains the same, as none of them could actually access any welfare provisions. This data suggests that the central issue for domestic workers is not low awareness of legal rights, but the system for accessing the provisions themselves. As stated

in the literature review, possible reasons for this difficulty in accessing legal rights could be the limited literacy around rights, and the restricted access coming from the vulnerability of domestic workers. This is an important research finding, as it completely changes the 'legal visibility' that was analysed in this research. The new finding shows that legal visibility is based on access, and improving awareness alone may not resolve the problem of accessibility.

4.2. Gap Between Legal Recognition and Enforceability

Table 1. Legal provisions vs Actual reality for participants

Legal Provision	What the Law provides	Migrant Workers (Participants 1 and 6)	Multi-Household Workers (Participants 2, 3, and 5)	Single Household Workers (Participant 4)
Factories Act Exclusion	Domestic workers should be recognised and protected under labour legislation.	None of the participants could identify the act. They were also excluded from its legal definition.	Participants could identify the act, but it did not help, as they were excluded from its legal definition.	Not recognised under the Factories Act despite working for years.
Minimum Wage and Savings	A right to a minimum wage.	All earnings remitted to the home, no savings.	Small incremental savings in deposits.	Cannot save despite trying. Unaware of Minimum wages.
POSH Act 2013	The right to report workplace harassment.	Unaware of the POSH Act, as they are new to the locality.	Unaware of the POSH Act or any other reporting mechanism.	Aware of the POSH act, but does not know how to enforce it.
Written Employment Contract	A written agreement for workers over income.	No written contract, just an agreement beforehand	No written contract, just discussed face-to-face.	Verbal agreement only.
Maharashtra Welfare Board Registration	The right to state welfare benefits for workers.	Participants are aware but not enrolled.	Participants have tried enrolling many times but failed	The participant is completely unaware of it.

In this part of the analysis, participants provided the clearest evidence. Most of the evidence followed a similar pattern, suggesting that the legal and welfare system for domestic workers is designed under the assumption that a worker is already settled and locally rooted, which was an assumption that did not hold for any of the six participants in this study. Table 1 presents a structured comparison of legal provisions present and their actual impact on the participants' working lives, while showcasing the gap between the laws and their enforcement. Participant 1 plans to enrol in her scheme only once she returns to Odisha, since her current registration does not apply to the place she currently lives in. Participant 6, a migrant who has moved from Jharkhand to Delhi and finally to Mumbai, finds that this continuous state

of migration makes accessing any welfare scheme practically impossible: "I cannot get anything because there is no information about that at all."

As a result, financial exclusion is present in almost all six cases. Participant 1 sends her entire earnings home without saving anything, and Participant 6 must spend all her earnings on daily necessities. Participant 3 is left with only 1,000 rupees per month, barely enough for saving or meeting sudden expenses, despite repeated attempts to connect with the welfare system by submitting documents: "They take our documents and cards. They say you will get this; you will get that. However, nothing happens."

This is consistent with secondary data showing that only 11.89% of domestic workers are registered with the Maharashtra Domestic Workers Welfare Board (Yuva India, 2020), and that 92% of workers have no written employment contract; five out of the six participants in this study likewise have only verbal agreements and no written contract (Datta, 2011).

Across all six interviews, it suggested that the workers are aware of the existence of schemes, but access remains out of reach — a pattern especially pronounced for migrants, and one that can lead to poor financial situations. Constant movement between places excludes workers from benefiting from policies and adds further household expenditure. Participants 1 and 6 illustrate this clearly, as both carry the financial burden of their families while migrating between cities and sending money home, leaving them unable to save for themselves — a cycle that reinforces their exclusion from legal and financial security.

4.3. Structural Conditions Shaping Lived Security

Across all six interviews, not one participant reported conflict, harassment, extra hours, or wage deduction. Every participant described feeling safe and comfortable: “Very much so” (Participant 1), “Yes, comfortable” (Participants 2, 4, 5), “No problems” (Participants 3 and 6). While this might suggest that the working conditions of these domestic workers are generally fine, the conditions under which the interviews took place offer an alternative explanation. Five of the six interviews were conducted in the employer’s home, with the interview described to participants as a school project, and with the employer present during the interview itself. This context likely encouraged positive answers, so as not to portray employers negatively in front of them. This was particularly the case for Participant 1, who lives in her employer’s house full-time and depends entirely on that one employer, making it unrealistic for her to speak openly about workplace difficulties.

The positive responses across all six interviews are therefore not necessarily evidence of good working conditions; rather, they may reflect a lack of freedom to speak candidly, out of fear of losing employment. This is not a weakness of the research but, in fact, a strength of the data collected, as it demonstrates the central research finding: the invisibility of domestic workers within the workplace. The core idea of this study, which was the inability of women domestic workers to assert themselves in their workplace due to their employers, was made visible during data collection itself because the workers could not speak freely. Therefore, this functions as both a methodological limitation and a new research finding.

Other structural patterns were also found. All six participants had no written contracts with their employers, relying on verbal agreements for their income instead

(Participant 5: “We have an agreement, but sometimes I do not get the money on time”). This shows how social protection for these workers has been replaced by informal trust that is now treated as ‘normal’, despite being highly unreliable for them. Another pattern was that many participants came to Mumbai for reasons unrelated to domestic work but ended up in the sector regardless. Participant 1, for example, came to Mumbai to pursue nursing studies but entered domestic work after difficulties at home: “There were some problems at home, so I left it.” This highlights how women are often pushed into domestic work by family obligations rather than choice, a pattern that is not common with male workers in the same households, as Participant 3 notes: “My husband does not need to do the kind of work that I have to; he had many choices.”

Therefore, these responses showcase that challenges like migration, financial pressure, household responsibility, and limited awareness of social protection can discourage women domestic workers from exploring and enforcing their legal rights, largely due to fear of losing their jobs.

5. Conclusion

This research has several limitations that need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the sample of six participants that was taken cannot be considered large enough to represent the entire broader population of women domestic workers in Mumbai, which is approximately 500,000 women. (Datta, 2011). However, the goal of this research was not to represent all women domestic workers, but to confirm patterns that were already highlighted by secondary data. Therefore, a small sample was suitable for this purpose. Secondly, as noted in the thematic analysis, five of the six interviews were conducted with the employer present in the home, which limited participants’ ability to speak freely. This was a constraint that actually helped showcase the research’s central finding in the end, about the structural invisibility of women domestic workers in the Mumbai workplace. Thirdly, all transcripts were conducted in Hindi and translated for analysis, since Hindi is the language in which most participants were most comfortable communicating. This translation process, however, carried a lot of risk of losing the meaning of some participants’ answers, which may have affected some responses. Lastly, this research did not include an interview with an expert, such as an NGO worker or trade union representative, which could have strengthened the analysis further and made the data more reliable; therefore becoming a limitation of this research. These limitations, however, do not undermine the overall quality and validity of the research. This is because the small sample and constrained interview conditions helped accomplish specific research goals, and although an expert opinion is not present, the workers’ own experiences were able to provide adequate evidence. Furthermore, every effort was made to ensure translations were as accurate as possible.

The primary and secondary data together address all four core objectives of this research. The first objective, to examine the formal legal rights and welfare provisions available to women domestic workers in Mumbai, is addressed through the literature review, which draws on the Unorganised Workers' Social Security Act of 2008, the Maharashtra Domestic Workers Welfare Board, the POSH Act of 2013, and ILO Convention 189, together showing that the existing legal framework remains largely unenforced for domestic workers. The second objective, to analyse the gap between legal recognition and actual enforceability, is directly addressed by the second theme of the thematic analysis, where all six participants show that welfare schemes exist on paper but remain inaccessible in practice — a finding reinforced by the secondary data point that 92% of domestic workers have no written contract, and that 62% of workers partly lost their jobs during Covid-19 as a result of this and other inaccessible welfare provisions (Sumalatha et al., 2021).

The third objective, to explore how workers understand and negotiate legal protections, is addressed in the first theme of the analysis, which shows that awareness of schemes alone is not sufficient to secure access to them, with participants instead describing deferred enrolment, failed applications, and self-exit as the only available forms of resolution — indicating that most domestic workers are unable to negotiate legal protections meaningfully. The fourth and final objective, to identify structural factors limiting the translation of rights into lived security, is addressed through the third theme of the analysis, which identifies the absence of written contracts, migration, financial exclusion, downward mobility, and the constrained conditions of the interviews themselves as factors shaping

how legal rights translate — or fail to translate — into everyday security for domestic workers.

This research can be taken forward in several ways. First, a larger sample of women domestic workers should be taken, including local workers, new migrants, and workers from different caste and class backgrounds. This would be able to provide a more accurate measure of how legal rights are present in domestic work, increasing the accuracy of the research and the data. Future research should also interview experts, NGOs, and union workers in Mumbai to better understand how organisations are working to close the gap between legal recognition and enforcement, and to triangulate different perspectives. A longitudinal study following the same participants over time would also be valuable in assessing whether workers are able to access welfare schemes and whether their standard of living improves as a result. Lastly, future research need not be limited to Mumbai; extending the study to other cities such as Bangalore and Delhi would help establish whether the gap between legal recognition and enforcement follows a broader pattern across India.

Author Contribution Statement

J.T. conceived and designed the research, conducted the semi-structured interviews with women domestic workers, performed the thematic and secondary-data analysis, and wrote the manuscript in its entirety. The author read and approved the final manuscript.

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares that there is no conflict of interest regarding the publication of this paper.

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