





Abstract

The report discusses the impact of the COVID-19-associated national lockdown and the subsequent unlock period on the lives and livelihood of women construction workers in Delhi. A mixed-methods approach involving telephone surveys and in-depth interviews with stakeholders and women workers was used to understand the impact of the pandemic on paid work, unpaid household and care work of women workers and their access to essential resources and services. The study found the construction industry to be severely affected when the pandemic hit in March, with the maximum brunt on women workers who mainly did low-end jobs that could be easily replaced by machines. Women workers also saw a significant increase in their unpaid household and care work because schools were closed and unemployed household members remained at home even after the lockdown was lifted. While those without ration cards or Aadhar cards faced significant shortages in food, most of them borrowed from relatives and considerably depleted their savings to get access to food, water and medicines. Access to healthcare was also severely limited both during and after the lockdown since government hospitals were busy treating COVID-19 patients and neglected other serious diseases.

Acknowledgements

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Introduction

The survey report released by the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy in May stated that the unemployment rate in India saw an increase of almost 15% in the week ending 3 May from the 8.75% of March (CMIE, 2020).¹ An ILO report also warned in April that almost 400 million people employed in the unorganised sector were at the risk of falling deeper into poverty owing to the pandemic and the associated loss of job and wages (Economic Times, 2020).² Despite this, the central and the state governments in India made little effort to ensure the protection of the workers through immediate cash assistance and other relief measures. This meant that more than 90% of the country's population who lived on daily wages according to the latest PLFS data (Times of India, 2020)³ was short of cash by March-end or April for buying food and other essential items such as cooking fuel, drinking water and medicines. Though some immediate measures such as the distribution of cooked food at community kitchens and free ration available at PDS shops and through e-tokens were started to prevent migrant workers from travelling on foot or by overloaded trucks, the informal economy bore the brunt of a mass exodus as migrant workers, especially those with families, ended up returning to their villages due to their inability to pay for rent and food.

The construction industry, which was already reeling from the adverse effects of pollution, came to a grinding halt as the countrywide lockdown was announced in March. A study released in July shows that while a few projects were running to meet the high demands of spaces for medical needs during the lockdown, there was a complete suspension of all other construction work in the country (Gamil and Alhagar, 2020). Construction workers were severely affected as project developers significantly reduced the number of on-site workers, while women workers were the worst affected as they were the first ones to get laid off due to the gendered division of labour in the sector. An ISST study conducted in April-May on the impact of the COVID-19 national lockdown on the lives of women construction workers in Delhi also shows all the women respondents losing their work and income as a result of the lockdown and 25% of them also facing a denial of wages for the work done before the lockdown (ISST, 2020).

The announcement of the Direct Benefit Transfer of Rs.5, 000 to all workers registered with the Delhi Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (DBOCWWB) in March by the Delhi government (India Today, 2020)⁶ was to benefit 5.4 lakh construction workers, but the total number of construction workers in the state including those non-registered with the board was substantially higher (ISST, 2020). It was later seen that only 40,000 workers who had renewed their registrations received the benefit (Economic Times, 2020)⁷ which is a minuscule proportion of even the workers registered with the Delhi Welfare Board. Since most women construction workers had not renewed their registration due to lack of Aadhar cards, biases of the verification officers and lack of awareness/ means to renew registrations online, they were found to hardly benefit from the scheme and were left to fend for themselves (ISST, 2020).

As a continuation of the previous study, this study looks at the social and economic impact of the COVID-19 national lockdown and the subsequent unlock period on the lives of women construction workers in Delhi.



Methodology

ISST partnered with Nirman Mazdoor Panchayat Sangam (NMPS) to understand the impact of the pandemic and the initiation of the lockdown and unlocking phases on the livelihoods of women construction workers. The quantitative survey was conducted at the beginning of the study and the qualitative survey tool was designed to address the gaps identified during the quantitative survey. The quantitative data was collected through a telephone survey with 63 women construction workers using Google forms and all data collecting tools were translated into Hindi. The sample of respondents was selected in a purposive way and the results are not representative of the states or the country. ISST researchers conducted seven telephone interviews (four with women construction workers and three with the stakeholders) based on access. Both the quantitative and qualitative surveys were started only after clear information regarding the purpose was provided to the respondents and their consent was obtained. The study has maintained strict anonymity of all the respondents who agreed to be a part of this study. Participation in this study was voluntary and during the data collection process, respondents were under no obligation to complete the survey/interview if they had any hesitation or reluctance at any point. The survey team took care to schedule a call at a time that was convenient for the women workers and all precautions were taken during data collection to avoid undue distress to the respondents and their families. No questions were asked that may have hurt the sentiments or discriminated against any person based on caste, class, religion, race, gender or sexual preferences.

Profile of Respondents

In terms of religions, 97% of the respondents were Hindu and only 1% were Muslim. Figures 1-3 provide further demographic information on the respondents.

Figure 1: Marital Status of the Respondents

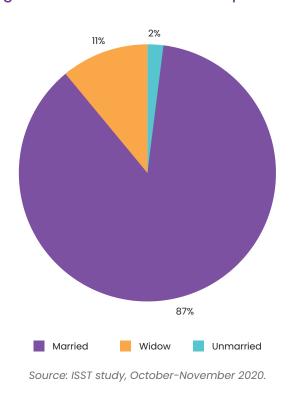


Figure 2: Caste of the Respondents

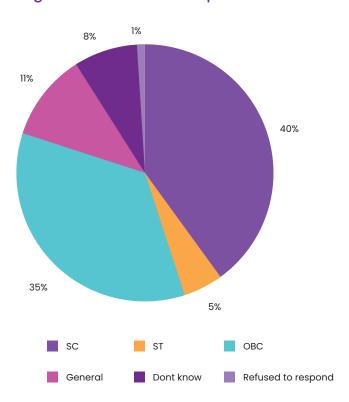
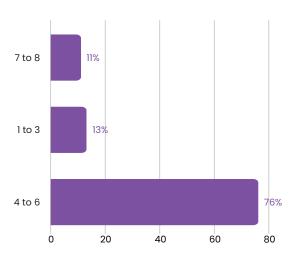


Figure 3: Household Size of the Respondents



Source: ISST study, October-November 2020.



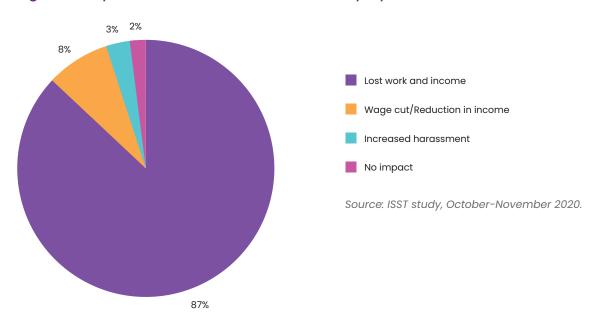
Key Findings

I. Impact on employment

a. Access to work and wages

87% of the respondents reported complete loss of work and income due to the national lockdown imposed by the Central Government in March 2020 to control the spread of coronavirus infection (Figure 4). Only 22% of the respondents who reported a complete loss of income stated that they managed to find construction work from a different source during the later months of the lockdown.

Figure 4: Impact of COVID-19 Lockdown on Employment



Approximately 46% of the respondents also felt that the impact was greater on women compared to 9% who felt that men were more impacted. None of the respondents reported moving to an alternative occupation, however temporary, either during or after the lockdown for several reasons—the supply chains were affected across all sectors of informal work, there were restrictions on mobility and police brutality if people left their houses to look for work,

respondents had limited savings to start a new venture such as selling fruits and vegetables, and there was lack of both manpower and savings in the most vulnerable households, such as widowed women with young children, to resort to alternative options like street vending.

The women respondents, moreover, held contractors/middlemen responsible for non-payment of wages for work done before the lockdown. It is because there has been an increase in unorganised employment in the sector since 2012 due to reduced public and private investments in large-scale infrastructure projects as a result of slackening credit growth and the consequent rise of small firms with fewer employees and unwritten work contracts (ILO, 2019).8 This, in turn, has led to an ambiguous hierarchy within the sector with no clear employer and women respondents were left without any hopes of prolonged support from their employers when the pandemic hit and a sudden lockdown was announced in the country.9

Kavita, a woman construction worker, who stays at a construction site in Delhi, says:

"The work stopped during the lockdown and the contractor did not pay me, my husband and my daughter for the work that we did for two months before the lockdown. Think how much he cheated us of?!"

b. Household expenditure and cash assistance

The average monthly expenditure of the households that reported complete loss of income due to the lockdown was Rs.5,000-10,000 in the past 8-10 months, which included months of a complete lockdown in the country. While most of them made do with whatever little savings that they had along with free food from schools and PDS shops, some of them also borrowed from relatives to cope with the sudden economic shock.

In such a situation, the decision of the Delhi Government to provide a compensation amount of Rs.5, 000 to all registered construction workers in Delhi from the cess collected by the Delhi Building and Other Construction Workers Welfare Board (DBOCWWB) to make up for the lost income of the workers was a welcome move across the country and especially by construction workers and their unions. The study, however, found that although 57% of the respondents were registered with the Delhi Welfare Board, the aid had reached only 8% of the respondents despite fresh registrations done in May and the compensation amount being disbursed twice during the lockdown (Figure 5).

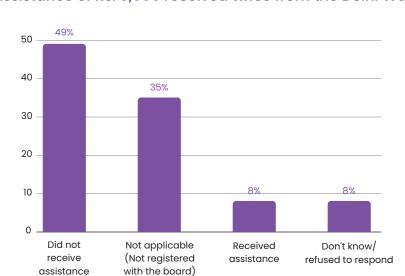


Figure 5: Assistance of Rs. 5,000 received twice from the Delhi Welfare Board

Qualitative interviews with key stakeholders and women construction workers revealed that the main reason why women respondents did not receive compensation during the COVID-19 lockdown was non-renewal of registration/labour cards. Mr. Thaneshwar Dayal Adigaur, Secretary of Delhi Asangathit Nirman Mazdoor Adhikar Abhiyan (NMAA) said, "There were 5.5 lakh workers registered with the Delhi Welfare Board by the end of 2018. However, in March of 2020, only 40,000 workers were found who had renewed their registrations and therefore eligible to receive the compensation. Later on, when the court had ordered to get the rest of the workers registered, out of 180,000 online applications, the registration fee of Rs.20/- was received from 80,000 workers and only 4,000-5,000 workers were found who could receive the compensation."

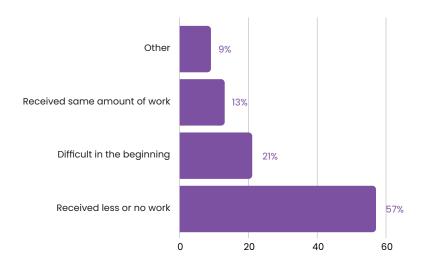
The various reasons for rejecting applications were listed in the charter of demands presented to the Secretary-cum-Commissioner (Labour) of Delhi by NMAA on 4 November 2020. It hinted at the lackadaisical attitude of the board, which has deprived several construction workers in Delhi of their rightful entitlements and included specific reasons why applications were rejected such as having limited options to choose a nominee, keeping applications pending even after issues such as incorrect bank account details were addressed and not entertaining applications with renewal dates that had lapsed more than three years ago (in violation of DBOCW rules 2002). This defeated the purpose of having a welfare board that should have delivered cash assistance to workers when they were in need.

Both Mr. Adigaur and Chinmayee from NMPS said, "Women workers who had registered earlier but did not get any benefits of the card, be it maternity or marriage benefit (as forms for these specific schemes have not yet been made online), did not see a point in renewing the card. There are several other reasons such as women taking breaks due to pregnancy or moving to the village for a few years due to which their cards were not renewed. Some women did not have time to come to meetings due to household work burden and hence remained unaware of the importance of the card. Migrant workers, on the other hand, are hardly registered due to lack of documentation. Hence, these workers could not receive the compensation during the lockdown."

c. Availability of work post-lockdown

With supply chains and work across all sectors of informal work continuing to be severely disrupted, the study found 57% of the women respondents receiving less work or no work during the unlock period compared to the pre-lockdown period (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Volume of Work Received During the Unlock Period Compared to the Pre-Lockdown Period



Work in the construction sector was already dwindling in the past few years due to demonetization, the Real Estate Regulation (and Development) Act, 2016 (RERA) and GST. These developments along with increasing mechanization have replaced most of the low-skilled manual labour done by women in construction work. Increasing pollution and the pandemic have only aggravated the employment crisis, with the limited work in the sector going to the skilled workforce, i.e., men, and machines (Mr. Adigaur and Sumitra Mishra, Executive Director of Mobile Crèches).

"I have again started going to work since last 3-4 months. The work is less, so I have to go only sometimes. In some months, I get work for 10-12 days while in others, I manage to get work for only 5-6 days. Work has reduced. I had work before the lockdown. I had a fixed contractor who used to call me and give work. Now, the contractors themselves don't get work, because when they have it, they do call us."

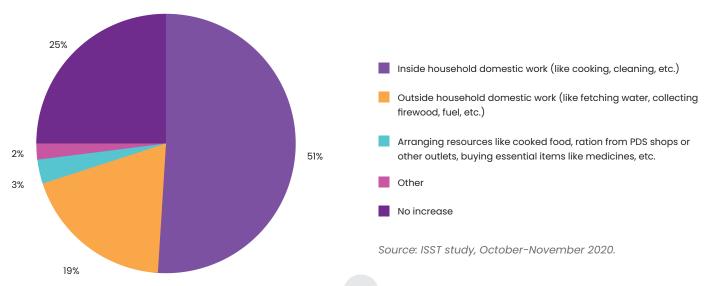
Mr. Adigaur and Ms. Mishra also said that contractors avoid hiring women because they would have to comply with provisions such as toilets, restrooms and crèches at the construction sites and also provide social security benefits such as maternity benefits. Ms. Mishra further said that a lot of labour camps have been moved far outside the city not only due to lack of space for settlements but also to avoid frequent inspections by labour inspectors. This has an adverse effect on the employment opportunities of many women construction workers who now have to look for work in and around the labour camps such as in domestic work or street cleaning to balance their paid work with care work responsibilities. Chinmayee from NMPS, on a similar note, said "The construction workers who had moved to domestic work way before the lockdown due to declining work in the sector are left with neither domestic work nor construction work after the lockdown. The situation is very bad."

While Delhi has continued with construction activity since work picked up in August and only briefly banned some construction activities to deal with the rising levels of pollution in November, there is still uncertainty and fear among construction workers of losing their livelihood all over again. Mr. Adigaur said that the workers had to be mobilized twice in the past one year—in February when work resumed after a long ban on construction work due to pollution and then again in August–September when the lockdown was lifted. If there is yet another ban, it might be very difficult to attract migrant construction workers to the city. He, however, said that the government is putting in efforts to ensure that work does not stop again due to pollution by keeping a check on the dust levels at construction sites through putting up shades and using water sprinklers.

II. Impact on Unpaid Work

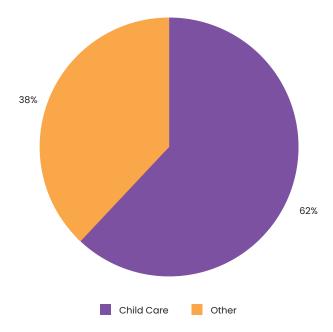
75% of the women construction workers reported an increase in at least one of their unpaid household tasks during and after the lockdown (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Domestic Responsibilities that Increased Significantly During and After the Lockdown



Similarly, 62% of the respondents reported an increase in unpaid care of children such as taking care of children, spending time with them or helping them with school work due to the closure of schools (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Increase in Care Work During and After the Lockdown





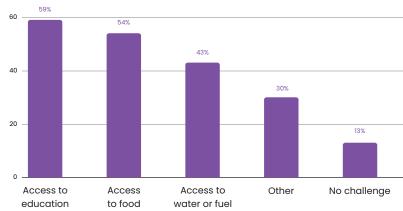


While the household work of cooking, cleaning, etc. increased substantially for women during and after the lockdown due to the closure of schools and many unemployed household members continuing to remain at home, they had the additional burden of arranging cooked food and ration from community kitchens, PDS shops and other outlets by standing in queues for long hours. The qualitative interviews revealed that women with older children, especially daughters, at home received significant help with both inside and outside household domestic work during and after the lockdown because schools continue to remain shut. At the same time, 46% of the respondents stated that they did not receive any assistance in either household or care work.

The most significant challenge faced by respondents and their families during and after the lockdown was managing children's education. Approximately 30% of the respondents reported an increase in the unpaid work of tutoring children and helping them with school work. Almost 59% of the respondents also reported that they faced stress in managing their children's education due to the closure of schools and difficulties in accessing online education, either because they did not have android phones/laptops or because they could not understand how to use phones for online education (Figure 9). The women respondents mentioned that the difficulties faced by children in accessing online education outweighed other challenges of procuring essential food items, water and cooking fuel.



Figure 9: Most Significant Challenges During and After the Lockdown



"Sister, my children study with my neighbour's children. I don't have a touch phone. What can we do if we have problems? When we do not have money, we have to face it. Phones are not available at Rs.1-2/-. When we will have Rs.15, 000/-, we will see. Currently, they study with our neighbour's children. They take their notebook, do the work and then send the work through their phone."

The indefinite closure of schools to curb the spread of coronavirus infection and shift to an online mode of education has proved costly to the already affected marginalized households in the poor urban slums of Delhi who have had to arrange for android phones for their children in the middle of the COVID-19 aggravated economic crisis and subsequent unemployment. It has also meant that many children in the poorer households of the city have had to depend on their friends, neighbours, etc. to access online education while others have had to temporarily or permanently discontinue schooling. Sumitra Mishra says, "Those who were managing to study at the beginning of the lockdown are also facing difficulties now as their fathers have joined back work and carry the phones with them."

Mishra also said that there has been an increase in sibling care since the lockdown has been lifted because the families who had returned to their villages during the lockdown have now brought their older children from the village to look after their younger siblings while they are out working or looking for work. On the other hand, women workers with young children, especially at the labour camps, faced challenges in returning to work or made informal care arrangements such as entrusting an adult male, for example, a security guard or local site manager, to look after the children or worked in shifts so that when one group of women is away working, the other group can take care of the children.

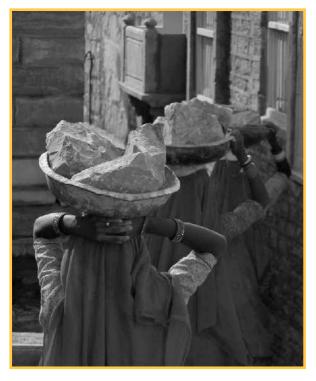
III. Impact on Access to Essential Resources and Services

a. Access to food, drinking water and housing

54% of the respondents reported difficulties in accessing essential food items due to shortages or high prices during and after the lockdown (Figure 9). The most affected were women with no ration cards and who had young children because the children could not stand in queues for food. Often, the food received by the household was thus not enough for all the members of the household.

There was also a provision for those without ration cards to obtain ration through e-tokens; however, many people could not avail of the benefit due to lack of awareness/means to apply online and lack of documentation such as Aadhar cards. Since the PDS shops offered only wheat and rice for free, access to fruits and vegetables, milk for children, drinking water, cooking oil and fuel was severely limited. 43% of the respondents thus reported challenges in accessing drinking water and cooking fuel during and even after the lockdown (Figure 9).

Kavita who did not have access to either cooked food or ration from PDS shops during the lockdown said:



"When we were in our previous place during the lockdown, we used to yearn for drinking water worth only Rs.10. My daughter sent some money from the village after borrowing from a moneylender and then we could manage some food and water. We stayed hungry for 10 days. How could we afford rice and pulses? We ate chapatti and salt or rice and salt, that was enough. That's how we survived the entire lockdown."

The qualitative interviews revealed that women construction workers living at the labour camps were slightly better off than women workers outside the labour camps because they had housing and got advance payments to buy food and water. Casual labourers outside the labour camps, who did not have this assistance, were the first to migrate. "These temporary casual labourers were the ones who were also seen resorting to dangerous means of travelling — on foot or in heavily crowded trucks—during the lockdown as the contractors did not even respond to their calls", said Sumitra Mishra from Mobile Crèches.

Kavita who moved to a construction site to work for a different contractor post-lockdown said:

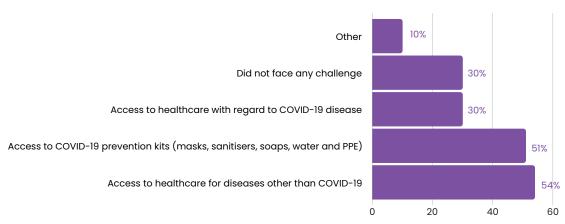
"This contractor is from my village in Bihar. He paid our pending rent of Rs. 20,000 to our landlord in Salarpur where we used to stay during the lockdown and brought us here. He has deducted the same from our wages. He is also providing us with housing, toilets, drinking water and electricity for free."

Mr. Adigaur also said, "Due to declining demand for female labour in the sector, only women who live in labour camps and get regular work have been able to sustain here. Even during the lockdown, only single male labourers who could move into shared accommodations with other male labourers stayed back. Women and those with families migrated."

b. Access to healthcare

While none of the respondents reported being infected or having any family member who has been infected by the coronavirus, 30% of them reported having challenges in accessing healthcare for COVID-19 (Figure 10). On the other hand, 54% of the respondents reported having challenges in accessing healthcare for diseases other than COVID-19, which includes treatment of serious diseases such as cancer and typhoid. (Figure 10). This happened because government hospitals were busy treating patients for COVID-19 and hence people suffering from other diseases were severely neglected.





Sumitra Mishra says, "There were massive challenges in accessing healthcare in the initial phases of the lockdown. Ante-natal and post-natal check-ups had almost stopped as the priority of the healthcare workers was to look after the COVID-19 patients. Immunization had completely stopped at the construction sites as ASHA workers were not available. From September onwards, Mobile Crèches actively started following up with ASHA workers at the labour camps and requested them to come for regular check-ups and immunizations. While we are still facing challenges in meeting our monthly immunization targets, ASHA workers at the labour camps and Anganwadi workers in the urban slums have at least started with immunization and monitoring now."

A woman respondent while expressing her fear of visiting government hospitals said:

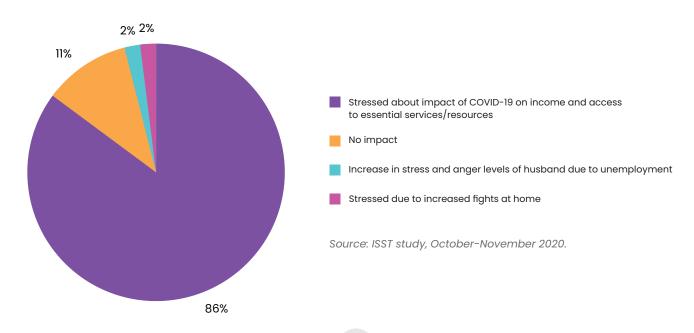
"We don't go to government hospitals out of fear. We are afraid that they will misdiagnose normal cold or fever as COVID-19. If there is an emergency, then we can go to the hospital. For small things such as cold or fever, we don't like to go. We go to private dispensaries and get medicines."

Most respondents said that they do not receive any of the protective equipment such as masks, sanitizers and soaps at the construction sites where they work. The contractors only tell them to maintain social distancing while working. The study also showed high awareness among women respondents about the common symptoms of COVID-19 such as cough and fever and also vigilance among them about the risk of contracting the disease in case social distancing norms are flouted.

c. Impact on mental health

86% of the women construction workers were found to suffer from mental stress and fatigue (Figure 11) due to uncertainties of work and income and its impact on access to essential resources and services such as food, education and healthcare. While only one respondent talked about stress related to her husband's unemployment and increase in anger levels in the survey, the qualitative interviews did not reveal any cases of domestic violence as a result of the lockdown and associated unemployment. It also hints at the failure of the telephone method of data collection to capture issues such as intimate partner violence because it neither ensures a safe space to the informants to express themselves freely nor allows the researcher and the respondent to build empathy and trust.

Figure 11: Impact of COVID-19 Crisis on Mental Health of the Respondents



Sumitra Mishra said, "The situation was slightly more manageable at the labour camps when alcohol was stopped at the beginning of the lockdown as men were busy filling up e-forms for dry ration, figuring out ways to migrate, etc. However, when the sale of alcohol resumed, men vacated the space of any responsibility. Then alcohol consumption became a priority to the extent that even a part of the small weekly allowance that people were getting from their contractors as an advance payment was used on alcohol. We used to get sporadic reports of domestic violence."

d. Access to government benefits

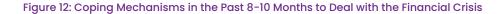
Only 11% of the total respondents surveyed under the study reported receiving some kind of cash assistance from the government (Figure 12) which is why only 5% of the respondents reported facing challenges in accessing bank accounts/ATMs; most did not have any money in their accounts to be

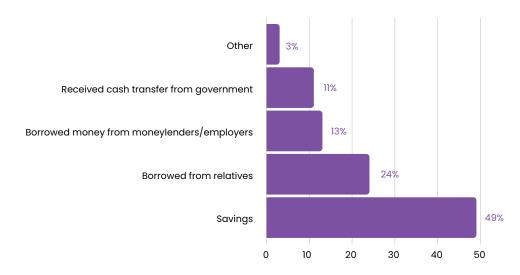


withdrawn. It also implies that most of the respondents who said that they used savings to cope with the lockdown had limited money available to them in cash and hardly anything to save. Thus, when the pandemic hit and a sudden lockdown was announced in the country, most of them were left to fend for themselves without any cash assistance or prolonged support from their employers.

A woman construction worker who received a widow pension of Rs.5,000 twice during the lockdown said:

"When the lockdown was announced, we did not have anything at home. People around us were thinking of stocking up ration as there were rumours that even shops would close. We did not have money. But then soon after, I received the widow pension so we were a little relaxed. This is one thing that the government has helped us with during the lockdown. I received Rs.5,000 twice."





Recommendations

The free ration scheme should be extended at least until June 2021 because the poor employed mainly in the informal sector are still struggling to secure work and daily wages. As the study found that those without documentation struggled to avail of the benefit of free ration, it is recommended to urgently provide free ration to all lower-income households through a less cumbersome process irrespective of their ability to prove eligibility. Drinking water and cooking fuel should also be made free to the poor during this period.

The compensation amount should be immediately transferred to all construction workers in the state irrespective of their registration renewal status because this would help them significantly in coping with the continued loss of work and income. Additionally, other kinds of cash assistance such as widow pension should be given at regular intervals to support the most vulnerable such as single-income and female-headed households.

The government should make education accessible to all the children enrolled in the government schools of Delhi by making arrangements to teach them in small groups, allowing them to sit for offline examinations and waiving examining fees.

At least one or two government hospitals in Delhi must remain accessible to the poor for treatment of diseases other than COVID-19 as the study has revealed that treatment of serious diseases such as cancer, typhoid, etc. as well as delivery-related needs have been side-lined due to the attention given to COVID-19 treatment.

ISST would like to appreciate NMPS for their initiative of providing wage compensation of 30 days in a year to many of the informal sector workers in case of hospitalization.

¹ See https://unemploymentinindia.cmie.com/

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⁷ Delhi government gives Rs. 5,000 each for over 7,000 construction workers (2020, 11 April), Economic Times. Retrieved from https://realty.economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/industry/delhi-government-gives-rs-5000-each-for-over-7000-construction-workers/75091117

See https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_emp/---ifp_skills/documents/publication/wcms_734503.pdf

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