DOMESTIC LABOR LEGISLATION IN PAKISTAN: MOTIVES FOR RESISTANCE

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ABSTRACT
This article is contextualized within the recent development in the domestic work sector in Pakistan, under the umbrella of International Labor Organization (ILO)’s convention for the domestic workers “Decent Work for the Domestic Workers”. The article is about exploring which theoretical framework (neo-liberalism, structuralist, and post structuralist) explains the persistence of the informal economy in the developing country like Pakistan. Scholarship indicates that people involve informal domestic workers for several reasons in addition to the economic motives. With the help of face to face interviews, this study investigates the reasons for domestic workers to join this informal work area as a lifelong employment source. A major reason identified is a variety of tacit benefits in addition to the salary. These benefits include free accommodation; paternal treatment of employers towards the workers and their family members; food and other daily life accessories. Similarly employer enjoys certain benefits such as no fixed working hours, getting extra work done without extra payments, or even paying lesser than National Minimum Wages (NMW). 45 semi structured interviews have been conducted from the domestic workers. The article lends support to all the three schools of thoughts i.e. neo-liberalism, structuralist, and post structuralist and unveils that informal mutual beneficial exchange between these workers and their employers is the main reason for people involved in the informal economy.

Keywords: ILO Convention on Domestic Work, Regulation, Motives for Resistance, Pakistan, Domestic Workers
INTRODUCTION

In all parts of the world, domestic work is looked at as an under paid and undervalued activity (ILO, 2010). It is performed by the deprived or needy groups of the society. People consider it unskilled because most of the domestic workers especially women have traditionally been considered to do the work and other people in the house teach them the skills to carry out these household chores within the boundaries of the house. This makes people perceiving these activities to be inherent. Therefore the domestic work remains undervalued and poorly regulated (ILO, 2010). Around the globe, domestic work is known to be largely; but not exclusively performed by the women. It is taken as an expansion of unpaid household duties that hardly get any kind of the recognition. These domestic workers are not prone to any weekly off day, fixed working hours, maternity leaves, and national minimum wage and so on. According to International Labor Office; there are tens of millions of domestic workers around the world (ILO, 2007).

Domestic work is poorly regulated and usually not protected by the labor laws of the state in all parts of the world. It is known to be embedded with the socio cultural structures along with gender discrimination, ethnicity, class and caste; thus highlighting the weak bargaining power of the domestic workers (ILO, 2010).

Pakistan is one of those developing countries where domestic workers are employed by the household employers from middle and affluent class. It has been reported that total workforce of 8.5 million (including unregulated men, women and children) is involved in the informal domestic sector of Pakistan (Kehar, 2013).

Recently under the ILO’s convention “Decent Work for the domestic workers” convention 189; a bill named as “The Domestic Workers (Employment Rights) Bill 2013” has been presented in the parliament of Pakistan. The ILO convention Article 6 (2011:13) reads:

“Each member shall carry out measures to ensure the awareness of terms and conditions of the employment to the domestic workers, in a verifiable, appropriate and easily comprehensible manner, where needed thought written contracts complying with the national laws and regulations”
It means that all the countries who have signed this convention are liable to comply with all the clauses mentioned in the domestic workers bill 2013. It will be solely the responsibility of the member countries to ensure that domestic workers operating in informal work sector are protected under the umbrella of this convention.

Over the years, changes have been seen about how the researchers and scholars have been conceptualizing the informal economy. To date, the informal economy is not only considered to be expanding in all parts of the world (Charmes, 2009; Feige & Urban, 2008; ILO, 2002a; Rodgers & Williams, 2009; Schneider, 2008; Williams, 2010) but also it is considered to be a fundamental component of the global capitalism (Williams, 2006). To explain the growth and persistence of the informal economy three different schools of thoughts emerged i.e. neo liberal, structuralist and post-structuralist.

Despite all the injustice caused to the domestic workers, their number is increasing day by day. In the present article, the researchers have tried to explain the rationales of the people for their participation in informal domestic work sector of Pakistan that are beyond the economic motive under three schools of thoughts i.e. neo-liberalism, structuralist, and post structuralist.

**What is Informal Economy?**

Researchers use many names for the informal economy such as “shadow economy”, “unobserved economy”, “irregular economy”, “underground economy” and “hidden enterprises”.

Informal economy has been defined as the “activities that are illegal but not with antisocial intention” (De Soto, 1989). It has further been defined as the “activities that are outside the boundaries of formal institutions but falling in informal institutional boundaries” (Webb, Tihanyi, Ireland & Sirmon; 2009, p.2). Moreover Portes (1994, p.15) defines informal economy as “the production of legal goods and services with the help of procedures that are not fully legal”.

Keeping in view these terms, scholars have defined informal economy as the informal activities that are outside formal institutions boundaries i.e. illegal but fall within the informal institutions boundaries i.e. legitimate (Webb et al, 2009). Informal economy involves production and sales of legitimate goods and services besides the fact that they are not registered or that they are hidden from the state for tax and/or any other benefit (Web et al, 2009).
In recent decades, persistent growth of informal economy has been observed. In order to explain this prevalence, several scholars have come up with economic rationales for the people involving in the informal economy. Three schools of thoughts have been largely employed to explain the phenomena of people entering the informal sector under economic motives i.e. neo-liberalism, structuralist, and post-structuralist.

**Neo-Liberalism**

The Neo-liberalism school of thought says that prevalence of informal economy is due to the excessive burden of regulations by the government and therefore people consider it better and encouraging to carry out their activities informally by cutting cost (De Soto, 1989; Gerxhani, 2004). The overburdened state regulations include labor laws, tax deductions and social security contributions that misallocate the resources. This ultimately disturbs the normal supply and demand phenomena. All these kinds of regulatory involvements lead to the underground market economy and facilitate the functioning of enterprises that is outside the legal territory by ignoring the state laws to gain flexibility in operations (De Soto, 1989; Minc 1982). In short, this perspective suggests that participation in informal economy is a matter of choice to exit the formal market voluntarily to get rid of the over regulation of the state.

**Structuralist**

Looking at the informal economy through structuralist school of thought, it is stated that market forces are causing growth of the informal economy. This perspective explains the restructuring of global economy and by-product of capital accumulation (Biles, 2009; Portes, Castells, & Benton, 1989; Fernandez-Kelly & Garcia, 1989; Portes, 1994; Sassen, 1989). Also it encourages the businesses to pursue the outsourcing and sub-contracting of the informal workers to reduce the cost (Jones, Ram, & Edwards, 2006; Ram, Edwards, & Jones, 2007; Whitson, 2007). Whitson (2007) argues that under this perspective, the informal economy is a tool used by the formal economy to exploit the workers to continue it. As a result, informal employment is considered to be the essence of downgraded labor (Williams & Round, 2010). It is something that lies at the bottom of the employment pyramid and is undertaken by the people who have been excluded from the formal labor market. These are the people with low pay, for example people working at small shops in the informal sector (Amin, Cameron, & Hudson, 2002; Ahmad 2008; Davis 2006; Gallin 2001; Hudson 2005; Sassen 1997). Therefore under this lens, participation in
the informal economy is explained as an activity that is necessity driven based on involuntary exit from the formal sector of the economy (Bender 2004; Espenshade 2004; Hapke 2004; Ross 2004).

Post-Structuralist

The post structuralist approach says that informal work is a voluntary activity that is driven by the social motives (Snyder, 2004; Whitson, 2007; Williams & Windebank, 2002a; White & Williams, 2009; Williams, 2004). Informal workers create some kind of bond with their employers and continue working in informal economy. Moreover, when the bond is created, both the parties share mutual benefits that hinders people to exit the informal economy (Jones et al., 2006; Jones, Ram, & Edwards, 2004; Ram, Abbas, Sanghera, Barlow, & Jones, 2001; Ram, Edward, & Jones, 2002a).

Motives of People for Working in Informal Sector other than Economic Motives

Both the neo-liberalism and structuralist perspectives have been largely criticized for focusing the economic motive as one of the main reasons that people have to work in the informal work sector. Post-structuralism is a comparatively new school of thought that provides implied critique for these two perspectives and at the same time it also offers an alternative explanation for the participation of people in the informal work sector as a livelihood strategy. In short, this theory explains that informal work is a voluntary exit from the formal work sector driven by several social motives (Snyder, 2004; White & Williams, 2009; Whitson, 2007; Williams, 2004a; Williams & Windebank, 2002). These social motives enable the workers as well as their employers to develop mutual beneficial informal working relationships that are regardless of the fact that usually this relationship undermines the economic returns (Jones et al., 2006; Jones et al, 2004; Ram et al, 2001; Ram et al, 2002a). It is this informal work relationship between the workers and their employers that is the focus of the current paper.

Literature on domestic employment cites several reasons for people to join domestic employment. These reasons include economic inequality (Leon, 2013), people’s migration from one place to another to earn better living and to improve the living standards (Ebery & Preston, 1976), or lack of education and skills leave them with no other employment opportunities (Ebery et al., 1976). These are some of the major reasons for pushing people to join this sector. Domestic work plays a role in getting the identities to the employees too. Paternal nature of the relationship
between the employer and the employee has also been studied. Servants are considered to be under the protection of the master (Davidoff, 1995). It means that master is supposed to provide wages, food, shelter to the workers and on the other hand the servants are expected to be loyal and at the disposal of their master. This is carried out in Pakistan as a norm where, regardless of the fact, if the worker is living 24/7 or comes and leaves the workplace (homes) once the work is done, the employer is supposed to provide food, primary health care facilities and other commodities like old clothes to the worker. This comes under the paternal nature of this relationship between the domestic workers and their employers.

In early 18th and 19th centuries; geographical and upwards social mobility of rural migrants have been given as the reasons for the domestic work (Ebery et al., 1976; Hecht, 1956). It was also considered to be an opportunity to learn basic literacy along with some new skills by the rural families. In Pakistani settings, people from remote areas move towards the bigger cities, such as Lahore, in order to raise their standards of life. Moreover these people tend to send their kids to government schools where they do not have to bear huge expenses for the studies.

At the same time, the kind of relationship between the domestic workers and their employers has been called to be investigated deeply by a number of scholars around the globe. Most recently this relationship has been studied under the model offered by Ram, Edwards, & Jones, (2007); where they call it as ‘workplace negotiated order’. This workplace negotiated order (Burawoy, 1979; Hodson, 2001) points towards the structure of the social relations governing the dynamics of day to day employment relations between the worker and his employees. A group of British scholars (Jones et al., 2006, 2004; Ram et al., 2007; Ram et al., 2001) have come up with some deeply entrenched social exchanges of mutual benefits leading to the core driving force and rationale for the prevalence and growth of the informal economy in UK. Here the traditional concept of economic necessities tends to describe the motives of people entering this sector under the influence of state regulations (neo-liberalism) or market forces (structuralism). But recently the informal economic activity in UK has also been studied through post-structuralist lens. Here the behavior of the workers is explained by the number of social incentives that find their roots in their routine work relations. Literature was imitated for the Pakistani setting in this regard. It is not only that local people are involved in domestic work sector but most of the domestic workers have been seen to migrate from the rural areas of the country and are considered a kind of migrant.
One of the most comprehensive explanation and evidence about the social incentives as driving force to enter the domestic work sector is given by one of the studies by Ram et al. (2007). During the analysis of the national minimum wage (NMW) pay practices in Birmingham in South Asian businesses, it was discovered that enforcement of state regulations have no connotation on the tendency of immigrants engaging in the informal practices. Though they did identify some of the competitive forces as well as market structures pushing people in to this sector but main reason remained the notion of “paternalism” that existed between the employer and the worker relationship of Asian immigrants (Ram et al., 2007). Paternalism is defined as a type of work relationship that constitutes the face to face personal exchanges where the workers consider their employer as a father like figure (Jones et al., 2006). Also the trust based tacit relationships are not confined to situations where the workers are hired from within the kinship networks, but to the non-family members for whom the face to face personal interactions led to the softening of the authority relations (Ram et al., 2007).

Apparently this overall process of mutual cooperation appears to be motivated by the economic motives. But in fact, profit based proposition does not complement the actual practices and merely serves as a shallow cover to mask the true spirit of informal employment relations that prevail among the immigrant firms, which on contrary has been constructed based upon the embedded social incentives, contracts and obligations that exist between the worker and the employer (Bailey, 1987). As observed by Ram et al. (2007), these social constructs involve the elements like sense of belongingness, social integration, and feelings of paternalism, family like environment, cultural homogeneity and job flexibility. Also based upon their studies on informal South Asian businesses in UK, Jones et al. (2006) confirmed that from the mutual exchange of intangible benefits e.g. an overall package, significant bargaining leverage over time and pay, pleasant working environment can be seen as compensation. It is therefore, not only the hideous fact of state over regulation or economic marginality explaining the reproduction of informal economy, rather it is known to be the immigrant agency forming the driving force for the immigrant informal economy.

This notion of agency that came up recently had also been criticized. A number of scholars have tried to describe the paternalistic norms to be an apparent covering; leading to extreme exploitation carried out by the informal employers (Mitter, 1986; Phizacklea, 1990). In case of
Pakistani domestic workers and the underpayment of the wages is justified on these paternalistic grounds. They say that the workers are given immaterial benefits (social incentives) that compensate for the lesser salaries that are paid to them (Jones et al., 2004; Jones et al., 2006). Moreover, no doubt the prime reason for the domestic workers is not the sentimental motivations but it is the lack of choices these people have in formal sector and therefore they maintain this work discipline either be exploitive. This balance is known to be clash of the agency and the structure and it is complex enough to offer favor to either of them (Ram et al., 2007). At the end of the study, Jones et al. (2004) and Ram et al. (2007) have concluded that be it social exploitation or exclusion, the decisive quality of the informal economy by the immigrants is the informal relationship of mutual beneficial exchange where the workers are not dictated but they are respected. This is happening in Pakistani domestic work sector where the employers and workers negotiate over the work timings, salaries and weekly or monthly off days.

Similarly, the entrenched social work relations in small firms have been explored comprehensively in the literature. A number of scholars have contributed to, how the social beneficial positions are bargained and negotiated between the employers and the workers along with its contributions to the management of the small business firms (Barrett & Rainnie, 2002; Chapman, 1999; Heimer & Stevens, 1997; Scase, 2003). The study of the negotiated work relations as one of the possible determinant of the reproduction of informal economy remains scarce in terms of empirical evidence. This is this scarcity of data on the socially driven motives that this research study will move towards.

In South Asian region, people who enter the domestic services are largely poor, illiterate with no formal training. Indian domestic workers (who migrate from the other parts of the country) have been examined in terms of how informal networks are used in the form of coping strategies. It is done by developing social relations with domestic workers among their own community along with the relation with the employers (Raghuram, 1992). It also points out how migration of certain individuals opens channels for other members of the same region and caste. The already existing migrants assist and support the new migrants in entering this sector, and introducing them to the employers. Same is the case with the present study, where a large number of domestic workers migrate from rural parts of Pakistan to urban cities.
The issue of domestic workers in Pakistan had been failed in deriving the attention of the scholars. The present research study will be an addition to the literature on the domestic workers and their motives of entering and growing in the informal domestic work sector. Literature imitates the varied nature of domestic services. Though, there are different geographical and socio-economic settings but still there are commonalities between domestic workers who are working in different settings of developing and developed countries.

At present, the condition of domestic workers as far as the state regularities are concerned is not much appreciable. They have not even been categorized under the definition of the term worker in any law of the country. Under these circumstances, informal economy has given them support and has taken them out of the economic depression in every sense and manner. They apparently are nowhere in state regularities but they exist in real world as a huge work sector, as it has already been mentioned that there is a total workforce of 8.5 million domestic workers operating in the informal domestic work sector (Kehar, 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practices</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum Wage</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Hours</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly Rest</td>
<td>✓(for part time worker)</td>
<td>✓(for full time worker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notice Period</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Injuries</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compensation</td>
<td>Varies employer to employer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Health Care</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maternity Leave</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Contract</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Termination Notice</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table has been developed by getting the information from ILO Report 2010

Keeping in view the above mentioned table, one can foresee the need to dig the motives of people involved in domestic work sector even knowing how they are being treated by the state as well as the employers in this manner.

**METHODOLOGY**

As the focus of this research was to expand an intensive analysis of the data, thus face to face semi structured interviews research design was adopted. It allowed the researcher to know the
behaviors about the Domestic Workers Bill along with their reasons of entering the domestic work sector.

**TABLE 2: Respondent Employees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Employees</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>Geographic Area</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 to 10</td>
<td>12,000 to 18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardeners</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 to 8</td>
<td>1,000 to 1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Johar Town</td>
<td>5 to 8</td>
<td>12,000 to 6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids (part time)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 to 10</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids (part time category 2)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 to 10</td>
<td>6,000 to 8,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Employees</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>Geographic Area</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Defence</td>
<td>10 to 12 years</td>
<td>15,000 to 18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardeners</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 to 10 years</td>
<td>2,000 to 2,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>8 to 10 years</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook(Male)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 to 15 years</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories of Employees</th>
<th>Number of interviewees</th>
<th>Geographic Area</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drivers(full time)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Shadbagh, Ichra</td>
<td>4 to 6 years</td>
<td>8,000 to 10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drivers(part time)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>5 to 8 years</td>
<td>6,000 to 8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids (part time)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 to 15 years</td>
<td>5,000 to 8,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Maids (part time category 2)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 to 15 years</td>
<td>3,000 to 5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of reasons why face to face interviews have been adopted is that, it increases the validity of the data. In past years, scholars have put their trust in the data gathered by direct method rather than indirect methods such as document analysis, indirect observation etc. (Tanzi, 1980; Thomas, 1999; Williams, 2006). For exploring the informal domestic work sector, direct methods are the most acceptable ways of gathering data due to the element of higher trust in direct method (Harding & Jenkins, 1989). Keeping in view the approach and design of the research discussed above, the data was collected through semi structured in-depth interviews.
Initially population sample of research was of 60 respondents. Afterwards, useful data was gathered from 45 respondents. 45 employees were interviewed from all the areas that were selected to be visited to gather data. Table 2 shows the details about domestic workers that were interviewed.

These people were selected from four different parts of the city i.e. Defense, Johar Town, Ichra and Shadbagh. Of these 15 employees were from DHA Lahore, 15 from Johar Town and 15 from Shadbagh and Ichra. The respondents were diversified in terms of their demographics. Such a mixed sample of people was chosen to ensure that behavior of people from all classes of life must be recorded and studied. Initially these people were selected based upon the personal connections and afterwards snowball sampling was used. All of the interviews were conducted face to face. Table 3 shows the gender percentages and Table 4 shows the ages of the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3: Respondents Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mostly the interviews were conducted when the employees were at their workplace. There were some of the respondents who did not feel comfortable in answering to the questions at their workplace. Researcher had to visit them to their homes to get their responses. Interviews were transcribed by the researcher herself for the analysis. It took her almost five months to do this. It helped the researcher to develop better understanding of the data while transcribing the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4: Age of Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research being exploratory in nature, qualitative research approach with semi structured in-depth interviews research design was adopted. Purposive and snowball sampling were used to reach the target population. Table 5 shows the income levels of the domestic workers that were interviewed.

### TABLE 5: Income Levels of Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Sub Category</th>
<th>Income</th>
<th>No of employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Drivers</td>
<td>Part time</td>
<td>5,000 - 10,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Full time</td>
<td>11,000 - 15,000</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>16,000 - 20,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gardeners</td>
<td>1,000 - 1,500</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,600 - 2,500</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Maids</td>
<td>Full time</td>
<td>10,000 - 15,000</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Part time</td>
<td>5,000 - 10,000</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000 - 15,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>come for their tasks</td>
<td>3,000 - 5,000</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9 a.m. to 8 p.m.</td>
<td>6,000 - 8,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Collection and Analysis of Data**

The researcher came across several challenges while gaining access to the respondents. The interviewees were not literate, and thus it was difficult to tell them why they were being interviewed. At some point of times they thought as if the researcher was a representative from the Government authorities, and were not willing to answer the questions. Moreover, they were of the view that they had nothing to do with the government related activities, and that the research had not anything to do with their practical lives, and hence were least interested to answer. In addition, some of them also said that what they will get if they will spend time while answering to the researcher.

All these issues were dealt vigilantly and carefully. Those people were given enough time to understand why they were being interviewed. The setting was not at all formal and they were
accessed at their workplace as well as at their homes in an informal manner. They were asked questions depending upon the situation, and the way they were answering questions. For example, if they were responding in a comfortable manner then they were asked more formal question. But if they were answering in an uneasy manner then formal questions were stopped and they were talked about their families, kids and day to day life. It helped in building a friendly and cooperative atmosphere and a sense of trust and bond between the respondents, and the researcher. Once respondents are accessed, friendly relationship needs to be built on strong footings to keep the informal relation. Cooperation and trust play vital role in building and keeping these relationships (Easterby-Smith Thorpe, & Jackson, 2008). In order to add to the trust level of the respondents, the researcher ensured that the identities as well as information provided by the respondents would be kept anonymous. Moreover, it was told to them that whatever they will say will be used for academic purpose only. Keeping in view the cultural aspects Urdu as well as Punjabi languages were used to ensure complete understanding of the respondents. Where the respondents were not easy with the recordings, notes taking was taken in to account.

The interviews were semi structured as if the aim of a research study is to unfold the perceptions of the respondent's then semi structured in-depth interviews are helpful (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). Moreover, when it is about producing rich and valuable data then again semi-structured interviews are useful and to gain comprehensive understanding from the respondents point of view including why they have the particular viewpoint (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008; Punch, 2008). Hence keeping in view the purpose of research study, data was collected with the help of semi structured interviews. Each interview lasted for about 45 to 60 minutes.

Where needed, in order to develop the better understanding of the issues, unplanned probes were used. For this the laddering technique for interviews was efficiently used (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008). Simple language (Urdu and Punjabi) was used to make sure that the respondents understand the questions to share the relevant information (Easterby-Smith et al., 2008).

**Approach to Data Analysis**

The data analysis stage was largely done by the thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a general tool that is used for qualitative data analysis (Creswell, 2003; Boyatzis, 1998). Braun and Clarke (2006) say that thematic analysis must be considered a method in its own right. According
to Braun and Clarke (2006); when it is about identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes), then thematic analysis is the best method for doing so. Same authors also say that thematic analysis is known to be ‘the first qualitative method of analysis that the researcher must learn. It is because; it provides core skills that are useful for conducting the other forms of qualitative analysis. Since the current study is all about knowing the behavioral patterns of people therefore, the use of six phases of thematic analysis produced by Braun and Clarke (2006) is considered to be the right approach to be adopted for the current research work.

Exploratory nature of research questions of the present study make the thematic analysis a primary source of inquiry in every manner. It is known to be one of the most appropriate research methods to answer the “how” and “what” questions; as they allow us to observe the human behaviors in several conditions, influences and social settings. Similarly, if we talk about “why”, “when”, “where”, and “who” questions, thus quantitative methods are suitable, requiring multivariate analysis in order to assess the effects of variety of contributing factors. Special advantages of thematic analysis for the present study include the openness of the method. When it comes to multidisciplinary research, it offers the open ended approach (Brower & Jeong, 2008). Open ended approach permits the researcher to study the behavior of domestic employees and their employers in different situations.

Transcription of the interviews was done right after the interviews were completed. Thus data analysis was started right after the interview completion. One of the challenges during transcription was the translation of the interviews from Urdu and Punjabi language to the English. As domestic employees are mostly illiterate thus they were interviewed in Urdu and Punjabi language to ensure complete understanding.

In the beginning, reading of the transcript was carried out in order to check the accuracy of the data as well as get the hidden meanings of the data. Information and literature were compared at different points to develop the reflection. Coding was done for each case. As the researcher had kept herself in the field and took detailed notes thus she was able to figure out the patterns from the gathered data. After sub cataloguing, the categories were rechecked and recoded to make sure that the themes that were emerging along with the theoretical links between the categories represent well about what information the data had.
Motives of People Joining and Sticking to the Informal Domestic Work Sector

During the present study the researcher came across a number of observations keeping in view which, it can be stated that the people enter the informal domestic work sector with their free will and most of these motives have been found to be the ones other than economic motives. They are discussed one by one as follows:

Geographical and Upward Social Mobility

Ebery and Preston (1976) stated that people usually move from the remote areas keeping in mind to make upward social mobility. In other words, it would be very right to say that, in order to get better standards of life, people leave their native towns where they suffer from economic depression to places, where they can earn their bread and butter in an easier manner. In doing so, they prefer to move to places where they have some friends and relatives already living there. Literature suggests the same thing that migrations of people develop social relations with the other domestic workers in their own community and pave ways for them in to this sector (Raghuram, 1993). On the other hand, increasing trends of dual careers has enhanced the need for the people to perform domestic work and therefore, these migrants easily come across people in search of the domestic workers (Cox, 2006).
Table 1.6: Phases of Thematic Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Description of the Process</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase I</td>
<td>The interviews were transcribed into the word documents. Transcription was also considered as the first stage of getting the meanings, ideas and thoughts out of the data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase I Familiarization with the data</td>
<td>Transcriptions were read and re-read, with the aims of checking for mistakes and extracting the meanings, thoughts and ideas of the people. Following Miles and Huberman (1994), while re-reading the transcripts, marginal notes were taken on the right hand side of the transcriptions to identify the initial ideas emerging from the data, related to the research questions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase II Initial coding generation</td>
<td>The whole data set was systematically coded by tracing the features of the data relevant to the research questions. The data related to each code category was gathered to search broader themes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase III Searching for themes</td>
<td>Data with similar codes was re-arranged in separate word documents. A number of word documents were created representing different chunks of data with related codes. Codes were collated into themes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase IV</td>
<td>Themes were reviewed and thematic maps were also drawn to see if the themes worked in relation to the codes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase V Selective Coding</td>
<td>On-going analysis to refine the themes to inform the overall story emerging from the data.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phase VI Producing the report</td>
<td>The final phase of data analysis. Relevant extracts were selected from the data, relating back to the research questions and the literature to produce a scholarly report.</td>
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In addition migrants bring along with them their families; hence, they prefer to work at a place where they do not have to leave their families and work somewhere far. A domestic worker in high income area said that:

“We accessed one of our relatives already working in Lahore; he told us that one of the families of his employers needs a watchman and a woman for the washing and cleaning purposes, so we moved here. Living in a city like Lahore is no doubt better than living in a village.”

This excerpt shows the motive of social upward mobility mentioned by Ebery and Preston in 1976.

Another worker from high income based area said that:

“I was referred to these people by one of my cousins already working in the neighboring house and I am happy. I get regular food, nice clothes to wear; I sleep in cold room in summers and warm room in winters. Why would I leave this occupation?”

One of the workers from the same area expressed his feeling as follows:

“My father’s brother i.e. my uncle referred me to these people. Accommodation in a posh area of Lahore is a big deal.”

All these three excerpts show how these domestic workers make use of the social relations to access job in domestic work as mentioned by Raghuram in 1993.

Another worker from the same area said that:

“I want my children to work as domestic workers because there they get regular diet, proper clothes, and live in hygienic conditions.”

One of the low income area’s workers said:

“My parents would have not provided me whatever I get here. I am happy and I do not want to change my occupation.”

All these above mentioned excerpts reveal that employers are considered to be liable to offer them food and shelter keeping in view the paternalism as well as in return the employees are...
expected to be loyal to the employers (Rollins, 1985; Hecht, 1956). All the above mentioned excerpts reveal that people move to bigger cities to live a better life and expect their employers to offer them shelter, food and wages.

**Recognition**

The domestic workers and their employers share a relationship of mutual benefit. Literature comes up with the term “maternalism” for such a relationship (Rollins, 1985) In other words, this relationship demands obligation, respect, deference, and loyalty from the domestic workers. Another similar term used for the mutual beneficial relationship between the domestic workers and their employer is “paternalism”. The notions of “maternalism” as well as “paternalism” were noticed during the present research study.

During interviews, the workers continuously stressed upon that they are treated as a part of the family of their employers. They emphasized that their employers treat them well, and take care of them as a part of their own family as they live in the same house or spend a number of hours doing day to day house chores. Following excerpts show the true feelings of the workers about maternalism or paternalism in the underlined words:

A domestic worker from the high income area said that:

“My employer always buys me, my spouse and my kids each and everything when it is religious festivals like Eid. She buys mehndi and bangles for my daughters just like she buys for her own. Apart from this she buys us seasonal clothes, buys us medicines.”

Another worker from the same area told that:

“Begum sahiba (native term used for female employer) always helps me whenever I need. Either it is about treatment of any family member or hand in dowry of my daughter; she never deducts money from my salary. During the Holy month of Ramadan, she gives zakat (Obligatory donations) and buys new Eid clothes for my whole family.”

Another worker from the same above mentioned area said that:

“She takes care of my mother’s medicine and treats my family members herself. She does not charge us any fee and also she never deducts from my salary. She gives all
of us clothes (old as well as new). She takes care of my family along with me. Kids of the family call me baji (native word used for elder sister) and I love it when begum sahiba or sahabjee (native term used for male employer) call me beta (native word used to call people younger in age than oneself to show love).

All these above mentioned excerpts show that domestic workers are being treated as family members. They are given recognition and taken care of just the way family members are being looked after. All these responses of the domestic workers clearly reveal that they consider their employers to be a source of shelter to them, who will be offering them food items, and other things like old clothes, salaries in advance which they do not demand back (Rollins, 1985). They tend to stick to this informal sector because of these emotional feelings and relation they share with their employers. Moreover, all these activities are considered to be the most salient factors that impede the formalization of this sector (Leon, 2013).

**Extra Expenses**

The researcher came across interesting social motives of people for joining this sector where young people adopted to look after the cars and wash them before school timings and get food, facilitation in studies and / or accommodation. These underlined excerpts show the category of those people who have been termed as allowance seekers (Kuchera & Miller, 1988). They defined such people entering informal sector to have money with them so that they don’t need to depend on others for their day to day expenses (Kuchera & Miller, 1988).

The following excerpts cover all such interviewees:

One of a teenager in high income area said:

“I look after their four cars. After fajar prayers I wash all the four cars daily. I get breakfast and dinner and they help me in my studies without any cost. We have not ended upon some kind of salary but every month they give me some amount which is enough to bear my day to day expenses.

So this boy is an allowance seeker who gets money which he spends on his daily expenses.

Another worker expressed the same thing as follows:
Figure 1: Insight of people about the motives of entering domestic work sector and its regulation

- Motives for engagement in domestic work Sector
  - Geographical and Upward Social Mobility
  - Recognition
  - Extra Expenses
  - Working conditions
  - Lack of trust in government

- Reservations Against Domestic Workers Bill
  - Economic Pressure
  - Informal Activities
  - Binding force

Regulation of Pakistani Domestic Work Sector
“My parents are working for them. Sahabji is a doctor and runs private clinic in evening. In evening I serve as a watchman till the clinic timings end. They give me some amount and I spend on my activities like buying snacks for me and my sister. I don’t have to ask my parents for that.”

This is an example of allowance seeker as well.

Similarly a worker from a middle income area put it in to following words:

“I take care of the garden of the house and begum sahiba is very happy as she does not have to wait for the gardener. She pays me what she used to pay him and I buy things for me and my father. I am happy working like this. It gives me a stronger feeling financially.”

This young gardener is termed as avocationalist (Michael E, et al, 1988). These are the people who earn to support their families in a better way. So this excerpt shows that this young person works to save for his rainy days.

Another worker from the same area said that:

“I buy day to day needed articles from the market in evening for begum sahiba. Also, I keep the cars clean, and I am being paid well for these activities. It earns me pocket money and I feel myself independent...”

People in low income area also came up with such reasons for joining this sector. For instance one of the workers exclaimed that:

“I enjoy playing with her son and begum sahiba offers me good food and she pays me as well. Though the amount is not enough to be appreciated but at least I don’t have to ask my parents.”

All these excerpts show that these are either allowance seekers or avocationalists, and both these categories have their own behaviors other than being deprived off or rebellious towards state that pushes them to get involved in this sector.

**Working conditions**

All the domestic workers in this research study agreed upon the fact that, if they will be working in some other profession, they will have to come across varied working conditions. On
the other hand, while discussing about their domestic employers, they decide the number of working hours after considering each other’s convenience and life style. This makes things easier for both of them. The interviewees in the present research study were of the view that working as a domestic worker may offer them a normal and free life rather than getting them stuck into 9 to 5 job. Following excerpts show their exact feelings about working conditions under domestic work sector. These all excerpts once again refer that these workers have flexible working hours in a safe working environment. They again take it as a form of paternalism where the employers ensure that they are working in a humane manner. If they are not feeling well then they are given off earlier (Rollins, 1985).

One of the workers in high income area says that:

“I do not remain bound from 9 to 5. I get done with my work and come back home to my kids. Working in a factory or company means, I will not be seeing my kids for almost 9 hours. I don’t want to have job in any company.”

Another worker said that:

“I worked as a driver in a company in the beginning when I started earning but I quit because they make me work for long hours. I was exposed to dangerous chemicals that I used to transport from one place to another. Afterwards, I came to my current employer and since then I am working with her. She calls me when she needs to go somewhere otherwise I remain with my family in accommodation that she has provided to us.”

A domestic worker in middle income area presented his feelings in the following words:

“I was working at a hospital as a security guard and my duty hours were tough and life was always at risk as you know the increased ratio of terrorist and criminal activities. There I met this old couple where I am currently employed. They pay me very good and they go out once in a blue moon other than their monthly visit to doctor.”

Another worker in the same area said that:
“I used to clean an office and I was supposed to ensure my presence there from 6 am to 10 am. Then I started looking for domestic work. Now I do not have to wake up early morning. I serve proper breakfast to my family, do my work at about 4 houses and come back to home by the lunch time. It’s better to work like this indeed meeting my needs and conduciveness.”

This excerpt once again shows the exit from formal sector to informal in order to support the family in a better and stronger way and thus termed as avocationalist (Kuchera et al., 1988)

Similarly another worker in a low income area said that:

“I used to work in a government school. Apparently my timings were from 6 am to 2 pm but orders of my headmistress were not to leave the promises before 4 pm. It was really irritating as I have my own family too. Then I started working as a domestic worker. Now I work according to the timings that suit me and I can attend my family in a better manner.”

In the very same way another worker from the same vicinity said:

“I left my job at a shopping mall because of tiring working hours. Now I work as a watchman at a home and I am happy. I don’t have to worry about leaving for the mall early morning and coming back late at night. Though they were paying more than I am getting now but I am happy.”

Therefore these above mentioned extracts show that behavior of these people is not rebellious but concerned towards their families that made them change their occupation somehow or the other.

**Lack of trust in government**

Domestic workers do not trust the government at all. They think that domestic labor laws are not being implemented due to the non-seriousness and lack of interest of government. This phenomenon supports the neo-liberal approach where people exit formal sector due to the excessive regulatory obligation by the government (De Soto, 1989; Gerxhani, 2004). For example one of the workers from high income area said as follows:
“Our law and order has many loopholes in it due to which rules are hardly implemented in our country... I would say it is all because of the non-serious attitude of government.....honestly speaking our governments have been least interested in welfare of the common man.....”

Lack of trust in government was also showed as follows by one of the respondents from high income area:

“To improve the so called bad situation of the domestic workers; true and sincere dedication is required which lacks in our government....they are least bothered about common people.....

Another person from a middle income area responded as follows:

“Government will not put in efforts for us...they are inclined towards the business class or affairs of their own interests...”

Yet another worker from low income area said that:

“No they don’t even think about us. They tend to do things for us for their good word of mouth only. Otherwise I would have not been working. I know there are laws prohibiting the child labor but we are working. .....”

All of them were very clear about the fact that government is never serious about doing anything for common people. This lack of trust in government refers to the neo-liberal school of thought that states that people exit formal sector in order to confront the government and its policies (De Soto, 1989). According to these phenomena people do not want to get them involved in any kind of registration procedures and other processes that involves the government. It is because people do not trust government. They are fed up of the bureaucratic systems and therefore, keep them away from the state and government. Same responses have been delivered by the respondents of the present research study.

Similarly, the domestic workers feel the formal sector to be a binding force for them. For instance, at this point of time they do not seek anyone’s permission to take off, and leave anytime they want. This is once again the flexibility in the employment given to them by their employers under paternalism factor which they get deprived off if they work in formal sector. Some of them said that it’s better to get the appropriate salary from one place but others said that staying at one
place whole day is difficult. We want to get done with our work and go to our children earlier. But in formal sector they can’t leave the workplace until and unless the working hours are finished.

Hiring domestic workers has become a norm for the affluent as well as middle class families. These workers are hired without signing any kind of formal contract or bond. Payment of the wages and work done by the domestic workers is negotiated between the worker and the employer without any documentation. Moreover, employees have no binding force to continue working for the existing employer and they can leave the verbal contract any time without prior notice. Since both parties work in accordance with the normative standards set by the so called societal trends for domestic workers-employers bonds, there is no regulatory body that can supervise or monitor the exploitation of employment rights and so on. All these conclusions have been made after detailed face to face interviews with them.

**Reservations against the Bill**

There were some concerns of domestic employees against this bill. These are as follows:

**Economic Pressure and Informal Activities**

Domestic workers think that this bill will cause them economic pressure. It is due to the fact that informal activities in the sector facilitate employers as well as domestic workers. They form a relation of mutual understanding with one another and thus keep the ball rolling for one another. This mutual need based relationship prohibits them to formalize them (Davidoff, 1995). Underlined passages will reveal the same facts as the literature suggests.

Coming again to the point of economic pressure, in case of these workers they will not be allowed under this bill to make their children work and thus they will lose their income.

A cook said that:

”*The only thing that will stop me from getting myself registered under this bill is the economic pressure that I will have to face.....because this bill will not allow my children to work as domestic workers....I will lose their income......they give us old clothes....give us extra money whenever we need and do not demand us to return....i will lose all these benefits....”*

Getting old clothes and extra money when needed is a form of informal activity, where there is only mutual understanding of need that Davidoff studied back in 1995.
Another worker said that:

"This bill will bound me not to send my children as domestic workers and this will cause me lose the salaries of my three kids......I don’t need to buy clothes for them...I don’t have to feed them....their employers do that....they even give me clothes for me and my husband...I even get advance when needed...."

This can be very right to say that these informal activities will be one of the biggest hindrances in formalizing this sector (Leon, 2013).

"My parents will not agree to lose my and my siblings income anyways....They need to pay back the debts to our employers and hence they cannot afford to keep us at home with them....."

This refers to the bonded labor where people get the work done in order to get their debts paid back. Literature suggests that domestic servitude is a like re-articulation of feudal and colonial past where bonded labor was a common practice (Qayyum & Ray, 2003).

An employee in a low income area said that:

"If the bill is implemented I will not be getting the income of my kids that will be huge loss for me....."

Similarly another worker from same area said that:

“Losing the income of my children will be a serious blow for me...already I hardly meet my both ends meet.....”

Another worker said that:

“Income of my grandchildren will be lost and this is something that we just cannot afford....how will I pay the debts back that I took when my husband was sick....”

A driver said that:

“Well I will not like the idea of losing the income of my children...I am about to leave the job due to my weak eye sight and my sole support will be then the
income of my children...how will I even be able to think of losing the salaries of my kids.....”

They were of the view that already they work really hard to meet the expenses and losing income of even a single person can lead them to serious consequences. Moreover, they said that these little favors from the employers add to their livings in an easy manner.

Talking about other informal activities with one another, employers get extra work done by the domestic workers and do not pay them extra for additional tasks. In case they pay; it is not a considerable amount. They do not follow any minimum working hours and get the work done in any case. On the other hand, the workers take advantage whenever they need, such as, they take old clothes from their employers, get food articles and other necessary things from employers. These are activities that both the sides will lose if they get them under this bill.

CONCLUSION

The research has concluded that these people do not enter this sector only because they are being deprived off. There are other reasons involved as well. Moreover, as the literature stresses on neo-liberal and structuralist approaches to explain the participation of people in to this sector but in fact this explanation is not enough. It is because it is always not getting away of the bureaucratic systems (neo-liberal) or cost reduction purposes (structuralist); but there are other social motives involved and pushing people to get them involved in the informal sector (post-structuralist). Therefore, all three schools of thought explain the prevalence as well as growth of the informal sector.

Their responses support the neo-liberal approach when they say that they do not trust in government. Similarly, the statements about mutual beneficial relationship with their employers show inclination towards the post structuralist approach. Last but not the least; domestic workers' concerns about getting accommodation, getting the bills paid by the employers, not having to pay the rent for the accommodation refers towards the structuralist approach. Therefore, the study came across the economic depression as well as lack of opportunities for these people in formal sector but there is a large part of social incentives and motives that cause participation of the people in this sector under the perspective of post-structuralist.
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