

**Opportunities and Constraints in Integrating Women as Employees in the Public Transport
Sector of Delhi**

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I. Introduction

Though much has been written about women's *access* to public transport, there has been relatively little research done to address barriers to women's *employment* in public transport. Organized-labour conferences and the European Union's Social Dialogue have both conducted cursory investigations and published reports on the experiences of female employees in the public transport sector. Both in terms of statistics and appearances, these studies reveal that the field is still considered to be male dominated or, put in other terms, a non-traditional occupation for women. As with other non-traditional occupations, women face a litany of barriers to entry that include lack of knowledge regarding opportunities, discriminatory qualifications and hiring practices, and on-the-job harassment. Though these factors pose substantial challenges, integrating women into the public transport sector—and indeed, several other non-traditional occupations—opens up a wide range of opportunities for fair remuneration and government benefits. This is particularly true because sectors that have an overrepresentation of females—predominantly within economics of care—are paid considerably less and have weaker benefits than those that are predominantly male. Though proper valuation of care work must be advocated for, integrating women into non-traditional occupations is also a successful strategy. To this end, addressing constraints and locating opportunities for women in the transport sector could play a hand in facilitating social mobility for women.

This report will assess opportunities and constraints to integrating more women into the Delhi public transport system as employees, with a particular emphasis on urban resource-poor women. Though a myriad of opportunities exist for employment, I will focus on opportunities and constraints related to women's employment as public bus drivers and conductors within the Delhi Transportation Corporation, a state company that manages bus fleets within the city.

II. Methodology

This report is based upon empirical research conducted in India during August 2014. I draw upon semi-structured interviews conducted with commercial drivers at Sakha, training coordinators that work with Azad, and various public officials. There is also a less formal participant-observation component to this research. I worked at the Azad Foundation office for a month. As a result, I was able to observe the organization's working culture and use the Sakha cab service. To this end, extended conversations with drivers and the interactions I observed between staff and the beneficiaries also inform arguments forwarded in this report.

There has been very little academic literature written about women's employment in public transport. The report reviews government and NGO reports that have been released to provide preliminary insight into opportunities and constraints faced by women seeking out public transport jobs. To assess the situation of women employees in the Delhi public transport system, I review newspaper coverage on women conductors within the DTC—in particular, newspaper articles from the Hindustan Times, Sunday Guardian, The Hindu, and Times of India are also analyzed.

III. Overview

A. Women in Public Transport

The underrepresentation of women as employees within the public transport sector is a global phenomenon. According to an OECD Report on Gender and Public Transport, this trend holds true in terms of their representation within occupations related to road maintenance, as well as vehicle driving itself.¹ Statistics published by the International Labour Organizations suggest that women's occupation within transport sector ranges from 10-20%, with some countries leading the pack with 30%.² As the chart below highlights, not only are women underrepresented in relation to male counterparts within the public transport sector, but also in comparison to their representation within the overall labour market.³ Notably, gendered occupational segregation within the transport sector is not necessarily worse-off in less developed nations and emerging economies. Indeed, countries such as Botswana, China, and South Africa are leaders in integrating women into the transport labour force (see table below).

Table 1. The Proportion of Women in Transport Compared to the Labour Market in Africa, Asia and the Middle East (selected years)

Country	Year	% Women in the labour market	% Women in transport, storage and communications
Botswana	2007	43.2	30.2
Egypt	2007	17.4	5.9
Ethiopia	2004	19.9	11.9
Indonesia	2005	39.7	9.9
Kenya	2008	19.9	18.7
Morocco	2001	39.2	9.5
Sierra Leone	2004	23.7	7.8
South Africa	2008	43.8	18.8
Tanzania	2005	29.9	9.9
Zimbabwe	2002	33.9	9.9
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Armenia	2007	41.1	17.2
Azerbaijan	2008	43.5	20.2
Brunei Darussalam	2003	29.7	24.5
China	1999	39.2	28.9
Georgia	2005	47.7	23.9
Hong Kong (China)	2008	48.9	37.4
India	2005	19.9	9.9
Indonesia	2008	32.4	9.9
Iran	2008	14.9	5.2
Iran	2008	15.2	5.1
Israel	2008	49.9	34.2
Japan	2008	41.9	29.9
Kazakhstan	2008	47.9	32.9
Korea	2007	42.3	17.3
Kyrgyzstan	2007	49.9	37.9
Malaysia	2008	37.9	18.9
Malta	1999	34.2	3.8
Pakistan	2005	13.4	1.4
Philippines	2008	37.9	9.5

¹ International Transport Forum, "Gender and Transport," Discussion Paper no. 11 (OECD, 2011), 12.

² Ibid.

³ Peter Turnbull, "Promoting the employment women in the transport sector – obstacles and policy options," Working Paper no. 298 (ILO, 2013), 3.

This global underrepresentation is fuelled *both* by the high barriers to women's *entry* into the public transport sector and their subsequent *retention* and advancement. With regard to entry, notions of employability—that is, the capability to enter and sustain work—play a large role in creating barriers to women's participation, both on the supply and demand side. As the ILO has pointed out, “transport is one of several sectors that have traditionally been regarded as ‘no place for women’.”⁴ This perception creates several types of barriers to entry. First, as emphasized by the EU's WISE (Women's Employment in Public Transport) project, information about career opportunities within the sector are not advertised to women from a young age.⁵ Patricia Weeks refers to this as a process of ‘cultural reproduction’, during which various societal forces reinforce occupational aspirations of women and restrict them to so-called traditionally female sectors.⁶

Second, and relatedly, women have difficulty accessing and coping within the appropriate training programs. Indeed, WISE identified that the need for a bus driving license has been a major deterrent for women thinking about public transport work.⁷ This is not to say that women within public transport are necessarily less educated than men (indeed, EU studies have shown the opposite), but that females have trouble *accessing* vocational training specific to transport sector jobs.⁸ This is, in part, due to the fact that aside from formal training, many of the requirements particularly pertaining to licensing are taught informally from older male family members to younger ones.⁹ Transport companies verified this finding by indicating that promotion through families still remains a key recruitment tool.¹⁰ This suggests that what female construction workers refer to as the ‘Friends, Brothers, and In-Laws’ (FBI) network is operational within transport as well, and maintains insularity of the sector.¹¹ Moreover, the large upfront investment that is generally associated with training programs within the transport sector prove to be a particular barrier for resource-poor women seeking opportunities.¹² Little support is provided to circumvent this resource gap because even within regions with strong social security nets, little government investment is channelled towards subsidizing training costs for transport.¹³

⁴ Turnbull, “Promoting the Employment,” 1.

⁵ European Union, “Women's Employment in Urban Public Transport Sector,” *WISE* (2012): 40.

⁶ Patricia Weeks, “Getting Taken Seriously by the Guys”: Women Training for Non-Traditional Occupations,” *Hecate* 17, no. 1 (1991): 54.

⁷ European Union, “Women's Employment,” 40.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ National Women's Law Centre, “Women in Construction: Still Breaking Ground,” (2014): 7.

¹² European Union, “Women's Employment,” 37.

¹³ *Ibid.*

Though data regarding the struggles of women within formal vocational training programs for the transport sector is not yet available, the severe levels of hostility faced by women entering other non-traditional occupation training—such as construction work and skilled trades—are indicative of potential barriers. According to the National Women’s Law Centre, many women enrolled in vocational training related to skilled trades experience hazing and sexual harassment from their peers who see them as “intruders.”¹⁴ Relatedly, they find little by way of support from their supervisors. Women working within the construction sector have indicated that instructors are reluctant to take on female understudies, with one even commenting that “I don’t deal with women on this job.”¹⁵ While discrimination manifests itself in such overt ways, Patricia Weeks’ ethnographic accounts of women at a trade school suggests that more latent forms of marginalization are also present:

I was constantly told there are ‘no problems’ at the college for girls. Yet the girls are frequently ignored, they often have no one to talk to for hours at a time. There seems to be a passive resistance to their being in the college at all. They are sometimes even blamed for problems they have not constructed. They are seen but not heard.¹⁶

The stress that arises from these encounters ensures that women have a difficult time finishing the relevant training.

Third, hiring requirements often disproportionately discriminate against women. Indeed, a research study on this matter in France titled ‘Do buses have a sex?’ (1996) revealed that hiring tests carried out by the RATP, the main transport provider in Paris, were geared towards specifically male aptitudes and physique.¹⁷ Though the notion that men are more physically capable than women is itself a dubious assumption, it is nevertheless becoming an irrelevant in an age where technology ensures that vehicles are increasingly automated. However, the emphasis on physical strength still remains. Both the OECD and the EU’s conversations with employers have revealed that developing good relations with customers, rather than physical attributes was cited as the criteria to judge the aptitude of a driver in public transport.¹⁸ However, this wisdom has not yet translated into changed hiring requirements and advertising. As such, the lack of awareness, training opportunities, and discriminatory hiring practices ensure that women themselves still regard the transport sector to have a “male working culture” and thus hesitate to enter.

The retention of women within the public transport sector also remains a key problem. According to LABORSTAT data, though only 1 in 7 transport workers were female between

¹⁴ National Women’s Law Centre, “Women in Construction: Still Breaking Ground,” 7.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Weeks, “Getting Taken Seriously by the Guys,” 54.

¹⁷ L. Scheller: Do buses have a sex? (1996) cited in International Transport Forum, “Gender and Transport,” Discussion Paper no. 11 (OECD, 2011), 12.

¹⁸ Ibid.

2008-2011, they accounted for 75% of the job losses during that period.¹⁹ The WISE study listed several major factors that negatively affect women's experiences as employees within the public transport sector, including: 1) Reconciliation of work and family/social life: work organization; 2) Reconciliation of work and family/social life: work-life balance; 3) Health and safety at the workplace; 4) Working culture; 5) Wages.²⁰

In terms of reconciliation of work and family/social life, women interviewed found working hours to be inflexible and often requested part-time work.²¹ In addition, they expressed that there was little support for parental leave and childcare.²² Considering that the double-day is still operational for many women pursuing work in the transport sector, the lack of support for balancing responsibilities at home and work is a barrier to retention. However, it should be noted that these barriers have not prevented women from breaking into other modes of employment.²³ Thus, while important, they cannot singularly account for the lack of women within public transport.

The perceived lack of security in public transport jobs also remains a barrier to women's entry. Cases of sexual harassment from customers are rampant and take the form of inappropriate sexual remarks, asking for phone-numbers, and outright assault.²⁴ Moreover, harassment from male co-workers also occurs in a similar manner. Women in other non-traditional occupations cite this as a major reason for quitting, and often taking lower-paid jobs in the care economy. Though independent committees that deal with cases of sexual harassment are seen as important, they are seldom implemented.²⁵ As a result, adequate outlets do not exist for women to address their grievances in a professional and immediate manner.²⁶ More insidiously, adequate infrastructure for women while on-the-job is also a barrier. For example, the lack of separate and safe sanitary facilities has been named as a reason for the lack of women in the transport sector, but was never seen as such by the companies and trade unions interviewed.²⁷

Despite these barriers, it appears that women are still making gains in the public transport sector. According to a study conducted by the International Transport Worker's Federation, more women are working in public transport jobs that were previously solely taken up by their male colleagues, including as operators on Argentina's merchant fleet, train drivers in Morocco, and

¹⁹ Turnbull, "Promoting the employment," 12.

²⁰ European Union, "Women's Employment," 7.

²¹ Ibid, 19.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid, 27.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Turnbull, "Promoting the employment," 40.

publicly-contracted cranes in India.²⁸ As this occurs, best practices are emerging as public policy attempts to bridge the gendered employment gap. In surveying these efforts, it becomes apparent that state support—in the form of funding and partnerships with civil society groups—is needed in several senses.

First, hiring requirements must be fully reviewed to remove formal barriers to entry for women. In the State of Congo Kinshasa, the public bus company, City Train, actively started hiring women after it was pointed out that gender parity was guaranteed by constitutional law.²⁹ Notably, this ran counter to many private carriers, who did not recruit women at all under the perception that it was not a ‘suitable occupation’.³⁰ This campaign highlights the importance of spearheading integration programs within public transport in particular, since there is a potential spin-off effect that allows for women to break into private sector work as attitudes shift. In addition to this, campaigns must proactively recruit women for transport sector jobs. This practice was operationalized in France, wherein an organization called ‘Femmes en mouvement, les transports au féminin’ partnered with the Ministry of National Education and Ministry of Employment to raise young women’s awareness of transport-related jobs.³¹ A key part of the effort was a video titled ‘Public Transport: A job for women!’ that highlighted work in driving, inspection, and maintenance.³² Moreover, barriers to vocational training should be addressed. In Mali, the National Employment Agency (ANPE) and the Regional Bank for Solidarity’s collaborative “Urban Taxi Project” specifically sought to provide instruction to women so they can obtain their driver’s licenses.³³ This was done through reaching out to other government ministries and private sponsors. As a result, thirteen women were able to operate within the state taxi service.

In terms of workplace harassment, hours, and wages, unions appear to be a key ally. Though traditionally seen as a male-dominated realm, the International Federation of Transport Workers is attempting to play a proactive role in organizing women into current trade unions for the purposes of collective bargaining.³⁴ Examples of the effectiveness of this approach abound in several cases. Notably, women members of the Indian road passenger transport union, *Maharashtra State Transport Kamgar Shanghatna*, used the union to air gender specific grievances to their employer, including a lack of sanitation facilities and sexual harassment by passengers and male colleagues.³⁵ After four years of lobbying management to take action on the issues raised, the managing director and president of the corporation established a committee of

²⁸ International Transport Federation, “Making a Difference: Women Transport Workers in the 21st Century,” (2010): 16.

²⁹ International Transport Forum, “Gender and Transport,” 14.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid, 6.

³² Ibid, 14.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ International Transport Federation, “Making a Difference: Women Transport Workers in the 21st Century,” 23.

³⁵ Ibid.

women road transport workers at the state-level, which has gone on to visit various depots, workshops, and offices to report and address the practical problems faced by women workers.³⁶ Using the collective organizing methods of trade unions to establish permanent infrastructure that supports women has thus been an effective strategy to address hostile working conditions for women within the public transport sector.

B. The Public Transport Sector in Delhi

Public buses have been a longstanding mode of public transportation in Delhi. Currently, buses are managed by the Delhi Transportation Corporation (DTC), an enterprise that is administratively managed by the Government of the National Capital Territory. In addition to running regular routes all over the city, the DTC has recently also started a High Capacity Bus Service on a few routes with services such as improved carrying capacity, air-conditioning, and GPS navigation. The DTC also provides services for inter-city travel, connecting major centres of North India—such as Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Rajasthan, and Haryana. Since the inception of the Delhi Metro, buses are also being operated specifically to connect travellers to metro stations for faster travel times.

The Metro, managed by the Delhi Metro Rail Corporation (DMRC), has been a relatively new addition to the public transport sector. The DMRC is jointly owned by the Government of India and the Government of the National Capital Territory. It opened its first corridor in 2002. Presently, the network has 140 stations, and the network has now crossed Delhi to reach NOIDA and Ghaziabad in Uttar Pradesh and Gurgaon in Haryana. More than a hundred trains are currently operational. In terms of employee management, the DMRC has gained considerable prominence for its human resources, including a standing in *Business Today* magazine's list of best organizations to serve.

C. Women in the Delhi Public Transport System

As of 2013, the DTC was operating over 5000 buses. Accordingly, it employed 13, 136 drivers, 9 000 permanent staffers, 6 668 permanent conductors, and 7 749 contracted conductors.³⁷ The turnover rate for bus drivers is quite high, as an estimated 130 drivers retire every month.³⁸ Despite the staggering number of bus drivers employed by the DTC and that over a hundred bus drivers are recruited each month, there are currently no women bus drivers within the transport system. According to the *Sunday Guardian*, the DTC had initially proposed to introduce women as bus drivers during the 2010 Commonwealth games to ferry athletes. After this proposal fell through, reports of another effort emerged in 2011.³⁹ V.K. Gautam, senior manager of public relations at the DTC during that time, indicated that there was a “plan to recruit educated women

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Pallavi Shahi, “DTC may soon employ women drivers,” *The Sunday Guardian*, October 16, 2011.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

drivers as trainees for a three year term where they will be trained and made to drive the low floor buses in return of a stipend.”⁴⁰ Despite these ambitions, no concrete plans have emerged yet to address the lack of women drivers within the DTC.

Of the 14 000 conductors employed, it is estimated that 200-500 are women. Women conductors first entered the DTC workforce in 2010.⁴¹ Notably, there was no concerted effort to reach out to women to facilitate the move. Responding to a shortage of conductors, the DTC put out a general call for applications through its ‘Employment News’ portal only to find that several responses had come from women.⁴² Initially, 130 women were hired on a part-time basis. Demographically, women were clustered within the 25-35 age group and had all completed 10th grade, a requirement for the job.⁴³

Despite the readiness of some women to enter the job, more substantive entry and retention have remained problematic. In 2013, the Times of India reported that though over 2000 Delhi women have trained to become conductors over the past two years, enrolment has been steadily sliding.⁴⁴ The large number of women trainees has also not translated into access to conductor postings. A major factor behind this gap appears to be the discriminatory nature of the hiring process. Romani Tokas, a woman that completed the conductor training requirements, was told by the DTC that ‘there was no vacancy for women’ upon applying for a job.⁴⁵ Indeed, even the task of surveying her documents, often the first step to the employment process for government jobs, was not completed. Similarly, when interviewing for the conductor position, Vishakha Boudh was only asked one question: how will you get home after dusk?⁴⁶ These incidents indicate that just like other non-traditional occupations, women are certainly capable of completing formal requirements demanded by public transport jobs. However, despite meeting the standard of employability—often by overcoming substantive barriers—insidious gendered assumptions regarding the suitability of transport jobs for women prevent them from breaking into the transport sector.

Retention has also been problematic, as women conductors have reported facing many of the same on-the-job difficulties mentioned in the WISE study. First, the conductors face daily harassment in the form of sexual advances and threats from passengers. According to a DTC conductor,

Some are drunk, some ogle at me and try to sit or stand closer to my seat. Some rub their shoulders against [sic] or pass lewd remarks. Some even deliberately

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² “DTC hires women conductors,” *Hindustan Times*, August 4, 2014.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Indrani Basu, “Women Bus Conductors Have Miles To Go,” *Times of India*, March 8, 2013.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

touch our hand while taking the ticket, stay for a couple of stops and get down.⁴⁷

These remarks are not restricted to passengers; conductors also face hostility from their colleagues. Aside from harassment, there is a lack of adequate infrastructure within the DTC to accommodate women employees. For example, conductors do not have separate sanitation facilities and, consequently, have to endure verbal and physical abuse as they use male washrooms alongside their colleagues.

⁴⁷ Rana Siddiqui Zaman, "Women DTC conductors' journey to empowerment takes a scary turn," *The Hindu*, March 23, 2014.

IV. The Azad Foundation and Commercial Driving

There are a wide range of multi-faceted barriers that have prevented the integration of women into the public transport sector in Delhi. Despite this, the Azad Foundation has succeeded in training and employing resource-poor women as taxi drivers in New Delhi, Gurgaon, and Jaipur. Though completion times vary, beneficiaries usually take between eight to ten months to complete a training program developed by Azad. The first three months are a structured program and the remaining time is allocated to driving practice—each trainee logs 100 hours on the road. These are coupled with customer service and English language training, as well as lessons on gender equality, legal rights, and assertiveness. Upon completing this training, women are placed as private chauffeurs (referred to as ‘private placements’ within the organization). After one year, beneficiaries are eligible to train for the commercial license, a separate class of license needed to become a taxi driver. Sakha Cabs—the for-profit cab company jointly run with Azad—provides employment for the drivers. There are currently 35 taxi drivers at Sakha and the company has received considerable attention for their success.

While taxi driving is not a public transport job, there are substantial lessons to be learned from Azad’s experiences integrating resource-poor women into the transport sector more broadly. The experiences of women taxi drivers in overcoming familial and financial barriers, attaining a license, completing vocational training, handling clients and the general public while on the job, and interacting with government officials are comparable to experiences that would be faced by women pursuing public transport jobs.

V. The Licensing Process

The licensing process is a key step to accessing public transport jobs. The various classes of licenses and the steps involved in acquiring the licenses related to bus driving are explained in this section.

A. Class of License

There are several classes of licenses in India that serve different purposes. They are listed below.

1. Light Motor Vehicle - Non Transport (LMV-NT)
 - Description: License is used to drive light motor vehicles such as car, jeep, small vans for *personal purposes*, but not for commercial transportation.
2. Light Motor Vehicle (LMV)
 - Description: License is issued to drive light motor vehicles like auto rickshaws, motor cars, jeep, taxi, three-wheeler delivery vans, etc.
3. Light Motor Vehicle - Transport (LMV - T)
 - Description: Required to drive any light motor vehicles for commercial transportation and not valid for Heavy Motor Vehicles.
4. Heavy Motor Vehicle (HMV)
 - Description: Drive heavy or low motor vehicles

While the LMV-NT is classified as a ‘private license’ and the rest of the licenses are listed as commercial licenses. According to the classifications listed above, a driver must progress from LMV-NT to LMV to HMV license in order to be eligible for bus driving.

B. Process for Private License

The following is the process for obtaining a private driving license.

1. Documentation and Paperwork
 - The following documentation and paperwork need to be submitted at the transport authority:
 - Proof of Residence and Date of Birth
 - Fill out form number 2, “Form of Applicant for the Grant of Learner’s License” (English Only)
2. Computer Test
 - If these documents are approved, a computerized test is administered. This test consists of information about road safety and road signs. There is a question bank of 450, of which 10 appear on the test. To pass, at least 6 questions must be correct.
 - If the test is cleared, a learner’s license is granted to the driver.
3. After thirty days, applicants complete the road test to get the permanent license.

C. Process for Commercial License

After a minimum of one year holding a private license, one becomes eligible to apply for a commercial license.

1. Documentation and Paperwork
 - A school leaving certificate, indicating that 8th grade has been completed.
 - Date of Birth proof
 - Residence proof
2. Interview
 - The inspector asks some short questions to test qualifications, including literacy.
3. Computer Test
 - The computer test is the same as the one taken during the private licensing process.
4. IDTR Training
 - Students undergo a mandatory training course at the Institute for Driving and Traffic Research, which includes 30-40 hours of theory and practical training.
 - Practical and Written Test is administered
5. Administrative Procedures
 - If passed, administrative procedures including photograph, biometric, and medical certificate are taken.
6. Posted license within 7-10 days.

D. Process for Public Service Vehicle Badge

In order to carry passengers in a commercial vehicle, a public service vehicle badge is also necessary. The procedure for attaining a badge is listed below.

1. Documentation and Paperwork
 - Submit the following to the transport office:
 - Date of Birth
 - Residence Proof
 - Medical Form
 - Copy of License
2. IDTR Training
 - 2 days of theory regarding passenger transport
3. Criminal Record Check
 - Documents are sent to a local police station, who then conducts the verification
4. Post Badge
 - Badge is posted within 7-10 days.

E. Opportunities and Constraints

Despite the fact that no legal barriers exist to women obtaining any class of licenses in Delhi, the numbers show that relatively few women seek them out. Statistics from one licensing authority in Delhi show that of the total number of licenses granted in a day, only one-fifth are given to women. A Ministry Licensing Officer (MLO) comments that women are generally better represented in the ‘private license’ class, as this group consists mostly of women from higher socioeconomic classes obtaining licenses in order to drive a personal car. In contrast, the few women that have managed to obtain light commercial licenses for taxi driving all come from disadvantaged backgrounds, and use the license as a means of generating new employment opportunities. Only one woman has sought out and achieved a heavy commercial license—the requisite license for public bus driving—thus far. Obtaining a heavy commercial vehicle license is a major requirement for becoming a public bus driver within the transport system. It thus becomes crucial to analyze the opportunities and constraints that the licensing process poses for women.

The atmosphere of the licensing authority itself appears to pose a key barrier to women obtaining a license. In speaking to training coordinators and taxi drivers at Azad, it became apparent that the chaotic and imposing nature of the authorities office intimidated women seeking a license. Several training coordinators commented that the process was so complicated that it took them several trips with trainees to understand the order of tasks and the required documentation. This confusion is heightened by the apathetic and discriminatory attitudes of the clerks towards women licensees on the basis of gender and class. A training coordinator argued that interactions with officials “operates under a discrimination towards poor people. Poor people are considered to be thieves. It is a humiliating process for the girls, an interrogation.” There have been instances during which officials have shouted at women for confusing instructions, rejected documentations without even considering them, asked women to perform physical tasks to prove their medical soundness, asked what women would do with a license, and even questioned their citizenship.

This inequality of treatment is often made clear to the trainees. Indeed, there have been several incidents during which women were denied licenses when approaching authorities on their own but were promptly granted licenses upon taking Azad staff. One training coordinator recalls that despite going to an inspector with all original documentation, a trainee was denied the license because the officer was suspicious of their authenticity. Upon accompanying the trainee to the centre with the same documents, the license was granted. Similarly, a trainee recalls a situation in which an inspector did not look at the forms she submitted and threw them back at her:

They were acting so arrogantly that I had to call Devi [Azad’s Operations Officer]. Then, she came and talked to them on my behalf. I had all the documents with me, but they still wouldn’t pay attention. After she came, then they looked at the forms carefully and talked to me with respect. The next day, they asked me to come and sign the forms. The day before, he was throwing around my forms and today he was calling me ‘betaa’.

This suggests that the discretion granted to licensing officials is often misused. When asked about these experiences, an MLO admitted that the system could be “agitating” towards women arriving from disadvantaged backgrounds. It is based on these experiences that several coordinators at Azad have commented that only 10% of the women that seek to obtain licenses would be able to make them independently.

Documentation is often the first step towards attaining a license. However, this remains a large hurdle for resource-poor women to cross, as documents such as ration cards, birth certificates, social security cards, and passports are either never made, lost, or kept out of reach by dissenting family members. As such, trainees, and particularly those that are migrants to the NCT region, often enter the authorities without adequate ID proofs to begin the licensing process. Though the Azad Foundation works with trainees to acquire the correct documentation, the process is fraught with complications. A recurring problem lies in the fact that women seldom have their ‘school leaving certificate’ to verify that the candidate meets the 8th class pass needed for a commercial license. As an training coordinator recalls, “They don’t even know when they left school. We have to ask them all sorts questions to get their memory jogging—was anyone getting married the year you left, etc? Like this, we try and get them to remember.” Even after the school and date are tracked down, school officials often reject a request for a certificate. A training coordinator spoke of an incident in which she had to speak to an official at the education ministry to threaten a principal with suspension in order to obtain the report.

Unfortunately, documentation troubles often mean that processes are delayed for women that are already under severe time constraints. In one instance, a learner’s license that is usually obtained in two weeks took four months. The time lapse is particularly detrimental to the trainees at Azad, since the financial burden of taking time away from current jobs, family responsibilities, and travel to and from lessons is prolonged. Delays due to documentation were cited as a key reason that women, struggling to balance responsibilities, dropped out of the program.

Despite the substantial barriers posed by documentation, officials would not recognize the difficulties that women face in meeting the ID requirements. When asked about this matter, the MLO, who had previously put in place several other special measures to aid women with their license, responded by suggesting that “anyone should be able to meet the documentation requirements easily.” Since the official was supportive in other respects towards facilitating women’s licenses, this comment suggests that there is a certain level of ignorance regarding documentation issues. However, in other cases, it could also signal an attitude of informed apathy or willful ignorance: as a training coordinator commented, when the case load of each licensing officer is so high, it is tough to deviate from mechanized instructions and procedures. If improvements are to be made, instead of simply denying the license on the basis of inadequate documentation, clerks positioned at help desks could direct applicants lacking residence or birth proofs towards government drives or NGO programs that help marginalized populations acquire simple IDs. Currently, this facilitative role is played by the Azad Foundation and has often been

cited by beneficiaries as the reason behind their successful license. In this regard, sensitizing officials on the matter of documentation, as well as providing a list of resources at the licensing office and the transport website could be a first step towards aiding women.

Literacy was also presented as an insidious barrier to license acquisition. First, all forms at the licensing authority are only provided in English. Coordinators at Azad report that they must fill trainees' forms themselves in order to bypass this barrier. Second, the language of the learner's test is written in complex Hindi. Despite being literate, trainees commented that the vocabulary was esoteric and difficult to understand particularly given that each question must be answered in less than a minute. Third, to speed up processing time, the licensing authorities introduced a computer stations to administer the 'learner's exam'. Several trainees reported that this was the first time they had used a computer. Their struggle to operate the machine often resulted in a failed test. These aspects of the process appeared to pose particular difficulty to women that had only studied until 8th grade, while those that completed high school could work past them. These requirements pose an unfair disadvantage to resource poor women, since knowledge of English, complex Hindi, or computer basics is not related to driving aptitude.

Despite these barriers, it appears that trainees in the Azad program have little trouble clearing driving-related activities during the private and commercial licensing process. Interestingly, the road test portion of both private and commercial licenses was not seen as a substantial hurdle for any women interviewed. Indeed, a trainee, as the only woman in a commercial driving test batch, recalled:

During the badge test, they failed everyone. When it was my turn, everyone asked: "Why are you here? What will you do with a license." But I did the test, and they passed me. I returned and all the males were sitting there. They responded, "That's amazing, we have to test again."

As this experience indicates, an opportunity arises from the fact that women are not only capable of conducting skilled driving but are, in some cases, even surpassing their peers. If focus is thus placed on rooting out insidious barriers, licensing could become substantially less trying for female candidates looking to work within public transport.

Though discrimination does exist within the authorities, there also appear to be examples of support and institutional allies. Interviews with trainees revealed that after witnessing the struggles women faced in waiting in line to acquire a license, MLOs created a separate line for females. Moreover, by taking females together as a group, the Azad Foundation was able to create a presence that compelled authorities to give 'pep-talks' that encouraged the women to be comfortable during the licensing process. This suggests that making licensing a part of vocational training programs targeted at integrating women into public transport could be an effective strategy.

VI. Hiring Requirements

A. Bus Driving Requirements

- Application form (see Appendix)
- 10th Passed or equivalent from a recognized Board, with suitable weight-age given to the candidates who possess the higher qualification of 12th or equivalent provided they pass the skill test.
- Holding a valid Heavy Motor Vehicle License for at least three years and PSV Badge issued by Licensing Authority, Delhi
- Minimum height 162 centimetres
- Vision 6/6 without glasses

B. Conductor Driving Requirements

- Application form (see Appendix)
- 12th passed or equivalent from a recognized Board
- Medical certificate on prescribed form
- Valid adult first aid certificate form St. John Ambulance Association (India)
- Police Verification
- Refresher Course Certificate
- Matriculate Certificate
- Prescribed fee
- Valid address proof

C. Opportunities and Constraints

Though no formal legal barriers exist to women's entry into bus driving, the hiring requirements often inadvertently present obstacles. First, the height requirement surprisingly seemed to pose a significant barrier for women. Many of the taxi drivers at Azad were shorter than 162 cm. The height requirement seems almost arbitrary, since women that were shorter than 162 cm did not have a problem operating a heavy motor vehicle (i.e. reaching pedals, turning the larger steering, etc.) during their training for a commercial license at IDTR.

Second, the literacy requirement of 10th pass was also posed a significant problem for the women I interviewed at Azad, since the gendered education gap meant that many of them only had an 8th grade education. However, this gap in education seemed to be disappearing over time. While many of the older women seemed to lack the 10th class education, younger women in their early 20s seemed to be 10th or 12th class educated. Of those that did not have the 10th class education, their newly found financial independence allowed them to re-enroll in school and pursue further education.

The most substantial barrier to entry was the requirement that applicants hold valid Heavy Motor Vehicle License for at least three years. As discussed earlier, few women are able to acquire the Heavy Motor Vehicle License. Since there are few opportunities for employment for women in

the transport industry more broadly, the experience requirement of three years exacerbates existing gender exclusions. Importantly, instructors at Azad seemed to echo one of the key findings of the WISE study: that experience and vocational training required for public transport jobs were often passed between male family members. Given that experience and access to job opportunities are often gained in this way, women faced difficulty meeting this portion of the hiring requirements.

While these barriers do exist, the positive attitudes of women towards pursuing bus driving jobs is a key opportunity. Among the women formally eligible for public bus driving jobs at Azad, all but one indicated that they wanted to pursue jobs in the public transport sector as bus drivers. Indeed, many of the women saw this as a natural next step or a ‘promotion’ to the job that they were currently undertaking. Some of them felt that it was their duty to protect women on public transport buses, particularly citing the highly publicized rape in Delhi. The interviewees did not seem to be worried about working in a public environment. When asked about potential problems that may arise on the job, they responded that they would follow procedures/protocols they learned during training. Particularly, women at Azad that took on the night shift seemed confident that they could deal with potential complications that may arise on the job as bus drivers. Many of them cited incidents of attempted harassments and the ways in which their training allowed them to respond appropriately. When asked about whether she had any apprehension about working in public transport, a trainee’s comments show this learning curve:

At first, yes. But now I know I can handle it. Once, I had a car following me. I stopped my car at a barricade, and contacted the police. They handled it. When I was learning driving, it was 8pm on public transport. I was teased. I filed an FIR. I have so much confidence in myself that I know I can handle it. I’m not sure how exactly I’ll do it, but I’ll be able to handle it.

These comments highlight the fact that women are willing and able to take on public bus driving jobs when offered the appropriate training and experience.

The trainees often drove buses as part of their training at the IDTR. I asked what the reactions were among their male peers, instructors, and others on the road. Notably, though the trainees indicated that there was a considerable level of surprise and amusement regarding a woman driving a bus (One trainee commented: “They were looking at me as if they had never seen anything like it before.”), overtly negative attitudes were not reported. While this is too small of a sample to base any conclusions on, it suggests that while female bus drivers may be treated as strange, they are not necessarily seen as negative.

VII. Training

As per government regulations, to attain a commercial license and a public service badge, training programs at Maruti's Institute for Driving Training and Research must be completed. The commercial license training process has 15 hours of practical training, 2 days of theory, and 15 in-class sessions. During this time, trainees also have the opportunity to drive a bus. The process takes one month to complete for most women. Upon completing the program, they give two tests: the first one tests their knowledge of theory and the second requires them to complete a road exam. Since these programs are mandatory, the trainees' experiences within this space are worth documenting.

The cost of undergoing training for the commercial license was cited by all participants as a significant barrier. IDTR is modelled after a public-private partnership, wherein vocational training for commercial licenses was handed over to a private training institute. The cost of a commercial driving training session totals Rs 8000, which is well outside the financial capacity of women at Azad. As one training coordinator commented, "We have them pay a Rs 2000 commitment fund to the foundation when they join—most can't even pay this. They have to pay in several instalments, over time. So the idea of paying Rs 8000 is out of the question for them." Since the NGO covers the costs, the women are able to complete the program.

Women seemed to also face discrimination when they entered the training centre. A scheduling assistant at Azad commented on the fact that schedules for IDTR classes would consistently change for the trainees. This poses a significant difficulty for women who often travel far to train at the centre and carve out specific times in advance to attend the lessons. According to a training coordinator, the schedules are changed to accommodate some of IDTR's higher-income clientele. She emphasizes: "They change the schedules on them, but the people that come from 'good houses'...their schedule remains consistent." The changes in scheduling has an impact on the length of the course, often making a one month course last two months to complete. The quality is similarly compromised: some of the practice tests and courses were not even administered to the women until the Azad Foundation followed up by phone call and pressured to have them completed.

There were also incidents of IDTR staff treating the women from Azad in a disrespectful manner. Several trainees recalled incidents in which comments were made upon their choice of dress and makeup, with one IDTR coordinator commenting: "Why are they so dressed up? Why do they wear so much eyeliner, why do they 'flirt' with our trainers?" As a result of this type of harassment, three or four women dropped out of the program all together. The trainers at Azad stressed that they felt the need to train the women regarding their professionalism in dealing with these comments as well: "After this incident, we had to train them about this as well. We prepare and then send them — every environment is difficult for them."

IDTR centers are often regarded by the trainees as male dominated space. Particularly when the trainees were going for their commercial license, they often commented on the fact that they would be the only female candidate in their entire class. Despite this, there were also positive reports from the trainees regarding their experience at IDTR. In fact, many found the space empowering, often answering questions ahead of their male peers and passing their tests on the first try. Indeed, though many trainees indicated that being the only female in the room was 'strange', this fact appeared to be a source of pride for them rather than intimidation.

VIII. Conductors

In talking to a bus depot manager, more information was obtained regarding women conductors in the Delhi Transport System. It is particularly interesting to note that no special announcements were made to women when the initial round of females applied for conductor jobs. According to the depot manager, there was simply an acute shortage of conductors. Due to this, the DTC went beyond its usual method of hiring through newspaper ads and online postings on a website called Employment Exchange to posting ads at bus depots and spreading the word through their employees. To understand the attitudes and process of hiring in more detail, it is important that the views of personnel at DTC headquarters be obtained, as they are the ones responsible for hiring and posting conductors and bus drivers.

When applications of women were reviewed, they were called for an interview. If selected, the government took on the responsibility of training the conductors with zero cost to the women. Thus far, not a single woman left the job of her own accord. The bus depot manager indicated that it is an unofficial policy within the depots to give women their first choice of shifts and route, with the cognizance that they are balancing two sets of responsibilities—home and work. As such, women are often given the morning shift: from 7 to 3:30pm. This sensitivity certainly presents a step forward in creating a positive environment for women, but how widespread this attitude must be measured comprehensively. It also actively perpetuates and deepens gender divides through a feminization of responsibilities and obligations.

The manager also indicated that she believes a lot of the problems women face as private employees within the commercial transport sector would disappear when working for the state as government employees. She remarked: “I had two lady conductors. I told them to wear the uniform — if they wear the uniform, they are government employees. Thus, there is a certain sense of respect and fear associated with it. If they are in uniform, no one says anything.” While there may be some level of truth to this statement, it did not seem to prevent many conductors from facing harassment from passengers. The tendency to brush off these incidents as “regular aspects of dealing with the public” by the depot manager suggests that women’s complaints regarding the work environment are perhaps not taken seriously.

IX. Sakha and She: A Tale of Two Taxis

A. Overview

SheTaxi is an all-women's taxi service that started as a way to provide safe transport solutions for women. As a research fellow at SheTaxi described it, "SheTaxi is the flagship program of Gender Park. It is looking at safety, security, entrepreneurship, and empowerment of women. It is India's first 24/7 taxi service that is owned and managed by and targeted at women."

B. Scale

It launched in Thiruvananthapuram in November 2013 and in a second city, Kochi, in February 2014. The program launched with 5 cabs, and within one year, 25 cabs are operational in Thiruvananthapuram and 10 in Kochi.

C. Operational Model

The initiative was spearheaded by Gender Park, which is an autonomous institution promoted by the Department of Social Justice in Kerala. The stated goal of Gender Park is to resolve gender inequality in development. SheTaxi operates under a public-private partnership model, wherein Gender Park provides administrative support on behalf of the state and all other technical and financial operations are managed by private partners that bid for contracts. The fleet operations and marketing are handled by Rain Concert Technologies Ltd and driving lessons/maintenance by Maruti-Suzuki.

The taxis operate from an 'entrepreneurship' model, wherein individual women own and operate a cab under the umbrella of SheTaxi. The cost of purchasing a car ranges between 7-10 lakhs. The beneficiary invests 10% or more, and the next is taken up as a loan. They can either apply for a government loan through the Women's Social Development Corporation or approach any nationalized bank. At WSDC, the interest rate is 8% over 6 years and at a nationalized bank it is 10.5% interest over 7 years.

D. Revenue

Within a year of operation, 15 lakhs of revenue were generated. Each driver earns about Rs 55 000 per month, with some even making up to Rs 70 000 per month. Over 5000 calls are received, and 3000 km of service has been registered per vehicle.

E. Beneficiary Selection

Beneficiaries are chosen by advertising in newspaper ads. Interested candidates call in to the office, and fill out an application. Candidates that clear this stage then come in for an interview, during which their confidence and professionalism are tested. If interviewees clear this stage, then a road test is conducted to ensure that their driving skills are adequate for tough traffic situations. Under this model, having a driver's license is a precursor to applying for the program.

F. Similarities and Differences to Sakha

There are several key differences that separate the SheTaxi model from Sakha and the Azad Foundation's operations.

There are stark differences in the beneficiaries of the Sakha and SheTaxi program. The Azad Foundation's targeted group is, in the terms of the founder Menu Vadera, "urban resource-poor women". Recall that most of the women taken on by Azad struggled to put up a deposit of Rs 2000 to start the program and many find it difficult to even cover the travel costs to attend trainings. Accordingly the NGO invests a significant amount of time and resources to ensuring that these populations are reached, mobilized, and given adequate support along the way. This begins from the recruitment stage itself. Azad hires and trains a team of "community mobilizers" who conduct door-to-door awareness raising campaigns in economically disadvantaged communities. Once they are recruited, beneficiaries receive everything from documentation help to driving lessons. As a result, many of the women who enter Azad do so out of the need for social mobility. Whereas, before Sakha, drivers would make at most Rs 5000 engaged in factory or domestic work, as cab drivers they would make approximately Rs 15 000.

In contrast, SheTaxi appears to target women that are already financially secure and, indeed, established as leaders in other fields. Out of the four drivers I spoke to, two were employed as entrepreneurs, one was a community college lecturer, and another the owner of a successful beauty salon. They indicated that SheTaxi was not a significant jump in revenue, but that the concept itself attracted them to apply. All of them indicated that the loan of 7-10 lakhs and the initial 10% downpayment did not pose any difficulties for them. All owned cars for more than 10 years and had a significant amount of experience driving. The decision to choose beneficiaries at this level seems to be a conscious one at SheTaxi. As a team member indicated, "Its not really targeted towards [sic]...we need women that are bold, that can drive, and we are not really looking at the very grassroots level. Right now, for us, the target is a little above that." This was partially due to the assumption that poor women would not come forward to take up the profession: "Our drivers are not targeted at the very bottom level, but somewhere in the middle. Driving is a sector that is highly male dominated. Taking that on as a professional is a huge challenge. The very poorest of the poor won't come forward." Accordingly, recruitment occurs through ads placed in newspapers and through publicity events that are sponsored by celebrities in shopping malls.

Both models, however, appear to empower women in their own right. At Sakha, this is evident through increased financial independence, social mobility, and confidence in women. Though, economically, SheTaxi did not present a huge jump in the financial situation of women interviewed, all of them indicated that they see themselves as leaders in the community since joining the SheTaxi company in a way that they did not before.

Sakha drivers detailed many incidents on the road during which they met resistance. This ranged from employers asking them to take care of their children, verbal assaults, and incidents of road

rage. However, no such difficulties seemed to be faced, even initially, by drivers at SheTaxi. The drivers I interviewed expressed that they felt overwhelming support from the community and no incidents of harassment or difficulties were cited. One of them described public response to the initiative in the following way:

Fantastic, and overwhelming actually. Way beyond what we expected. We have people calling in to congratulate us. There is a huge demand from elderly women, female tourists, women taking their daughters to work. Everyone realized that this has been long overdue. There have been no difficulties on the face of the drivers themselves.

While the overall response to Sakha Cabs has also been overwhelmingly positive, the difficulties faced on the road by the Sakha drivers themselves were not mirrored in the case of SheTaxi.

The operational model of SheTaxi and Sakha vary significantly. The Azad Foundation operates through an innovative social enterprise model. Through donations and grants, it provides training and places women as private chauffeurs. Once they have had adequate training with the private placement, women then train for their commercial license and enter the for-profit Sakha Cab company. Sakha offers women employment as cab drivers through a radio taxi service. The SheTaxi model, meanwhile, is based on entrepreneurship. Each woman puts up the required loan for a cab and becomes the owner of the vehicle. Gender Park has created a public-private partnership with several companies to handle fleet operations, control room support, and vehicle maintenance. RainConcert Technologies, a technology company in Kerala, handles the control room, while Maruti offers vehicle maintenance services. A portion of the revenue earned by each driver pays the cost of these operations. Though the State of Kerala brought the relevant partners to the table, it has not invested financially in the model.

Indeed, the fact that the model did not contain any state investment was a point of pride for the operations team:

What we're really proud about is that it is a government facilitated model, with zero state investment. The woman is the beneficiary so she has to invest but she owns the vehicle. That is why we say empowerment and entrepreneurship. It is not a *grant, no free money, no freebies* in this project. It is thereby a completely sustainable model.

What was interesting to note was that there seemed to be little cognizance of the fact that the entrepreneurship model severely limited the type of beneficiaries the SheTaxi could take on. Since it is a public-private partnership model in which the state does not invest financially, the initiative seeks out women that are already empowered financially to be groundbreakers in an otherwise male dominated field. Yet, as the comments above show, this limitation is theorized by members of the SheTaxi team as rooted in a lack of shrewdness or capability in poor women, rather than a limitation of the model itself. Little thinking or research was done about ways in which public infrastructure and resources could help to bridge the skills gap—i.e. lack of driving license, financial means to purchase a car, etc.—that economically disadvantaged women faced in entering the commercial transport sector. While the entrepreneurship model does empower women operating SheTaxis in its own way, the 'lean in' rhetoric espoused above tends to

disproportionately marginalize economically disadvantaged women by disavowing the need for upfront state investment to overcome structural barriers to their economic participation.

The model does fare well in terms of scale. Not only was 15 lakhs of revenue generated within a year of operation, but each beneficiary takes home close to Rs 50 000 per month. In terms of 'scaling up', the model went from 5 to 35 cabs within one year. As the a fellow at the SheTaxi program indicated regarding scale, "No, there have been no difficulties [in scaling up]. We don't want to make any mistakes, so we are taking it slow. In six months, we had 20 cabs and we've launched in a second city." Scale in pure numerical terms was something that Sakha struggled to achieve; yet the depth of their impact in the lives of women was particularly notable.

X. Appendix

A. People Interviewed

1. Training Coordinators

- Dolon
- Devi
- Srinivas
- Aarathi
- Ranjit

2. Drivers

- Barathi
- Chandhni
- Deepa
- Geeta
- Kushi
- Madhuri
- Meenu
- Pushpa
- Rita
- Sangeeta
- Saritha
- Saroj
- Savitha
- Shanti

3. Transport Officials

- Sunita Chauhan, Sri Niwas Puri Bus Depot Manager
- Sh. Nand Gopal, M.L.O. (Sheikh Sarai), South Zone

B. Suggested List of Interviewees

- Semi-structured interviews with existing male drivers regarding their attitudes towards female bus drivers (can be arranged by speaking to depot managers).
- Survey of Delhi bus transport users regarding their attitudes towards female bus drivers.
- Semi-structured interviews with MLOs from a few other districts.
 - The one I spoke to has a reputation for being cooperative. It would be interesting to visit a few others to compare sentiments regarding women in public transport.
- Semi-structured interviews with bus depot manager
 - The interview I conducted was very insightful, since she was able to highlight her attitudes towards women in public transport and speak to some of the difficulties faced by women conductors on-the-job.

- Semi-structured interviews with employees in the Delhi Transport Commission, particularly those responsible for reviewing and hiring bus drivers.
- Semi-structured interviews with women conductors.
- Interviews with IDTR officials
 - These interviews were set up, but cancelled last minute so they should rescheduling should be fairly straightforward. Devi Banerjee at Azad facilitated them for me.

C. Other Data

- Statistics must also be collected on women in the public transport sector. I wrote out a Right to Information Request while I was there (copy attached) but did not have the chance to mail it in.

C. Right to Information Request (should be filed)

Smt. Renu Popli,
Public Information Officer (PIO)
Delhi Transport Corporation (DTC)
BBM Complex, New Delhi-9

August 26, 2014

Subject: Seeking Information Under the RTI Act, 2005

Dear Sir/Madame,

Please find attached herewith my RTI queries. I am seeking information that relates to employment and hiring practices within the DTC. It is a total of 3 pages including this cover page.

Please find enclosed herewith an amount of Rs _____ in cash as the application fee. Feel free to e-mail or call me for any additional information.

Thank you,

Yours faithfully,

Indira Pancholi

D - 735 (SF), Chittaranjan Park
New Delhi, 110 019
E-mail: indiraajm@gmail.com
Ph: 08826880665

1. Within the last five years, please list any and all policies and practices that are targeted towards:
 - a. Increasing the number of women employed by the Delhi Transport Corporation;
 - b. Improving the conditions of women currently employed by the Delhi Transport Corporation.

2. Within the last five years, please identify whether there have been any reservations for women within DTC occupations. If there are such reservations, please list:
 - a. the percentage of reservation;
 - b. the posts for which they have been designated;
 - c. whether each quota has been filled or not filled.

3. For the occupations of:
 - a. secretary-cum-commissioner,
 - b. special commissioner,
 - c. additional commissioners,
 - d. deputy commissioners,
 - e. MLOs,
 - f. driving inspectors,
 - g. bus depot managers,
 - h. bus drivers,
 - i. conductors,please provide information on a yearly basis for the past **5 years** regarding:
 - a. The **total** number of people employed in each occupation;
 - b. The **social category** of people employed in each occupation [total number of Other Backward Classes (OBC), Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled Tribes (ST), and General]
 - c. The **number of women** employed in each occupation.

4. Please provide the following information about bus drivers of the DTC:
 - a. Age,
 - b. Education Level,
 - c. Date of entry into the DTC,
 - d. Issue date of Heavy Motor License,
 - e. Height.

*Please note that we merely seek statistical information, and thus the data can be anonymized.

5. Please indicate the following information regarding the hiring of **bus drivers and conductors**:
 - a. How are the positions advertised?
 - b. List and describe the hiring process step-by-step (i.e. application, interview, road test, etc.)
 - c. What has been the number of applications that the DTC has received during each round of hiring within the past 5 years?
 - d. How many of the applications received during each round of hiring in the past five years were submitted by women?

6. Please list any and all training, apprenticeship, vocational, and other programs offered by the DTC for those seeking to become:
 - a. Bus drivers;
 - b. Conductors.

D. Bus Driver Application Form (Note the pronoun he)

RECRUITMENT RULES FOR THE POST OF DRIVERS IN DELHI TRANSPORT CORPORATION AS APPROVED BY GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL CAPITAL TERRITORY OF DELHI

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
No. of the post	Classification	Scale of pay	Whether selection post or non-selection post	Age limit for direct recruits	Whether benefit of service admissible under rule 30 of the CCS (Pension) Rules 1972 (7)	Educational and other qualifications required for direct recruits	Whether age and educational qualifications prescribed for direct recruits will apply in the case of promotions	Period of probation if any	Method of recruitment whether by direct recruitment or by promotion or transfer or deputation / transfer & percentage of the vacancies to be filled by various methods.	In case of recruitment by promotion / transfer or deputation / transfer to which deputation / transfer to be made.	If a DPC exists in its competition	Circumstances in which UPSC is to be consulted in making recruitments	
2.50 men per bus are sanctioned on the varying size of fleet from time to time.	Class - III as per clause 4 of Delhi Road Transport Authority (Conditions of Appointment & Service) Regulations, 1952	RS. 3200 - 4900	Not applicable	Maximum age limit 35 years (relaxation as per instructions/orders issued by Govts. of India, from time to time and 10 years departmental candidates)	Not applicable	<p>10th Pass or equivalent from a recognized board (relaxable in the case of Ex-servicemen), with suitable weightage given to the candidates who possess the higher qualification of 10+2 or equivalent provided they pass the skill test.</p> <p>Holding a valid Heavy Motor Vehicle License for at least three years and PSV Badge issued by Licensing Authority, Delhi (as per the criteria / conditions of "Authorization Cards").</p> <p>The selected candidates, who are not in possession of PSV Badge issued / endorsed by State Transport Authority Delhi, will have to obtain the same within 6 months of their selection and this time period should further be extended by DTC on merits. However, after the required PSV badge is issued to him, driver would actually start on duty in DTC.</p> <p>Height - 162 Cms (minimum) Vision - 6/6 without glasses and no color blindness and as per the medical standard for drivers prescribed by D. T. C.</p>	Not applicable	Two years. The recruits shall be entered for regular salary as per scale during the probation period	Direct Recruitment through DSSSB	Not applicable	Not applicable	Not applicable	

The relaxation in proposed qualifications will also be extended to existing trainee-cum drivers on the rolls of the Corporation who were recruited at the post in accordance with existing RRs. The regularization of these R.C. drivers in the post of driver will be in accordance with the existing Executive Instructions regarding employees of the Reserve Force. Since the proposed amendments of RRs for drivers is for regularization of regular drivers in DTC, no relaxation in qualification shall be given to any person in future except for a category of EX-SM as mentioned above. The departmental candidates will be given age relaxation up to ten years but they have to meet other requirements of qualifications, entry list, PSV badge issued in Delhi. The names of departmental candidates will be sponsored by DTC to DSSSB.

Handwritten notes: "d. and" and "12/19/07" with a signature.