

Appendix I: Interview Guides

Interview Guide—Women’s Claims Making on Anti Rape Laws

A. Background Information

- Personal history

1. How did you get involved in working with the issue of violence against women (campaigning on anti-rape laws)?
2. What organisations/networks have you been/are you a part of?
3. Designation in the organisation/network? What is/has been your role in the organisations/networks?
4. When did you join? How long have you been involved in these organisations/networks?

- Organisational history

1. When was the organisation/network that you are a current part of established?
2. How did the group/organisation/network come together? How and why was it formed? Was there any particular incident or individual that influenced the coming together of the group/ the development of the organisation/network?
3. What is the vision/purpose of the organisation?
4. What is the nature of work?
5. How many members do you have in the organisation/network? What is the background of the members?

B. Women’s Claim Making on Anti-Rape Laws and Policies in India

1. What in your opinion have been some of the key moments in agitations for gender just anti-rape laws post-Mathura?
2. How have you or your organisation/network contributed to/been part of the anti-rape movement in India? What have been some of the key claims making you have been involved in? (incidents around which you have mobilised, but also interventions during policy windows- the various drafts of the Criminal Law Amendment Bills, interventions to influence Law Commission reports, Justice Verma Committee.)
3. What do you make of the changes in laws/policies that have happened over the years? (1983 Amendment Act, Criminal Law Amendment Act 2013, etc.)
4. What do you think are the more contentious issues within the anti-rape movement in India?
5. What in your opinion are the issues that are on the margins of claims making on anti-rape laws and policies? What are the issues on which there has been little advocacy by the anti-rape movement in India?
6. How has the scope of women’s claims making changed over the years (since Mathura)?

C. Actors Involved

1. Who are the different actors and key players in the anti-rape movement in India? Who in your view are the prominent groups and networks working on this issue?
2. How and why did they get to prominence?
3. Whose voices get heard and whose don't within the movement and why?
4. Whose voices get heard at the state level?
5. How have the actors changed over a period of time?
6. Which groups/individuals have opposed your claims and in what ways?
7. Has there been an international/ transnational influence on the claims making on anti-rape laws and policies in India? If so, when was this and who was involved?

D. Organising for Advocacy and Strategies Used in Claims Making

• Claims making at the level of society

1. What are your techniques, strategies to mobilise groups and individuals around the issue of rape? What is the rationale behind these strategies and techniques of mobilisation?
2. Give examples of the most effective techniques/ strategies in the past?

• Negotiations within publics

1. What kind of alliances and coalitions (with different groups, individuals, movements, political parties, etc.) are you involved in order to influence the State? How are these alliances/networks built?
2. Are there other issues (besides your organisation's core issue) for which your network/organisation has come together/ joined hands/stood in solidarity with other organisations? If so, can you give a couple of instances?
3. What are the processes through which these alliances/networks work with each other?
4. Is there the space to hear a diversity of opinions amongst these alliance/networks?
5. What are the issues around which groups and individuals find it relatively easy to organise for policy advocacy?
6. How is consensus arrived at?

• Claims making at the level of the state

1. What are the strategies used by you to articulate your demands and influence the State on anti-rape laws and policies?
2. Give examples of the most effective strategies used in the past?
3. What did not work?
4. What do you think are the broader strategies used by groups to articulate their demands and influence the State on anti-rape laws and policies?
5. With respect to the anti-rape movement, what are the issues around which groups and individuals find it relatively easy to organise for policy advocacy?

6. What makes some issues more difficult to address to policy makers?

E. Degree of Openness in Policy Space

1. Is there a process within policy making whereby women's claims making can be heard by policy makers? Is there space for women's groups to participate in policy making?
2. Is there transparency in the policy making process?
3. How does the State interpret women's claims making on anti-rape laws, and how is this different from the interpretation by the women's groups and other key players?
4. Even when policies have been changed, what in your opinion is the reason for the wide gaps in implementation?
5. How do you shape discourse around a claim, especially after receiving a negative reply from policy makers?

F. Women's Claims Making: Overview

1. What has changed over time in the anti-rape movement in terms of: issues, actors, strategies, spaces, any other changes you have noted and why?
2. How strongly are women's organisations able to influence the public sphere amidst competing views and interests from other players (other groups—child rights, religious organisations, social groups, political parties, etc.)? Or how small or big is the political space that women's claim making has in the public sphere amidst competing claims?
3. What kinds of issues (typology) have better traction in the public sphere or given more weight than others? Does this typology work?
4. What is the combination of issues, actors or players or conditions that make a strategy most influential?
5. In your opinion has gender equality policy by the state been uneven across issue areas? If so, why?
6. Is NGOization, multiplicity of identities and voices, leading to a loss of effectiveness of the movement in terms of policy influence?

G. State/Subnational Specific Questions

A. Gujarat

1. What are the local and other factors that have shaped the anti-rape movement in Gujarat?
2. Have communal violence and polarization based on religion shaped the demands of the anti-rape movement in Karnataka? If so, how?
3. Have caste/dalit mobilisations in Gujarat influenced the content and nature of claims making in Gujarat? If so, how?
4. Have mobilisations based on sexuality influenced the content and nature of the claims making in Gujarat? If so, how?
5. What are the claims on anti-rape laws and policies that have been strongly backed by women's groups in Gujarat?

6. At whom are the claims making processes directed at? Central, state levels, including police, health departments?
7. What are the changes, if any, that you see post policy/legal changes at the central and state levels? How effective are the laws/policies?

B. Karnataka

1. What are the local and other factors that have shaped the anti-rape movement in Karnataka?
2. Has communal violence and polarization based on religion shaped the demands of the anti-rape movement in Karnataka? If so, how?
3. Have caste/dalit mobilisations in Karnataka influenced the content and nature of claims making in Gujarat? If so, how?
4. Has mobilisations based on sexuality influenced the content and nature of the claims making in Karnataka? If so, how?
5. What are some of the claims making on anti-rape laws and policies that have been strongly backed by women's groups in Karnataka?
6. At whom are the claims making processes directed at? Central, state levels, including police, health departments?
7. What are the changes that you see post policy/legal changes at the central and state levels? How effective are the laws/policies?

Interview Guide—Women's Claims Making on Domestic Work

A. Background Information

• Personal history

1. How did you get involved in working with the issue of domestic work?
2. What organisations/networks have you been/are you a part of?
3. Designation in the organisation/network? What is/has been your role in the organisation/network?
4. When did you join? How long have you been involved in these organisations/networks?

• Organisational history

1. When was the organisation/network that you are a current part of established?
2. How did the group/organisation/network come together? How and why was it formed? Was there any particular incident or individual that influenced the coming together of the group/ the development of the organisation/network?
3. What is the vision/purpose of the organisation?
4. What is the nature of work?
5. How many members do you have in the organisation/network? What is the background of the members? How are they recruited/what is the process for members to join?

B. Women's Claim Making on Domestic Work

1. What in your opinion have been some of the key moments in the history of mobilisation on domestic work in India, particularly since the 1980s? What have been some of the key claims making by groups on domestic work in India?
2. How have you or your organisation contributed to/been part of the domestic workers' movement in India?
3. What have been some of the key claims making you have been involved in? (Incidents around which you have mobilised? Task Force on Domestic Work, ILO Convention—conference prior to—Bills?)
 - a. What has been the claims your organisation/network makes on conditions of domestic work (leaves, wages, social security, etc.)?
 - b. According to your organisation/network, what will be a feasible/practical/workable method for calculation of wages for all domestic workers (live-in and live-out)?
4. What is your opinion on the draft National Policy on Domestic Work? Do you feel it is adequate/ inadequate? Should there be a national policy, central law on domestic work or state specific laws?
5. What do you think are the more contentious issues within domestic worker groups in India? (Methods of fixing wages, conditions of work, professionalisation of domestic work, recognition of caste with domestic work?)
6. What in your opinion are the issues that are on the margins of claims making on domestic work? What are the issues on which there has been little advocacy by domestic worker groups? Does the unpaid care work that domestic workers perform inform your claims making?
7. Are issues of migrant domestic workers part of the claims making of domestic worker groups? How has your organisation tackled the question of migrant domestic workers?
8. How does your organisation/network understand the relationship between housework and domestic work? Do you think housework has an implication on domestic work and how would one question the same?
9. How has the scope of women's claim making (with regards to domestic workers) changed over the years?

C. Actors Involved

1. Who are the different actors and key players in the domestic worker movement in India?
2. Who are the prominent autonomous domestic worker individuals/groups/organisations? How and why did they get to prominence?
3. Which other actors/institutions/ agencies influence or play an important role in women's claims making (with regards to domestic work)?
4. Whose voices get heard (and why) within the movement? Whose voices get heard at the state level?
5. How have the actors changed over a period of time?
6. Which groups/individuals have opposed your claims making on domestic workers and in what ways?

7. Has there been an international/transnational influence on the claims making on domestic work in India? If so, who is involved, and in what way?

D. Organising for Advocacy and Strategies Used in Claims Making

- Claims making at the level of society

1. What are your techniques, strategies to improve the conditions of domestic workers? What is the rationale behind these strategies and techniques of mobilisation? (professionalisation, unionisation, live-in workers)?
2. Give examples of the most effective techniques/strategies used in the past.

- Negotiations within publics

1. What kind of alliances and coalitions (with different groups, individuals, movements, political parties, etc.) are you involved in order to influence the State? How are these alliances/networks built?
2. Are there other issues (besides your organisation's core issue) for which your network/organisation has come together/ joined hands/stood in solidarity with other organisations? If so, can you give a couple of instances?
3. What are the processes through which these alliances/networks work with each other?
4. Is there the space to hear a diversity of opinions amongst these alliance/networks?
5. What are the issues around which groups and individuals find it relatively easy to organise for policy advocacy?
6. How is consensus arrived at?

- Claims making at the level of the state

1. What are the strategies, techniques of advocacy used by you to articulate your demands and influence the State at both state and central levels?
2. Give examples of the most effective strategies used in the past?
3. What did not work?
4. What do you think are the broader strategies used by groups to articulate their demands and influence the State on domestic work?
5. With respect to the anti-rape movement, what are the issues around which groups and individuals find it relatively easy to organise for policy advocacy?
6. What makes some issues more difficult to address to policy makers?

E. Degree of Openness in Policy Space

1. Have you been able to mobilise as a group? Have you been able to form a union? If so, how easy has this process been? If not, what have been the difficulties with unionising, mobilising?
2. Is there a process within policy making whereby women's claims making can be heard by policy makers? Is there space for women's groups to participate in policy making?
3. Is there transparency in the policy making process?

4. Why do you think there is a hesitation at the central and state (barring few) level for pushing for any reforms or legislation related to domestic work?
5. Do you think external factors (at the international level) have influenced policy changes locally (ILO convention for instance)? How do you think these changes will help shape the domestic workers' movement?
6. How does the State interpret women's claims making on domestic work, and how is this different from the interpretation by the women's groups and other key players?
7. Even when policies have been changed, what in your opinion is the reason for the wide gaps in implementation?
8. How do you shape discourse around a claim, especially after receiving a negative reply from policymakers?

F. Women's Claim Making: Overview

1. What has changed over time in the amongst domestic worker groups in terms of: issues, actors, strategies, spaces, any other changes you have noted and why?
2. How strongly are domestic worker organisations able to influence the public sphere amidst competing views and interests from other players? Or how small or big is the political space that domestic workers' claim making has in the public sphere amidst competing claims?
3. What kinds of issues (typology) have better traction in the public sphere or given more weight than others? Does this typology work? What issues or demands have been challenging or contentious in terms of mobilisation and organisation, and advocacy?
4. What is the combination of issues, actors or players or conditions that make a strategy most influential?
5. In your opinion has gender equality policy by the state been uneven across issue areas? If so, why?
6. Is NGOization, multiplicity of identities and voices, leading to a loss of effectiveness of the movement in terms of policy influence?

3. State-Specific Questions

A. Gujarat

1. What is the socioeconomic context of domestic work in Gujarat (numbers, profiles of domestic workers) any available data/materials on this?
2. What has been the history of domestic workers mobilisation/ movement in Gujarat? Are there any local and other factors that have shaped domestic workers mobilisation? Has there been any particular event/s that has led to groups mobilising for domestic workers?
3. Is the domestic workers' mobilisation/movement restricted to urban centres?
4. What have been the major policy changes in Gujarat with regards to domestic workers?
5. How responsive is the state government to the concerns of the domestic workers? If not, why do you think that is the case?

6. How have groups/ organisations sensitised the general public to the problems and conditions of domestic workers in general?
7. How distinct is the domestic workers groups/movement from the larger workers' rights movement in Gujarat? (are claims making on domestic work made within the rubric of other workers' rights?) Has the mobilisation of women into trade unions in Gujarat (for e.g. SEWA) helped the women's claim making in the domestic workers movement?
8. How deep are the links between women's groups and claims making on domestic work? Are your immediate allies unions, and workers' groups and/or women's rights groups?
9. Are there links between domestic worker groups and dalit groups in the state?

B. Karnataka

1. What is the socio-economic context of domestic work in Karnataka (numbers, profiles of domestic workers)? Any available data/materials on this?
2. What has been the history of domestic workers movement in Karnataka? Are there any local and other factors that have shaped the domestic workers movement? Has there been any particular event/s that has led to groups mobilising for domestic workers?
3. Is the domestic workers' movement restricted to urban centres only or has it spread to the whole of the State?
4. Was there involvement from domestic worker groups in bringing about the state notification for minimum wages for domestic workers in 2004? Were you involved? Can you elaborate?
5. How adequate is this law in empowering domestic workers? Are there any discrepancies/ loopholes in this law? If yes, what have been the groups/organisations responses to it?
6. What are the other issues for which the groups/organisations mobilising for? What is the state government's response to these issues?
7. Has there been a shift in attitude in the general public towards domestic work since the notification of the minimum wages for domestic workers in Karnataka?
8. How have groups/ organisations sensitised the general public to the problems and conditions of domestic workers in general?
9. How distinct is the domestic workers groups/movement from the larger workers' rights movement in Karnataka? (are claims making on domestic work made within the rubric of other workers' rights?) Has the mobilisation of women into trade unions in Gujarat (for e.g. SEWA) helped the women's claim making in the domestic workers movement?
10. How deep are the links between women's groups and claims making on domestic work? Are your immediate allies unions, and workers' groups and/or women's rights groups?
11. Are there links between domestic worker groups and dalit groups in the state?

Interview Guide—Women’s Claims Making on Unpaid Care Work

1. What do you understand by unpaid care work, and how do you think it plays into the lives of women you work with?
2. Do the women you work with express concerns around their unpaid care work responsibilities?
3. Has the issue of unpaid care work acted as barriers in your own mobilisation work?
4. Does your organisation make provision for women’s unpaid care work responsibilities to be taken care of while women are at collective events? (temporary crèches, travel and stay arrangements etc.)?
5. What do you think the links are between unpaid care work and the issues around which you mobilise (violence against women, domestic work?)
6. Have you considered this issue to be important enough to mobilise around? Has your organisation mobilised on this issue in the past? If yes, details; if not, why not?
7. What have policy makers that they have approached about unpaid care work said in response?
8. What do they think the response from policy makers would be if the activists raised this as a critical issue? What do you think are some of the barriers to mobilising around unpaid care work?
9. Who in your opinion are some of the prominent actors that have been raising claims on the issue of unpaid care work?
10. Are their voices heard within the women’s movement? Why or why not?

Appendix II—Table of Interviews

A. Anti-Rape Mobilisations

	Karnataka	
1.	Indhu—Executive Director, Hengasira Hakina Sangha	20 June 2014
2.	KS Lakshmi—General Secretary, All India Democratic Women's Association, Karnataka	18 June 2014
3.	Arvind Narrain—Co-founder, Alternative Law Forum	23 July 2014
4.	Corrine Kumar (Founder), Celine, Donna Fernandez and others—Vimochana	23 July 2014
5.	Gurukiran Shetty, Executive Director and Rajesh—Sangama	15 August 2014
6.	Nisha Gulur—President, Sex Workers' Union	11 August 2014
7.	Shubha Chacko—Director, Aneka	24 July 2014
8.	Ruth Manorama—Founder Director, Women's Voice	16 August 2014
9.	Geeta Menon—Founder, Stree Jagriti Samithi	26 July 2014
10.	Sumathi Murthy—Founder member, LesBit	24 July 2014

	Gujarat	
11.	Manjula Pradeep— Director, Navsarjan Trust	31 March 2014
12.	Sara Ben and team— AWAG	1 April 2014
13.	Haneef Lakhdawala— Sanchetna	1 April 2014
14.	Manisha Tiwari—ANHAD	2 April 2014
15.	Nafisa Barot—Uthan	3 April 2014
16.	Johanna and Nupur Sinha—Centre for Social Justice	26 May 2014
17.	Nalini Jadeja—AIDWA	26 May 2014
18.	Jahnvi Andharia—ANANDI	27 May 2014
19.	Poonam—Swati	27 May 2014
20.	Sheba George—Founder, Sahr Waru	28 May 2014
21.	Sylvester Merchant— Lakshya	29 May 2014
22.	Trupti Shah— Sahiyar (Stree Sangathan)	29 May 2014 & 24 July 2014
23.	Prasad Chacko—Human Development and Research Centre	30 May 2014
24.	Renu Khanna—Sahaj (interviewed in Delhi)	9 September 2014

	Delhi/National	
25.	Nandini Rao, feminist activist, Women against State Repression and Sexual Assault (WSS) and Citizen's Campaign against Sexual Assault (CCSA)	24 March 2014
26.	Kavita Krishnan—Secretary, All India Progressive Women's Association (AIPWA) and Bekhauf Azadi Campaign	15 May 2014
27.	Bharti Ali, HAQ	19 May 2014
28.	Kalyani Menon-Sen—National Coordinator, Women against State Repression and Sexual Assault (WSS)	31 July 2014
29.	Kirti Singh—Vice-President, All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA)	21 August 2014
30.	Vani Subramanian—member, Saheli	23 August 2014
31.	Apoorva Kaiwar—former member, FAOW	22 July 2014
32.	Vimal Thorat—NDWF	1 September 2014
33.	Renu Addlakha— CWDS	9 July 2014
34.	Nilanju—Jagori	12 August 2014
35.	Lakshmi Vivek— NAWO	4 August 2014

B. Domestic Workers Mobilisation

Karnataka		
36.	Geeta Menon—Founder- member, Stree Jagriti Samithi	17 June 2014
37.	Sr. Nisha Mathew—State Coordinator, Karnataka Domestic Workers Movement	17 June 2014
38.	Senior Functionary (anonymous)—INTUC Karnataka	19 June 2014
39.	Ruth Manorama—Founder member, Women's Voice; President, National Association of Women's Organisations (NAWO)	19 June 2014
40.	Sr. Celia—Founder, Karnataka Domestic Workers Union	12 August 2014
41.	Usha Ravikumar and Muthu—FEDINA; Selvi and Nirmala—MAKAAYU	24 July 2014
42.	Chitravathy—Coordinator, APSA	13 August 2014
43.	Selvi—CITU	11 August 2014

Gujarat		
44.	Meena Patel—Domestic Workers Rights Campaign	1 April 2014 & 2 April 2014
45.	Chinmayi Shah—Saath	3 April 2014
46.	Ashok Punjabi—Indian National Trade Union Congress	27 May 2014
47.	Hiranmay Pandya—Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh	28 May 2014
48.	Ashim Roy—NTUI, CMP	28 May 2014
49.	Shalini Trivedi—SEWA	30 May 2014

Delhi		
50.	Amita Joshi—ISST	23 March 2014
51.	Leeza—NDWM	25 March, 2014
52.	Chaitali Halder and Shruti—Jagori	12 May, 2014
53.	Subhash Bhatnagar—Nirmana, and Nirmala Niketan Cooperative for Tribal Domestic Workers	15 May 2014
54.	Ramendra Kumar, General Secretary and Joint Founder – Delhi Shramik Sanghathan and Anita Juneja – Delhi Shramik Sanghathan	4 June, 2014
55.	Archana Prasad—AIDWA	16 July 2014
56.	Sr. Leona and Maxima—Domestic Worker's Forum, Chetanalaya	8 August 2014

Other Organisations		
57.	Sr. Jeanne Devos—Founder and National Coordinator, NDWM (interviewed in Mumbai)	25 July 2014
58.	Nalini Nayak—NPDW, NFDW, SEWA Kerala (interviewed in Delhi)	4 September 2014

International Organisations		
59.	Reiko Tsushima—Senior Gender Specialist, ILO (interviewed in Delhi)	28 August 2014
60.	Chris Bonner—Programme Director, WIEGO (interviewed over Skype)	1 September 2014
61.	Karin Pape- Regional Advisor, WIEGO (interviewed over Skype)	16 October 2014
62.	Shalini Sinha—Home-Based Worker Sector Specialist, WIEGO (interviewed in Delhi)	27 August 2014

Appendix III: Consent Form

The study ‘When and Why do States Respond to Women’s Claims? Understanding Gender-Egalitarian Policy Change in Asia’ is being conducted by Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST), New Delhi. It is an inter-country comparative research study funded by the United Nations Research Institute on Social Development (UNRISD), which focuses on the processes of gender-egalitarian policy change in three countries—India, Indonesia and China. The overall project is coordinated by Prof Nitya Rao, University of East Anglia, UK. The focus of the research in India is primarily on understanding the processes of policy change on two issues, anti-rape laws and women domestic workers, in the two states of Gujarat and Karnataka. The research study will interview a range of actors, particularly individuals, women’s groups and civil society groups actively involved in advocating gender-sensitive laws and policies in the focus areas.

You are invited to participate in an interview with us to share your experience and knowledge in your respective field and enrich our research. Your participation is voluntary, and you can choose not to participate in the study in part or in whole, and you may withdraw from this study at any time, but not after (date). You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not wish to answer.

The interview will take more or less two hours of your time, and will be conducted at a time and place of your convenience. The interview will be tape recorded unless otherwise stated by you. The tape-recorded interviews will be subsequently transcribed. Later, a copy of the interview transcript will be sent to you for any changes or additions you would like to be made to your interview transcript.

You may choose to stay anonymous, share information anonymously, or specify what information is to be kept confidential. The information provided will be included in the research report and subsequent publications based on the study.

If you have any questions and concerns you may contact any of the following:

Dr Shraddha Chigateri at shraddha@feministevaluation.org

Ms Mubashira Zaidi at mubashira.isst@gmail.com

Ms Anweshaa Ghosh at anweshaa.isst@gmail.com

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of the Research: When and Why do States Respond to Women’s Claims? Understanding Gender-Egalitarian Policy Change in Asia

Name, Position, Address of the Interviewer:

Name of the Interviewee:

Name of the Organisation:

Please circle the appropriate –

I wish/do not wish to remain anonymous

You may/ may not audio record the interview

I understand the information described above in a language known to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I understand that my participation in this interview is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason. I understand that I can withdraw permission to use the information provided by me at this interview at any time till the 30th of June, 2014. I have been given a signed copy of this form.

Signature of the Interviewee:

Date:

Signature of the Interviewer:

Date:

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