

## **Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework and Methodology**

This is a comparative research project. It compares women's mobilisations on domestic work and anti-rape laws, at the national level and the two subnational levels of Karnataka and Gujarat. The research is also mainly a qualitative research study, which uses both primary and secondary methods of data collection. It employs a timeline analysis to "map critical moments in the process of gender-egalitarian policy change" (UNRISD 2013). It also explores the interface between particular configurations of actors and structures that contribute to the processes of change, as well as the nature and content of the claims made.

### **2.1 Conceptual Framework of the Research**

The conceptual framework has evolved over the course of the study, based on both the field of research as well as conversations with partners at the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) and the Indonesia and China teams. The conceptual framework draws on and modifies Mala Htun and Laura Weldon's framework for analysing cross-national variation in gender equality policy (Htun and Weldon 2007, 2010). Further, it incorporates Nancy Fraser's understanding of multiple publics, needs interpretation and representation (Fraser 1989, 2008, 2009).

#### **2.1.1 Htun and Weldon's framework for analysing gender-egalitarian policy change**

In laying down a global framework for a cross-issue comparative analysis of gender-egalitarian policies, Htun and Weldon (2007, 2010) critically engage with both traditional comparative explanatory frameworks that advance a proportional relationship with democratization, modernization, and economic growth and state policies on gender issues, as well as those that are more variegated in their approach to the relationship between the state and gender equality policies. Based on this evaluation, they conclude that there is in fact "little evidence of policy convergence as a result of societal modernization, economic growth or democratization" (Htun and Weldon 2007: 209).

In their formulation of a framework for analysing cross-national variation in gender equality policy Htun and Weldon (2007, 2010) propose a framework that accounts for both the differences within national contexts as well as differences in policy type. In relation to policy type, they argue for a typology of policies that disaggregate gender policies into issue types. The argument they make is that without such disaggregation, the variations within countries (for instance, a state may have a progressive policy on violence against women, but not on abortion laws; or a state may have progressive policies on parental leave and care, but not on violence against women) will be obscured. Disaggregation, they argue, also allows for understanding "why and how the diverse processes of policy change vary across issues" (Htun and Weldon 2010: 209).

On the question of national contexts, and how these may be understood, Htun and Weldon (2007) note that the type of issue determines the actors involved in the struggle for policy change. However, they note that features of the national polity also shape the power of actors to promote change. These include state capacity, political legacies, international vulnerability and the degree of democracy, which Htun and Weldon argue, also shape the priorities, strategies and effectiveness of the advocates (as well as their opponents) for gender-egalitarian policies (Htun and Weldon 2007).

### The issue types: Gender status versus class-based issues and doctrinal versus non-doctrinal issues

In their call for a disaggregation of policy types, Htun and Weldon (2010) offer a typology of gender issues based on gender status versus class-based issues and doctrinal versus non-doctrinal issues. The first, gender status and class-based issues, echoes Fraser's (1997) analytical categorisations of cultural or symbolic injustice and socio-economic injustice respectively (the remedies for these aspects of injustice, are recognition—for cultural or symbolic injustice—and redistribution—for socio-economic injustice/justice claims). The distinction Htun and Weldon make is that there are some issues that affect women as women because of their status as women (cultural or symbolic injustice), and there are some issues that affect women because of the gender division of labour (socio-economic injustice). So, for instance, violence against women would be a gender status issue and parental leave would be a class issue.

The second typology that Htun and Weldon offer is doctrinal versus non-doctrinal issues. They argue that doctrinal issues are those that are based on the “codified tradition or sacred discourse of the dominant religion or cultural group” (Htun and Weldon 2010: 210). This, they argue helps to distinguish issues and policies based on the kind of conflicts they generate between the state and other religious, traditional and tribal authorities over jurisdiction. Whether an issue is doctrinal or non-doctrinal would, they argue, be determined by the particular national context. So, for instance, abortion is doctrinal in Ireland, but non-doctrinal in China or India.

Applying Htun and Weldon's typology to our issue areas, violence against women in the context of gender just anti-rape laws and policies is largely a gender status and non-doctrinal issue—with some sub-issues possibly being doctrinal, such as marital rape. Domestic work would largely be a class-based and non-doctrinal issue. However, this categorisation presents limitations. For instance, demarcating domestic work as an always and already class-based issue (when questions of status, whether it be about the recognition of women's work as work, or of the nature of caste-based divisions within domestic work, do animate debates on domestic work) is one such limitation. Moreover, the understanding of “doctrinal” as being only about the conflict between the state and “religious” or “traditional” authorities for jurisdiction, provides limitations for capturing the intransigence of policy on certain issues. The recognition that not all issues are based on a conflict between the state and religious doctrine and traditional authorities, but are nevertheless difficult to dislodge in policy terms because of entrenched norms and values (such as the recognition by the state of marital rape) led us to read down the meaning of “doctrinal” to meaning “entrenched norms and values in society”.

### Interaction between actors and issue types

Htun and Weldon (2007) note that the type of issue determines the actors involved in the struggle for policy change. They make the argument that women's movements are more important actors for gender status policies than for class-based policies. Other actors, such as labour unions or left-based parties, are less likely to make gender status issues a priority. They further argue that women's movements (which may still have an impact) are less critical for class-based gender equality policies. They also identify institutions and actors involved with organised religion as important actors for their typology of doctrinal policy issues. While it is largely true that not all the actors involved in gender status claims making are involved in claims making on domestic work and vice versa (bifurcation and specialisation of claims making is to be expected, given the depth and specificity of the issues around which claims are made), there are

exceptions. Organisations such as the All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA), the women's wing of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M), have been at the forefront of both claims making on rape laws and mobilisations on domestic work in some states. Further, the nature of groups working on domestic workers has changed character over the years, with more organisations now employing the language of women's rights and feminist concerns (Neetha 2013c).

While this research recognises that there are more "labour" groups involved in domestic workers' claims making, it also analyses whether or not these are also "women's groups", namely, that they address the concerns of domestic workers as *women workers*. It also analyses whether groups characterised as women's groups are largely engaged with the issue of violence against women, and not as much with questions of unpaid care, or paid domestic work. On this question, Htun and Weldon's analysis of actors and the links with policy type forms a working hypothesis tested by the research.

### The national context

Htun and Weldon (2010: 212) argue that the features of the national polity also shape the power of actors to promote change as well as the priorities, strategies and effectiveness of the advocates (and their opponents) for gender-egalitarian policies. These features include:

- i. *State capacity* which refers to the "effectiveness of national political institutions and their ability (not willingness) to enforce the law and to challenge dominant social groups";
- ii. *Institutional legacy* which is about the ways in which states have historically dealt with foundational conflicts, which Htun and Weldon note, affects policy development in later years. For instance, countries that have resolved religious conflict through a process of accommodation maybe more amenable to gender status policies;
- iii. *Vulnerability to international pressure*: poor countries, autocracies and emerging democracies, they argue, are more amenable to external pressure (through international advocacy networks and global agreements on women's rights) than wealthier nations or established democracies;
- iv. *Degree of democracy*: Htun and Weldon argue that "the more democratic a country is, the more developed its civil society and the more open the government to autonomous organising" (2010: 212). However, they also note that it "may also strengthen religious institutions opposed to change" (2010: 212).

Two of the above factors, vulnerability to international pressures and degree of democracy, inform the research, although not quite in the same terms that Htun and Weldon identify. A working hypothesis of the research is that the influences of international and transnational networks and frameworks may be more significant on issues associated with little or limited traction with policy change or with a more recent collectivisation and mobilisation process, rather than where there are more established mobilisations. The further working hypothesis is that even within the broad categorisation of issues (such as anti-rape and domestic work), there are some issues that are on the margins (for example, dalit women) where international and transnational networks and frameworks may be more influential in claims making by groups. In this sense, international pressure and degree of democracy are understood to refer to a "degree of openness in policy space" (on which more below).

### *2.1.2 Nature of claims making and policy change*

This research works with the understanding that claims making is a continuous, responsive, contingent and iterative process, which entails a process of negotiation, articulation and re-articulation with a range of actors, including the state. In this sense, while some issues may persist (for instance, marital rape in the context of anti-rape laws, or wage fixing in domestic work), the claims making around these issues entails a continuous process of negotiation. Moreover, claims are neither static nor fixed. The research works with an understanding of claims making as contested, with questions of representation, access, voice and influence paramount in locating those claims that are eventually heard by policy makers.

#### The contested nature of claims making, multiple publics and questions of representation

Fraser's analysis of the politics of needs interpretation—particularly her understanding of the contested interpretations of needs, the oppositional discourse on needs interpretation, as well as her understanding of multiple publics—informs the understanding of the contested nature of claims making in this research, as well as whose voices are heard, and whose are not (Fraser 1989, 2008; UNRISD 2013).

In her proposal for a more politically critical understanding of needs interpretation, Fraser (1989: 164) notes that there are three major analytically distinct but interrelated moments:

- i. The struggle to establish or deny the political status of a given need or the struggle to validate the need as a legitimate political concern;
- ii. The struggle over the interpretation or the definition of the need; and
- iii. The struggle over the satisfaction of the need, to secure or withhold provisions.

Fraser argues that groups entering “the social” to interpret needs make use of discursive resources such as officially recognised idioms, vocabularies, paradigms of argumentation accepted as authoritative in adjudicating conflicting claims, etc. Groups with unequal discursive resources assert authority over their interpretation of the need. The dominant groups intend to “exclude, defuse and/ or co-opt counter interpretations”, and those from the subordinate groups intend to “challenge, displace, and/ or modify dominant ones” (Fraser 1989: 165-166).

A politicised need is discussed and contested across a range of different discursive arenas and different publics. And these publics can be distinguished variedly based on their ideology, by stratification principles such as gender, class or by profession, or by a central mobilising issue. Publics could also be differentiated in terms of their relative power to set the terms of debate over a certain politicised need or a “runaway need”. Large and authoritative publics usually have a heavy hand in politicising an issue and taking the lead in the discourse (Fraser 1989: 167).

Fraser further identifies three major kinds of needs discourses, namely, the oppositional form of needs talk, the reprivatisation discourses, and the expert needs discourses. By speaking on the heretofore depoliticised needs, the oppositional discourses politicise needs and represent an alternative version of interpreting them, challenging the heretofore established boundaries of politics and economics. New interpretations of needs are disseminated by forming new publics and in the process are modified, and/or displace, the hegemonic elements of interpretation. In oppositional discourses, Fraser regards needs

talk as a moment in the “self-constitution of new collectives or social movements” (1989: 171), and provides the example of feminists who coined terms such as sexism, sexual harassment, marital, date and acquaintance rape, wife battering and so on.

Fraser suggests a method by which better interpretations of people’s needs can be distinguished. In her view, there are at least two distinct considerations that need to be taken into account. One is the “procedural consideration concerning the social processes by which various competing need interpretations are generated” (Fraser 1989: 182). By that she means how inclusive or exclusive, or how egalitarian or hierarchical, the group discourse has been. According to Fraser, the best means of arriving at a particular need interpretation are communicative, closely approximating the ideals of democracy, equality and fairness. The other set of important considerations is related to the consequences of a particular interpretation in comparison to rival interpretations of the same need. According to Fraser, the best interpretations are those that do not disadvantage a section of people vis à vis others. Hence, “justifying some interpretations of social needs as better than others involves balancing procedural and consequentialist considerations” (Fraser 1989: 182).

The research works with this framework for interpretation of needs in analysing the various discourses on claims making within social movements and the ways in which they get translated in policy change (if at all) to understand the basis of the legitimacy of needs (UNRISD 2013; Fraser 1989). Further, the research works with the understanding that the discursive space available to different actors is by no means equal, whether it be in terms of access, voice or influence, and that the contestation engendered by this discursive space is important to how issues are framed and how issues are adopted and implemented in policy, as well as how far a policy satisfactorily addresses needs (UNRISD 2013).

Moreover, representational justice is an important means of analysing the hierarchies and inequalities prevalent in translating claims making to policy (Fraser 2009; UNRISD 2013). It helps to analyse as the concept note puts it, “who sets and shapes the agenda, who participates in negotiations and takes on leadership roles, and the mechanisms through which different voices are heard or represented” (UNRISD 2013).

### *2.1.3 Actors and factors influencing policy change*

There are several agents, actors that are involved in the process of policy change: women’s movements, groups, networks, alliances, epistemic communities, and transnational networks, bilateral and international agencies, governmental task forces as well as champions in bureaucracy and government, the media and the judiciary (UNRISD 2013). In this research, we have located the role of this range of actors through secondary research, while the fieldwork focused on three sets of actors: women’s organisations, labour organisations and international actors. International actors were only interviewed in the context of domestic work (to analyse what effect international pressure had on an issue with little policy traction), particularly through the work of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and international networks such as the International Domestic Workers Network.

The question of women’s groups and what constitutes “feminist” and “women’s issues” is a difficult one (Khanna and Pradhan 2012), and while we work with Htun and Weldon’s understanding that the actors may change across issue types, we are also mindful of the argument that the nature of organisations working on domestic work has

also changed (Neetha 2013c). Moreover, the research identifies a range of women's groups, as well as the contested nature of the claims among these groups, constituting a diverse and dynamic field of feminist politics. The research also locates whether there has been a change in actors and a subsequent change in the discourse of claims making and counter-claims making.

There are several factors that this research takes into account in locating the processes of claims making and policy change, including the following:

### Structural configurations

Questions of caste, religion, disability, etc. play a key role in our analysis, particularly in locating whose voices get heard in the policy arena. In the case of anti-rape laws, whether or not the voices of dalit or disabled women are heard in anti-rape claims making forms a key component of the research. Similarly, with domestic work, apart from the redistributive claims on domestic work, we also examine whether claims making on caste and sexual discrimination, as well as the claims of the more marginalised migrant workers, are voiced and heard within the wider claims making by groups.

### Degree of openness in policy space

Htun and Weldon (2010) list the “degree of democracy” as one of the national contextual factors that influence policy change. However, we argue that this factor, while important, needs to be differentiated further, because the degree of democracy, particularly in terms of the degree of openness of the state to policy change, or of groups to access this space or even to mobilise on issues, may not be homogenous across issues and regions in the same country. For instance, domestic workers have been able to form unions in states such as Rajasthan and in Karnataka, but they have had great difficulty in unionising in West Bengal (ISST 2013). Therefore, we examine the degree of openness of policy space in terms of freedom to mobilise/organise, the degree of participation of civil society in policy space and the transparency of policy space and policy-making processes. The degree of openness of policy space is an important factor in analysing whether or not claims get heard by policy makers.

### Nature of strategy used by groups in claims making

The research examines the wide range of strategies deployed by groups to have their voices heard—such as network building, lobbying, marches, Jan Sunways/public hearings—and their effectiveness. It also examines the nature of strategy in terms of how actors find access to policy space, how they build alliances/networks and how they shape discourse around a claim.

#### *2.1.4 Context of federalism and implications for research*

In order to contextualise the laws and policies on rape as well as domestic work at national and subnational levels, it is necessary to briefly introduce the bifurcation of regulatory and legislative power between the Centre (national level) and the States (subnational levels) in India.

India has a complex and mixed federal structure with Article 246 of the Constitution of India distributing the legislative powers between the Parliament at the centre and the Legislative Assemblies in the states. Article 246 specifies the three lists in the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution: (i) the Union List with subjects over which the centre has sole power to legislate; (ii) the State List with subjects over which the states have sole

power to legislate; (iii) the Concurrent List with subjects on which both the Parliament and the state legislatures have concurrent legislative power.

Within this structure, laws dealing with violence against women are largely a set of unified criminal and civil laws applicable across the country. The laws dealing with rape in particular are a set of criminal laws valid for the whole country found in three legislations, namely, the Indian Penal Code, the Indian Evidence Act and the Criminal Procedure Code. Although there are a set of unified criminal laws across the country, criminal law and criminal procedure are both in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution of India, which means that state governments also enact, administer/implement criminal laws. Further, there are special laws such as the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities Act), which name and proscribe crimes of sexual violence against dalit women. Such special laws can be enacted by both the states and the centre. Therefore, while there are national-level criminal laws, the implementation of laws and the delivery of justice are far more intricate and complicated.

A multi-pronged focus on the delivery of justice for survivors of sexual violence for instance, implicates the judiciary, the legal aid board, the police and the health sector, apart from other agencies such as the Ministry of Women and Child Development that provide shelters for survivors and schemes through the Rape Victims Compensation Board (CEHAT 2012). While the Constitution of India provides for a single integrated judicial system of courts to administer both Central and State laws, the regulation of the police is a State subject with each State having the power to organise and frame rules and regulations.<sup>1</sup> The health sector comes into play in the context of the delivery of justice for survivors of sexual violence, as Section 164 A of the Criminal Procedure Code vests all registered medical practitioners with the responsibility of documenting particulars of the survivors of violence, including the history of assault, marks of injuries and collection of medico-legal evidence. Moreover, survivors require medical support not just for gender-sensitive forensic examination and evidence collection, but also for holistic treatment of the physical and psychological consequences of sexual assault (CEHAT 2012). Just as with public order and the police, public health and hospitals are listed as state subjects under the Seventh Schedule.

Laws on domestic work are similarly subject to a complex federal structure. Under the Constitution of India, “labour” is in the concurrent list of the Seventh Schedule to the Constitution, so both the states and the central government are competent to legislate on the subject, resulting in a diverse array of both Central and State legislations. The Working Group for the 12th Five-Year Plan on Labour Laws and other Regulations lists 44 legislations enacted by the Centre, some of which are enforced by the central government only, others by both central and state governments, and still others by the state governments alone.<sup>2</sup> Given that labour is in the concurrent list, there are also laws that are enacted and enforced by various state governments.

In this intricate terrain of distribution of power for legislating and implementing laws and policies on sexual violence and domestic work, the research examines the focus of

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<sup>1</sup> “Public order” and the “Police” are entries in the State List of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution. Even so, the Indian Police Service (IPS) is an All India Service recruited, trained and managed by the Central government and which provides the bulk of senior officers to the State Police Forces. Moreover, the Constitution also allows the Centre to play a coordinating and counselling role in police matters (see Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative/CHRI document on the Police Organisation in India).

<sup>2</sup> For our purposes, it is interesting to note that the Minimum Wages Act 1948 is enforced by both central and state governments, while the Unorganised Sector Social Security Act, 2008 is enforced by the state governments.

mobilisations on domestic work and sexual violence, not just in terms of the content of and strategies used by groups, but also in terms of whom the mobilisations are directed at.

## **2.2 Methodology of the Research**

This research is conceived of as a comparative research project. It seeks to compare women's mobilisations on domestic work and on anti-rape laws as well as between the two subnational levels of Karnataka and Gujarat. It is a qualitative research study, which uses both primary and secondary methods of data collection. It uses library research and semi-structured interviews.

### *2.2.1 National and subnational levels: choice of sites for research*

This research is focused on analysing the mobilisations on two issues in two Indian states (subnational levels): namely, anti-rape and domestic work in Gujarat and Karnataka. The choice of sites was based on two imperatives: the first was practical (composition of the team and their knowledge of local context and language) and the second was based on the context of the two subnational levels.

#### **Context of the two states in relation to the two issues**

Based on our initial research on the nature of mobilisations in the two states, there were more specifically domestic worker-focused groups/unions in Karnataka than in Gujarat. While Gujarat has a long history of mobilising unorganised women workers since the formation of the Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA) in Ahmedabad in the 1970s (Bhatt 1998), which counted domestic workers among its members, there did not seem to be many other organisations in Gujarat mobilising domestic workers, apart from Saath, a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based on an entrepreneurship model of social action.

On the other hand, Karnataka seemed to have several groups working with domestic workers and, unlike in Gujarat, it seemed that these mobilisations were more sector-specific with several groups focused on domestic workers as a separate category of workers (see G. Menon 2013). Moreover, there has also been a strong dalit mobilisation in Karnataka since the 1970s with the formation of the Dalit Sangharsh Samithi, and the proliferation of several dalit groups.<sup>3</sup> It was our understanding that this had possibly influenced the nature of the mobilisation on domestic work in Karnataka, with at least one of the domestic worker groups in Karnataka, the Karnataka Gruha Karmikara Sangha (KGKS), being formed out of a strong dalit feminist ethos.

Similarly on violence against women, although both states have a long history of mobilisation on violence (see Kumar 1989, 1993; Mazumdar 2000), our presumption was that the particular context of the communal violence in Gujarat would provide interesting insights into the nature of mobilisations and claims making against the State. In Karnataka, on the other hand, there was a proliferation of several organisations working with sexuality minorities, including lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) communities and with sex workers. These specific contexts offer interesting contrasts and comparisons between the two states on the tenor and nature of claims making and for analysing how gender-egalitarian policy change occurs.

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<sup>3</sup> See Nair 1993; Nagaraj 1993; Japhet 1997; Chigateri 2004.

## Choice of Delhi for the national picture

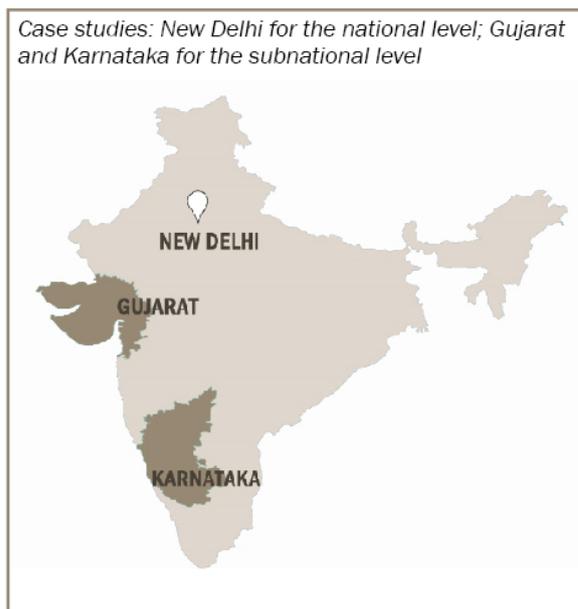
Apart from the two states, we chose New Delhi to represent claims-making processes at the national level directed at the central government. The city, however, presents a conceptual dilemma as it is both a state—separate subnational level—and the capital of India, housing the headquarters of the key national policy-making agencies. So not all of the organisations we met were always only engaged in national-level mobilisations, given that—like any other state—there were context-specific mobilisations too. The research has tried to parse out from the mobilisations in Delhi those that were focused on national level changes in laws and policies.

### 2.2.2 Research methods

The research relies on secondary data through a review of literature, including “grey” literature such as newsletters and pamphlets, as well as on primary data based on semi-structured interviews. The research followed a snowball sampling method to identify participants. A list of possible respondents—representatives of organisations as well as individuals—was initially prepared and through them further contacts were established in Gujarat, Karnataka and in Delhi.

In total, 62 interviews were completed in Delhi, Gujarat and Karnataka on both domestic work and violence against women, with the average length of each interview being over one hour. We conducted 8 interviews focused on domestic worker mobilisations and 10 on anti-rape mobilisations in Karnataka, 6 interviews on domestic worker mobilisations and 14 on anti-rape mobilisations in Gujarat, and 13 interviews on domestic worker mobilisations in Delhi (and elsewhere, such as Mumbai and Geneva) and 11 on anti-rape mobilisations in Delhi (and elsewhere). For the details of the dates and the names of interviewees, please see Appendix II.

**Figure 1: India: Case studies map**



## Organisations and networks interviewed on anti-rape mobilisations

### ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS INTERVIEWED IN DELHI

In Delhi, we interviewed individuals from the following organisations and networks: AIDWA, the All India Progressive Women’s Association (AIPWA), Centre for

Women's Development Studies (CWDS), Citizen's Collective against Sexual Assault (CCSA), HAQ, Jagori, the National Alliance of Women's Organisations (NAWO), the National Federation of Dalit Women (NFDW), Saheli, Women against Sexual Assault and State Repression (WSS). We also conducted one interview in Bangalore of an ex-member of the Forum against the Oppression of Women, Mumbai (FAOW, or Forum). The groups interviewed are autonomous women's groups (not affiliated to any political party) (Saheli, Jagori, Forum, HAQ), as well as national-level networks (NAWO, NFDW, WSS) and mass-based party-affiliated organisations (AIPWA, AIDWA). CWDS is a long-standing and well-established gender research organisation, and CCSA is a Delhi-based collective.

#### ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED IN GUJARAT

In Gujarat, we interviewed individuals from the following organisations: Ahmedabad Women's Action Group (AWAG), AIDWA, ANANDI, the Behavioural Sciences Centre (BSC), the Centre for Social Justice (CSJ), Lakshya, Navsarjan Trust, Sahaj, Sahiyar (Stree Sangathan), Sahr Waru, Swati and Utthan.

Some of these organisations are autonomous women's organisations working on violence against women (AWAG, Sahr Waru), autonomous women's organisations working on various other gender issues including violence against women (ANANDI, Sahiyar (Stree Sangathan) Utthan, Swati, Sahaj), identity-based organisations (Navsarjan Trust, Lakshya), socio-legal organisations which also work on violence against women (CSJ), NGOs working more broadly with marginalised communities that also work on violence against women (Sanchetana and BSC) and mass-based party-affiliated organisations (AIDWA).

#### ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED IN KARNATAKA

In Karnataka, we interviewed individuals from the following organisations: AIDWA, Alternative Law Forum (ALF), Aneka, Hengasara Hakkina Sangha (HHS), LesBit, Sangama, Sex Workers Union, Stree Jagriti Samithi (SJS), Vimochana and Women's Voice. Some of these organisations are autonomous women's groups working largely on violence against women (Vimochana, HHS) and some others are women's organisations working with the unorganised sectors of women workers (particularly domestic workers) on issues of redistributive justice, but also on violence against women (Women's Voice and SJS). There are also a large number of groups working with sexuality rights (Aneka, Sangama, LesBit, Sex Workers Union) which come to the question of violence against women from that perspective, and there are groups such as ALF that are mainly human rights organisations (dealing with litigation, research and advocacy) which work on a broad range of issues including domestic work, sexuality and violence against women. AIDWA, as has been mentioned earlier, is a mass-based organisation which works with marginalised women on a range of issues including violence against women.

### Organisations and networks interviewed on domestic worker mobilisations

#### ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS INTERVIEWED IN DELHI AND ELSEWHERE

In Delhi, we interviewed individuals from the following organisations: AIDWA, Delhi Shramik Sangathan, the Domestic Workers Forum (part of Chetanalaya), Institute of Social Studies Trust (ISST)-Saathi Centre, Jagori, the National Domestic Workers Movement and Nirman. We also interviewed individuals from Women in Informal Employment Globalising and Organising (WIEGO) in Delhi and through skype. We interviewed a founding member of the National Platform for Domestic Workers (NPDW) in Delhi and the founder of the National Domestic Workers Movement in

Mumbai. We also interviewed a member of the International Labour Organisation in Delhi.

#### ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED IN GUJARAT

In Gujarat, we interviewed members of the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), the Domestic Workers' Rights Campaign (DWRC) the New Trade Union Initiative (NTUI), Saath and SEWA. One of these is a federation of trade unions (NTUI), and another is a central trade union (BMS). SEWA is a women-focused trade union of poor, self-employed women workers, and DWRC is a national-level campaign group of domestic workers. Saath is a non-governmental organisation based on an entrepreneurship model.

#### ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED IN KARNATAKA

In Karnataka, we interviewed two central trade union-affiliated domestic worker organisations (Centre of Indian Trade Unions/CITU, Indian National Trade Union Congress/INTUC), five domestic worker-trade unions affiliated to different NGOs: Association for Promoting Social Action (APSA), Foundation for Educational Innovation in Asia (FEDINA), National Movement for Domestic Workers (NMDW), SJS and Women's Voice. We also interviewed one independent domestic worker union (Karnataka Domestic Workers Union/KDWU).

### *2.2.3 Limitations of the research*

This report is not to be read as a comprehensive account of claims-making processes across the country, but rather as providing a glimpse into the nature of claims-making and claims-making processes that groups are engaged in. Moreover, given that the primary research is limited to cities of two states (Bangalore in Karnataka, and Baroda and Ahmedabad in Gujarat) and a third city state (Delhi) (owing to the lack of resources), the picture of claims-making is at best partial at both national and subnational levels. We have however done our best to supplement primary materials with secondary research where available. Further, although the respondents working on a wide range of issues—especially those at the margins of claims-making processes such as dalits, minorities, LGBT, state repression and disability—were carefully chosen, others were not included due to lack of time and/or availability.

### *2.2.4 Ethics of the research*

This research follows the ethical guidelines laid down by the American Anthropological Association for conducting research (AAA 2012). The consent of research participants has been an important task for the research team, with approval sought from respondents at various stages. At the time of the interview, a formal written consent document—describing the research purpose and goals as well as the researchers' rights and responsibilities—was presented to the respondent. It states that, if the participant so desires, full confidentiality of his/her identity will be ensured during and after the research process. The document also includes permission to record the interview and gives the participant the right to not answer any question that he/she may not be comfortable with as well as the right to end the interview at any time (see appendix III).