The Human Rights Sector in Mumbai, India

Evidence from Activists and the Public

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Cover photo by David Crow.

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Executive Summary

Over the last three decades, local human rights organizations have proliferated across India, focusing their energies on a wide range of issues. These groups have been important counter-weights to many government and private sector policies that perpetuate injustice and inequality. They have also helped combat the negative human and environmental implications that economic liberalization and globalization have had across the nation. Indeed, urban centers such as Mumbai have become hubs of advocacy and rights-related activities and organizations.

To learn more about the human rights sector's resources, capacities, reputation, and prospects, we gathered data from experts, local human rights organizations (LHROs), and the general public in Mumbai between 2010 and 2013.

This work is one part of a broader study on local human rights communities and public opinion worldwide called the Human Rights Organizations Project. For details of this project, visit https://jamesron.com/hro-project/.

Our research began by interviewing a representative sample of 30 local human rights organizations in Mumbai. According to human rights workers in Mumbai:

1. **It is difficult for the average person to understand the term "human rights."**
   More than half of respondents agreed or strongly agreed to this, although some workers stated media coverage and NGO and government campaigns were increasing awareness about human rights.

2. **Those aware of basic human rights, even if broadly, are unable to act on them.**
   The average person may understand their basic rights but may be unable to stand up for them due to fear of repercussions or a lack of knowledge on how to protect their rights.

3. **LHRO leaders think that the public perceives them as being anti-government and various other characteristics.**
   Most frequently, human rights workers thought they were perceived as anti-government, but they also believed perceptions of human rights workers may include anti-development but not pro-West. Activists also mentioned feeling generally perceived as middle class, women, or associated with militant communist movements.

Next, we surveyed a representative sample of 1,680 adults in Mumbai and rural Maharashtra state. Survey participants reported that:

1. **They have a favorable view of human rights conditions.**
   A vast majority (75%) of the public reported believing there is either some respect or a lot of respect for human rights conditions at the time of the survey.

2. **They are not exposed to human rights often.**
   The majority of respondents had never met a human rights worker, rarely or never heard the term "human rights," and could not name any specific human rights organizations.

3. **They associate human rights with more positive definitions but have mixed perceptions of human rights organizations.**
   When associating non-government human rights organizations with the words "helpful," "useless," "corrupt," "elitist," "brave," and "trustworthy," no single perception was strongly associated with human rights organizations. However, when it came to associations to "human rights," respondents were more positive and most often associated the term (although a moderate association) with positive definitions such as promoting free and fair elections, protecting people from torture and murder, promoting socio-economic justice, and protecting women's rights.

4. **Funding sources affect how much they trust LHROs, yet very few donate to or participate in these groups.**
   Half of respondents believed LHRO funding came from domestic sources, despite only a small percentage having ever donated to or participated in the organization. However, they had less trust in organizations they thought were government-funded as opposed to foreign-funded.

5. **They have some, not a lot of trust in LHROs overall.**
   Respondents have more trust in banks, the army, and religious institutions than in human rights organizations. Importantly, those with more trust in the government had less trust in human rights organizations.

Comparing the Two Data Sources

In several cases, human rights workers in Mumbai accurately perceived the public's attitudes towards the broader political environment, human rights organizations, and the human rights discourse. For example:

1. LHRO leaders think "human rights" is a hard concept for people to understand and use (page 13). The data suggest that most people indeed haven't heard the term often or haven't ever met LHRO workers (pages 30-31).

2. LHRO leaders feel that Mumbaikars see them as anti-government or otherwise viewed them somewhat ambiguously (page 16-17). The survey data show that Mumbaikars have little trust in LHROs compared to some other institutions and trust international HROs slightly more than domestic HROs (pages 35, 38).

3. LHRO leaders think that religious and political organizations are better than LHROs at reaching the grassroots (pages 22-23); indeed, Mumbaikars are much more likely to participate in—and donate to—religious groups than any other type of organization (pages 36-37).

In other cases, professional human rights workers' sentiments differed from those of the general public:

1. LHROs barely get any funding from local/domestic sources (page 21), yet most respondents seemed to think that's where the majority of LHRO funding comes from—even though only a very small percentage had ever donated to a LHRO (page 37).

2. LHRO leaders felt that the poor quality of education, the way average people are socialized, a larger preoccupation with basic survival, and poorly functioning rights-enforcing institutions are key reasons why average Mumbaikars have difficulty understanding and using the term "human rights" (pages 13-14). However, while internet usage was associated with more exposure to human rights, higher education or higher income was not (page 31).

3. LHRO leaders felt that many Mumbaikars are aware of their rights but unable to use them (pages 14-15). Although some Mumbaikars associated human rights with positive definitions such as promoting free and fair elections, protecting people from torture and murder, promoting socio-economic justice, and protecting women's rights, the data suggest that they may not aware of their rights in a meaningful way (pages 32-34).

4. Urban residents trust LHROs less when compared to rural residents (page 36), yet LHROs leaders seemed to have mixed views on urban/rural perceptions (pages 15-16).

Part I:
The Context

Political History

India won independence from Britain in 1947 and its new constitution, which included provisions for both civil and political rights and social and economic rights, came into affect in January 1950. In the immediate period after independence, the Indian government remained rather fragile and faced grave challenges in the wake of partition and the 1962 India-China border war. The nation was ruled for the most part by the left-leaning Indian National Congress Party from 1950 through to the mid-1990s. After Jawaharlal Nehru, the founding father of India, passed away in 1964, his daughter Indira Gandhi soon succeeded him in 1966.

Although her party was elected on a platform of progressive policies, it grew increasingly authoritarian over time. By the mid-1970s Indira Gandhi faced internal party opposition and was losing popular support. Electoral fraud eventually led to mass demonstrations against her party's rule across the country. Gandhi responded by declaring a state of emergency between June 1975 and March 1977, one of the darkest periods of India's political history to-date. This emergency period essentially involved the suspension of civil and political rights. Citizens witnessed four forms of state responses to the escalating levels of social conflicts and violence: increasing constriction of fundamental rights through formal constitutional amendments; the proliferation of new repressive legislation; recurrent use of the "preventive detention" clause through the use of the colonial Disturbed Areas Act and the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (among others); and the proliferation and modernisation of new coercive instruments, as well as their frequent use without transparent accountability (e.g., Border Security Forces, Rapid Action Force, and "Black Cat" Commandos).[2] Moreover, the government used police force across the nation to arrest thousands of protesters and their leaders.

Nevertheless, by 1980, Indira Gandhi and the Congress Party were in power again after winning elections against weaker opposition parties, including the Janata Party. While political unrest had certainly reduced by then, opposition to the state among civil society continued to grow in the 1980s. Indeed, civil society groups viewed the state as the principle human rights violator.[3] Gandhi's administration was only supportive of non-profit organizations so long as they focused on development work. While the government tolerated organizations doing work on empowerment, it actively monitored those that worked with opposition parties or extremist groups to carry out political objectives.[4] The state monitored NGOs using Commissions of Enquiry—state appointed bodies that looked into allegations against NGOs. The most famous

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[2] Ray, Ashwini K. 2003. "Human Rights Movement in India: A Historical Perspective," *Economic and Political Weekly*, 38(32), p. 3414.

[3] Gudawarthy, Ajay. 2008. "Human Rights Movements in India: State, Civil Society and Beyond," *Contributions to Indian Sociology,* 42(1), pp. 40-41.

[4] Sen, Siddhartha. 1992. "Non-profit Organisation in India: Historical Development and Common patterns," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 3(2), p. 187.

among them was the Kudal Commission, which attempted to eviscerate NGOs that had actively supported the Congress' opposition during emergency rule between 1981 and 1987.[5]

Towards the end of the Cold War, India faced a grave economic crisis, which led to the implementation of liberalizing economic reforms and a fundamental shift in the role of the state. As its economy opened up to the world, funds for investments and to civil society undoubtedly grew. The late 80s and early 90s were also, however, a period rife with communal and caste-related tensions across the nation. The adoption of measures to address caste discrimination, outlined in the Mandal Commission in 1989, sparked massive demonstrations and considerable violence throughout the country. Moreover, mobilization by right wing groups led to the demolition of a mosque in Northern India, considered to be built on top of a Hindu temple, which resulted in communal riots in several cities across the country.

In the wake of these events, the National Human Rights Commission was set up in 1993 followed by the establishment of several state-level commissions in recent years. Although India's political establishment has not experienced a political period as dark the national emergency, the stifling of voices and groups that speak out critically against the government and other powerful institutions remain ever present and appear to have worsened in recent years. It is not uncommon for watchdog groups and activists to face intimidation and lawsuits. Moreover, the government has continued to enforce and even tighten controls on non-profit organizations through its Foreign Contribution Regulation Act (FCRA), which all NGOs seeking foreign support for their work must acquire. This Act, which first passed in 1976 to curtail external support for domestic civil society, has been tightened by subsequent administrations in 1985, 2010, and 2015. According to former prime ministers and the current one, Narendra Modi, foreign-funded NGOs interested in human rights, the environment, and related causes are undermining India's economic development.[6]

Contemporary Human Rights Concerns

Despite being the world's largest democracy and having an independent judiciary, a strong civil society, vigorous media, and several national and state-level institutions help to ensure the protection of human rights, Indian remains home to a wide range of human rights violations.

These violations include, *inter alia*, violence and discrimination related to caste and "untouchability," violence against women in various forms (e.g., dowry deaths, domestic violence, rape), and various atrocities committed by the police with widespread impunity. Thus, unsurprisingly, various NGOs have dedicated themselves

Photo by Adil Basha via www.flickr.com

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[5] Kudva, Neema. 2005. "Strong States, Strong NGOs," in Raka Ray and Mary Fainsod Kartzenstein (eds) *Social Movements in India: Poverty, Politics, and Politics* (Landham, MD: Rowaman and Littlefield), pp. 237, 243-245.

[6] For background on Indian restrictions to foreign aid, see Jalali, Rita. 2008. "International Funding of NGOs in India: Bringing the State Back In," *Voluntas*, 19(2), pp. 161-188.

to human rights advocacy, activism and related programs across India.

While the Indian constitution protects freedom of expression, governments at both the national and state level have misused vaguely-worded laws in order to silence political critics; in fact, in 2016 there was a spike in the number of sedition cases filed.[7] This silencing of peaceful protest has had a chilling effect on civil society nationwide.

Photo by Vikalp Women's Group, India via www.flickr.com

The mistreatment of people with psychosocial or intellectual disabilities—particularly women and girls—is also of great concern. Many women or girls are being institutionalized against their will, often due to allowances in the Mental Health Act that permit family members to institutionalize women and girls without a court order.[8]

Armed groups continue to threaten civilians while the criminal justice system fails to ensure justice for violence and other criminal abuses. Extrajudicial executions, torture and other ill treatment continue to persist, while human rights defenders, journalists and protesters face ongoing arbitrary arrests and detentions. As of January 2016, over 3,200 people were being held in detention on executive orders, without charge or trial. In addition, the state government of Gujarat passed an anti-terror bill in April that contained several provisions violating international standards.[9]

In terms of Mumbai specifically, the city has a history of extreme inequality, unrest, and impunity. In particular, the Bombay Riots in 1992-93 tore the city apart, followed soon after by a series of 12 organized crime-related bombings in 1993 that caused extensive loss of life and property (the city was renamed Mumbai in 1996). The Supreme Court did not give judgment on the case until 2013, and the two main suspects have never been arrested or tried, contributing to the sense of impunity and failed justice across India. The city also has vast swaths of urban

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[7] Human Rights Watch. 2016. "Stifling Dissent: The Criminalization of Peaceful Expression in India." Retrieved November 27, 2016 (https://www.hrw.org/report/2016/05/24/stifling-dissent/criminalization-peaceful-expression-india).

[8] Human Rights Watch. 2014. "Treated Worse than Animals": Abuses against Women and Girls with Psychosocial or Intellectual Disabilities in Institutions in India. Retrieved November 28, 2016 (https://www.hrw.org/report/2014/12/03/treated-worse-animals/abuses-against-women-and-girls-psychosocial-or-intellectual).

[9] Amnesty International. 2016. "India: Overview (2016)." Retrieved November 25, 2016 (https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/india/).

slums, where violence against women is particularly high and basic needs are not met due to extreme poverty.[10]

Mumbai's Non-Governmental Rights Sector

The non-profit sector in India allegedly consists of approximately 1.5 million organizations working on a myriad of issues, but a much smaller subset of these organizations work on or from a human rights perspective.[11] It was not until the national emergency period during the mid-1970s, however, that human rights organizing and activism crystalized more formally and really began to blossom.[12] During and after this period, new organizations—including what many deem to be India's first formal human rights organization, the People Union for Civil Liberties[13]—sprung up to work for a return to democracy and for civil liberties.

In the post-emergency period, the growth in local rights groups has persisted and diversified to a broad range of rights concerns across India. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, the human rights organizations that focused on "democratic rights" grew and sometimes organized as radical militant struggles grew.[14] According to experts, however, three broad, non-mutually exclusive categories of groups have emerged in recent decades: 1) issue-specialized social movements and their associated NGOs working for the rights of women, Dalits, and the environment; 2) organizations addressing communal tensions, minorities, and inter-group violence; and 3) organizations focused on protecting individuals and communities from the challenges of economic liberalization and globalization.[15] These general subtypes of organizations have continued to thrive in the new millennium and achieved a number of legal and policy successes. Some of these successes include legal support for citizens' rights to information, education, food, and to the sexual preference of their choice.[16]

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[10]Thompson, Lyric. 2012. "Mumbai's Urban Slums: Ground Zero for Human Dignity." Amnesty International. Retrieved November 26, 2016 (http://blog.amnestyusa.org/escr/mumbais-urban-slums-ground-zero-for-human-dignity/).

[11] Sundar, Pushpa. 2010. *Foreign Aid for Indian NGOs: Problem or Solution?* (New Delhi; New York: Routledge) and Jenkins, Rob. "Non-governmental Organizations," in *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*, ed. Niraja Gopal Jayal and Pratap Bhanu Mehta (New Delhi: Oxford University Press), pp. 423-440.

[12] Patel, Vibhuti . 2010. "Human Rights Movements in India." *Social Change*, 40 (4), pp.459-477; Ray (2003): 3414.

[13] Key Informant 6

[14] Gudawarthy (2008): 29-57.

[15] These broad categorizations are not mutually exclusive and are based on comments from several key informant interviews conducted with human rights experts in India between September and November 2010. These interviews were conducted in person, via Skype or on the telephone by the first author. Individuals consulted included activists, lawyers, researchers, and practitioners who had extensive experience working in human rights organizations and/or researching, writing and working in the field of human rights in Mumbai, India, and South Asia. All in person interviews were conducted in New Delhi and Mumbai. For more details, see Appendix A.

[16] The 2005 Right to Information Act provides for a timely response to citizen requests for government information; the 2009 Right to Education Act stipulates that children have a right to quality elementary education; and the 2013 National Food Security Act provides legal protection for the right to food. For more on the Right to Food Campaign see Hertel, S., 2014. "Hungry for Justice: Social Mobilization on the Right to Food in India." *Development and Change*, 46(1), pp.72–94. In 2009 the Delhi High Court decriminalized homosexuality; however, the Supreme Court later overruled this ruling in December 2013.

Mumbai's non-profit rights sector has developed along the lines of national developments. Many of the city's rights groups focused on civil liberties in the late 1970s and 1980s. In response to planned slum evictions, many began to focus on the rights of slum and pavement dwellers as well.[17] Mumbai also became a hub of women's rights activism with the formation of the Forum Against the Oppression of Women.[18] Other LHROs focused on communal harmony and justice for victims of the 1992-3 communal riots. More recently, the Ration Kriti Samiti (RKS) network of Mumbai and Maharashtra-based organizations has tried to galvanize activism around inequities in public food distribution.[19] Other Mumbai rights groups focus on a wide variety of specific issues, including the right to education, health, information, and the rights of LGBT individuals.

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[17] Key Informant 1. For a detailed discussion of housing related developments in Mumbai and as well as key housing rights groups in Mumbai, see Chapter 4 and 5 of Ramanath, Ramya. 2005. *From Conflict to Collaboration: Nongovernmental Organizations and their Negotiations for Local Control of Slum and Squatter Housing in Mumbai, India*, (Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University). For a brief overview on housing related developments see Patel, Nishika. 2011. " Battle over Mumbai's Slums," *The Guardian*, March 11, (http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/poverty-matters/2011/mar/11/mumbai-slums-developers-profits-residents).

[18] Key Informant 7

[19] For a historical overview of the early years of the RKS see Goetz, Ann Marie& Rob Jenkins, 2001."Hybrid Forms of Accountability - Citizen engagement in institutions of public-sector oversight in India," *Public Management Review*, 3(3), pp. 363–384.

Part II:
Local Human Rights Organizations in Mumbai

To understand how human rights language, issues, and activists are perceived in Mumbai, we began by asking individuals working for local human rights organizations (LHROs) for their views. We spoke with professionals working for LHROs in Mumbai in order to understand what they see as the primary strategies, challenges, and strengths they face in human rights work. In this section, we first discuss their perceptions of the resonance of human rights language and ideas in Mumbai. Second, we explore the resources available, both domestically and internationally, to support their activities. Finally, we present their observations of the relationships between LHROs and other social sectors in Mumbai.

Methodological Overview

We carried out 30 in-depth interviews with a simple random sample of local human rights organizations (LHROs) in Mumbai in 2010-2011. We first created a list of all potential organizations in the city by conducting extensive web searches and consulting key experts on the human rights sector in the city. Next, we screened all organizations, using telephone calls and web searches, to determine if they fit the criteria for inclusion: 1) they were a registered NGO with headquarters in Mumbai; and 2) they had the term "rights" in their organizational mission or description of activities. This process generated a sampling frame of 57 LHROs (see Appendix C); to the best of our knowledge, this list includes all LHROs operating in Mumbai in 2010-2011.

Photo by David Crow

We randomly selected LHROs from the sampling frame for potential inclusion in the sample. Due to uncertainty expressed by key informants who reviewed the list, we decided to ask LHRO respondents to review and provide input on the list.[20] Overall, we contacted 46 organizations to generate 30 interviews, achieving a 65% response rate. Given the relatively large sample size of

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[20]The list was updated after every five interviews and a new random sequence was generated to select the next organizations for sampling. This was repeated until the 30 LHRO leaders completed the survey. During the sampling process a few organizations were added and others removed from the list.

organizations, we are confident that our sample is as representative of all LHROs operating in Mumbai at that time as possible.

Selected organizations were contacted by email or telephone, and the LHRO staff selected who would participate in the interview. Interviews were conducted in Hindi or English and lasted, on average, 66 minutes, covering a range of open-ended questions and closed-response items. For additional details, see Appendices B and C.

Characteristics of LHROs and Respondents

Compared to the general population (see Part III), the LHRO professionals were, on average, older, highly educated, and less religious. Our sample of 30 human rights workers included more men than women, with most respondents in their 40s and 50s. All respondents had attended university, most for at least four years, indicating many may have had some form of graduate education. Over half (52%) reported that their father had also attended university, and 21% said the same about their mother. All but one had attended university in a major city, a national capital, or a provincial capital. More than a third (37%) were Hindu, while 17% and 10% identified as Christian and Muslim, respectively. Notably, only 43% claimed to be practicing their faith, and nearly one third (30%) reported no religious identity.

Table 2.1
LHRO Representative Characteristics

Gender	43% women
Age (mean)	51 years
Education	
Completed secondary	100%
Attended university	100%
For at least four years	86%
Urban experience	
Attended secondary in major city, national or provincial capital	79%
Attended university in major city, national or provincial capital	97%
Religious identity	
Hindu	37%
Christian	17%
Muslim	10%
Buddhist	7%
No religion	30%
Religious practice	
Practicing	43%
Not practicing	47%
Unsure or no response	10%

Position at LHRO	
Years at current LHRO (median)	12 years
Senior staff position	97%
Work-related international trips in past five years (median)	0.5 trips
Had not taken a work-related international trip in past five years	50%

As can be seen in Table 2.1, the respondents had substantial experience in human rights work, having been at their current organizations for a median of 12 years. All but one person reported being in a senior position at their organization at that time, and 63% said that they had been working there longer than most other staff. Their work typically did not involve international travel, with only half having taken a work-related trip abroad in the past five years; and of those who had, 40% reported just one trip in that period.

Of the 30 sampled LHROs, two-thirds had a national-level focus (67%) (See Table 2.2).[21] Most often, LHROs' primary activities[22] were formal legal interventions and human rights education (ten organizations reported each of these); less commonly, LHROs focused on media and public advocacy (eight organizations), information gathering (five organizations), and other activities.[23]

Table 2.2
LHRO Characteristics

Scope	
World regional or global	7%
National	67%
Provincial, state, local, or village	27%
Primary activity	
Formal legal interventions	10 LHROs
Human rights education	10 LHROs
Media and public advocacy	8 LHROs
Information gathering	5 LHROs
Other	8 LHROs
Founded	
Year (median)	1989-1990
Before 1993	57%
From 1993-2000	20%
From 2001-2010	23%
Staff	
Paid staff (mean)	67%
Number (median)	50 staff
Bottom third	1-15 staff

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[21] The question asked to determine this was: *"Does your organization mainly seek to impact [which level]?"*
[22] Respondents were asked to select one area of primary activities, but 11 selected more than one category, resulting in 41 total responses (rather than 30) on this item.
[23] Other activities mentioned as their primary activities include: sexuality/health/gender and human rights of LGBT people, improving awareness on disability issues, organizing slum communities, empowerment of people, capacity building and community development, writing letters of complaint to government, and child protection.

Middle third	22-75 staff
Top third	80-1,200 staff
Funding	
Receive government funding	40%
Receive foreign funding	67%
Visits from foreign organizations last year (median)	4 visits

The sampled organizations were well established, with fully half founded prior to 1990[24] (five in the 1970s[25] and 10 in the 1980s). The median staff size was 50 people and the LHROs were highly professionalized, as 54% of interviewees reported that all the staff at their organizations received pay for their work and just 14% reported no paid staff; the mean response was two-thirds (67%) paid staff members. Additionally, Mumbai's rights groups are fairly connected to foreign organizations, reporting an average of four visits from foreign organizations in the past year, with just 16% of respondents saying their organization had not received foreign visitors.

Resonance of Human Rights Ideas

To measure how well average Mumbaikars understand the concept of human rights, we asked respondents to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "*Some say the term 'human rights' is difficult to understand and use for the average person in Mumbai.*" As Figure 2.1 demonstrates, more than half of the respondents (53%) either "strongly agreed" or "agreed" with this statement, and a minority of respondents (30%) either "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed." 17% of respondents neither agreed nor disagreed.

Figure 2.1
More than Half of LHRO Workers Think
Human Rights Language is Difficult to
Understand (N=30)

"Some say the term 'human rights' is hard for the average person to understand and use."

Strongly agree (13%)
Strongly disagree (10%)
Disagree (20%)
Agree (40%)
Neither agree nor disagree (17%)
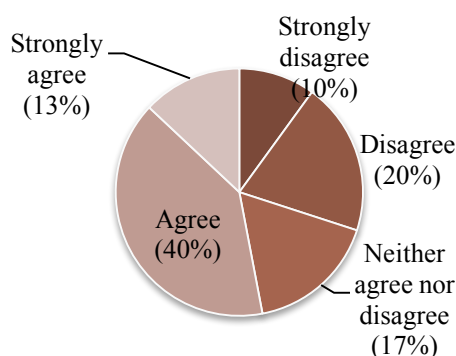
Those who disagreed that the term "human rights" was difficult for average Mumbaikars to understand and use said that there was increased awareness from campaigns and "awareness programs," undertaken by NGOs and the government, in addition to media coverage.[26] Others noted that organizations "are happy to make people know about their programs."[27] Another respondent indicated that most people in Mumbai read newspapers and are not

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[24] The median founding year of the entire sampling frame (57 LHROs) was 1992.
[25] Of the five LHROs founded in the 1970s, three had adopted rights-based approaches in the late 1990s and 2000s.
[26] AP-008-2010, AP-012-2011, AP-001-2011, AP-012-2011, AP-017-2011, AP-018-2011
[27] AP-017-2011

ignorant of the issues in their immediate surroundings.[28]

Some respondents also claimed that previous social movements, activism (including human rights activism), and trade unions in India have also allowed average people in Mumbai to become more aware of the concept of human rights. These movements have focused on various practices and instances of social, political, and economic inequality (many of which are rooted in Gandhian social thought). They have helped to develop peoples' ability to protest in urban and rural contexts and "have created new consciousness about things and produced a language of protest...."[29] India's independence from British Rule in 1947 was a specific movement that brought awareness of human rights to "all strata of society. It is not only connected with certain people and certain classes. The freedom struggle cut across all language[s], region[s], and that is one reason why people know about their rights."[30]

Barriers to Resonance

In line with responses from the surveyed Mumbaikars, the majority of LHRO leaders believed the term "human rights" is difficult for the average person to understand and use. Respondents identified five major reasons for this difficulty: the poor quality of education, socialization, poorly functioning rights-enforcing institutions, the spread and predominance of a right-wing value system, and a preoccupation with basic survival.

The most frequently mentioned reason for poor understanding is the poor quality of education available to the average population.[31] One respondent described how human rights are "not a foreign concept. It's basically that people are not educated about their rights." Human rights are now being included in some curriculums for students studying social sciences or similar topics, but students in subjects such as the natural sciences would have no exposure to human rights. The education system in Mumbai is also problematic: many students simply go to school in order to find a good job and are not receiving a well-rounded education, resulting in a lack of interest and knowledge regarding human rights by these students.[32] Respondents also described how many poor people are not educated about what their rights include,[33] and they tend to think that governmental policies are simply favors as opposed to political obligations and fundamental rights.

Another important barrier to understanding human rights is how the average person is socialized in Mumbai. Historically, rigid divisions and hierarchies between castes and genders have defined individual, familial and societal relations. People are culturally conditioned and socialized to accept these ideas, and gender and caste hierarchies often seem natural to the average Mumbaikar. New human rights ideas are not well received because they go against these

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[28] AP-001-2011
[29] AP-018-2011
[30] AP-003-2011
[31] AP-004-2011, AP-005-2010, AP-006-2010, AP-009-2011, AP-011-2010, AP-011-2011, AP-013-2010, AP-004-2010, AP-013-2011
[32] AP-005-2011
[33] AP-011-2011

longstanding values,[34] and the average Mumbaikar may simply be unable to imagine what life would be like if everyone were equal.

Many respondents stated failing governmental institutions also foster an ignorance of human rights because government policies and institutions such as the national and state human rights commissions are full of corruption and inappropriate use of funds.[35] Respondents explained it is difficult to create a culture of human rights in Mumbai, and to help average people understand the human rights concepts, because they have yet to experience these rights being properly fulfilled. One respondent described how human rights commissions in India don't really function and in fact are primarily cosmetic—but if they actually worked and made concrete changes in peoples' lives, then people could develop a proper understanding.[36]

Several respondents also pointed out the right-wing value system gaining predominance over the last 20 years has only made it more difficult for the average Mumbaikar to understand "human rights."[37] Instead, many average people understand human rights as a way to obtain personal wealth and betterment, and they often see human rights as an inconvenience that limits their choices.[38] One respondent provided an example of how many people disagreed with human rights activists when the activists protested against the multinational and exploitative company McDonalds. The average person did not understand the moral issues behind the company's actions and simply wanted to consume McDonalds "because it's the 'in' thing to do…."[39] Moreover, many orthodox religious leaders viewed human rights as a foreign concept threatening traditional practices and values. Given that average people have been conditioned over generations to never question the status quo, it is very difficult to foster deeper understanding and awareness of human rights.[40]

Many average people in Mumbai also have difficulty understanding human rights because they are "busy with issues of survival."[41] Due to the constant struggles of daily life, they only understand human rights in relation to basic needs and not as a concept beyond means of survival. The average Mumbaikars may also be unable to come together and take action to protect their rights. For example, if people cannot afford to miss a day of work (especially because of the competitive nature of their work)[42] then they cannot attend meetings or other events related to human rights.[43]

Average Mumbaikars—Aware of Basic Rights but Unable to Use Them

Almost one-third of interviewed rights workers pointed out that although average Mumbaikars may be aware of their basic rights, they are unable to use them or take action to assert their

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[34] AP-008-2010
[35] AP-004-2010, AP-013-2010, AP-016-2011, AP-013-2011, AP-014-2011, AP-008-2011 & AP-010-2011
[36] AP-013-2011
[37] AP-005-2011, AP-009-2010, AP-009-2011, AP-012-2011, AP-016-2011, AP-013-2011, AP-019-2011
[38] AP-012-2011
[39] AP-019-2011
[40] AP-005-2011
[41] AP-019-2011
[42] AP-015-2011
[43] AP-015-2011

rights.[44] Referring to their human rights, one respondent explained how average people may "understand but they will not demand [them]."[45] According to respondents, in some cases inaction stems from a lack of awareness of how to stand up and fight for oneself. In others, the term is not acted upon due to a fear of repercussions of doing so. For instance, a girl or woman may be aware of her rights but unable to fight abuse from her father because that would challenge traditional, patriarchal family relations and threaten her immediate physical and mental well being—even more so than not standing up against abuse.[46] Highly vulnerable and impoverished populations may further feel like human rights do not apply to them given their status in society.

Rural vs. Urban Perceptions of Human rights

We also probed respondents on their views about the whether understanding of human rights differed between rural and urban residents. Some respondents claimed there is less understanding of the concept in rural areas because human rights is a modern concept, and those in rural areas have limited access to information about it.[47] Additionally, many traditional and feudal constructs of caste and gender-based relations still prevail in rural areas, preventing an understanding of human rights.[48] One interviewee described how "[t]he notion of [the] individual is…philosophically speaking, very weak in this country [and especially in rural areas]."[49] People in Mumbai are generally more liberal, but people in rural areas still identify with their castes and do not focus on their individual wants and needs—they simply work and complete tasks because they believe it is their caste duty.[50]

Photo by David Crow

Contrastingly, two rights workers believed the understanding of rights is far better in rural areas compared to Mumbai. They believe rural residents have a better understanding because they are more politically active than the urban middle class in Mumbai. The bulk of India's politicians and activists originate from villages, and most political

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[44] AP-008-2011, AP-012-2011, AP-015-2011, AP-020-2011, AP-014-2010, AP-009-2011, AP-011-2011, AP-002-2011, AP-015-2011 (The first four disagreed, next three agreed, and last two neither agreed nor disagreed that the term human rights is difficult for the average person in Mumbai to understand and use.)

[45] AP-011-2011

[46] AP-002-2011

[47] AP-010-2011, AP-001-2011

[48] AP-006-2010, AP-012-2011, AP-015-2011, AP-014-2011

[49] AP-015-2011

[50] AP-014-2011

movements are anchored in rural areas.[51] Respondents also felt that people in rural areas are more community centered in their thinking, whereas Mumbaikars are generally not as considerate of others.[52]

Yet, others felt that there is no divide between rural and urban residents.[53] Some believe rural residents know as much about human rights as people from urban areas but are unable to take action. However, the choice of many of these people to migrate to urban areas in search for a better life is likely due to their understanding of basic rights.[54] Other interviewees thought awareness is equally bad in both places.[55]

Although unsure of whether there is an urban rural divide in the understanding of human rights, a couple of respondents noted that awareness of human rights may be increasing given that there are a lot of NGOs working in these areas who may be creating awareness.[56]

Human Rights Activists: Anti-Government and Various Other Characteristics

Figure 2.2
According to rights workers, average Mumbaikars perceive rights activists as being:
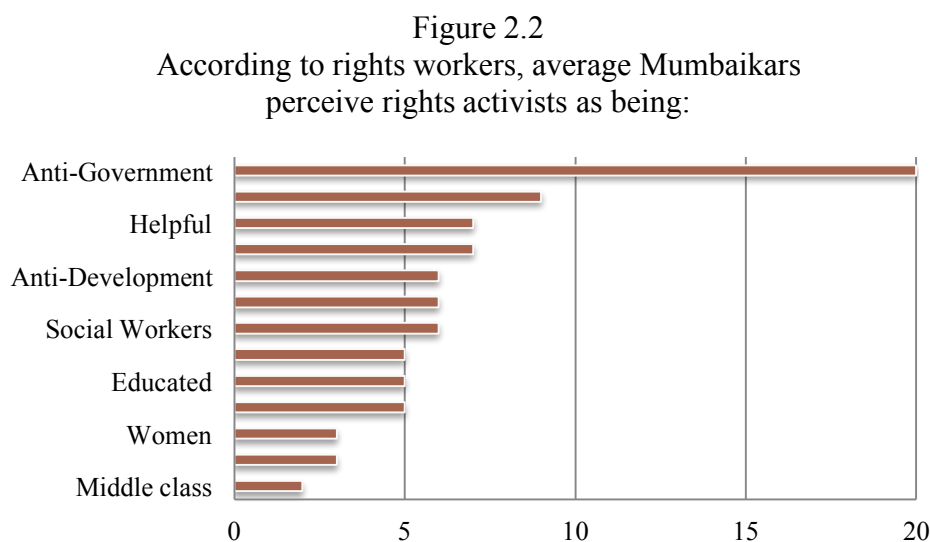
Next, we asked, *"What does the term 'human rights activist' mean to the average person in Mumbai?"* In response, LHRO leaders had varying views on what the average person thinks about human rights activists. Figure 2.2 displays these varying views of respondents identified. Rights workers most frequently said they were perceived as anti-government;[57] respondents noted rights workers were not viewed as pro-American or Western.[58] Some even said they were viewed as anti-development because of their open opposition to globalizing forces.

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[51] AP-021-2011

[52] AP013-2011

[53] AP-005-2011, AP-003-2011, AP-003-2011

[54] AP-018-2011

[55] AP-007-2011, AP-009-2010, AP-010-2011

[56] AP-002-2011, AP-005-2010

[57] This was an open question. The responses given were qualitatively coded. Respondents were not systematically asked about each category listed in Figure 2.2.
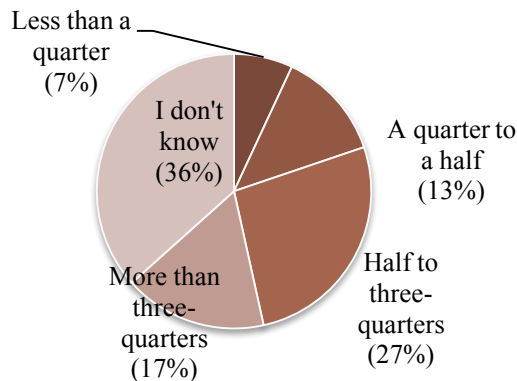
[58] AP-010-2011, AP-013-2010, AP-016-2011, AP-021-2011, AP-011-2011, AP-013-2011, AP-017-2011, AP-020-2011, AP-018-2011

Human rights activists are often mistaken as social workers or politicians due to members of political parties calling themselves "karyakarta" (social workers/activists).[59] Many interviewees explained that activists are thought of as largely consisting of women, being middle class, or associated with militant communist movements. Activists felt that they are also not narrowly associated with any specific rights issues or with human rights generally. Instead, they felt that people believed they are associated with a wide variety of different issues including: housing, water, health, education, women and children's rights.

Another common perception of human rights activists is they are well educated. In general, there was a divide of whether activists are perceived positively or negatively. Some believe activists are viewed as respected, helpful, and as working for the common good in society.[60] Others think rights workers are seen as wasting time or "crazy."[61] There was also a group that believed the average person is unsure who activists are and what, exactly, they do.

Figure 2.3
Respondents Believe that Most LHROs
Receive Substantial Foreign Funding
(N=30)

"In your view, what percentage of HROs in Mumbai receive substantial funding from foreign donors such as Europe or Japan?"

Less than a quarter (7%)
I don't know (36%)
A quarter to a half (13%)
More than three-quarters (17%)
Half to three-quarters (27%)

Resourcing Mumbai's Human Rights Sector

Mumbai's rights organizations are somewhat dependent on foreign funding. As Figure 2.3 shows, when respondents were asked "In your view, what percentage of HR organizations in [your country] receive substantial funding from foreign donors such as Europe or Japan?," almost half of respondents believe that most organizations receive substantial foreign funding.[62]

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[59] AP-007-2011, AP-012-2010, AP-021-2011, AP-018-2011
[60] AP-009-2011, AP-010-2011, AP-012-2010, AP-015-2011, AP-021-2011, AP-013-2011, AP-014-2011
[61] AP-004-2010, AP-004-2011, AP-005-2010, AP-006-2010, AP-007-2010, AP-009-2010, AP-009-2011
[62] These descriptive details are based on ad-hoc responses given by respondents during interviews. Details on the breakdown of financial resources for the respondent's LHROs were not formally part of the questionnaire; 23 of the 30 respondents provided responses on how much foreign funding contributed to their organization's budget.

Interviewees were then asked if their organizations receive foreign funding. Figure 2.4 displays that 67% of respondents said "yes" and 33% said "no."

Figure 2.4
Most of Respondents' LHROs
Receive Foreign Funds (N=30)

"Does your organization receive foreign funding?"
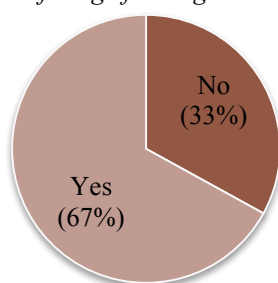
To further probe dependence on foreign funding, rights workers were asked, "If foreign funding for HR work in Mumbai was cut off, would local human rights activities: collapse entirely, collapse somewhat, stay the same, grow somewhat or grow a lot?" In line with the moderate dependence on foreign funds, the majority of respondents thought that local human rights activities would "collapse somewhat" or "stay about the same." This information is displayed in Figure 2.5.

Figure 2.5
Most Respondents Think the Loss of
Foreign Funding Would Hurt Human
Rights Work (N=26)

"If foreign funding for human rights work in Mumbai was cut off, would local human rights activities...?"
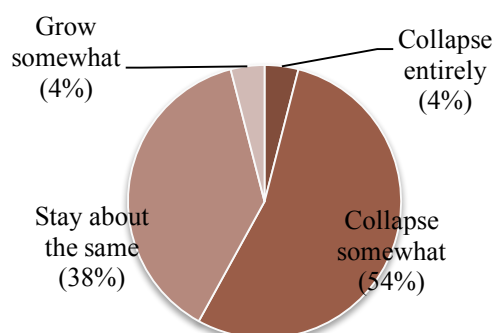
Respondents were then asked, *"What, in your opinion, would happen to human rights work and organizations in Mumbai if foreign funding were to end abruptly?"* Most interviewees believed organizations would struggle to continue without foreign funds and that "[t]he total manpower [of organizations], their activit[ies], their number of programs, the kind of qualitative impact they are able to make will definitely get adversely affected."[63] However, many rights workers also believed LHROs would find new ways of sustaining themselves,[64] such as reducing costs, charging for service provision, collaborating with other organizations, relying on volunteerism, and seeking local sources of funding. Respondents explained the nature and methods of their work may change but also stated rights work would continue even without foreign funding.[65] Many rights workers also believed some local funds exist from government institutions, private organizations, trusts, and individuals that would help organizations if foreign funding ceased. Interviewees also mentioned many rights activists who are the "backbones of [those] organizations" are passionate about their work and would continue even without pay.[66]

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[63] AP-010-2011
[64] AP-002-2011, AP-004-2011, AP-012-2011, AP-015, 2011, AP-003-2011, AP-017-2011, AP-006-2011, AP-018-2011.
[65] AP-019-2011
[66] AP-003-2011

Foreign Funding Challenges

Some respondents further explained how foreign funds are difficult to obtain due to Indian governmental restrictions. In order to receive funds, organizations must register under the Foreign Contributions Regulation Act (FCRA) of 1976. Research shows, however, that contributions are not necessarily allocated to the neediest or best organizations, but rather that the Indian government favors some groups, like women's and Christian groups, over others such as Dalit and Muslim groups. Moreover, the government seems to prefer politically "sensitive" states to more "sensitive" ones, such as Jammu and Kashmir.[67] As such, being able to obtain FCRA approval often depends on an organization's connections within the government in addition to the government's opinion of that organization.[68] Given how challenging this can be, according to one respondent, some groups try to obtain FCRA approval illegally.[69]

Respondents identified many other reasons why foreign funds are difficult to obtain: many donors are pulling out of India, especially since the government's underground nuclear tests in 1998, which caused widespread international condemnation. Some organizations only give to very poor areas, so Mumbai would be ineligible to receive such funds.[70] Other interviewees noted foreign funding tends to go to religious and general development organizations rather than rights groups—some of these groups may do some human rights work, but it is not their focus. Organizations also often need to be large and professionalized to receive funds, creating challenges for newly established and small organizations. Another source of conflict that some fear is the possibility that organizations could fall into corrupt practices when they have the ability to manage foreign funds.[71] Sometimes representatives from donor groups step in to help organizations decide where the money will go and ensure no corruption occurs. The honesty of workers is important to sustaining fair practices as well.[72]

Domestic Funding: Options and Challenges

Mumbai's LHROs are cautiously optimistic about the availability of local funding for rights work. As Figure 2.6 shows, when asked whether substantial funding for rights activities is available from local sources, 70% said "yes." Respondents note individual donors, corporations, government

Figure 2.6
Respondents Believe Local Funds Are Available (N=30)

"Is substantial local funding for human rights organizations a possibility in India?"

No (30%)
Yes (70%)

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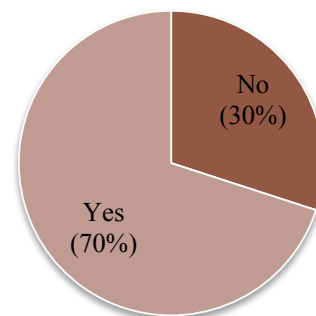
[67] Jalali, Rita. 2008. "International Funding of NGOs in India: Bringing the State Back In." *Voluntas*, 19(2), pp. 176-179.
[68] AP-009-2010
[69] AP-007-2011
[70] AP-021-2011
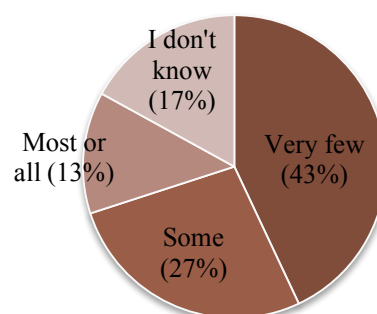[71] AP-006-2011
[72] AP-006-2011

agencies, charitable trusts, and social institutions as the main potential sources of domestic support. Other potential sources included charging for services, membership fees, and the personal wealth of rights workers.

Almost two-thirds of respondents (60%) mentioned individuals as a potential source of support for rights work. Indeed, one interviewee claimed individuals are the largest untapped domestic source of support in Mumbai.[73] In India, the tradition of giving is generally deeply rooted: Muslims tend to give a tenth of their salary to charity (*zakat*), Christians give money to churches (*tithe)*, and Hindus believe in giving money to charity as a way improving their karma.[74] However, many organizations have particular difficulties obtaining funding from individuals because it requires stewardship skills and takes a lot of human resources most organizations do not have.[75] One interviewee explained, "[t]here are a lot of rich people who are willing to give money; to donate money for a good cause and they are happy getting an income tax exemption personally because they have donated money to an organization...but then, one needs to locate those people and then be in touch with them, or else do a fundraising show [and] invite those people."[76] Although it's challenging, another respondent explained, "[i]n the end you have a relationship with 100 people who are supporting you."[77]

Figure 2.7
Respondents Report Few LHROs
Raise Significant Local Funds (N=30)

"In actuality, how many of India's human rights groups raise substantial funds from local sources?"

Sixteen rights workers mentioned "corporates" (the local term for companies/corporations) as a potential source of funding. However, corporates often choose a specific area (e.g., education or the environment) to focus on, and are more selective in the types of NGOs they are willing to support. Respondents explained that corporate social responsibility (CSR) is growing in Mumbai, leading many corporates to establish foundations or adopt NGOs in their CSR programs. Yet they are often concerned with building their brand, pleasing shareholders, and not upsetting the government by showing they are making a difference. Because of this, corporates look to support organizations that will produce tangible outputs. Unlike welfare activities, rights work often involves slow processes of advocacy, empowerment, and gradual transformation that may not produce tangible results to the satisfaction of corporate funders.[78]An additional barrier to receiving corporate funding are the conditions and requirements imposed, such as heavy reporting burdens, omission/inclusion of specific kinds of activities, or interference in an organization's

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[73] AP-015-2011
[74] AP-021-2011
[75] AP-019-2011
[76] AP-019-2011
[77] AP-015-2011
[78] AP-007-2011AP-009-2011

governance. There may also be a conflict of interest (domestic or international) from receiving corporate funds in that many are themselves perpetrators of egregious human rights violations; therefore, it is ethically and morally inappropriate to receive funding from some corporate sources. As such, organizations must carefully decide whether they will or will not accept support from certain corporations.[79]

Though not heavily relied upon, another source of local funding comes from the government. However, several respondents note there is no existing government scheme for funding rights-based work generally, so organizations must instead receive indirect support through various schemes and programs on specific issue areas such as education, women, and children, and for more service provision and welfare activities. Relatedly, rights workers highlighted that the government tends to be wary of activists and organizations that may be working against it. LHROs can also access funding based on the issues they are working on; governments are especially likely to support organizations focusing on women and children.[80] Some LHROs also obtain indirect support from the government by acquiring office space in municipal schools,[81] yet this form of support is sometimes complicated, especially if rights workers are not allowed to use the space at specific times (for example after 6pm or on public holidays).[82] Government funding may also be problematic due to corruption, delayed or canceled donations, or burdensome reporting requirements and conditions. Greater reliance on government funds can also result in more surveillance and control over how an organization operates, how the funds are spent, and what activities are implemented.

Seven rights workers noted charitable trusts or social institutions, such as the Bombay Community Public Trust, as potential sources of local support. While charitable organizations have traditionally supported service provision or welfare activities, there is some optimism that they are interested in supporting other kinds of activities including rights work. As one respondent notes, "...charitable organizations not only want to be associated as providing services but also as change agents… Their roles are now also getting reformed…[the] welfare [approach] is not being appreciated."[83]

Despite the various potential sources of funding, respondents identified many challenges to obtaining local funds. Generally, local philanthropic money is available for concrete and measureable welfare activities as opposed to rights work, which could involve conferences, awareness building activities or activism. Similarly, local sources of funding tend to support specific issues that are less politically

Figure 2.8
How Many HROs Raise Substantial Local Funds? (N=25)

All 8%
Most 8%
Very Few 52%
Some 32%
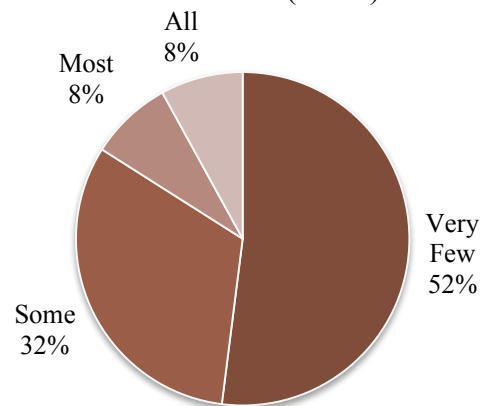
[79] AP-014-2011, AP-021-2011
[80] AP-008-2010, AP-011-2011, AP-012-2011
[81] For example, three of the interviewed LHROs are located in Municipal school buildings.
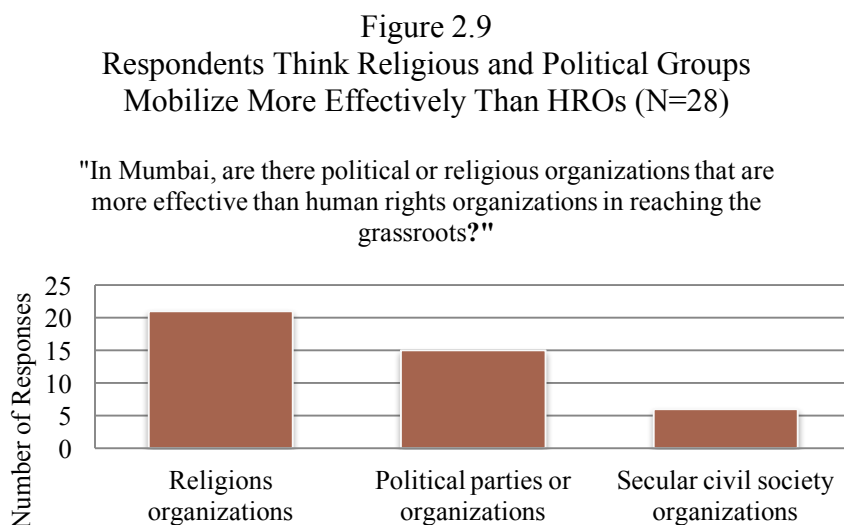[82] AP-019-2011
[83] AP-009-2011

contentious or easier to understand. Moreover, charitable funds from individuals tend to go to religious institutions and leaders. One respondent said that in India, "almost all charity, what is called charitable funds…goes into religion, religious institutions."[84]

Indeed, when asked what percent of LHROs in India receive *most* of their funding from religious sources, 92% of Mumbai's rights workers claimed "less than half" or "none," and no respondents mentioned religious institutions as major potential sources. Thus, despite high optimism about the availability of local funds, 84% of respondents claimed "very few" (52%) or "some" (32%) of Mumbai's LHROs receive substantial funding from local sources, and only 8% received most of their funding form local sources (Figure 2.8).

Relationships with Other Social Sectors

To explore the relationship LHROs have with other organizations in Mumbai we asked respondents: "*In Mumbai, are there political or religious organizations that are MORE effective than human rights organizations in reaching the grass roots?"* In other words, what kinds of relationships do rights groups have with other organizations that are able to mobilize people at the local level? Of the 30 respondents in Mumbai, 28 gave responses to this question and of these, 14 responded with more than one type of organization.[85] Hence, as Figure 2.9 shows, we received a total of 42 responses to this question.

Figure 2.9
Respondents Think Religious and Political Groups
Mobilize More Effectively Than HROs (N=28)

"In Mumbai, are there political or religious organizations that are more effective than human rights organizations in reaching the grassroots?"

Respondents most often claimed religious organizations were more effective than HROs at reaching the grassroots, followed by political and other secular civil society groups. Most respondents did not name specific organizations that were more effective at reaching the grassroots, with the exception of political organizations. Rights workers most often cited the Shiv Sena as one of the most effective political organizations at

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[84] AP-005-2010

[85] Of the 14 respondents that gave two responses eight equally weighted the effectiveness of religious and political organizations. Three claimed that political organizations were more effective than religious and placed them in a hierarchy. One respondent claimed the political organizations were more effective than religious leaders and another claimed that religious organizations were more effective and third claimed that voluntary organizations and religious organizations are equally effective at reaching the grassroots (did not distinguish a hierarchy). More specifically, the third respondent claimed that Community based organizations and their networks and religious organizations are more effective than HROS.

mobilizing the average population in Mumbai.[86] Other parties cited as powerful mobilizing forces include the Congress Party, the Maharashtra Navnirman Sena (MNS), and the Muslim League.

When discussing religious organizations, some respondents claimed Muslim groups are more effective than Hindu groups because Muslim groups bring people together as the largest minority in the face of the right-wing Hindu ruling party and there are less sects within their religion compared to other faiths.[87] Furthermore, unlike Hindu organizations, which sometimes lack funds and face internal differences of opinion, some Muslim groups may be better funded and more unified from within.[88]

Interviewees also noted that it is often difficult to distinguish between religious and political groups because political groups often take on a religious stance to gain greater public support. As one respondent explained: "If you have a religious organization that believes in certain things, it's as political as it gets and there are political organizations which are basically using all of these religious orthodoxies. So [they are] inseparable really."[89]

After asking respondents to tell us which type of organizations they thought were more effective, we asked them, "*Why are these other groups more successful"?* And*, "Do human rights organizations in Mumbai work with these other organizations?"* The following three sections elaborate on what we found for each type of organization.

Religious Organizations: Resources and Devotion

Rights workers most often stated religion as a very important and central aspect of Mumbaikars lives; consequently, religious groups have an unequivocal ability to reach and mobilize people at the grassroots. As such, some people are often ready to support, listen to, and participate in meetings called by religious groups because they feel it will wash away their sins, be good for them,[90] or that they are doing something to improve the quality of their next life (i.e., improving their karma for reincarnation).[91] Some respondents explained that religious leaders are held highly in terms of societal importance, and people often blindly follow these leaders. As one interviewee explained: "The religious people promise the moon and deliver nothing and people never recognize that…but…it's like an opiate."[92] Moreover, religious organizations and leaders are able to use people's emotions and the bond they share with others of the same faith to mobilize their participation and "establish a 'herd' mentality…which people do not raise questions about."[93]

Second most often, respondents claimed that religious organizations are better at reaching people at the grassroots because they have more financial and human resources than rights groups, and

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[86] Eleven respondents mentioned the Shiv Sena as an example of a specific political organization.
[87] AP-001-2011, AP-002-2011, AP-016-2011, AP-013-2011
[88] AP-016-2011
[89] AP-015-2011
[90] AP-002-2011
[91] AP-005-2010
[92] AP-021-2011
[93] AP-013-2010

are thus able to provide material benefits that entice average people to participate.[94] These organizations may provide transportation to events, food, or other humanitarian assistance. However, while religious groups provide material benefits and support, they do not tend to engage in human rights-related activities. For example, these organizations may provide support in the forms of food and clothing, but they will not usually mobilize people to take care of issues such as education or housing.

Interviewees also explained that religious organizations are better established in communities and, therefore, more effective at mobilizing average people.[95] Religious organizations have been around for a longer time than human rights organizations, and, as a result, people are more familiar with their existence. Moreover, there are certainly more religious leaders than human rights activists in India today.[96]

The objectives and approaches of religious organizations are also often different than those of LHROs.[97] For example, LHROs do not try to mobilize the masses as much as churches. Additionally, LHROs tend to focus on long term system changes in society, while churches provide service provision activities and short-term help. One respondent explained this idea:

> [if] there is an earthquake, [religious organizations] want to build houses for the earthquake affected [people], they want to feed them, they want to rehabilitate them. After that is over [their work] is over. Whereas, people who work against noise pollution, people who work against open spaces being taken, people who work against corruption, [their work] never ends. The work goes on and on and on…[98]

Because of these different goals, LHROs need to ensure their agendas and principles are not co-opted or affected before entering work with religious organizations. Therefore, though rights activists acknowledged that it would be helpful to work with religious organizations because of their power in Indian society, these two types of group do not often collaborate. If they do work together, these interactions tend to be ad-hoc, short term, and informal.[99] Hence, interactions have generally been limited to attempts of having dialogues on issues and attendance of religious groups at meeting or conferences. Furthermore, these limited interactions between LHROs and religious groups or leaders tend to take place around issues of overlapping interest that are generally not very controversial (e.g., basic service provision, development work for women and children, communal harmony, or disaster relief).[100]

Political Organizations: Resources, Power, and Emotion

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[94] AP-001-2011, AP-009-2010, AP-012-2011, AP-006-2011, AP-002-2011, AP-005-2011, AP-010-2010, AP-015-2011
[95] AP-008-2011, AP-012-2010, AP-002-2011, AP-013-2011
[96] AP-013-2011
[97] AP-006-2011, AP-006-2010
[98] AP-006-2010
[99] AP-004-2011, AP-008-2011, AP-010-2011, AP-011-2011, AP-012-2010, AP-009-2011
[100] AP-015-2011, AP-002-2011, AP-001-2011

One reason political groups are more successful than HROs at reaching the grassroots is that they have more resources and power, enabling them to provide various forms of material benefits to average people.[101] Politicians often bribe individuals with cash, tangible services, potential jobs, facilities, food at events, and/or transportation to events.[102] However, while political parties have mobilizing power, average people often do not have a clear idea of what they are supporting through their participation.

An advantage politicians have is their ability to change and fix issues in society much faster than LHROs.[103] For example, politicians have the power to address electricity cut off and water shortage issues promptly.[104]

Right-wing political groups in Mumbai are further able to mobilize average people by appealing to their emotions with regards to their identity, ethnicity, and faith—bringing people together along communal lines. For example, in the last three decades or so, there has been a large influx of migrants from other states into Maharashtra. This has resulted in jobs becoming more difficult to acquire and has ultimately threatened the livelihoods of lower class Maharashtrian people. The right-wing political groups appeal to this particular section of the population in Mumbai by committing to work for it and protect its members, as well as by evoking a bond of togetherness among Marathi people.[105]

Politicians also motivate average people to participate in events by intertwining religion into their political ideologies,[106] connecting their activities to the religions that Mumbaikars care deeply about. One interviewee said that "[i]t's not that these parties or these religio[us] organizations] are not doing anything. They are doing stuff. But, people respond because of a[n] emotional bond."[107]

However, political organizations and LHROs work together limitedly, mainly because the two groups often have different agendas. As with religious groups, while LHROs acknowledge the need to work with political forces, they are acutely aware of the potential influence interactions could have on their own independence and legitimacy. LHROs are concerned about losing their independent (and possibly secular) stance in society. Furthermore, interactions between the groups may be problematic because the agendas of political groups are often irreconcilable with the aims of rights groups, and political parties are at times the ones violating rights or perpetuating inequality.[108] Also, many politicians simply associate with rights groups (and other NGOs) to strategically maintain a good image; their interactions are "superfluous."[109] For example, some politicians help with issues related to women and children in order to obtain a good image and more votes. Thus, if and when rights groups do collaborate with political organizations, the collaborations tend to be ad hoc, short term, or informal and very limited in

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[101] AP-008-2011, AP-001-2011, AP-012-2010, AP-012-2011, AP-016-2011, AP-021-2011, AP-019-2011, AP-002-2011, AP-005-2011, AP-010-2010, AP-015-2011

[102] AP-012-2011

[103] AP-011-2010, AP-012-2010, AP-016-2011, AP-020, 2011, AP-003-2011

[104] AP-015-2011

[105] AP-021-2011

[106] AP-013-2011, AP-014-2011, AP-008-2011, AP-010, 2010, AP-017-2011

[107] AP-017-2011

[108] AP-020-2011

[109] AP-021-2011

scope. For example, politicians may be invited to attend seminars or conferences or events only on less controversial rights issues.

Other Secular Civil Society Organizations: Material Benefits and Reputation

Secular civil society organizations mentioned by rights workers included service-driven NGOs, development NGOs, community-based organizations (CBOs), and local networks or federations.[110] Amongst secular civil society groups, rights workers explained that service driven and development NGOs are more effective at reaching people locally because they often provide concrete incentives and/or material benefits to average people (e.g. they dig wells, provide water filters or mobile health services).[111] Thus, one respondent noted, "People will come to all [kinds of] organizations …but… their first preference will be to go where they will get something in return; [where there are] some incentives."[112]

On the other hand, community-based organizations (CBOs) and local networks are seen as more effective because they are much more embedded in communities and work on resolving their needs.[113] The strength of such federations and networks lies in their informality as well as their ability to pick up issues and be accountable to their local affiliations. While formal organizations become top-down, loose federations or networks are not hierarchical and much more established in local communities.[114] For example,

> The NSDF [National Slum Dwellers Federation] is a federation of informal settlements. It is the actor that fights for the entitlements. So, you can say it is the human rights actor in this process and its members utilize that character to aggregate the numbers that are needed to back their case. It's not some outsider coming to become an activist [and fight for the entitlement of slum dwellers]…and that's the difference.[115]

According to respondents, LHROs in Mumbai collaborate extensively with other secular civil society groups, especially development organizations, community-based groups, and issue-based networks.[116] Collaboration can take on a variety of forms including partnerships on projects or programs with one another, participation in issues based conferences or meetings held by one another, conducting training programs for one another, or joining forces to protest issues on the streets of Mumbai. Moreover, rights groups and workers are embedded into various issue-based formal and informal networks. However, an overarching network of local rights groups does not seem to exist in Mumbai.[117]

Hence it is likely the diverse population of LHROs working on issues ranging from women and children to housing and slum dwellers in Mumbai are not very aware of other rights groups

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[110] Of the six respondents who claimed that secular civil society groups were more effective than LHROs at reaching the grassroots, one specified Development organizations, two said service-driven organizations, one specified voluntary sector organizations, and two specified community based organizations and federations/networks.
[111] AP-09-2011, AP-011-2011, AP-007-2011
[112] AP-011-2011
[113] AP-006-2011
[114] AP-006-2011
[115] AP-018-2011
[116] AP-001-2011, AP-007-2011, AP-013-2010, AP-018-2011, AP-011-2011, AP-006-2011
[117] While conducting background research no network of rights organizations was found online. Key informants as well as a few of the interviewed LHROs corroborated this.

working on issues not directly related to their own and may not be able to collaborate with each other easily, even if they wish to do so.

Summary

Our interviews with human rights workers in Mumbai revealed that, on average, the term "human rights" remains difficult for average people to understand and use in Mumbai, and it is unclear whether the concept is better understood within the metropolis than without. Social movements and historic activism as well as campaigns, media and growing access to information seem to be facilitating awareness and understanding of human rights among average Mumbaikars. However, the poor quality of education, the way average people are socialized, a larger preoccupation with basic survival, and poorly functioning rights-enforcing institutions are key reasons why it is difficult for average Mumbaikars to understand and use the term "human rights."

While some may broadly understand the term "human rights," they are not able to act on or use their rights due to a variety of constraints. Moreover, input from rights workers highlights how rights activists are not very well understood by Mumbaikars. Despite a general perception of them being anti-government and not agents of the West, it is unclear whether they are positively received or just mistaken for being other kinds of civil society actors such as politicians or social workers.

With regards to funding, most LHROs in Mumbai are moderately dependent on foreign funds but remain optimistic that organizations would adapt and remain resilient if foreign funds were to be cut off. Though many rights workers said local funding was available, they listed many difficulties to obtaining such support.

Finally, LHROs in Mumbai complementarily coexist with other movements and generally acknowledge the need to work with other civil society organizations. While collaboration with other development groups, networks, and CBOs is extensive, it is still very limited and ad hoc with religious and political groups. In other words, LHROs in Mumbai collaborate with other types of organizations and are not displacing alternative social justice ideologies or movements.

Part III:
Public Opinion in Mumbai and Maharashtra State

In Part III, we present data about public exposure to and perceptions of human rights ideas and organizations, as a complement to the perspectives of human rights workers.

Methodological Overview

We surveyed a representative sample of the population of Mumbai and rural Maharashtra State residents in December 2012 and January 2013. Working with Indian polling firm CVOTER News Services, we surveyed 1,680 adults, 1,377 urban residents and 303 rural residents. We used a stratified sampling technique, randomly selecting assembly segments, then polling booths, and finally individuals within selected polling booths. We relied on the electoral rolls, which include more than 99% of the adult population, to select individual potential respondents.

Figure 3.1: Mumbai and Maharashtra

We over-sampled Buddhists, Christians, and rural residents to allow more nuanced analyses of these minority populations. We used weighting to adjust the sample to the religious, gender, location (urban/rural resident), age, and educational distributions of both Mumbai and Maharashtra. All figures in this report present weighted data and valid percentages (which exclude non-responses and other missing values).

Trained interviewers administered the survey in Hindi or Marathi in respondents' homes. We achieved a 58% cooperation rate and a 42% response rate (which includes potential respondents which the interviewers were unable to locate). The questionnaire included fixed-choice questions about respondents' exposure to and opinions about human rights, as well as measures of their socio-demographic characteristics.

See Appendix D for additional methodological details.

Map from mapsopensource.com

Respondent Characteristics

Table 3.1 highlights socio-demographic characteristics of opinion poll respondents.[118] Over half of respondents were female and their average age was 39 years. Most respondents (60%) were currently working, and their households typically made $100-$165 USD in a month; 37% felt this was adequate to cover their expenses. Very few respondents had gone beyond secondary school, with 34% having no formal education at all. Just over half were from scheduled castes or tribes. More than three-quarters were Hindu, with Muslims and Buddhists as religious minorities; respondents prayed and attended places of worship frequently. Nearly all respondents (98%) reported voting in the previous election, and they were split in their support for several political parties, with the largest percentage (24%) supporting the Nationalist Congress Party (NCP).

Table 3.1
Public Opinion Poll Respondent Characteristics

Sex	55% female
Age	
Mean	39 years
Range	18-95 years
Primary economic activity	
At home	34%
Working	60%
Monthly household income	
Less than rs 6,000	31%
Rs 6,000-20,000	46%
More than 20,000	23%
Median income range (USD)	$100-$165
Feel their income can cover household expenses	37%
Education[119]	
No formal education	34%
Primary	37%
Secondary	23%
Post-secondary	6%
Government Classification[120]	
Scheduled caste	23%
Scheduled tribe	33%
Other "backward" classes	22%
Religion	
Hindu	77%
Muslim	13%
Attend place of worship at least once per week	79%
Pray several times per day	41%
Religion is "very important" in their lives[121]	34%

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[118] For additional demographic details, see Appendix E.
[119] These percentages represent respondents who completed at least one year of education at each level.
[120] These are official designations that have been given to historically disadvantaged peoples in India.

| Politics	
Supports NCP	24%
Supports Shiv Sena	20%
Supports INC	20%
Voted in 2009 elections	98%

Human Rights Conditions in India

The public in Mumbai and rural Maharashtra have a favorable view of local human rights conditions.

We asked, *"How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays in India?"* Over half (55%) of respondents felt there was "some respect," and a sizeable 25% optimistically reported "a lot of respect" for human rights. This survey item replicated a question asked by the World Values Survey. In 2012 they found that 38.8% thought there was a fair amount of respect and 26% thought there was "a great deal of respect" for individual human rights nowadays (totally 64.8%).[122]

Figure 3.2
Most Respondents Thought There Was Some Respect for Individual Human Rights in India (N=1,560)

"How much respect is there for individual human rights nowadays?"
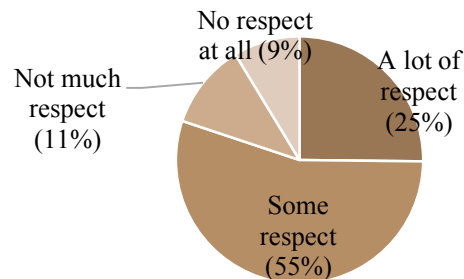

Human Rights' Resonance and Reach

Respondents were not often exposed to human rights language or workers, yet they had moderately positive ideas about both the concept of human rights and LHROs.

To determine the spread of human rights language in Mumbai and rural Maharashtra, we asked, *"In your daily life, how often do you hear the term 'human rights'?"* Respondents were not highly exposed to the term, with 56% reporting hearing it "sometimes" or "rarely," and a full 24% "never" hearing "human rights."

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[121] Respondents were asked to rank the importance of religion in their daily lives on a scale of 0-10, where 0 was "not at all" and 10 was "very important;" X% of respondents selected 10.
[122] Data from the Word Values Survey online data analysis tool, available here: http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/WVSOnline.jsp. The percentages reported here are valid percentages that exclude "Don't know" data (N=3527).

Figure 3.3
Respondents Do Not Hear "Human Rights" Often (N=1,652)

"In your daily life, how often do you hear the term 'human rights'?"
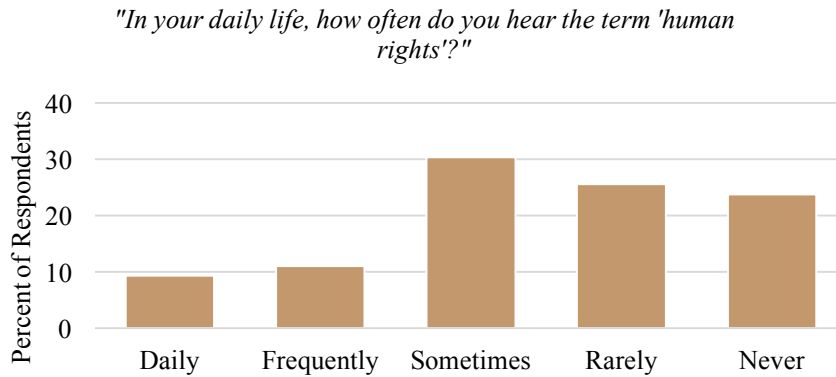
They were even less likely to have met a human rights worker. We posed the question, *"Have you ever met someone that works in a human rights organization?"* Fully 99% of respondents indicated that they had not met a human rights worker, as Figure 3.4 shows.

Although exposure to human rights language and activists was low, some respondents were more likely than others to have contact:[123]

1. **Urban residents heard "human rights" more often:** Urban-dwelling respondents had an 18% chance[124] of hearing the term "daily" or "frequently," compared to a 12% chance for those in rural areas.

2. **Higher income individuals heard "human rights" less:** Contrary to expectations, those with a higher income[125] had a 8% chance of hearing "human rights" often, while those with lower income had a 15% chance.

Figure 3.4
Very Few Respondents Had Met a Human Rights Worker (N=1,554)

"Have you ever met someone that works in a human rights organization?"

3. **Internet users were more exposed to human rights language and workers:** Respondents who were online had a 27% chance of hearing "human rights" frequently

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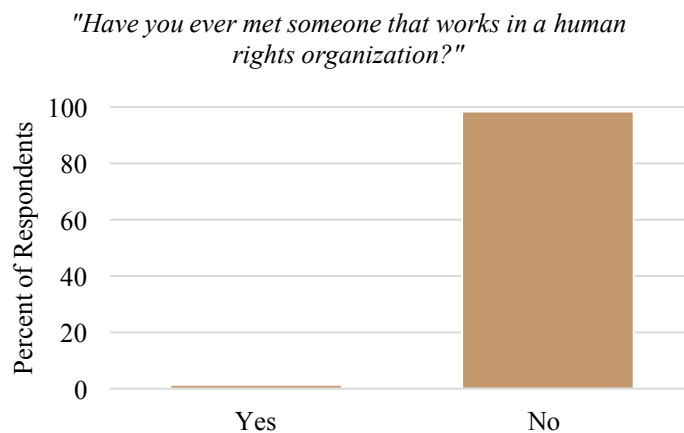
[123] These multivariate findings are statistically significant at the .05-level in an ordinal logistic regression. The model also controlled for sex (men were more likely than women to hear "human rights") and age (which was not significantly associated). For full results, see Ron, Crow, and Golden (2014).

[124] This means the predicted probability was .18 that urban residents heard "human rights" often; in a group of 100 urban respondents, we would expect that 18 people heard the term "daily" or "frequently."

[125] This is based on a measure of perceived income. Those in the highest category stated that their income "covers expenses and savings," compared to those in the lowest category, who reported their income "cannot cover expenses and I have major difficulties." See Appendix E for more details on this variable.

and a 5% chance of meeting a human rights worker, compared to a 12% and 2% chance, respectively, for non-internet users.

4. **Education was not associated with greater exposure to human rights:** Respondents with higher education were not more likely to hear "human rights" or meet activists.

To assess what "human rights" meant to survey respondents, we asked, *"In your opinion, how strongly will you associate _____ with the term 'human rights'?"* Respondents were directed to rank their opinion on a seven-point scale, where 7 was "a lot" and 1 meant "not at all." As Figure 3.5 illustrates, respondents most often associated human rights with positive ideas.

Figure 3.5
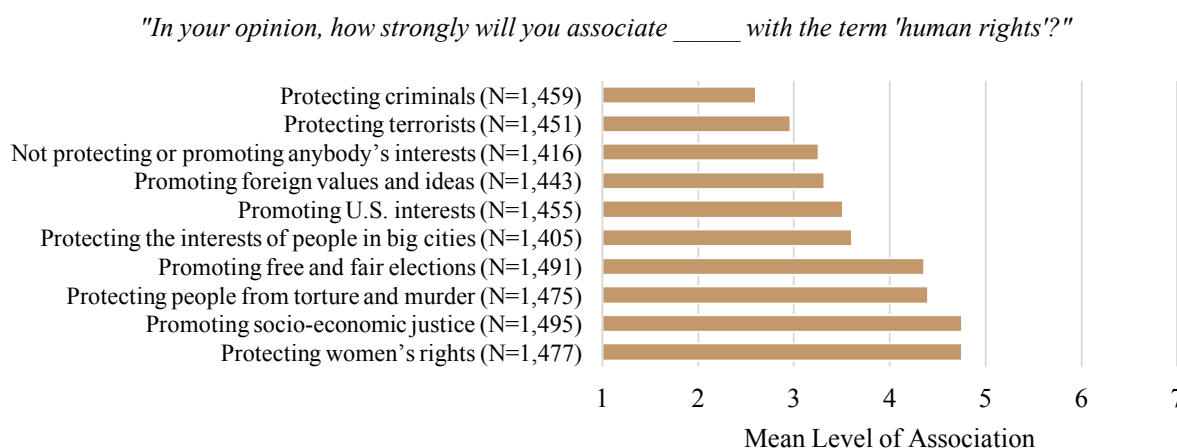Respondents Most Often Associated "Human Rights" with Positive Concepts

"In your opinion, how strongly will you associate _____ with the term 'human rights'?"

Figure 3.6
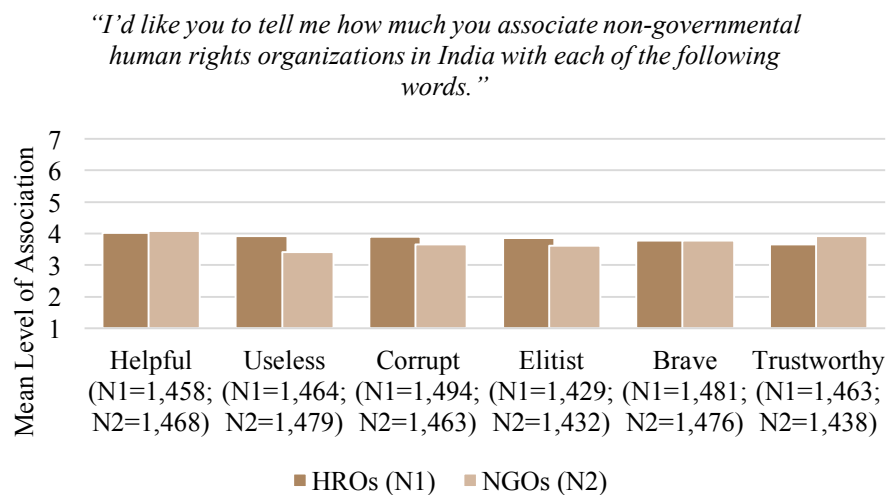Respondents Moderately Associated "Human Rights" with Positive Definitions

"In your opinion, how strongly will you associate _____ with the term 'human rights'?"
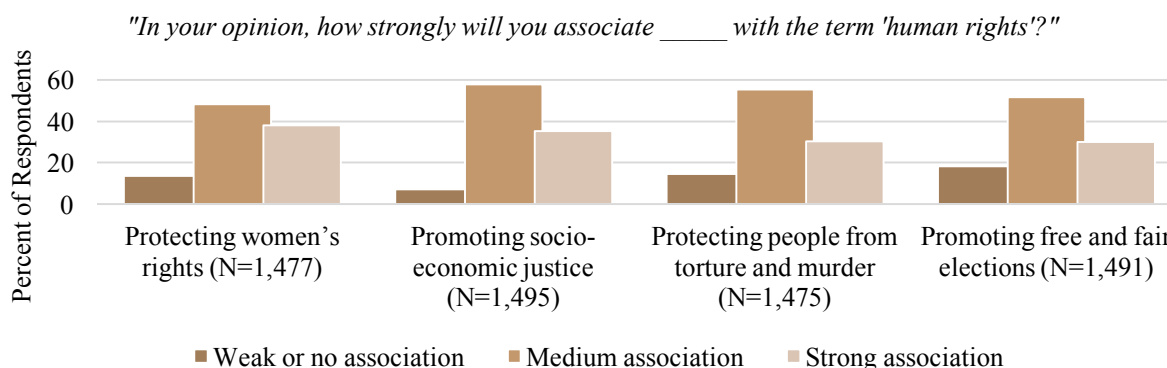
Figure 3.7

A Few Respondents Strongly Associated "Human Rights" with Negative
Definitions

"In your opinion, how strongly will you associate _____ with the term 'human rights'?"

■ Weak or no association   ■ Medium association   ■ Strong association
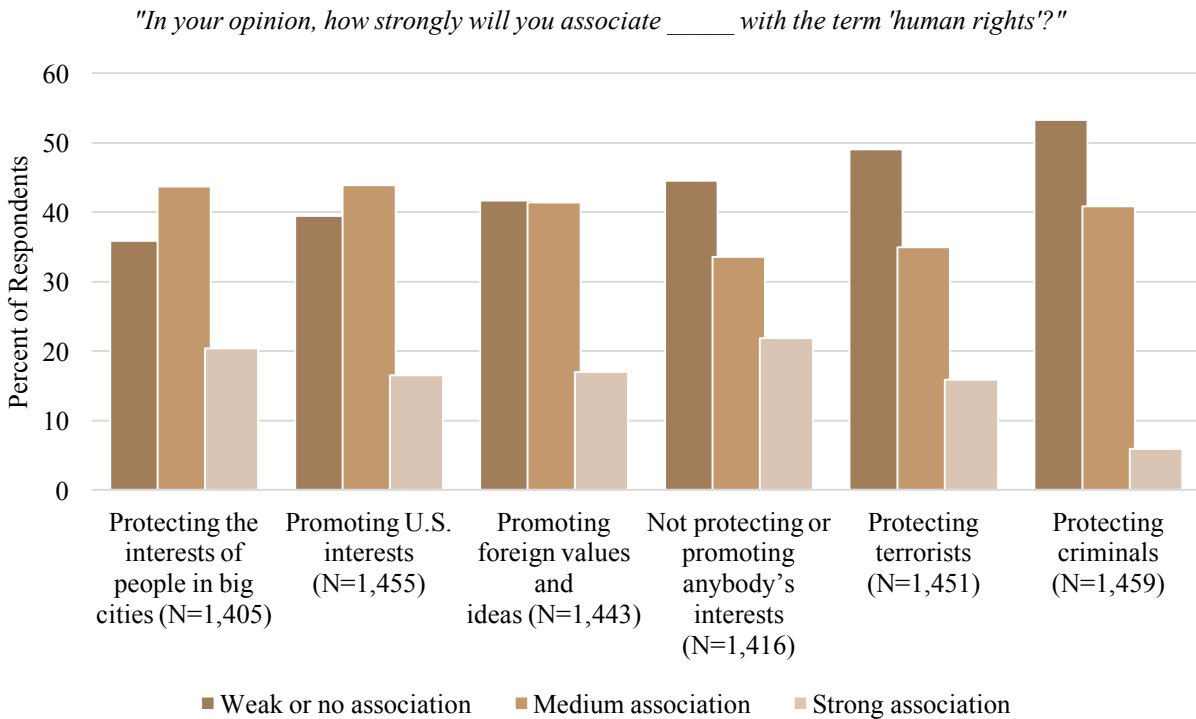
Even for the highest ranked phrases, however, respondents had moderate levels[126] of association, as Figure 3.6 indicates. For example, although "protecting women's rights" ranked highest on the scale, just 38% of respondents reported a strong association with the phrase.

Furthermore, some respondents strongly associated "human rights" with negative phrases, including "not protecting or promoting anybody's interests" (22%), "protecting the interests of people in big cities" (20%), "promoting foreign values and ideas" (17%).

Figure 3.8

Respondents Have Mixed Perceptions of HROs

"I'd like you to tell me how much you associate non-governmental human rights organizations in India with each of the following words."

■ HROs (N1)   ■ NGOs (N2)

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[126] A strong association is defined as those who selected 6-7 on the scale, a medium association refers to 3-5, and a weak association refers to 1-2.

33

We also asked respondents what they thought about local human rights organizations: *"I'd like you to tell me how much you associate non-governmental human rights organizations in India with each of the following words."* Figure 3.8 shows that they saw LHROs and NGOs similarly. The differences in the levels of associations were quite small, indicating that perhaps Indian rights groups are seen both negatively and positively.
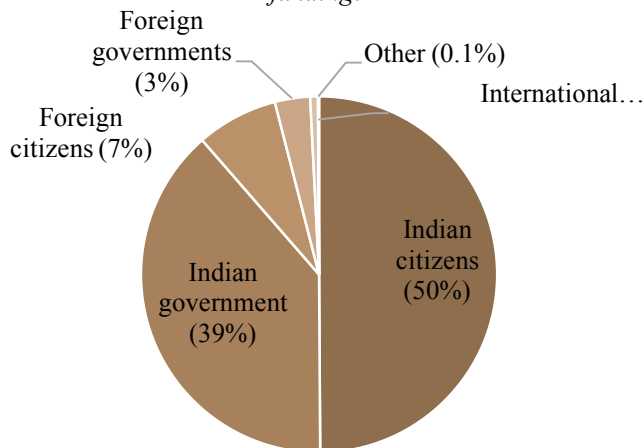
It is likely, however, that respondents were unsure of their attitudes towards LHROs because they do not know of specific organizations. We asked, *"Have you heard of specific organizations working in human rights in India?"* and just about 2% of respondents were able to name a specific LHRO.[127]

Figure 3.9
Very Few Respondents Could Name Specific HROs

"Have you heard of specific organizations working in human rights in India?"

Resourcing LHROs

Figure 3.10
Respondents Overwhelmingly Think LHROs are Locally Funded (N=1,494)

"In your opinion, where do you think that non-governmental human rights organizations in India receive most of their funding?"

Foreign governments (3%)
Other (0.1%)
Foreign citizens (7%)
International…
Indian government (39%)
Indian citizens (50%)

Most respondents believed that Indian rights groups receive their funding from domestic sources.

We posed the question, "*In your opinion, where do you think that non-governmental human rights organizations in India receive most of their funding?"* Very few (11%) thought that LHROs' support came from overseas, and a massive 89% thought funds came from domestic sources.

Fully half of respondents thought that local rights groups were primarily funded by donations from citizens of

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[127] We did not exclude responses giving incorrect names. The goal of the question was to measure how many respondents were willing to offer any kind of specific LHRO name.
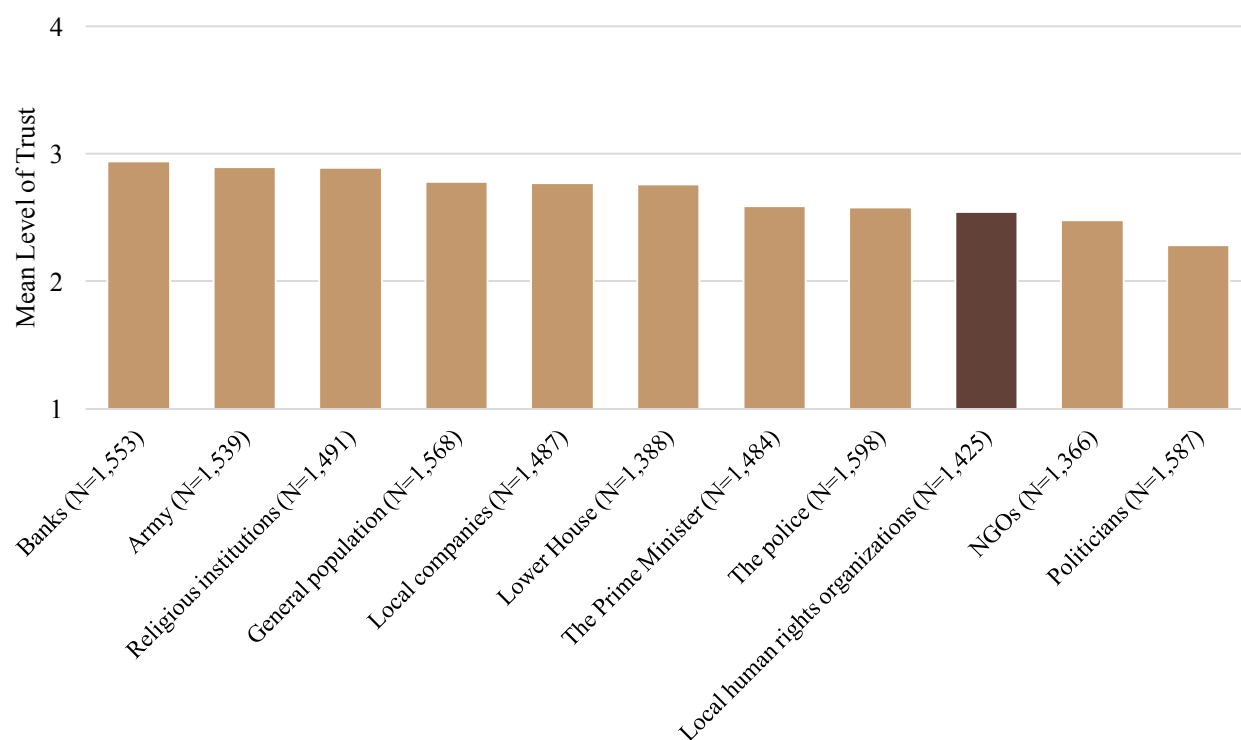
India, yet just 4% of respondents had ever personally donated to such groups (Figure 3.11, below).

Trust in Local Rights Groups

The public in Mumbai and rural Maharashtra does not highly trust local rights organizations.

Figure 3.11
Respondents Have Little Trust in LHROs

"Please tell me how much trust you would place on the following institutions, groups, or persons?"

We asked respondents to rank their trust in a range of institutions on a four-point scale, directing them to *"Please tell me how much trust you would place on the following institutions, groups, or persons."* Overall, respondents most trusted banks, the army, and religious institutions. They had the least trust, on the other hand, in politicians, with trust in NGOs and LHROs not much higher.

We found some key factors to be significantly associated with trust in LHROs:[128]

1. **Meeting a human rights worker is associated with greater trust:** Respondents who had met a human rights worker trusted LHROs 17% more than those who hadn't. Surprisingly, however, hearing "human rights" more often or participating in HRO activities did *not* mean respondents trusted LHROs more.
2. **Those who trusted the political establishment trusted LHROs less:** If respondents highly trusted politicians, the Lower House (Lok Sabha), the police, or the army, they were more skeptical of LHROs. For example, for each one point increase (on the seven-point scale) in trust in politicians, trust in LHROs declined by 15%.[129]
3. **Urban respondents were less trusting of rights groups:** Compared to rural residents, urban dwellers were 6% less trusting of LHROs.
4. **Perceptions of LHRO funding mattered:** Compared to respondents who thought rights groups were primarily funded by Indian citizens, respondents trusted LHROs *less* if they thought the organizations were government-funded (5% decrease) and trusted them *more* if they thought funds came from international organizations (14% increase).
5. **International connections did not mean more LHRO trust:** Using the internet, speaking a foreign language, and taking international trips was not associated with a change in trust.

Civic Participation and Donations

Few participate in LHRO activities, and even fewer make financial donations.

To measure respondents' civic engagement, we asked if they had participated in a range of formal organizations: *"Could you tell me if you have participated in the activities of any of the following organizations?"* Most often, respondents participated in religious organizations (24%). At 7% of respondents, participation in human rights groups was not as low as might have been expected.

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[128] These associations are statistically significant at the 0.05-level in an OLS regression model, with the exception of police, which is significant at the .059-level. For full results, see James Ron and David Crow, "Who Trusts Local Human Rights Organizations? Evidence from Three World Regions," *Human Rights Quarterly*. Vol. 37 (2015): 188–239. In addition to the factors mentioned, the model included a range of other variables, none of which were significantly associated with trust in LHROs: trust in the prime minister, education, income, number of light bulbs in the respondent's home, number of rooms in the respondent's home, voting behavior, sex, age, low caste status, and language.

[129] Political party affiliation also mattered: compared to supporters of INC, respondents who supported NCP, Shiv Sena, and MNS were less trusting of LHROs. Furthermore, those who had participated in the activities of a political party were less likely to trust rights groups.

Figure 3.12
Participation in HROs Was Moderate

"Could you tell me if you have participated in the activities of any of the following organizations?"
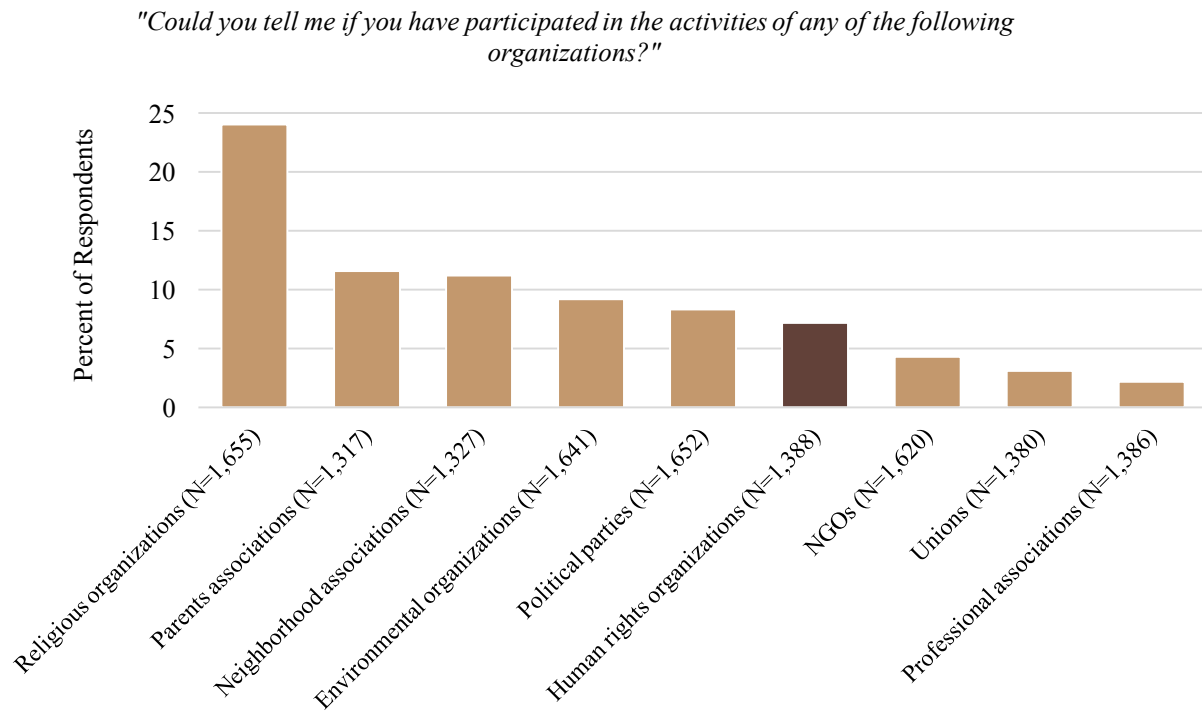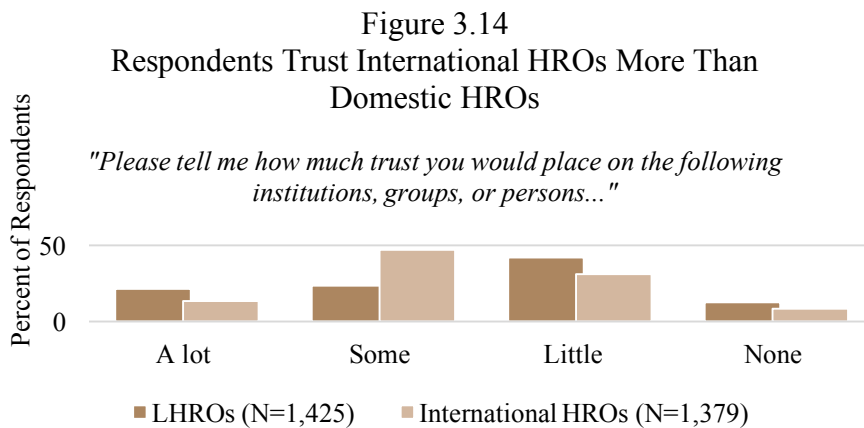

Donations, on the other hand, were lower. When asked, *"Have you ever donated money to any of these organizations?"* the highest number of respondents, again, donated to religious groups (38%). Rights groups attracted donations from 4% of respondents.
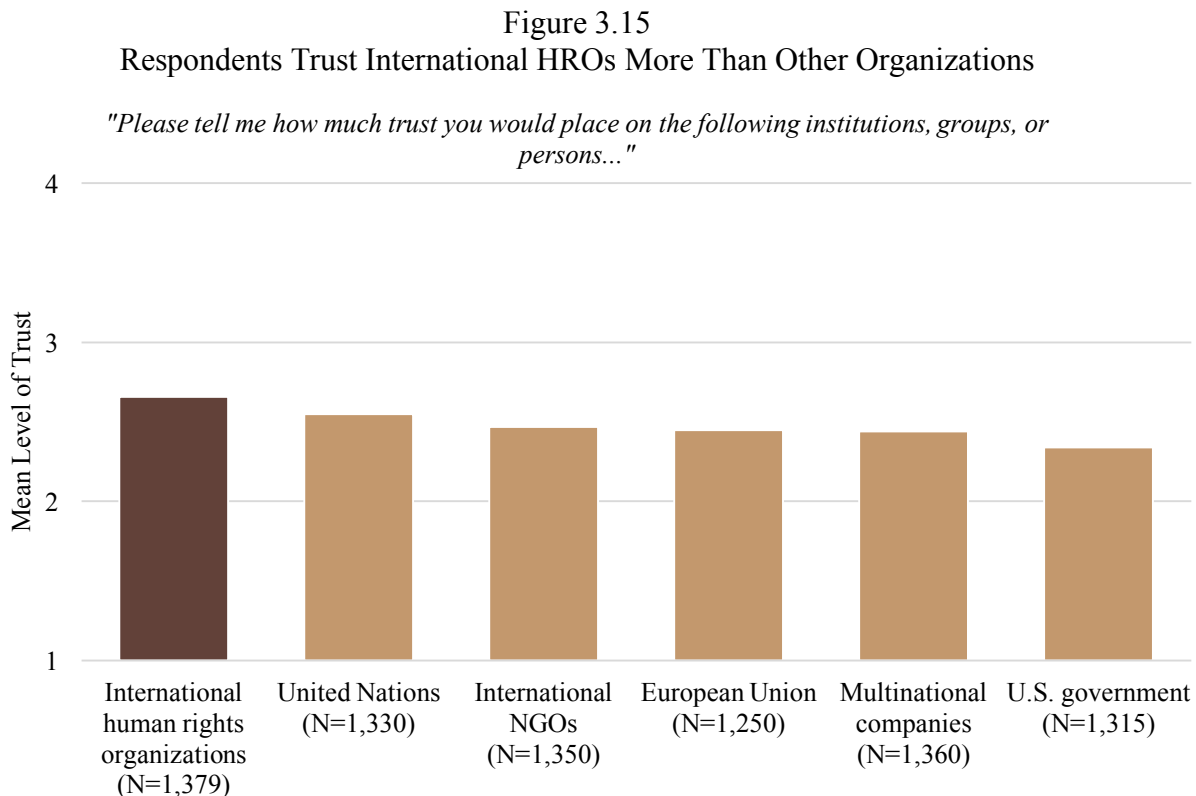
Views on International Human Rights Organizations

Figure 3.13
Respondents Most Often Made Religious Donations

"Have you ever donated money to any of these organizations?"
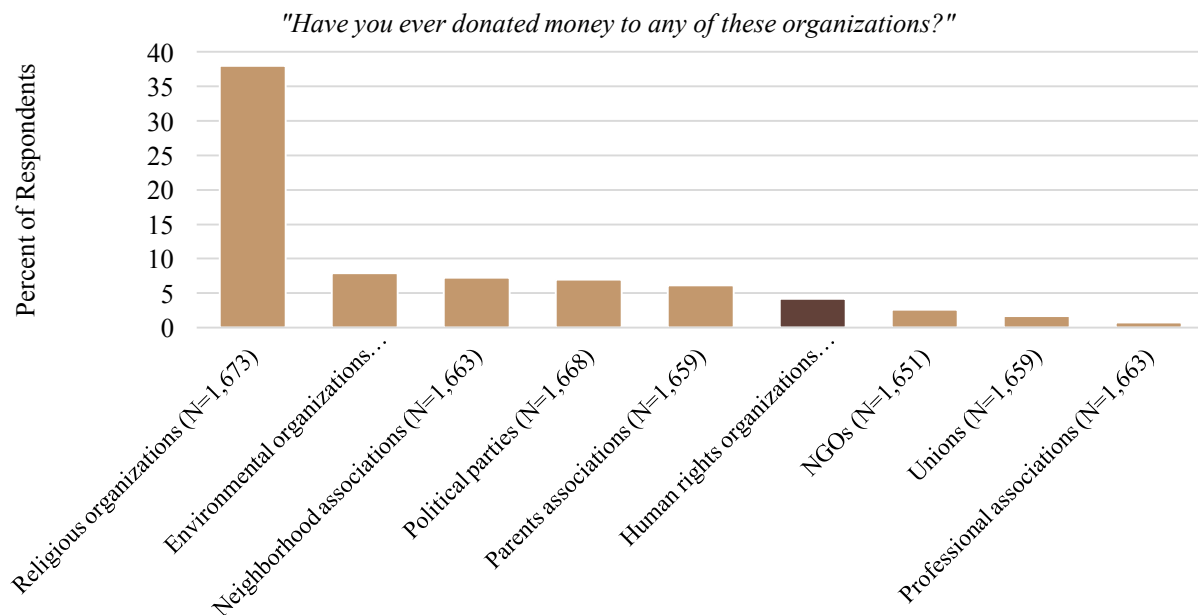
Respondents trusted international human rights organizations, more than their domestic equivalents and more than other international institutions.

Figure 3.14
Respondents Trust International HROs More Than Domestic HROs

"Please tell me how much trust you would place on the following institutions, groups, or persons..."

Although 22% of respondents reported "a lot" of trust in LHROs, overall respondents trusted international rights groups more than local groups.[130] Figure 3.14 shows that 60% of respondents reported "some" or "a lot" of trust in international HROs.

Figure 3.15
Respondents Trust International HROs More Than Other Organizations

"Please tell me how much trust you would place on the following institutions, groups, or persons..."


We also asked specifically about Amnesty International, as a particularly well-known international HRO. We listed a range of international institutions, and asked, *"On a scale of 0-100, with 0 being very unfavorable feelings, 100 being very favorable, and 50 being neither*

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[130] The mean level of trust in LHROs was 2.5 and the mean trust in international HROs was 2.7.

favorable nor unfavorable feelings, what are your feelings towards the following international organizations?"

Figure 3.16
Respondents Moderately Supported Amnesty International

"On a scale of 0-100, with 0 being very unfavorable feelings...what are your feelings towards the following international organizations?"

As Figure 3.16 reveals, respondents placed all the organizations around or just under the neutral 50 measure, and they ranked Amnesty in the middle of the pack. They felt most favorably towards the United Nations and least favorably about the IMF.
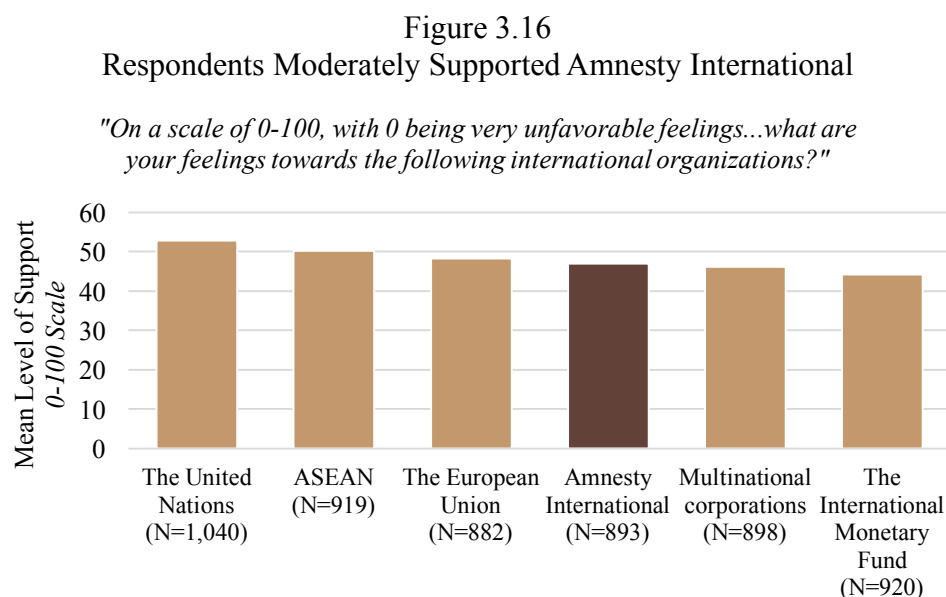
Conclusions

Exposure to human rights appears to be low in Mumbai and rural Maharashtra: the majority of respondents had not heard the term "human rights" often, if ever. Moreover, the majority of respondents were not familiar with specific human rights organizations nor had they ever met a human rights worker. This helps explain the respondents' mixed positive and negative perceptions of local human rights groups. However, they most *often* associated human rights with positive definitions such as promoting free and fair elections, protecting people from torture and murder, promoting socio-economic justice, and protecting women's rights, although this was only a moderate association.

Additionally, half of respondents believed LHROs received the majority of their funding from domestic sources even though a very small percentage had ever donated to a local human rights organization or every participated in an LHRO activity. Moreover, there is little trust in local human rights organizations and the most trust in banks, the army, and, unsurprisingly, religious institutions. Interestingly, respondents trusted LHROs more if they had ever met a human rights worker or if they believed organizations received foreign funding, and trusted them less if they perceived funding coming from government sources as opposed to international organizations or if the respondent was from an urban dwelling versus rural residency.

Appendices

Appendix A: Key Informant Descriptions

Key Informant 1 is a human rights lawyer who practices in the High Court of Mumbai and the Supreme Court of India. As the co-founder of two rights-based organizations, Key Informant 1 has been involved in human rights activism in India for over 20 years. Interviewed November 2010.

Key Informant 2 is a well-known human rights activist and leader from Mumbai, now based in New Delhi, who has spoken and written about rights violations in India for national and international audiences. Interviewed September 2010.

Key Informant 3 has been active in the women's movement and human rights movement since the early 1990s, conducting research and writing about gender, human rights, and law. Key Informant 3 has been involved with Mumbai rights groups and networks for over 10 years. Interviewed October 2010.

Key Informant 4 is a project officer at a leading faith-based rights group in Mumbai and is involved in human rights research and documentation. Interviewed January 2011.

Key Informant 5 is a leading New Delhi human rights defender who founded and directs an organization that does documentation and advocacy in India and the Asian region. Key Informant 5 is known for writing in local dailies and for involvement in international human rights networks. Interviewed September 2010.

Key Informant 6 is a leader of one of India's oldest and largest human rights organizations, has worked as an activist for over a decade, and is a professor of political science. Interviewed October 2010.

Key Informant 7 has a doctorate in political science and is an expert in women's rights and human rights in South Asia. Based in New Delhi, Key Informant 7 works for a leading global development research grant-making organization, focused on sexual violence and impunity in South Asia. Interviewed September 2010.

Key Informant 8 is an activist and lawyer who runs a leading research-based human rights organization in Mumbai. Interviewed November 2010.

Key Informant 9 is a Mumbai-based professor, with research focused on access to justice, custodial violence, and open prisons in India. Interviewed October 2010.

Key Informant 10 headed one of India's largest local rights groups, based in Mumbai, and has over 20 years of local and international non-profit experience. Interviewed via Skype, September 2010.

Appendix B: Mumbai LHRO Sampling Methodology

I) Creation of Mumbai Sampling Frame

Our researchers identified 57 LHROs in Mumbai, and interviewed representatives of 30 (52%), between July 2010 and April 2011. This list may not be complete, as many smaller groups in Mumbai are extremely difficult to locate.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria: Legally registered organizations; headquartered in Mumbai; use the word "rights" in their mandate, mission statement, objectives, "About us" section, or description of activities. Mumbai branch offices of groups headquartered elsewhere in India were excluded.

Web-based Searches: 48 of these 57 had some kind of Web presence. To locate them, we conducted the following searches, and then examined candidate organizations to see if they fit our inclusion criteria. Verification was done online, via phone, in person, or by key informant.

- Idealist.org, consulted July 17, 2010, and filtered using "non-profit organizations" in Mumbai.
- Human Rights Internet, consulted July 18, 2010, searched by "NGOs," "India," "national" level work, and "HROs."
- The Indian government's NGO partnership system database of NGOs and Voluntary Organizations, consulted July 19, 2010 and August 21, 2010. Organizations listing "human rights" or "right to information and advocacy" as an area of interest, filtered from within the "Mumbai" and "Mumbai suburban" parts of Maharashtra State.
- www.Karmayog.org, consulted August 6-7, 2010, filtered by "Mumbai," "human rights," and "legal aid." Searched again on September 6, 2010, and listed all 1355 organizations in Mumbai, each of which was manually searched for "rights" in their work description.
- International Human Rights Association list, consulted August 7, 2010, searched by "Mumbai" and "Maharashtra."
- www.GiveIndia.org, consulted August 7, 2010, searched by "human rights."
- Google International and Google India, searched August 7, 2010 with the keywords: "human rights" and "Mumbai," first 10 pages of results.
- Google International, searched August 7, 2010, with the keywords: "democratic rights + Mumbai" and "civil liberties + Mumbai," first 5 pages of results.
- www.sulekha.com, consulted August 8, searched by "city," "non-profit organizations," and "social justice NGOs."
- Child Rights Information Network (CRIN) database, consulted August 19, 2010, searched for NGOs that included "training or education on child rights," "research child rights," "rights-based programming," or "reporting to, or monitoring, the Convention on Children's Rights" in their mandate, and that were based in India (78) and then Mumbai (2).
- Google International and Google India, August 21, 2010, with the keywords "Manav Adhikar" and "Mumbai," first 10 pages of results.
- Directory of Development Organizations in India 2010, searched for all groups in Mumbai, and then individually scrutinized.

- http://www.maharashtra.ngosindia.com/ database, consulted October 18, 2010 for NGOs in Maharashtra, and then Mumbai.
- Google India, October 20, 2010, keywords "Maanav Adhikar" and "Mumbai" in Marathi (मानवी अधिकार and मुंबई), and Hindi (मानव अधिकार and मुम्बई), first 10 pages of results.

Issue Crawler: Search on May 6, 2010, for "Human Rights" + "Mumbai" on Google.int/en, September 7, 2010. URLs from the first 5 pages of results inputted into Issue Crawler to identify "issue networks" of groups with a valid Web presence, working on rights-based issues in Mumbai. These results were compared to those obtained through the search efforts described above.

Key Informants: Researchers shared a draft sampling frame with eight Mumbai-based and three New Delhi-based key informants. Several said the list was comprehensive, several could not comment, and one said it was impossible to compile a complete Mumbai list. Two were concerned that a handful of the groups did not truly exist, or were front organizations for political organizations.

Sampling: We conducted an Issue Crawler inter-actor analysis of the available 48 URLs on November 23, 2011. Only three were "core" organizations receiving two or more incoming links from the other 47 URLs; the rest were "peripheral" groups with one or no incoming links from the other 47. Given this dearth of virtual LHRO networks in Mumbai, we randomly sampled from the entire list of 57 groups, assisted by a random number generator.

Survey Instruments: The English questionnaire was translated into Hindi; both were used in the 30 interviews.

Interview Duration: These 30 interviews lasted 66 minutes, on average, with a range of 34-136 minutes, and a standard deviation of 125.

Data Recording and Analysis: The interviews were digitally taped and are on file with the project leader. Interviewers took written notes during interviews, summarized the interview's contents after the interview, and translated and added verbatim interview quotes.

Research Team: [James Ron](), Stassen Chair of International Affairs at the Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota, was project leader. Archana Pandya, a Hindi speaking Indo-Canadian and graduate of NPSIA, created the sampling frame, conducted the interviews, and summarized the findings. Sarah Wicks-McCallum, also a NPSIA graduate, conducted the Issue Crawls.

Appendix C: Mumbai LHRO Sampling Frame

1. Able Disabled All People Together (ADAPT - formerly the Spastic Society of India)
2. Academy for Mobilising Urban Rural Action through Education (AAMRAE)
3. Akshara
4. All India Citizen's Vigilance Committee
5. All India Human Rights Citizen Option
6. All Maharashtra Human Rights Welfare Association (India)
7. Apnalaya
8. Arpan
9. Association for Early Childhood education and Development
10. Awaaz-e-Niswan (AEN)
11. Bal Prafullata
12. Basic Equality and Development (BEND) Foundation
13. Bombay Catholic Sabhaa
14. Bombay Urban Industrial League for Development (BUILD)
15. Centre for Enquiry Into Health and Allied Themes (CEHAT)
16. Centre for Social Action
17. Child Rights and You
18. Childline India Foundation
19. Committed Communities Development Trust (CCDT)
20. Committee for the Right to Housing
21. Committee of Resource Organizations for Literacy (CORO)
22. Disability Research and Design Foundation
23. Documentation and Research and Training Centre-DRTC (Archdiocesan Justice and Peace Commission)
24. Don Bosco Development Society
25. Hamara Foundation
26. Human Rights Association of India
27. Human Rights First (Gyan Vikas Public Charitable Trust)
28. Hurt Foundation
29. Kinnar Kastoori
30. Labour Education And Research Network (LEARN)
31. Lawyers Collective
32. Magic Bus
33. Maharashtra Law Graduates Association
34. Mahila Dakshata Samiti
35. Majlis - A Centre for Rights Discourse and Inter-Disciplinary Arts Initiatives
36. Meljol
37. National Domestic Worker's Movement
38. Nivara Hakk

39. Population First
40. Prerana
41. Public Concern for Governance Trust
42. Saathi
43. Sabrang
44. Sahayak..A Socio-Legal & Educational Forum
45. Salaam Balak Trust
46. Sambhav Foundation
47. Society for Nutrition, Education and Health Action (SNEHA)
48. Stree Mukti Sanghatana
49. Sumati Gram Human Rights Protection Forum
50. Swadhar (Self-Reliance)
51. The Humsafar Trust
52. The Society for the Promotion of Area Resource Centers (SPARC)
53. Vacha - Voices of Girls and Women
54. Vikas Adhyayan Kendra
55. Women's Research and Action Group (WRAG)
56. Women's Centre
57. Youth for Unitary and Voluntary Action (YUVA)

Appendix D: Mumbai and Maharashtra Human Rights Perceptions Poll Survey Methodology

The public survey was conducted in December 2012 and January 2013, in collaboration with CVOTER News Services, an Indian polling firm. The stratified random sample included 1,680 total respondents, 1,377 from the urban area of Mumbai and 303 from rural areas of Maharashtra state. The sample is representative of the adult population of these areas.

The sample was selected in the following stages: 1) from each parliamentary constituency, one assembly segment was randomly selected; 2) from each selected assembly segment, one polling booth was randomly selected (a polling booth includes no more than 1,200 individuals, within a 2 km radius of the polling booth); 3) from the Electoral Commission's list of individuals in the polling booth, a randomly selected list of 20-30 potential individual respondents was generated. This method allowed us to identify potential respondents individually, rather than selecting a household first and then an individual from within the household, as is typical in comparable survey designs. The electoral rolls list citizens, aged 18 and above, who are eligible to vote; these lists include over 99% of the total adult population of India.

Our sample design included an over-sample of Buddhist, Christian, and rural populations. To achieve this, the research team identified the polling booths with higher proportions of these people, and prioritized selection of these booths. The sample is weighted to account for the oversample and key demographic characteristics;[131] the sample is weighted to adjust for religion, gender, location, age, and education distribution, using multi-dimensional weighting techniques (raking). All figures presented in this report utilized weighted data.

Every day, each interviewer was given a list of 20-30 randomly selected potential respondents from the electoral roll of the selected polling booth. Beginning with the first individual on the list, the interviewer attempted to locate and interview the potential respondent. In cases of non-contact or non-response, the interviewer moved to the next potential respondent on the list. After completing a successful interview, the interviewer selected the next 10th potential respondent on the list. Each day, an interviewer completed a maximum of 10 interviews.

To complete 1,680 interviews, the research team attempted to contact a total of 4,046 individuals in 284 polling booths. In about 28% of attempts, researchers were unable to locate the selected potential respondent. In these cases, interviewers did not return to the potential respondent's home, but moved to the next individual on the list. In about 30% of attempts, the selected individual refused to participate in the survey. This resulted in an overall response rate of 42% (including individuals the team was unable to locate), but a cooperation rate of 58%.

The research team included 19 interviewers and 9 field supervisors. Interviewers were typically recruited from Indian universities, trained in general survey methodology by CVOTER, at least bilingual (speaking Hindi and Marathi), and received several days of training on the specific

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[131] The weighting matches our sample to the 2001 census data for education and religion and the 2006 population projection for gender and age.

purpose and mechanics of our survey. The supervisors coordinated interviewers and back-checked 10% of the surveys; additionally, 20% of the data was back-checked by telephone. The survey lasted, on average, 49 minutes, and it was conducted in or near the respondents' home using pencil and paper. The survey was offered in Hindi and Marathi.

A complete methodological report is available upon request.

Appendix E: Characteristics of Human Rights Perceptions Poll Respondents

Socioeconomic Status

Table E.1 highlights socio-demographic characteristics of survey respondents. About 55% were female, with an average age of 39 years. Respondents' median monthly household income was $100-$165 in a month,[132] and just 10% had completed secondary education or above.[133] Very few respondents had travelled internationally, with just about one person reporting having lived outside of India and about 30 people reporting any international travel. Just 11% had a landline telephone, but 76% had a cell or mobile phone.[134] On average, respondents had two rooms in their homes (excluding their bathrooms and kitchen) and three light bulbs. Just 8% of respondents reported using the internet, but 82% of those used the internet at least once a day.[135]

Table E.1
Respondent Characteristics

Sex	55% female
Age	
Mean	39 years
Range	18-95 years
Monthly household income range (median)	$100-$165
Completed secondary education or above	10%
International experience	
Lived outside India	0.05%
Travelled outside India	2%
Number of trips outside India (mean)	0 trips
Physical assets	
Has home telephone	11%
Has cellular/mobile phone	76%
Rooms in home (mean)	2 rooms
Light bulbs in home (mean)	3 light bulbs
Uses the internet	8%
At least once a day[136]	82%

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[132] This category was 6,000-10,000 rupees per month. The GDP (PPP) per capita for India in 2012 was $3,900. See CIA World Factbook. "India." Retrieved August 28, 2014 (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/in.html).

[133] According to the 2011 census, the national literacy rate was 73% and Maharashtra's literacy rate was 82%. See the Census of India 2011. "Chapter - 3 - Literates and Literacy Rate," p.46, (http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/PCA/PCA_Highlights/pca_highlights_india.html).

[134] In 2012, there were about 31 million main line telephones in India and in 2013 there were about 894 million cellular phones. With a population of about 1.2 billion, this indicates about 3% of the population had a landline and about 72% of the national population had a cell phone. CIA World Factbook, *op. cit.*

[135] In 2009, there were about 61 million internet users in India, or about 5% of the total population. CIA World Factbook, *op cit.*

[136] Of the 8% of respondents who did use the internet, about 82% reported using it once or several times per day.

We asked respondents, *"What was your main activity last week?"* and 60% of respondents reported working (or having work regularly, but having time off last week) and about a third reported that they were at home.[137]

Figure E.1
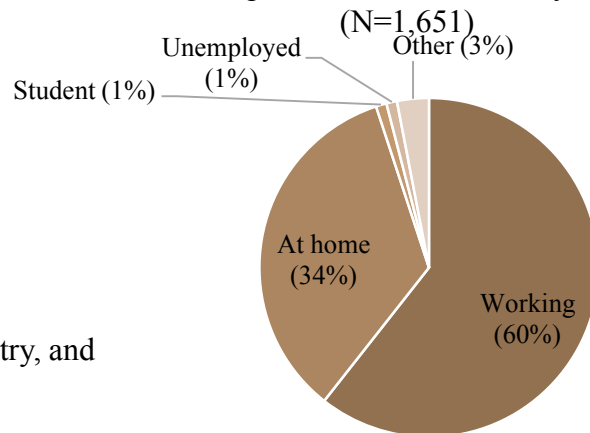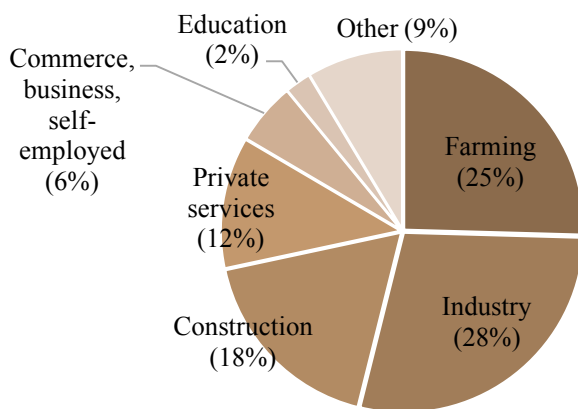Most Respondents Were Currently Working (N=1,651)

Figure E.2
Respondents Worked in Farming, Industry, and Construction (N=846)

Respondents who worked outside the home were asked, *"What activity is the institution or company you work for involved in?"* As shown in Figure E.2, 28% of respondents worked in industry, and 25% worked in farming. A minority of respondents worked in construction, private services, commerce, and education.

Next, respondents were asked, *"With the total family income, which statement best describes your income status…?"* As Figure E.3 shows, most respondents felt their income was not adequate to cover living expenses. Only 9% reported that their income was sufficient.

Figure E.3
Most Respondents Felt Their Income Was Inadequate (N=1,565)

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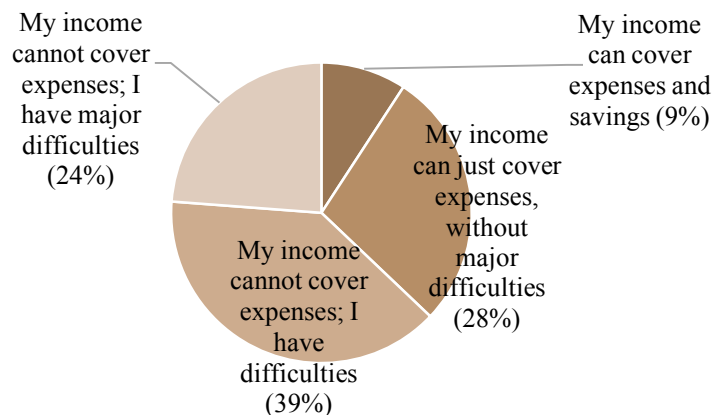
[137] According to the 2011 census, about 40% of the Indian population was working, and about 44% of people in Maharashtra worked. Our survey included only adults, which helps explain this discrepancy. See the Census of India 2011. "Chapter - 4 - Main and Marginal Workers," p.58 (http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/PCA/PCA_Highlights/pca_highlights_india.html).

As Figure E.4 indicates, about 70% of respondents said they had not received education beyond primary school. Twenty-three percent reported 1-7 years of secondary school, and 6% received post-secondary education.

Ethnicity and Language

Over half of respondents identified as belonging to a scheduled caste. As Figure E.5 shows, 22% responded that they were in other backward classes, and 22% said "other."

As Figure E.6 shows, about 90% percent of respondents could speak Marathi and Hindi. Only 10% could speak Gujarati, and only a few respondents could speak English.

Figure E.4
Most Respondents Had Not Gone Beyond
Primary School (N=1,677)
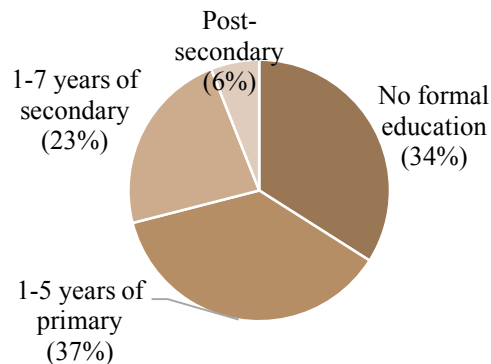
Figure E.5
Over Half of Respondents Identified as
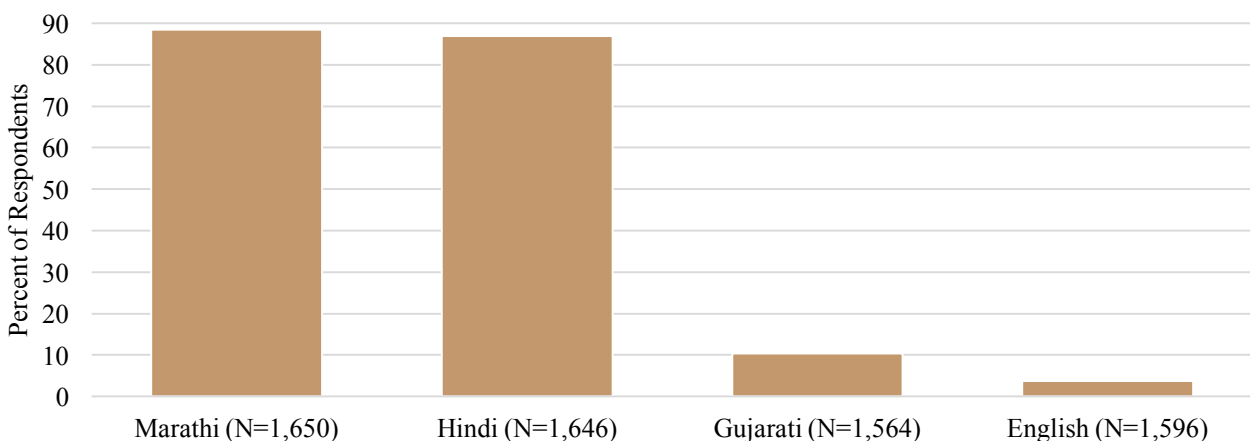Scheduled Caste or Tribe (N=1,333)
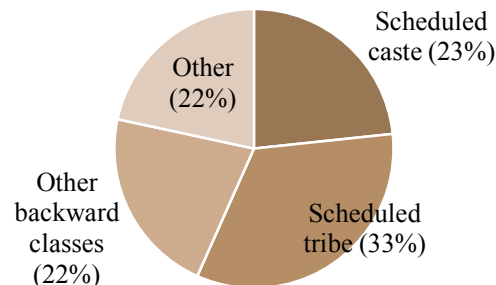
Figure E.6
Respondents Primarily Spoke Marathi and Hindi

Religious Practice and Salience

As Figure E.7 shows, most respondents (77%), identified as Hindu. Small percentages of respondents said they are Muslim, Buddhist, or Jain.

Most respondents said they visit their places of worship regularly. As Figure E.8 indicates, only about 7% responded that they visit only a few times a year, seldom, or never.
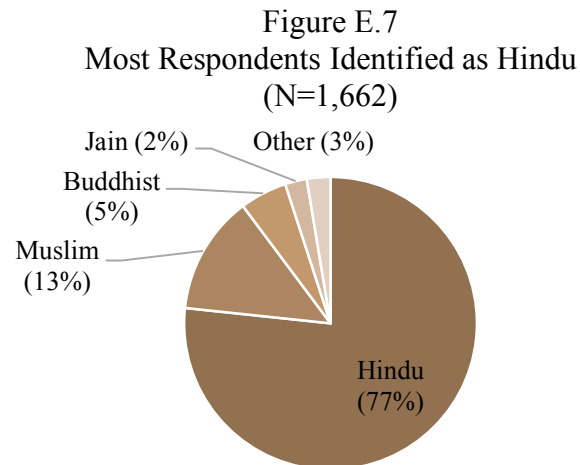
Figure E.7
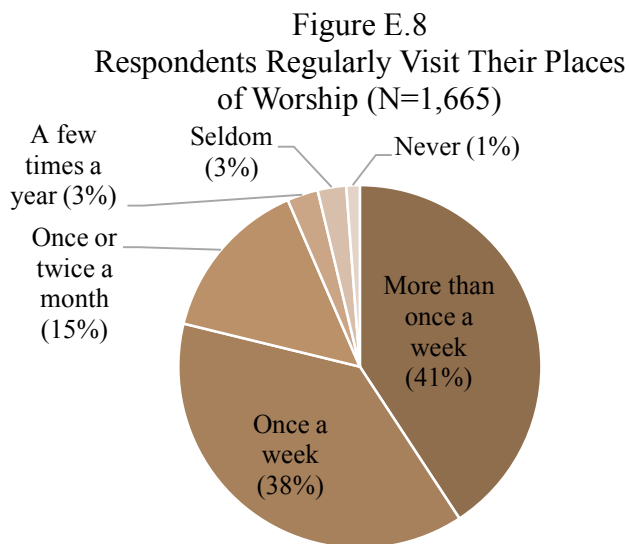Most Respondents Identified as Hindu
(N=1,662)

Figure E.9 shows that most respondents said they participate in regular prayer. About 80% said they pray at least once a day. Only 6% of respondents said they pray rarely or never.

In addition, most respondents feel religion is important in their lives. Figure E.10 shows that about 35% said religion was "very important" for them. However, other respondents ranked the importance of religion in varying ways.

Figure E.8
Respondents Regularly Visit Their Places of Worship (N=1,665)

Political Orientation and Participation

As Figure E.11 illustrates, 24% of respondents reported that they support the NCP, 20% support Shiv Sena, and 20% of respondents support the INC. A minority of individuals supported the BJP, MNS, BSP, and RPI.
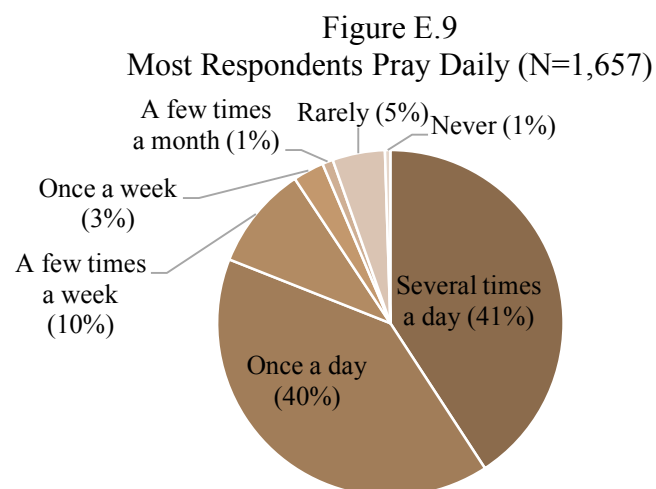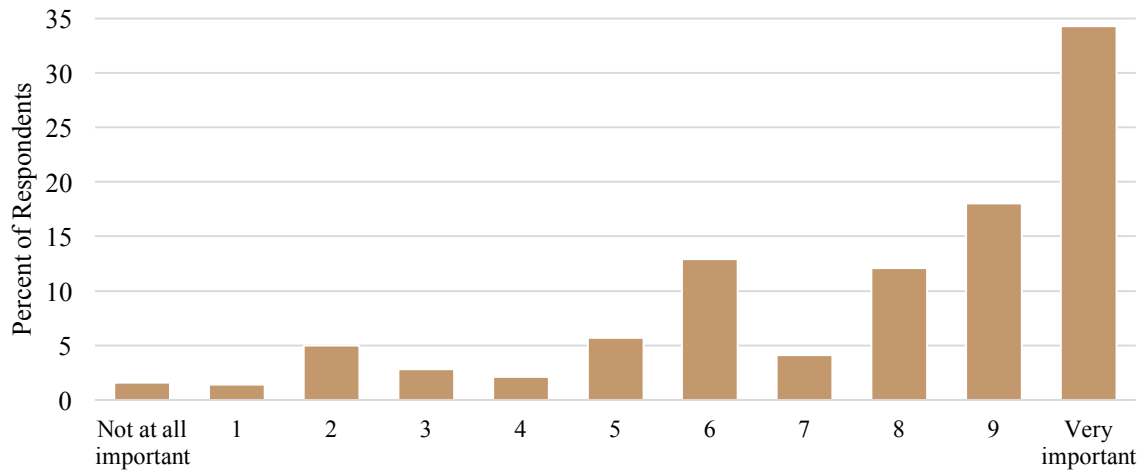
Figure E.9
Most Respondents Pray Daily (N=1,657)

50

Figure E.10
Most Respondents Felt Religion is Important in Their Lives (N=1,589)

To measure political engagement, respondents were asked, *"It is known that some people were unable to vote the day of the elections. Did you vote in the 2009 General Election?"* As Figure E.12 shows that nearly all respondents (98%) voted.

Survey participants were asked to rank their political orientation on a scale from 0 to 10, with 0 meaning the political left and 10 being the political right. Most people were unsure about this question, and 57% of respondents said they did not know where their political orientation fell on this scale (See Figure E.10). Of those who responded, most clustered around the middle values (5 or 6) or at the very ends of the spectrum. The mean value was 5.5.

Figure E.11
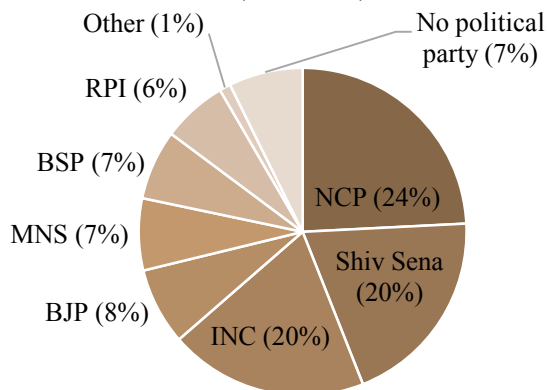## Respondents Supported a Range of Political Parties
(N=1,496)

Figure E.12
Nearly All Respondents Voted
(N=1,601)