Figure 1. Garment worker in factory
Source: https://features.hrw.org/features/HRW_2015_reports/Bangladesh_Garment_Factories/chapter-1.html

INDIAN GARMENT WORKERS AND THE STRUGGLES FOR DECENT WORK:

AN ANALYSIS ON WORKERS' AGENCY & EMBEDDED POWER STRUCTURES

Camilla Morandi (5890942)
MSc – International Development Studies
Supervised by Ajay Bailey

Utrecht University

ACADEMIC YEAR: 2019/2020

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLE AND FIGURES

LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Abbreviation for:
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
WTS	World system theory
GCC	Global commodity chains
GPN	Global production networks
AITUC	All India trade union congress
KOOGU	Karnataka garment workers union
CIVIDEP	Civil initiatives for development and peace
GATWU	Bengaluru's garment and textile union
AFWA	Asia floor wage alliance
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ILO	International Labor Organization
GVC	Global value chain
NJGM	Non-judicial grievance mechanism
ETI	Ethical trading initiative
SAI	Social accountability international
UA	Urgent appeal
LFPR	Labor Force Participation Rate
NOLA	Network of Labor Activism

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank prof. dr. Ajay Bailey for providing the partnership opportunity which lead me to India. I am grateful for the close supervision during the process of writing the thesis, for helping me overcome all obstacles and for supporting my academic and personal growth.
Secondly, I want to thank my friend and fieldwork partner Rose, whom I shared a life-changing experience with and who inspires me daily with her great strength and empathy.
Thank you Andrea, Irina and Martyna for being great friends, for supporting me and for pushing me to do better.
Lastly, I want to thank my family and friends from all over the world, who have supported me greatly in all decisions and endeavours.

ABSTRACT

As a consequence of outsourcing processes of global firms, individuals in the Global South are increasingly involved in global value chain dynamics. However, individuals' inclusion in the labor force does not always equate to improved wellbeing and empowerment. In fact, precarious working conditions have been at the center of heated debates, involving scientists, experts and activists. The Indian garment sector serves as an illustrative case for discussing workers' ability to exercise agency and on the structural elements enabling or hindering the said agency. The research aims to answer the following question: *"How is garment workers' agency in India shaped by individuals' socio-economic factors?".*

By means of a mixed methodology, including primary interview data and secondary data from systematic literature review, this research finds that agency of workers in India is exercised in acts of resilience and acts of reworking. Garment manufacture workers are the most vulnerable actors in a factory, due to their low bargaining potential, the interchangeability of their work, the lack of legal protection and the power abuse by authorities, both within the factory and at a larger scale. Amongst all manufacture workers, some are subjected to worse discriminations in their workplace and within society, due to their socio-economic background, their religion and the type of production organization structure.

Lastly, interventions by global firms and the Indian government for improving workers' conditions have been mostly futile, due to the business-state partnerships founded on accumulation of capital and power. This thesis concludes that institutional decision-making pose structural obstacles to acts of resilience, unionization and ultimately to improved working conditions of garment manufacturers.

Given the recent mass layoffs and unpaid orders by leading fashion firms, further research is suggested to assess the consequences of Covid-19 pandemic on the power relations across the value chain.

1. INTRODUCTION

With market liberalization strategies and deregulation of national economies in 1980s, different modes of production involving chain manufacturing of goods and mass production arose (Lund-Thomsen, 2013). Leading multi-national enterprises from the Global North started to outsource supplying and manufacturing processes to countries in the Global South, taking advantage of cheap labor force and more lenient regulations (Stringer & Michailova, 2018). One of the leading sectors employing outsourcing strategies for mass manufacturing of goods is the garment sector (Collins, 2002).

Since the involvement of countries in the Global South in the apparel value chain in the 1980s (RoyChowdhury, 2018), scholars, social and labor rights advocates have led innumerable discussions on the implications of production processes on workers' wellbeing, empowerment and agency (Anner, 2017). The novel involvement of countries in the Global South in globalized production processes, alongside decolonization periods in several nations, led to increased employment opportunities for individuals (Barrientos, 2013; Hilsdon, 2007). Modernization and developmental approaches by means of industrialization have rapidly shaped the labor force participation of nations, with great changes in the female share of the labor force, both in rural and in urban settings (Collins, 2002; Srivastava, 2012). The inclusion of women in the workforce of countries in the Global South has specifically led to two transitions: the shift from agricultural to manufacturing work, and migration flows from rural to urban areas (Verick, 2018). Access to employment is often associated with the improvement of developmental issues, ranging from increasing levels of education, increased access over resources and contribution to lift families out of poverty (Desai & Jain, 1994; Verick, 2018).

However, the sole increased access to the labor market is mistakenly showcased as means of development and empowerment for workers (Lahoti, 2013; Prentice et al., 2018; Sen & Grown, 2013). The aforementioned benefits brought by industrialization are juxtaposed with a dire reality of informal employment, flexible and insecure workforce and lack of organizational strength present in countries in the Global South (RoyChowdhury, 2005; Swaminathan, 2004; Razavi & Pearson, 2004).

The Indian garment sector serves as an illustrative case for discussing the implications of labor force embedded in global value chains. The apparel sector in India represent one of the country's largest foreign exchange earner (RoyChowdhury, 2005) and the second sector in terms of employment across India, following agriculture (Srivastava, 2012).

The Indian garment industry is characterized by a 'feminization' of labor demonstrated, by an increasing share of women participating in garment manufacturing employment (Mezzadri, 2012; RoyChowdhury, 2005). The inclusion of women in the workforce potentially contributes to new socio-economic development processes for the country and to overall economic empowerment of workers (Sivasankaran, 2014; Niebank, 2018). However, working conditions do not impact men and women in the same manner. A gendered demarcation in the division of tasks is evident, causing an increasing share of women to participate in static manufacturing processes of the value chain (Brooks, 2015), while their male counterparts are more likely to receive higher-paying and skilled positions (Kumar, 2014). Moreover, women's work is often characterized by a lack of maternity-related benefits, unequal pay (RoyChowdhury, 2005) and a lack of acknowledgement of the multiple burdens that women experience, domestically and outside of their home (Swaminathan, 2004). It becomes apparent that women's experiences of employment

in the garment sector are embedded within a broader structure of gendered discrimination and inequality (Srivastava & Srivastava, 2010).

This research focuses on the process of change which individuals go through when aiming at empowering themselves (Kabeer, 1999). This is done by analyzing how garment manufacturing workers exercise their agency according to their own socio-economic position, as well as by providing an overview of the structural constraints they face. This research understands agency as both workers' individual and collective capacity to define one's goals and act upon these goals (Kabeer, 1999). This is done by exerting decision-making power, processes of bargaining and negotiation, subversion and resistance (ibid). As agency is always dependent on subjective and contextual realities of individuals (Coe & Lier, 2011), this research presents available literature on labor agency, with a clear demarcation on the socio-economic factor that differentiates workers.

1.1 RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The outsourcing processes that enable workers' in the Global South to participate to the labor market have great impacts on workers' livelihood, welfare implications and sense of agency. Although labor conditions in the manufacturing hubs of the Global South are often seemingly characterized by a sense of inertia, workers are not standing still. Individuals and groups of workers are active agents in the garment production environment, shaping their experiences as workers. This research aims to contribute to the academic discussions on issues of socio-economic inequality of garment workers and on work as a development tool. Specifically, this research aims to provide a thorough account of the interlinked aspects of agency of workers and the structural factors enabling or restricting it.

1.2 SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

This research aims to provide a nuanced view on work and employment and the role they play in the development of a nation, of individuals and of the sector of garments.

The work of Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo in the book 'Poor Economics' (2012) on global poverty offers a significant contribution to a branch of research which focuses on individuals, their coping mechanisms and strategies to move beyond poverty. The idea for this very research took inspiration from the book and aims to shift the attention away from a mere analysis of the inequalities affecting garment workers lives (Stauffer, 2017), towards a critical understanding of the agency that individuals exercise in India.

Furthermore, my research contributes to the scientific body of literature involved with the implementation of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially SDGs 8 on '*decent work and economic growth*', SDG 5 on '*gender equality and empower all women and girls*' and SDG 10 on '*reducing inequalities*'. Creating inclusive and sustainable businesses is essential, for the progress of all individuals as the outcome of development itself (Dixit & Lal, 2019; Kabeer, 2012; Hirway, 2018).

The need for people-focused research lies at the core of international development studies research, steering away from Westernized assumptions of what development is, what is needed to reach it and how individuals in the Global South are paving the way for their own empowerment and development. This research aims to provide a critical view on the complicated realities of the

Indian garment sector, how workers may have contrasting experiences and how they strive to improve their own working conditions within the complex reality of global value chains. Employment is a crucial tool, shaping people's livelihoods, opportunities and inter-generational development and the way work is structured is a pivotal aspect, determining possibilities for development (Ali, 2014). The structural organization of work is just as important as the identity of workers, in understanding how work may be a development tool for some individuals, and a reinforcement of inequalities for others.

The research aims to provide relevant knowledge for social and sustainability scientists, involved in research on decent work and employment in the context of trans-local trade. Moreover, this research provides evidence for governmental authorities both at national and international level, to inform the process of policy making based on critical studies on development through employment. Lastly, this research is relevant for local organizations involved in the Indian garment sector, to understand what available literature says on agency and power relations within the sector.

1.3 RELEVANCE FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

According to Zoomers, Leung and Westen (2016), 'local development' is increasingly dependent on the collective capability of becoming part of the right network and it should be no longer framed in terms of geographically determined capabilities and priorities.

Garment production undergoes an increasingly globalized value chain processes, encompassing international flows of raw materials, fabrics, outsourced labor and information. Different actors are spread across the chain, including "raw material manufacturers, fibre and fabric producers, wet processors, garment assembly companies, brands, retailers, consumers, and disposal/recycling agents" (Loetscher, 2017: 13). The complexity and interconnectedness of the chain processes lead to highly fragmented production lines. The sheer number of processes, interactions and coordination amongst actors in the value chain (Bitran, 2006) are held together by multiple contracting and subcontracting relationships that extend down the chain (Hale & Wills, 2011).

Since outsourcing processes have been employed for garment production, the sector has relied on a trans-local network of relations for the growth of the sector. Zoomers & van Westen maintain that trans-locality is characterized by spatial connectedness of local development, which depends on networks, linking the local to the extra-local (2011). Applied to the research scope, it becomes clear that the livelihood, well-being and development of garment workers have been gaining a trans-local characteristic, due to the changing nature of the line of production of clothes. Garment workers are increasingly dependent on international market forces and on highly fragmented value chains (Loetscher, 2017). The decisions taken by lead firms at the head of the chain have extensive repercussions along the entire chain, potentially triggering mechanisms of inequalities that are not contained in a specific geographic location. Therefore, in a world characterized by globalized economy, opportunities for development are determined by trans-local relations (Zoomers, et al., 2016). 'Local development' is increasingly dependent on the collective capability of becoming part of the right network and it's increasingly shaped by how people are connected to trans-local and transnational networks (Zoomers at al., 2016).

This research offers the opportunity to analyze the issues related to the increased economic involvement of countries in the Global South, with a critical and unique lens focused on workers' agency.

Overview of the document

In the following section, *Chapter 2*, the theoretical framework and debate are presented and contextualized for the research topic in the conceptual model; research questions are introduced. In *Chapter 3* I will present the regional thematic framework, which adds contextual information needed to comprehend the empirical findings. In *Chapter 4*, the conceptual framework introduced earlier is operationalized and made relevant according to regional data. *Chapter 5* presents the methodology used for collecting and analyzing data, with an excursus on the previous fieldwork experience. In *Chapter 6* the ethical concerns for the interviews made during fieldwork are explained. *Chapter 7, 8, 9 and 10* present the empirical results from both primary data sources and secondary ones, presented in a different manner for optimal understanding. *Chapter 11* discusses the results considering other academic literature on workers' agency and provides reflections on intersectional issues stemming from the results. A pertinent reflection on Covid-19 highlights the importance of this study, followed by recommendations for future research in *Chapter 12*. Lastly, *Chapter 13* concludes the research, presenting evidence-informed recommendations for stakeholders involved in the Indian garment sector.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This research lays its foundation on several theoretical bodies: firstly, it's essential to present the theories which discuss labor in a context of global value chains, discussing its developmental assumptions and the implications for research. Following, I will summarize what available theories on labor agency discuss, relating them to a pivotal aspect of social science research: agency-structure interplay. Lastly, I will present the other pillar for the analysis of the thesis, the intersectional lens of inequalities.

2.1 DEVELOPMENT THEORIES AND LABOR

The discussion on labor in the context of global value chains finds its theorical roots in the following concepts: Wallerstein's World System Theory (WTS), Global Commodity Chains (GCC) and Global Production Networks (GPN) (Wallerstein, 1974; Gereffi, 1996; Selwyn, 2011; Cumbers et al., 2008). These theories aim to create systemic understanding of global production and trade processes, in which countries in the Global South are becoming increasingly essential for the contribution to chain processes.

World System Theory (Wallerstein) dates to 1974; according to it, the world was divided into interdependent peripheries and cores, respectively for zones of low value-adding activities or for high-value processes of production (Martinez-Vela, 2001). As the division between core and periphery is based on unequal exchanges and capital accumulation for the North, this theory regards national development for countries in the Global South as seemingly impossible (Martinez-Vela, 2001). Following WTS economic world view, Gereffi (1996) introduces the GCC theory, adding the concept of competitive innovation to the view of high and low value adding processes (Sewlyn, 2011). GCC highlights power asymmetries within value chains, spanning across geographical boundaries, and often leaving firms in the Global South at disadvantage (Gereffi, 1996). Both WTS and GCC view economic improvements within global chains as dependent on technological and managerial strategies, keeping discussions on the production impacts on workers and labor aside (Selwyn, 2011).

With the concept of Global Production Networks (GPN) researchers and scholars have a framework to focus on production chains as networks, connecting different social actors in the process of value creation (Selwyn, 2011; Cumbers et al., 2008). Scholars from the field of labor geography have used GPN to analyse how the actors involved shape the geography of good production, especially for North-South relationships[1] (Cumbers et al., 2008). It is with GPN

[1] Here, the researcher acknowledges that South-South production is increasing in its volumes and relevance. However, there is not enough evidence on how global value chains and global production networks envision sectoral upgrading in this new context (Horner, 2016). Early studies (Horner, 2016; Klinger, 2009) maintain that South-South production networks might lead to some structural transformation and diversification processes (Horner, 2016). However, given the lack of empirical studies on South-South production networks connected to the garment sector, the current research will focus on the more common North-South networks.

theories that the element power asymmetries, firstly mentioned in the GCC theory, becomes central (Cumbers et al., 2008).

GPN theoretical approach has introduced the element of labor in the discussion of capital production networks, so much so that many scholars have defined GPN as 'networks of embodied labor' (Selwyn, 2011). The legacy of WTS and GCC brought a limited discussions on workers have often led to a narrow vision of their role in the global economy, often depicted as passive victims of production processes and recipients of decisions to which they have no say in (Cumbers et al., 2008; Rainnie et al., 2011). With the increased focus on labor within global production networks, literature on GPN has brought the element of workers' agency forth, ultimately surpassing the antiquated and firm-centered view of global production of goods (De Neve, 2014; Coe & Lier, 2011; Carswell & De Neve, 2012). Within GPN, the co-existence of capital production and labor forces are to be seen as a dialectic interplay, which shape one another (Cumbers et al., 2008; Selwyn, 2011).

A discussion on power asymmetries that characterize these production networks ought to be paired with the reality of working conditions in garment production chains. As mentioned in the *Introduction (see section 1)*, the outsourcing processes that enable workers' in the Global South to participate to the labor market have serious impacts on workers' dignity, wellbeing and sense of empowerment. The lack of dignified work in factories, homes and small production units has created great upheaval amongst scientists and activists; however, sectorial conditions of work often see little to no changes. This research aims to contribute to the academic discussion place in the middle of these two inquiries: the achievements of change in the sector and the power asymmetries in production networks.

2.2 LABOR'S AGENCY

The main school of thoughts used to present workers' agency is mainly that of labor geography, whose origins lie in the academic branch of radical economic geographers in the 1970s, introduced by Andrew Herod in 1997 (Castree, 2007). Labor geography provides a suitable lens for analysis, as it acknowledges elements of trans-locality of global production chains, the role of agency of workers in shaping their socio-economic position and in shaping the production networks (Coe & Lier, 2011). According to Herod (2001), there is a need for a re-conceptualization of labor, to include workers as as active and capable individuals and groups rather than mere reactors, who play a significant role in shaping the economy (Castree, 2007). This research understands labor agency as both workers' individual and collective capacity "to disrupt capital accumulation, and in the process potentially re-position themselves more advantageously within the accumulation process" (Selwyn, 2011: 220). As Leckie argues, agency is a multifaceted and complex topic (2005). This research limits the discussion to the agency that is explicitly aimed at improving the working conditions and work-related issues of individuals.

Coe and Lier (2011) have operationalized the broad concept of agency in three separate ones: resilience, reworking and resistance. "Resilience concerns the small acts of 'getting by' that help individuals and groups cope with everyday realities but do not change existing social relations (e.g. the mobilization of social networks, networks of care)" (Coe & Lier, 2011: 216); these are defined as coping strategies for workers. "Reworking reflects people's efforts to materially improve their conditions of existence [which may include] strategies to leverage better terms and conditions, subverting redevelopment schemes, [and all] initiatives seeking to secure a better distribution of gains within the capitalist system in particular places at specific points in

time" (Coe & Lier, 2011: 216). An example of a common reworking practice would be wage disputes, in which workers challenge their income, without subverting the capitalist mode of production itself (Coe & Lier, 2011). "Resistance refers to direct challenges to capitalist social relations through attempts to regain control of labor time and its use in the spheres of production and social reproduction (e.g. non-capitalist cooperatives, alternative currencies)" (Coe & Lier, 2011: 216). Although reworking and resistance may seem extremely similar, they differ in the ways that the first "attempt to recalibrate power relations and/or redistribute resources" (Coe & Lier, 2011: 216), while the second aims to subvert the capitalist system completely (ibid).

Furthermore, the operationalization of collective agency as merely union-led actions limits the understanding of agency and its potential for change of work under capitalism modes of production (Cumbers et al., 2008). New connections will be illustrated, between the much-discussed trade unions and the new social movements which operate at different scales (Castree, 2007). This research aims to unpack how collective agency varies in its targets and representation of workers; different organizations may prioritize the protection of rights for specific "categories" of workers, e.g. women, migrants, home-based workers, mothers, etc.

2.3 STRUCTURE - AGENCY

In the context of GPN, workers' agency is embedded in their socio-economic and political structural context. Labor both is impacted by its context and can be the catalyst for reconfigurations of the structural landscape (Coe & Lier, 2011). Workers aim to shape the labor market in ways that secures their needs and demands (Selwyn, 2011), just as much as the economic landscape is dependent on workers' productive forces to secure capital accumulation (Selwyn, 2011).

It's sociologist Anthony Giddens who combined 'structure' and 'agency' as simultaneous analytical elements (Coe & Lier, 2011). The actors' positions within the structural context determine their own capacity to influence the structure, due to their inherent power to exert different forms of agency (Giddens, 1981). The discussion on the interplay between agency and structure initiated by Giddens leads to an exhaustive understanding of workers' agency; the new conceptualization of agency goes beyond a reactive or responsive one, towards rethinking it as capacity of workers to shape the built environment in which they act in (Carswell & De Neve, 2012).

We discuss of agency as **structurally grounded context** (Cumbers et al., 2008; Coe & Lier, 2011; Lier 2007), by considering labor's positionality within governmental institutions and community politics to analyze the constraints and enabler of agency itself (Cumbers, 2015). Firstly, the **state** acts as an institution that regulates the lives of workers, through political and legal decisions that shape the labor market. Its role is essential in "determining which actions are legally recognized [consequently shaping] the orientation, strategy and tactics of workers' organization" (Selwyn, 2011: 217).

Community politics are the larger social arenas of working individuals. As this concept is quite vague, examples of communities are helpful for understanding how these apply to workers: labor communities are "non-union organizations, coalitions between trade unions and other groups" (Coe & Lier, 2011: 224). Beyond these, communities built on personal social networks of individuals play a role in providing direct security and necessary contact with others (Pastor, 2001). Due to feasibility and time limitations, this research will focus on the NGOs

working within the Indian garment sector, making a clear separation between international and national ones, and the collaboration between trade unions and NGOs.

2.4 INTERSECTIONALITY LENS: STUDYING INEQUALITIES IN THE INDIAN GARMENT SECTOR

Guided by scholars who have written about women's experiences of inequalities, it would be limiting to transcending the multiple factors that produce inequalities, limiting the analysis of agency to a mere comparison between male and female workers (Walby et al, 2012; Samuels & Ross-Sheriff, 2008). As Sen maintains, the debates on social and economic oppression of women and arguably all individuals "cannot be monolithic in its issues, goals, and strategies, since it constitutes the political expression of the concerns and interests of individuals from different regions, classes, nationalities, and ethnic backgrounds." (Sen & Grown, 2013: 18).

On one hand, it becomes clear that specific geographic and social positionings affect and interrelate with the different identities of garment workers (Yuval-Davis, 2006). On the other hand, it is the aspects of diversity between these individuals that determine and explain the different access to resources taking place within society (Yuval-Davis, 2006). At the center of intersectionality lie the experiences of subjects whose voices have gone ignored, and "underscores the multidimensionality of marginalized subjects' lived experiences'" (Crenshaw, 1990: 139).

2.5 THEORETICAL DEBATE ON LABOR AGENCY AND INTERSECTIONALITY

Regarding the debates on agency-structure theories, Coleman (1987) has expressed the common problematic with describing social processes as linear. Often, theories oversimplify reality as if individuals were to act according to rational choice theory, as if group decisions would have direct impacts on the overarching structures and so on. In reality, the interplay between agency and structures are more complicated, and it's quite the task to discuss realistically of how garment workers influence the socio-political context in which they are located, as well as how the socio-economic and political structures directly influence the lives of these workers. In order to minimize errors due to oversimplifications, I aim to utilize peer-reviewed studies on agency in the garment sector.

Carswell and De Neve (2012) apply the concept of agency to discuss empirical findings from another study on the garment sector of Tirupur, in the South of India (De Neve, 2014). This study has shown that workers in Tirupur navigate their employment options on the basis of subjects' lives and households' priorities (De Neve, 2014). These findings reflect that workers are not victims of what may be seen as poor working conditions, but they actively enact "strategies to retain some control over their time and space at work." (Carswell & De Neve, 2012: 64).

Both collective and individual agency in the garment sector impacts the sector and labor processes themselves in many ways, which can be used as general guidelines for analyzing **agency of garment workers in India**. It becomes essential to be aware of the positionality of the researcher, in order not to assume empowerment and agency based on western norms. This is to be done by looking at qualitative data on workers in India. This directs the discussion on agency inwards, towards the subjective realities of workers and other actors. Having an external normative standpoint risks homogenizing the attempts and achievements of individuals actions to improve their own well-being, surpassing the subjective element of 'status' imposed by societal norms.

Given the impossibility of interviewing workers themselves, this research does not aim to provide exhaustive results regarding the subjective reasoning that may lead workers exert agency at the individual level within the garment sector (Coe & Lier, 2011). This research will present the factors that play an essential role in enabling or constricting individual agency, namely: gendered norms and responsibilities, socio-economic differences across worker groups (e.g. differences across migrants, caste, genders) and skills of workers (De Neve, 2014). The focus will be on how the agency of workers may be hindered or enabled, according to the inequalities that society ascribes to individuals (Kabeer, 1999). For this, an intersectionality approach is essential, to provide for a theoretically relevant lens and a nuanced approach to socio-economic inequalities.

Although intersectional frameworks have tended to focus on the '*disadvantaged*' as the primary research groups, "such an approach inappropriately ignores the role of the more powerful groups" in further reinforcing inequalities amongst individuals (Walby, 2012: 230). Therefore, it's the purpose of this research to focus on sets of said unequal social relations (Walby, 2012), to shed light not only on what the realities of discrimination, disadvantage, agency and change are within the Indian garment sector, but also to focus on the powerful actors which may contribute to shaping inequalities. Not only intersectional differences, but also similarities amongst socially stratified groups will be drawn from the results, rejecting the production of a simple disaggregated list of differences, arising at each intersection (Zack, 2005).

2.6 RESEARCH GAPS & CONTRIBUTION

International opinion forums, organizations and major fashion industry stakeholders have been extensively discussing topics such as fair wages, decent work and safe working environments. However, this contributes to an external view on topic, very often aimed at creating a sympathetic narrative for consumers and producers (RoyChowdhury, 2005). What is missing is a comprehensive analysis of how workers' themselves are striving to shape and improve their employment conditions, either individually or collectively (RoyChowdhury, 2005).

For the Indian context, the academic literature is very limited and mostly relates to the state of Tamil Nadu (De Neve, 2014). Little effort has been made to paint a somewhat comprehensive view of the discriminatory elements that may hinder individuals' agency in export industries (De Neve, 2014). Elements of societal inequalities in the garment sector are discussed in multi-disciplinary research, in the fields of anthropology (Münster & Strümpell, 2014; Gupta & Sivaramakrishnan, 2010), social sciences (De Neve, 2009), labor economics (Mezzadri 2010, RoyChowdhury, 2005 & 2018; Mezzadri & Srivastava, 2015), all presenting multi-faceted understanding of the Indian garment production. This research aims to collect available literature evidence on the different shapes in which agency is exercised in the garment sector in India. Secondly, this paper aims to provide novel information on how the ability (and inability) to exert agency reflects the power inequalities, in a broader context of global value chains and trans local development.

2.7 CONCEPTUAL MODEL

The conceptual model shows the main concepts discussed in the theoretical framework. The findings will focus on the types of agency exercised by garment workers, namely: acts of resilience, reworking and resistance. Moreover, a differentiation between agency at the individual or collective level will be denoted, highlighting individual's bargaining power or collective bargaining through community politics structures. Workers' bargaining powers are shaped by a dynamic context, where interventions from the state, firms and factory management play an important role in determining to what extent agency is exercised.

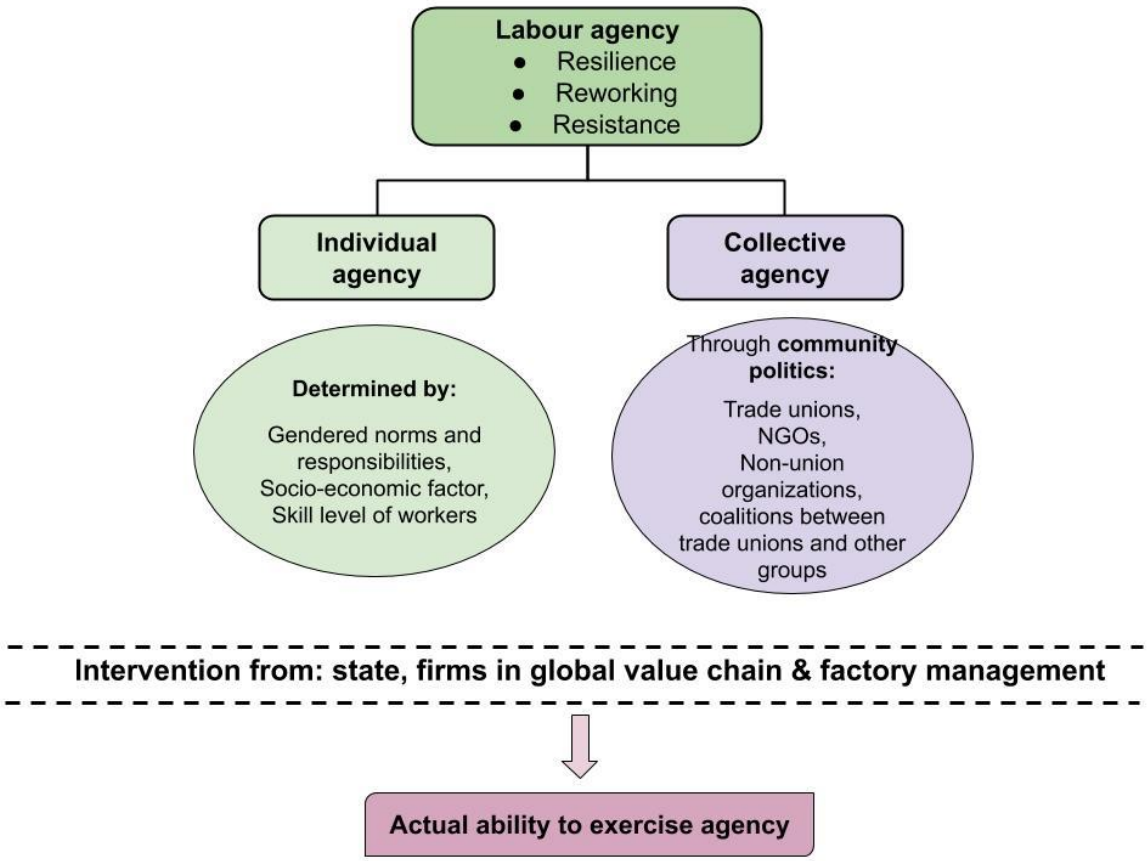

Figure 2. Conceptualization of theoretical framework

2.8 RESEARCH QUESTION

This research aims to answer the main research question:

"How is garment workers' agency in India shaped by individuals' socio-economic factors?"

In order to do so, the main question is split into three thematic sub-questions. The first one deals with the intersectionality aspect of individuals agency:

(i) How do socio-economic factors enable or restrict the agency of workers in the garment sector of India?

Following, it's important to understand how agency for different garment workers is exerted. For this, I will present the enabling factors for agency and discuss how they are practically used in India.

(ii) What is the space available for garment workers to exert their agency?

Lastly, a broader discussion on power relations within the factory setting and across the garment value chain will contribute to finishing the discussion on workers' agency.

(iii) How do existing power relations across the garment value chain and within a factory setting reflect the ability to exercise the agency of workers?

3. REGIONAL THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

3.1 THE GARMENT INDUSTRY IN INDIA

"The Indian garment industry is the second largest manufacturer and exporter in the world after China" (Kara, 2019: 5). The exports of the Indian fashion sector, which combine the textile and the garment exports, represent 14% of the national exports in the year 2016-2017 (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019). The garment sector employs 12,9 million of individuals in formal factories (Kara, 2019). This number rises to approximately 45 million workers, when including the informal part of the sector (Kara, 2019; Government of India, 2015; Government of India, 2016).

Garment production in India is located in multiple production centers, each of which are characterized by specific workers' demographics, means of production and labor issues (Mezzadri, 2010). The main export-oriented production centers coincide with the main Indian industrial clusters, in **Delhi, Bengaluru and Tirupur** and include their surrounding urban areas (Mezzadri, 2010). Each of these clusters has more than 300,000 garment workers. Due to time constraint, this research will not focus on other smaller garment production hubs or centers involved with Indian domestic garment markets.

The strong divide between production centers in the North and in the South of India needs elaboration, as it provides contextual understanding of the national garment sector. In **Delhi**, garment production is located in the most significant northern industrial area, NCR. (Mezzadri & Fan, 2018). It's characterized by specific techniques of maximization of value adding processes at the lowest cost available, done by hiring mainly male migrant workers from rural areas and mainly Uttar Pradesh (UP) and Bihar, for in-factory work (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019; Mezzadri, 2010). These workers are subject to seasonal contracts which consist of cyclical lay off and re-hire practices (Mezzadri, 2010). Another trait of the production in this area is found as contractors employ 'non-factory' workers, who specifically embroid garments from their homes (Mezzadri, 2010). The rise of this employment opportunity has shaped the labor force demographics greatly, including female houseworkers and children of migrants from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar in the production (Mezzadri, 2010). Due to the changing nature of the employment practices and the informal side of the sector, it is extremely difficult to provide accurate numbers for workers in the sector – Mezzadri and Srivastava (2015) maintain that Delhi might employ between 200,000 and 300,000 garment workers, of which almost the majority are male.

In the South of India, we find two main garment hubs: **Bengaluru**, in the state of Karnataka and **Tirupur**, in the state of Tamil Nadu (Mezzadri, 2010). In **Bengaluru**, 500,000 workers are employed in the sector (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018). Here, 80% of them are female workers (Mezzadri, 2010; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018), mostly migrant (ILO, 2017); many of them work in factories with semi-permanent contracts (Raju & Jatrana, 2016), producing goods for exports, with a small share of production for the domestic market (Mezzadri, 2010; Mezzadri & Srivastava, 2015; RoyChowdhury, 2018). A recent trend has seen garment factories historically located in the production hub of Bengaluru relocated in the 'industrially backwards districts' outskirts of the city, in rural areas of the state of Karnataka, Andra Pradesh or Tamil Nadu (Kumar, 2014; Fair Wear Foundation, 2019). This relocation trend feeds into the quest for an optimization of costs that the sector bases its growth on, which results in a race towards the bottom for workers' wages (RoyCowdhury, 2018; Kumar, 2014). Nevertheless, the city maintains its status as a garment hub.

Tirupur's garment sector combines the characteristics of North and South India (Mezzadri, 2010). It has been extensively studied by scholars, as it represents an interesting case of diverse labor regimes existing simultaneously (Mezzadri, 2010; De Neve, 2014, Carswell & De Neve, 2012). Here, large fashion firms have decentralized their in-factory production to flexible and often informal home-based and small production units (De Neve, 2014; Raju & Jatrana, 2016). Just like the other two industrial hubs presented, Tirupur's garment production is mainly export-oriented (Mezzadri & Srivastava, 2015). Due to the presence of temporary and causal workers, Tirupur's workforce is difficult to quantify, with reports ranging from 300,000 workers (Crane, et al, 2019), 600,000 (Mezzadri & Srivastava, 2015) to maximum of 800,000 (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019). The garment workers are mainly young, female, low-caste individuals, many of which are migrants (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019). Unmarried, young women migrate to highly industrialized areas for work opportunities, driven by a scheme for recruitment called Sumangali (South, Asia & Fair Labor Association, 2012). The scheme entails an apprenticeship for migrants who will move to the industrial city to work for the garment sector in return for a 'guaranteed' lump sum payment that will be given after 3 years of work (South, Asia & Fair Labor Association, 2012). Just like in Bengaluru, Tirupur has witnessed a relocation of production areas in the rural areas, due to lower production costs (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019).

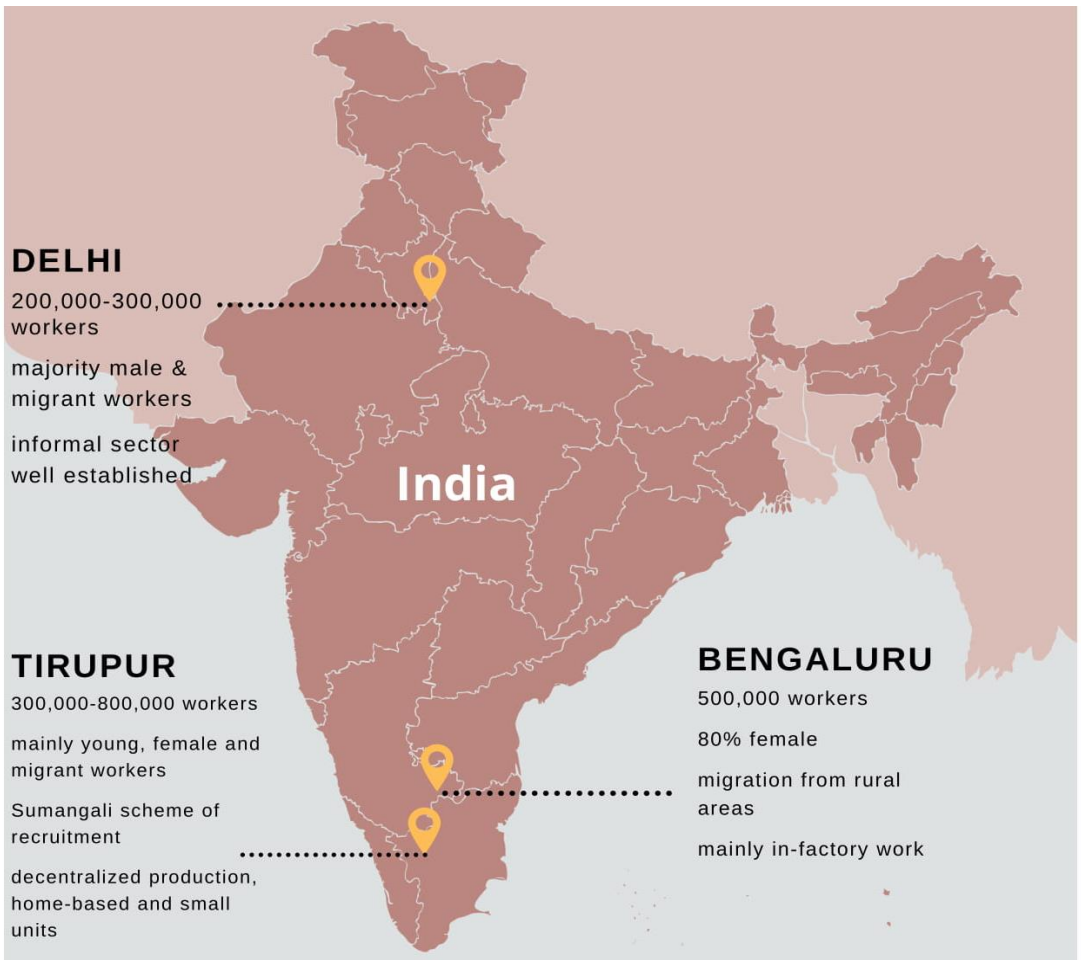

Figure 3. - Map of India with relevant garment production centers

3.2 INDIAN EMPLOYMENT RATES

There are notable differences in employment rates are between male and female coming from urban and rural areas of India. Figure 4 below shows the Labor Force Participation Rates, differentiating the employment rates across genders and urban or rural area. Moreover, Figure 5 and 6 below present the progressive distribution of workers in the two biggest sectors of employment: agriculture and manufacturing (NSSO, 2013). 4,56,999 individuals were surveyed for this report, 2,80,763 from rural areas and 1,76,236 from urban areas. From these two datasets, we find differences across genders and residence area. Based on a national survey from 2011-2012, the labor force participation rates (per 100) of workers all ages are depicted, showing notably higher participation by male, especially urban. Regarding female participation, we see higher rates in rural settings, where women are mostly employed in agricultural work, while urban women in manufacturing.

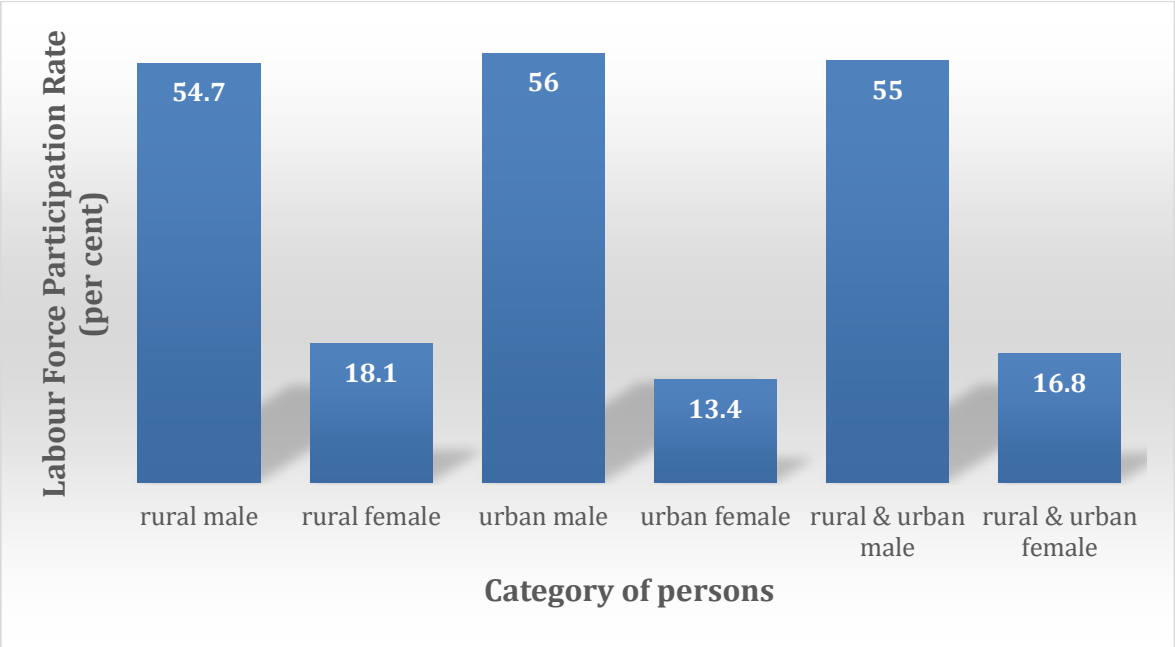

Figure 4. Indian labor force participation rates. Differences of gender and rural and urban areas - source: NSSO, 2013

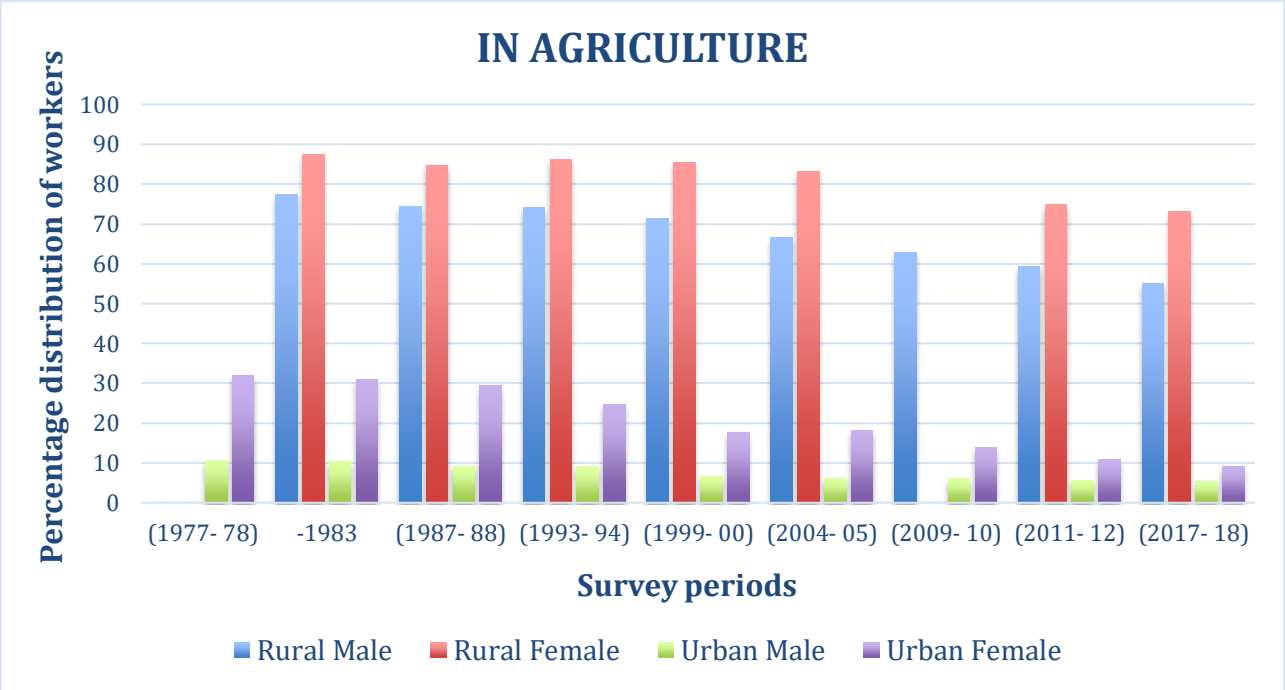

Figure 5. Percentage distribution of workers in agriculture. Source: NSSO, 2019

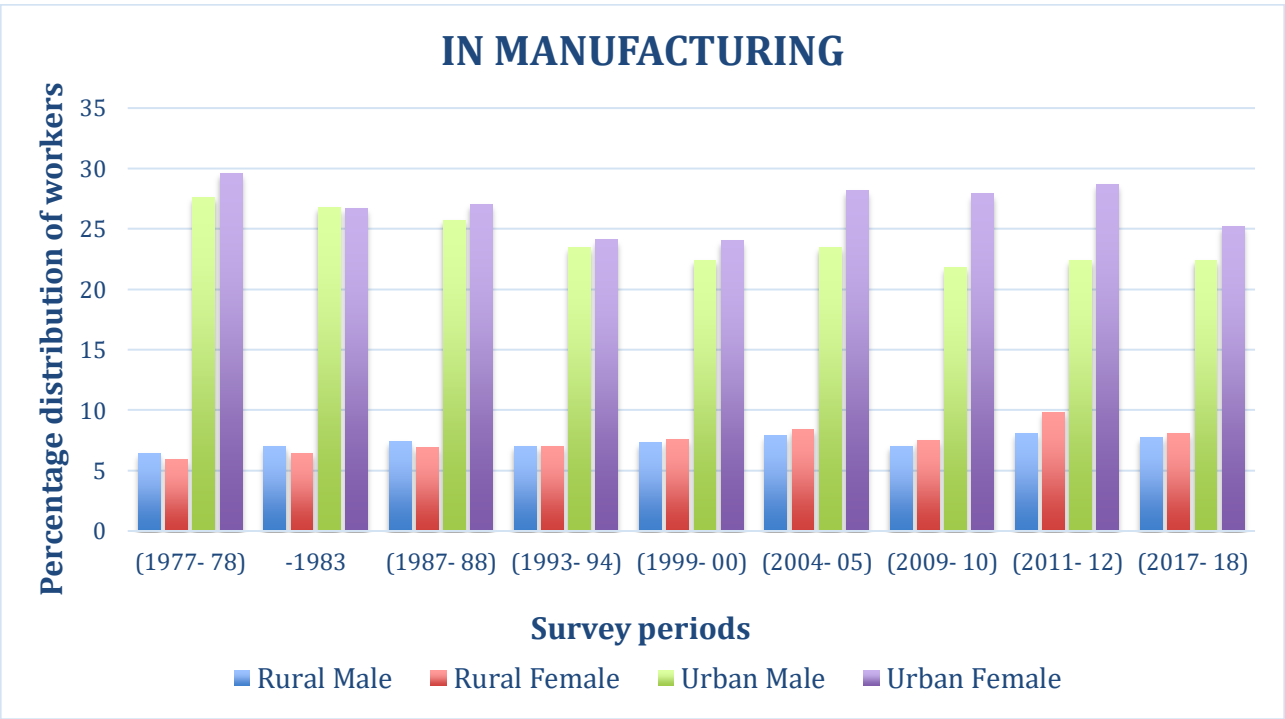

Figure 6. Percentage distribution of workers in manufacturing. Source: NSSO, 2019

Figure 7 below, shows great difference in the type of employment for people coming from rural and urban areas, with very little differences across genders. Based on a national sample survey, 4,56,999 individuals were surveyed (2,80,763 from rural areas and 1,76,236 from urban areas) (NSSO, 2013). The figure shows a clearly demarcated difference between casual labor, amounting to 15-14% for male and female in urban areas, contrasted by 35-36% in urban areas. Wage workers are found mostly in urban areas, with 43% of individuals being such, opposed to

6-10% found in rural areas. This data shows how working in the garment sector – in urban areas – could be a great opportunity for individuals from rural areas to move to cities and escape casual employment typical of rural areas (NSSO, 2013).

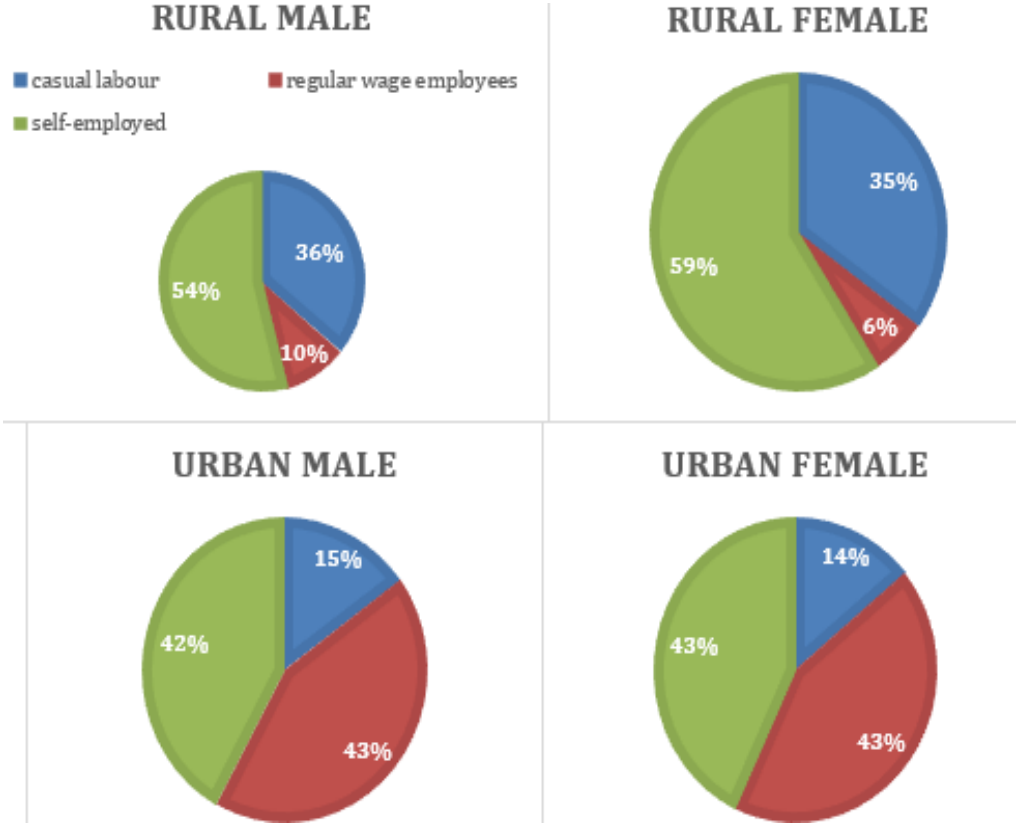

Figure 7. Differences in status of employment, differences between rural urban, male and female (NSSO, 2013).

3.3 IDENTITIES OF GARMENT WORKERS

Workers livelihoods are dependent on individuals' socio-economic factors and their possibility to access the labor market to ensure financial stability (Crane, et al, 2019; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018).

Women in India are often subjugated to inferior positions within the patriarchal structure of society and traditions (Sen & Grown, 2013; Srivastava & Srivastava, 2010). Especially for women living in poverty and in rural areas, work represents a way to redeem their worth, gain independence and find alternative employment options to the common and heavy agricultural work (Huynh, 2015, NSSO, 2019). Throughout the nation, migrant women look for jobs in the garment industry, given the accessible low-skill entry-level (RoyChowdhury, 2018). However, these women are often subject to different conditions of work and discriminations due to their gender identities. The discriminations vary and are briefly presented here but they are discussed thoroughly in their entirety in *section 7.2.2*. Gender pay gap is a global issue, and it not only undermines women, but it weighs more heavily on those living in rural areas and those who are not married, leading to increased inequalities and social stratification in the Indian context (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019).

The marital status of women in India affects their double burden within the household and in their workplace, leading to increased responsibilities, duties and work – signaling women's

central role in family finances (Sivasankaran, 2014) as well as rooted gendered practices (Sen & Grown, 2013; Srivastava & Srivastava, 2010). However, one must not be quick to assume that young and unmarried women hold a privileged position among garment workers. In fact, the presence of an immediate family may be of great moral, financial and physical support for women.

Caste belonging is a factor that might contribute to specific working conditions, although it must be recognized that most garment manufacturers are coming from lower castes, such as Scheduled Tribe (ST), Scheduled Caste (SC), or Other Backward Class (OBC) communities (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018). Amongst these, Dalits are situated at the bottom of this hierarchical division of society, and they mostly contribute to the garment sector in Tamil Nadu (Oonk, et al., 2012). Here, Dalit workers are generally employed under the 'Sumangali Scheme', under which workers don't have access to their full wages for years, and their freedoms and privacy is severely limited (ibid).

Religious belonging may also influence the conditions of work. Since 2014, an anti-Muslim movement has been growing, leading to episodes of mob violence and discrimination (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019). Due to this growing ideological feud within the country, Muslim workers are more vulnerable than ever (ibid) and have the lowest workers population rate, compared to other religions (NSSO, 2019). Muslim women working in the garment sector contribute mostly to home-based activities, due to restrictions of movement (Kantor, 2002).

As seen in the general description of the Indian garment sector, garment work oftentimes attracts workers from rural areas of India for prospects of work (Parton, 2018; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018; RoyChowdhury, 2018; Sister for Change, 2016; Fair Wear Foundation, 2019). Their positionality in society is considered by many scholars as vulnerable, due to limits to movements and freedom, lack of immediate and extended family close by and lack of knowledge of local forms of association and organizations (Crane, et al, 2019; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018; South, Asia & Fair Labor Association, 2012; ILO, 2017).

Regardless of workers' identity, most manufacturing jobs in the Indian garment sector have common characteristics. For one, the freedom of association and rights to collective bargaining is less than 5% in India - measured as trade union density rate in the garment industry by the Fair Wear Foundation (2019). The reason for this is variate and will be discussed thoroughly in this research. Secondly, Indian garment wages are considered below poverty line, contributing to issues of deprivation of resources (Crane, et al, 2019; RoyChowdhury, 2018) and overall lack of dignified life (ILO, 2017). Living under the poverty line can contribute to realities of social exclusion, entailing a common deprivation of "resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas" (Levitas et al, 2007: 9).

However, the nuanced reality of working conditions in India requires an intersectional lens, to analyze workers' agency and the role of power relations across stakeholders in shaping the said agency.

4 OPERATIONALIZATION OF VARIABLES

The core concepts presented in the theoretical framework require further conceptualization, based on the specific field of study – the garment sector – and based on the regional context of the research.

The analytical focus of the research lies in different attempts of agency by Indian garment workers, both individually (by looking at enabling and containing workers' agency), and collectively. In order to paint a realistic picture on garment workers' agency in India, I embedded the findings on how agency of workers changes overtime in a structurally-grounded context, with a specific focus on the role of the state, on lead fashion firms within the global value chain and on factory managers. *Table 1* below presents the operationalization of variables, presented in the conceptual framework and adapted to the regional context.

Operationalization of variables		
Concept	**Intermediate concepts**	**Variables**
Labor agency:	**Resilience**: coping strategies for workers **Reworking:** people's efforts to materially improve their conditions of existence **Resistance:** direct challenges to capitalist social relations - attempts to regain control of labor time & its use in the spheres of production and social reproduction	**Resilience -** small acts of 'getting by' that help individuals and groups engage in - do not change existing social relations (e.g., the mobilization of social networks, networks of care) **Reworking -** strategies to leverage better terms and conditions, initiatives seeking to secure a better distribution of gains within the capitalist system - power relations and/or resources **Resistance -** actions aimed at subverting the capitalist system completely. Examples: of non-capitalist cooperatives, alternative currencies)".
Individual agency	Elements determining individuals' capacity to wield structural power - halting the system by utilizing disruptive tools individuals own: ● Gendered norms and responsibilities ● Socio-economic factors ● Skills levels of workers	Differences in agency across: Gender Migratory status Age Caste Religion Skills

Collective agency	**Associational power -** workers joining/exerting agency through: ● Trade unions ● Non-union groups (e.g. NGOs) ● Coalitions between trade unions and other groups	Exclusionary representation, based on individuals' socio-economic factors (migratory status, gender, caste, age, etc.) and type of production organization (i.e. home workers, factory workers, small unit production); The collaboration between workers and external organizations (e.g. NGOs, trade unions, other informal groups) creates a dimension of **community politics**
Embeddedness of agency State Lead firms in the GVCs Management from local factories	**Interplay of agency-structure**: how workers aim to shape these structural institutions by exerting their agency & how the latter influence the ability of workers to exercise agency. **Analysis at both local and trans-local level:** Intervention from the state, lead firms and management enabling or restricting the ability of workers to exert agency.	**State:** Draws boundaries of the labor market and determines the extent of legal recognition of workers' bargaining power. Promotes welfare initiatives to improve the socio-economic position of garment workers **Lead firms**: prime involvement with branding, design and marketing of the end-product. They control production by suppliers and affect the possible labor market outcomes in supplier firms. **Management**: employing garment workers, responsible for shaping working conditions of production organization units.

Table 1. Operationalization of variables

5 METHODOLOGY: METHODS, TECHNIQUES & SAMPLING STRATEGIES

The methodology for this research entails a mixed-method approach, to obtain findings that are grounded in empirical research and that are coming from different methodologies (Bryman, 2012; Sumner & Tribe, 2008), namely interviews, field observations and systematic literature review.

The methods for this writing this research entailed an initial literature review, aimed at understanding the context of the garment sector in Bengaluru – in preparation to my fieldwork. The data collected in situ provided me with further contextualization of the topic and theory building, adding relevant literature and initial findings based on observations and discussions with trade union organizations operating in Bengaluru. My initial fieldwork research methodology revolved mainly around interviews with garment workers and garment organizations, which were abruptly stopped, due to the pandemic breakout of Covid-19. Fieldwork data collected still holds relevant to the current research, providing contextual information and prompts for reflection to set the new research question, as well as material to be analyzed.

In addition to fieldwork material, the current research makes use of a systematic literature review, with secondary data coming from academic as well as grey literature. A systematic literature review represents a rigorous and transparent methodology (Mallett, et al., 2012) for collecting the majority of data to be examined in this research.

A summary of the methods and data collection to be utilized for this research can be found below, in *table 2*. The table summarizes how I plan to answer the different sub-questions, providing information on the data collection methods and the analysis to be employed.

Research design table		
Sub-question	***Data collection methods***	***Data analysis***
How do socio-economic factors enable or restrict the agency of workers in the garment sector of India?	Semi-structured interviews with garment workers in Bengaluru [n=3] Interviews and informal discussions with national and international organization in Bengaluru [4 discussions, 3 interviews] Systematic literature review [n=46]	Coding and categorizing interviews and discussions Thematic content analysis of secondary data sources

What is the space available for Indian garment workers to exert their agency?	Interviews with garment workers in Bengaluru [n=3] Interviews and informal discussions with national and international organization in Bengaluru [n=7] Systematic literature review [n=46]	Thematic content analysis of primary and secondary data sources
How do existing power relations across the garment value chain and within a factory setting reflect the ability to exercise the agency of workers?	Systematic literature review [n=46]	Thematic content analysis of primary and secondary data sources

Table 2. Research design table

5.1 DATA COLLECTED DURING FIELDWORK

A combination of different informal discussions and interviews with several NGOs and labor union organizations and interviews with garment workers in different industrial areas of Bengaluru made up for the data collected in the field. To provide in-depth information on labour participation of garment factories in Bengaluru, I conducted interviews with NGOs and trade unions in Bengaluru. These organizations provided essential contextual information on the Indian garment sector and key contacts for creating a network of informants and collaborators. Below, *table 3* summarizes the stakeholders interviewed, presenting the method used.

Summary of stakeholders and data gathering methods from fieldwork	
Stakeholders involved	**Method**
AITUC - *All India Trade Union Congress* (national and local union)	Interviews with two board members of AITUC – Adhityan and Akshay
Industriall Global Union (global union, operating locally with GLU, GATWU & CIVIDEP)	Call with Amara - Representative of South Asia regions for Industriall
KOOGU - *Karnataka Garment Workers Union* (local union)	Informal discussion on perceived difficulties in workers' agency, with three different board members of the union

Munnade - *women's garment workers front* (NGO, local)	Interview with co-founder of Munnade - Rajani, interviewed as co-founder and as former garment worker
CIVIDEP - *Civil initiatives for development and peace* (NGO, affiliated with GLU which is a union)	Discussion with Anika - board member of CIVIDEP Email follow up - suggestions on research, based on the relevance.
GATWU - *Bengaluru's garment and textile union* (union, local)	Interviews with Adesh - former garment worker & later board member of GATWU
AFWA - *Asia Floor Wage Alliance* (international, collaborates with NGOs & union organizations)	Call with Ishiva – representative of AFWA south asia
Three **garment workers** from Munnade	Interviews. [all women receive trainings from Munnade, to learn how to voice their needs to the management & to improve their children's education]
One **garment factory manager**	Phone call interview with Rumi – manager of a Bengaluru-based garment factory

Table 3. Summary of stakeholders and data gathering methods from fieldwork.

5.2 COVID-19 IMPACTS ON THE STUDY AND ADAPTATION OF RESEARCH

During the fieldwork, I one-handedly built a network of informants and collaborators who could benefit from the research findings, and who could help me with data collection. The original research revolved around analyzing the social capital of garment workers and the mobility issues linked to their participation to the labor market. For this, I planned to interview 40 garment workers in Bengaluru, following the interviews with approximately 10 garment organizations. The novel contribution of my original research lied on the ability to map garment workers journey to and from work, to understand the obstacles encountered and present the solutions found individually and collectively.

Due to the pandemic, I had to leave the research field and had to rethink of the entire structure and content of the master thesis. Given the urgency of the pandemic crisis, I chose not to remotely interview people in Bengaluru, as it seemed highly inappropriate and out-of-touch, compared to the magnitude of the virus consequences in India. However, I still maintained contact with stakeholders in situ, asking for sectorial and cultural insights on research obstacles I came across during the systematic literature review.

After several adjustments on the thesis topic and under supervision of prof. dr. Bailey, I decided to conduct a systematic literature analysis on the agency of garment workers. As already explained in the theoretical debate, the westernized look on garment workers in the Global South has often created a seemingly 'victim' portrait of these individuals (Mohanty 1991; Ram 1993). However, thanks to the focus on people-focused research emphasized by the MSc program and to the encounters with workers in the field, I resolved that more critical analysis was needed, to pain a more realistic picture of workers in the Indian garment sector. The personal choice for

systematic literature review was to account for multiple points of view, to synthesize how the agency garment workers is discussed in available literature.

5.3 DATA COLLECTION – SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

This research makes use of systematic literature review as one of the main data gathering method. A systematic literature review aims to provide a rigorous and transparent foundation to generate empirical findings (Mallett, et al., 2012; Wall, 2015). Systematic literature review serves the researcher in the attempt of assembling available data on the topic of agency in the Indian garment sector, to produce findings which elaborate on previous studies. The aim of a systematic literature review is to provide an up-to-date scientific foundation which can be used for both evidence-informed development interventions and policy making decisions (Petrosino, et al., 2011). Following the work of the Campbell Collaboration, systematic reviews can clearly offer high-quality research for social intervention worldwide (Shlonsky, et al., 2011). In the field of development studies, systematic literature review has been used for studying developmental issues such as poverty reduction (Banks, et al., 2017; Mbuyisa, & Leonard, 2017), micro-credit (Vaessen, et al., 2014; Van Rooyen, et al., 2012; Mohamed & Fauziyyah, 2020), climate change adaptation (Spires et al., 2014; Thompson et al., 2010; Antwi-Agyei, et al., 2015), innovation (Zanello et al., 2016). The topic of labor agency and development through employment in has been studied limitedly through systematic literature reviews (Holmes et al. 2012; Hagen-Zanker et al. 2011), and this research provides a great opportunity for starting a broader discussion at the academic level.

Systematic literature review allows the research to increase the breadth of research, by removing implicit researcher bias and utilizing a wide array of data, while maintaining a focused view on the topic, by means of a clear and reproducible methodology (Mallett, et al., 2012).

Firstly, the research question was broken down in the following elements: population, intervention, outcome and comparator (PICO) (Mallett, et al., 2012; Shlonsky, et al., 2011). Then, the search for literature to be analyzed is operationalized through setting key words, inclusion and exclusion criteria, based on the four **PICO** elements, (ibid). The PICO elements draw from the research scope, the theoretical framework specific to this research, the regional context presented earlier.

Population:

- Garment workers in India - working in the export-oriented hubs in and around Bengaluru, Delhi and Tirupur.
- Indian state
- Trade unions
- NGOs, national and international, working in the specified areas of India.

Intervention *(aka phenomenon of interest)*: Agency of workers in the Indian garment sector. Enablers and obstacle to workers improving their labor conditions.

Outcome: The way the workers shape their reality in the garment sector, exerting agency either individually or collectively. The ways the structural institutions (i.e. state, lead firms) shape the transformative power of agency of workers. To what extent power structures enable or impede the exercise of agency.

Comparator: Differences in agency across gender, migratory status, caste and skills.

The search engines used for the research range from peer-reviewed academic articles to grey literature, to create a comprehensive research and minimizing selection bias. *Table 4* summarizes how research material was searched, in order to systematically collect data that fits eligible criteria. The key terms were interchanged with their synonyms and variation of the terms – in brackets - to provide for a comprehensive collection of data (CambridgeCore, n.d.).

Key terms and database for research		
Research scope	**Key terms**	**Database sources:**
General key terms for the entire research	*Garment sector, India, labor conditions, agency.*	**Academic literature**: Worldcat Google Scholar Jstor **Grey literature:** In depth, qualitative reports on workers' lives by organizations: ILO; Wiego: https://www.wiego.org/workers-lives Fashion Revolution: https://www.fashionrevolution.org/whats-life-like-for-indian-garment-workers/; Worker diaries: https://workerdiaries.org/ India Committee of the Netherlands (Clean Clothes Campaign): http://www.indianet.nl/sk_meerinfo_e.html. Labor Behind the Label, India: https://laborbehindthelabel.org/?s=india. Indian organization CITU: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.
Population	*Workers, manufacturers.* *NGOs, trade union, unionization.* *Trade unions, community politics.* *State, institutions, structure-agency.*	
Intervention	*Agency, obstacles, catalyst, resistance, (resilience, coping), activism, (upheaval, riot), protest, complaint, training, disputes*	
Outcome	*Structural change, inequality, implications, power inequalities, power relations, conflicts interest, multi-stakeholder, global value chain, bargaining power.*	
Comparator	*Discrimination, capabilities, intersectional, gender, skill level, home-based, factory, caste, religion, sexuality, women, men*	

Table 4. Summary of key terms and database, sorted by PICO elements

Once having collected material from the key-term search, I scrutinized each article abstract or summary to assess whether the document matches the inclusion or exclusion criteria.

The **inclusion criteria** determine which data is to be analyzed in this research; these are:

- The geographical scope of the studies collected needs to be India, specifically Karnataka (with Bengaluru), NCR (with Delhi) and Tamil Nadu (with Tirupur). This is based on availability of data and the importance of these hubs for garment export.
- Typology of secondary data sources: Journals and publications, books, NGOs and trade union reports (both local and international) and online newspaper articles.
- Language of documents: English.
- Relevant outcomes of the documents to be analyzed: agency exerted by workers in shaping workers' own labor conditions. Struggles for achievement of improved working conditions. Power relations across stakeholders, which shapes the extent of agency exerted, both at local and at trans-local setting.
- The date of publication of the documents: between 2010 and 2020, with exception for extremely relevant articles dating back to 2006. The choice is based on two factors: by choosing a narrow timeframe, the socio-economic context can serve as a clear frame for analysis of power relations across the different stakeholders. Additionally, the choice of the most recent decade stems from the need to produce a relevant research, which may contribute to present-day discussions on agency and empowerment.

The following **exclusion criteria** illustrate the factors that will not be included in the research:

- Geographical scope outside of India
- Studies on the '*textile'* sector - differing from the garment sector in its traits, workers' demographics and possibly agency-structure interplay.
- Studies on 'child labor'
- Studies on 'Corporate Social Responsibility' (CSR)
- Studies on 'footwear sector'
- Studies on 'health implications' of garment work.

The database for grey literature were chosen after online search for in-depth, qualitative information on reports garment workers' lives in India. The key search terms, prior the selection of websites are: '*garment workers', 'India', 'report', 'lives, 'voices',* searched on Google. The websites found were then scrutinized according to the suitability of the content to this research; the websites in *table 4* above present a plethora of testimonies from garment workers in India, based on others' prior research. Due to time constraint, the choice of grey literature must be limited, contributing to inevitable discarding of possibly relevant studies.

Lastly, the researcher made use of online Indian newspaper articles to provide for relevant and up-to-date information about events of protests, strikes by garment workers. These articles were searched according to the key terms: '*garment workers', 'protests', 'India'* and the city name (Bengaluru, Tirupur or Delhi).

By creating a PRISMA flowchart, the numerical process for the systematic literature review is displayed on *figure 8* below.

Prisma flow diagrams employed for systematic review

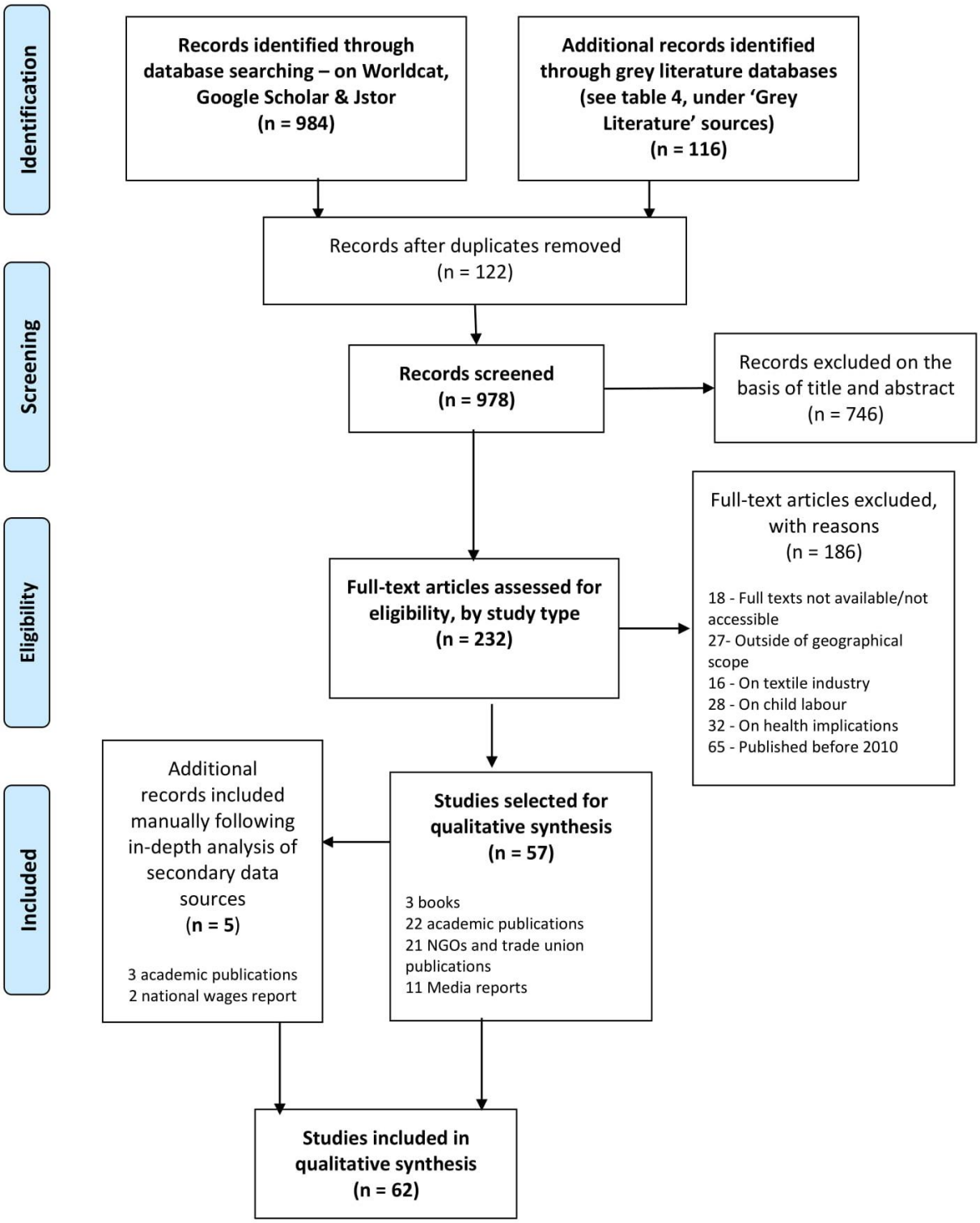

Figure 8. Prisma flowchart Moher et al, (2009),
template retrieved from: http://prisma-statement.org/PRISMAStatement/FlowDiagram

5.3.1 Analysis steps

The process for conducting a systematic literature review draws on the description of Wall's (2015) elaboration of Cukier's 2009 research design. The research steps are based on Wall (2015) and are depicted in *figure 9* below:

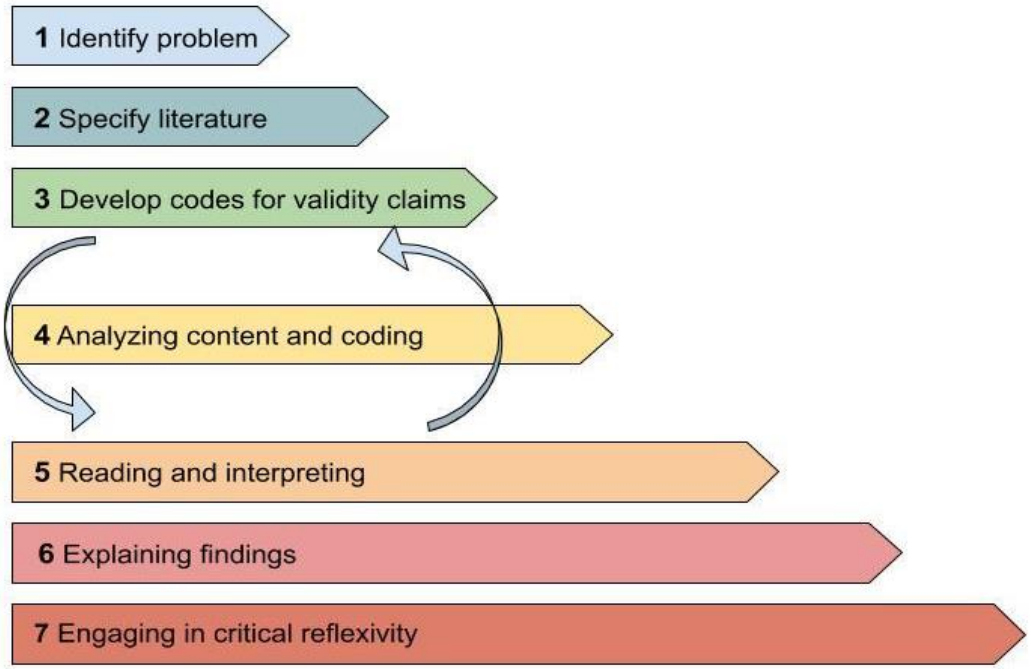

Figure 9. Analysis steps for systematic literature review.

The preliminary step for data collection focuses on collecting material, such as academic articles, papers, and book chapters pertaining the research scope. In order to find relevant material for the analysis, the researcher needs to undergo further steps. Step 2 and 3 will be explained thoroughly in the *section 5.4*.

1) Identifying the research scope
Done by drawing a conceptual model and operationalizing the variables;

2) Specify the literature
Done by conducting a literature review, searching for keywords and choosing the databases from which to obtain data;

3) *Developing codes for validity claims*
They ought to be consistent with and reflective of the theoretical framework (see next subchapter for in-depth description of coding processes)

4) Analyzing content and coding
This can be done after a thorough process of reading the texts multiple times and coding their content according to the conceptual framework of the research. Analyzing the results of the coding through the lens of the theoretical framework helps explaining the main areas of discourse (Carbó et al., 2016).

5) Reading and interpreting the content, based on the codes

The process between step 3, 4, and 5 may not be linear; by repeatedly reading the data, new codes and concepts may arise, reshaping the data interpretation (Wall, 2015).

6) Explaining the findings

Here it's essential to use theoretical framework to explain the findings. As the theory for this research heavily weighs on the interplay between workers' agency and the broader structure, the findings aim to present how the discourse on workers' agency reflects the socio-economic structure. The results of the analysis will present how different concepts introduced in the theoretical and conceptual frameworks are interconnected.

7) Engaging in critical reflexivity.

The initial results of the research will be extensively reflected on, in order to avoid collapsing signification and significance, which could wrongfully lead to assumptions of linear relations between analytical findings and power dynamics in society (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000). The reader must grasp how the researcher's position might have influenced the research approach and findings, so to minimize distortions in empirical conclusions (Wall, 2015).

5.4 CODING DATA

For a consistent analysis, codes were developed to be reflective of the theoretical framework. In order to do so, I followed the theoretical framework, using the main concepts as guiding codes, accompanied by a systematic coding procedure, sorting the content by themes. For the coding procedure, I have adopted a key principle of Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA), namely the reflexivity of the analytical process (Altheide, 1987). As showed in figure 9 (page 28), the analytical process entailed revising the codes and categories found, following a non-linear process of interpreting data (Wall, 2015). The categories and variables resulting from the initial research design initially guided the study, but they did not exclude inductive categories and codes to shape the process of gathering data (Bryman, 2012; Altheide, 1987). An aspect I adopted from the ECA involved the familiarization of the researcher with the context of the researcher and with a small number of documents (ibid). The coding process was gradual and prolonged, as it involved reflexive movements between conceptual model, data collection and coding, analysis and interpretation of data (Altheide, 1987). The circularity of the process allowed the researcher to continuously discover novel categories, based on the emerging data, and it aimed at providing a relevant and critical answer to the research question (Bryman, 2012).

In this research, the initial codes and categories were drawn from the conceptual model, representing deductive categories. With data gathered through systematic literature review and from the interviews, I coded the material. Novel concepts, categories and codes were found, when analyzing data, and helped complete and complement the findings. The data coding was done with the aid of qualitative analysis program 'NVivo'. A collection of the codebook used for the thematic analysis of both primary and secondary data is found in the annex V. The codebook presents the list of categories used for the analysis, together with a few exemplary quotes.

6 ETHICS OF DATA COLLECTION

Extensive access to participants, especially to garment workers during fieldwork, was quite difficult to achieve. In order to do that, I built trustworthy relationship with NGOs and trade union organizations in situ, based on the concepts of co-creation and transparent information sharing.

For the interviews that make up the primary data sources of the research, I presented an informed consent form to all interviewees, signed by the participant and by the researcher. Before the start of the interview, I verbally stated the purpose of the research, the procedure of the interview, the possibility to stop at any moment and/or to skip any question. Moreover, the confidentiality of the documents and the possibility to access the results, once the research is completed was shared with the participants. All interviews with garment workers were recorded, for transcription and analysis purposes.

The research information was stored in my student Google Drive account. The login information was not automatically saved on any device, therefore only the researcher was able to access the account in the first place. For further security precautions, the researcher stored all data collected and analyzed in password-safe folder. The recordings of the interviews were stored in a password-safe folder on the researcher's laptop and will be deleted once the research process completed.

In order to protect the interviewees' privacy, I made them anonymous, for confidentiality reasons and for preserving the authenticity of the answers. All other details were changed to ensure interviewees' anonymity.

7 RESULTS

In the following chapters, the empirical results of the research are presented. First, an in-depth contextual analysis of the garment sector is needed, in order to understand and place the following results in a relevant context. The features of the garment sector, introduced in the *Regional framework*, are expanded in *Chapter 7*, to provide a comprehensive view of the types of garment production and the workforce composition. In the following section, *Chapter 8*, the points of view of garment workers will be presented, using literature findings on their sense of empowerment and independence through working in the sector, their desires for improved working conditions and the ways their coping mechanisms. In *Chapter 9*, the research will discuss the role of organizations in helping workers to exercise agency, using literature findings on trade unions, NGOs and new social and grassroot movements. The last section, *Chapter 10*, will present the power relations embedded in the interplay between garment workers agency and institutional structures - the state - and global players in the market – fashion lead firms. *Figure 10* below differentiates the frequency of issues mentioned in both secondary data sources, and it includes two topics which will be discussed in the following chapters, namely low unionization (n=13) and power relations (n=20). In total, 46 documents were analysed, of which 3 books, 21 publications by local and international organizations (i.e. NGOs and trade unions) and 22 academic articles.

The systematic literature review has shown how the garment sector is characterized by informality (n=15). Similar features in working conditions spanning across India include work informality (n= 15), poor work relationship with managers (n=12), high-production rhythms (n=9), low wages (n=14) and gender discriminations (n=12).

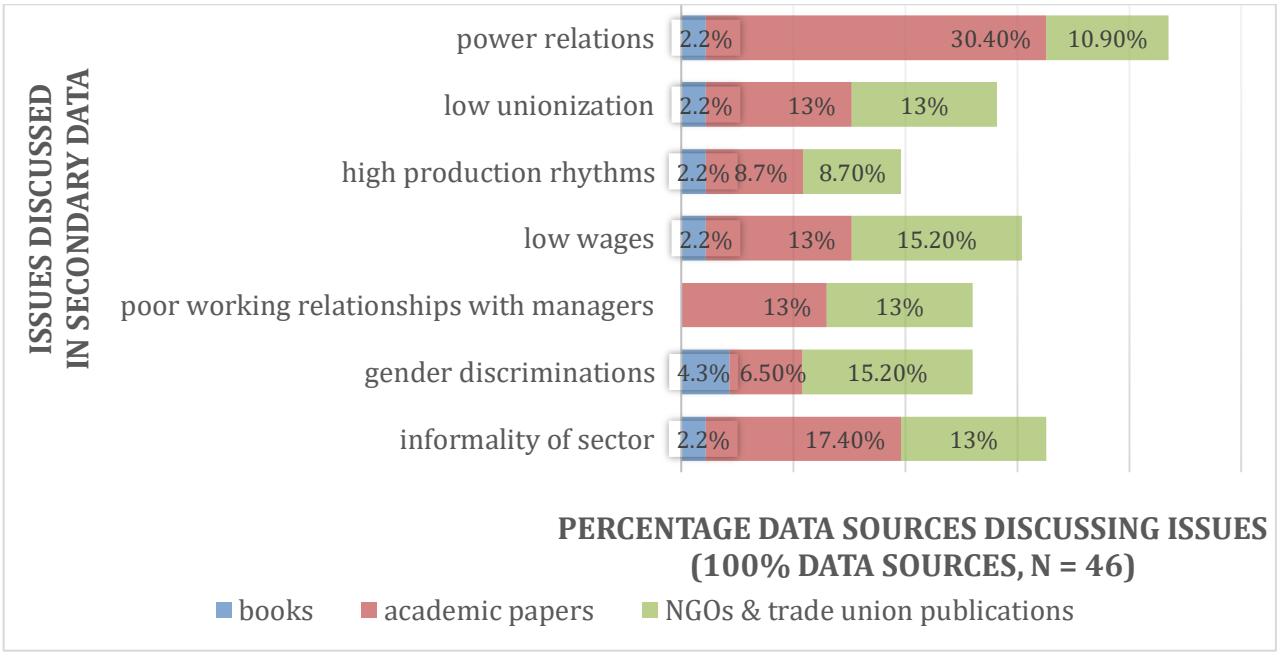

Figure 10. frequency of issues discussed in secondary data, sorted by type of source

7.1.1 Types of informal garment production and workers involved

The main types of garment work that are present in India ought to be firstly split between formal and informal labor. The formal sector comprises all steps that go from apparel brands placing orders to producers in India, through production in work centers or factories and the shipment of the final product to the retailers (Kara, 2019). Differently, the informal sector is highly unregulated, due to forms of "contractualisation, flexibilization and casualisation of labor" (Venkatesan, 2019: 637). Specifically, contracted work is one of the most employed methods of work in the Indian garment sector, and its product may feed into the formal production chain, through local processes of sub-contracting (Kara, 2019; Mezzadri & Fan, 2018).

Informality in the Indian garment sector makes up for over 95% of the production processes (Mezzadri & Fan, 2018; Venkatesan, 2019), is found often in the form of contracted and sub-contracted work in large factories, small production and home-based units (Verite, 2010). Informal workers are subjected to frequent hire and fire practices, lack of legal recognition as workers (e.g. no signed contracts), underpayment (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018) or delayed payments, lack of social security and benefits and lack of paid leave (ILO, 2017; Raju & Jatrana, 2016; Obino, 2013). Despite the partial or total lack of social welfare for informal garment workers (Hensman, 2011; Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011; Raju & Jatrana, 2016), some improvements have taken place in the last two decades. Sub-contracted workers have been acknowledged as "workers" by the 1996 ILO Home Workers Convention and reconfirmed by another 2002 international convention on decent work and informal economy (Sankaran, 2013). Nevertheless, the mere existence of labor law on informal work does not ensure comparable working conditions between informal and formal workers (Sankaran, 2013). A clear example of this lies in the reality of home-based garment work.

Home-based workers are mostly women, making clothes or embellishing premade garment items in the invisibility of their homes (Kara, 2019; Raju & Jatrana, 2016). Although the realities of these workers are often hidden and irregular, the numbers of home-garment workers show the relevance of this work: in 2012, more than 5 million workers were contributing to the garment and textile value chains in the Indian territory (WIEGO, n.d. a). A rise in investigative research has shed light on them and on their working conditions. A recent study revealed that 95% of the 1,452 individuals employed in a home-based contract work are women (Kara, 2019). Nearly the entirety of the sample (99.3%) belonged to a Scheduled Caste or to the Muslim religion, with a majority of Muslim workers in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh, close to New Delhi (Kara, 2019).

Muslims make up for a disproportionately high portion of the garment labor force in the region of Uttar Pradesh, and many are employed in the home production (Ganguly, 2013; Kara, 2019). Muslim home-based workers around New Delhi were reported to earn up to 75% less of the stipulated regional wages, and up to 70% less in Tirupur (Kara, 2019). The national minority of Muslims has been the target of systematic violence, ever since the election of BJP political party in 2014, endorsing ways to marginalize this minority daily (CITU, May 2018). Hindu extremists extended their harassments and violence onto the field of workers' rights, trampling rights to freedom of religion and beliefs (CITU, May 2018). Due to the marginalization and discrimination that comes with being a Muslim worker, literature points to evidence that individuals are forced to choose home-based work as the only means to income (Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011; Raju & Jatrana, 2016), due to restrictions of freedom and movement (Raju & Jatrana, 2016; Mezzadri &

Fan, 2018; Rao, 2014). This could be due to a traditional role of caretaker imposed on the woman by the family or society she is in (Vryenhoek, 2013; Rao, 2014), or due to her religious belonging.

7.1.2 Migrants contribution in the Indian garment sector

At the intersection between informality of work and **migratory status of workers**, researchers note highly precarious working conditions. Both in Tirupur and in Delhi, researchers found hidden corner of the garment sector. Here, temporary and unregulated work affect mostly migrants, who often accept dismal work due to their social marginality, urgent financial needs and lack of knowledge of their rights (RoyChowdhury, 2020). *Table 5* below shows the main characteristics of informal work, which affects greatly the migrant population.

Informality of work and migration of labor			
	Delhi	**Tirupur**	**Bengaluru**
Demographics of migrant labor	Mostly men from agricultural areas in the region (Mezzadri & Srivstava, 2015) Women from disadvantaged castes (ST, SC) and religion (Muslim) (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018, Ganguly, 2013)	Young, unmarried women from rural areas (Vijayabaskar, 2011; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018)	Mostly female, from villages in Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. Long-distance migrants come from Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and West Bengal. Estimates of migrants: between 15,000 and 70,000. (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018)
Rates of contracted workers in the area	60-80% (ILO, 2017)	Highly variable, from 20-30% to 70%-80% (ILO, 2017)	Not available
Employment schemes or type	Temporary, seasonal job, for men especially Home-based workers, for women especially (Kara, 2019; Raju & Jatrana, 2016)	Sumangali Scheme (3 to 5-year duration) for young girls from rural areas Temporary, seasonal job (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016)	Migrant workers often have illegal contracts of employment, limiting or impeding the access to legal protection (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018)

Table 5. Informality of work and migration of labor

Most migrants are attracted to the garment production hubs due to the lack of opportunities in their hometowns or villages and driven by the need for subsistence (Vijayabaskar, 2011; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018). As much as it is a good financial opportunity for migrants from rural areas to

relocate to Tirupur or Delhi, their work in the garment sector is often seasonal, leaving many unemployed and without a stable income for more than a month every year (ILO, 2017; Vijayabaskar, 2011; De Neve, 2014).

Under an employment scheme called 'Sumangali scheme', young female migrants in Tirupur start to work in the garment sector. The scheme binds them for a three-to-five-year contract, which subjects them to a very restrictive lifestyle and a lower-than-average pay (Garment worker diaries, 2016). Only after the contract ends do the employers pays back the sum of money initially promised, binding these vulnerable workers to stay in the sector and be subjected to poor working conditions in order to earn their full wages (Garment worker diaries, 2016; ILO, 2015).

In Bengaluru and Delhi, migrant workers may be subjected to limits to their freedom of movement, as low wages force them to settle for hostel accommodations fixed by the company (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018; Garment worker diaries, 2016; Mezzadri & Fan, 2018). In Bengaluru, these migrants, mostly women and young, have strict curfews and lacked feeling independent (ILO, 2015). However, garment work in Bengaluru tends to be less temporary than workers in Tirupur, although still informal.

7.2 WORKING CONDITIONS IN THE GARMENT SECTOR

The following section discusses specific issues in the Indian garment sector, raised by most secondary data reviewed, some of which was discussed during fieldwork data gathering. These include workers' relationships with managers, gender discriminatory practices, fast fashion production schemes and low wages.

7.2.1 Relationships with managers

As shown in figure 10, 14 sources reviewed presented instances of hierarchical labor relationships with managers. 9 articles discuss the structural ways in which managers exert dominance over workers, through specific employment tactics and 5 present evidence on abusive and violent episodes against workers.

The informal reality of labor contracting and sub-contracting of the garment sector in India leads to a 'triangular employment relationship', where a separation takes place between the legal employer and the person for whom the work is carried out (ILO, 2017). This separation is often used to supply for causal work (Barrientos, 2011) and to disguise responsibility and accountability across stakeholders (ILO, 2015). Under contracted work, the garment manufacturer does not have direct contact with the employer, creating a situation where the employee becomes a wage laborer "without" employer (Hensman, 2011). Disguised relationships arise especially in presence of a vulnerable workforce, which is poorly educated and unfamiliar with the labor rights they are eligible to (i.e. with women, migrant and young workers) (ILO, 2015; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018; Kara, 2019).

The case of garment home-workers offers the exemplary situation of disguised employment relationships, given the often informal and hidden nature of this work. The informality of home-based garment work at times leads managers to disguise the work relationships and masking their work as a 'leisure activity' where the employer is not liable for any accident to workers (Hensman, 2011).

Another common way in which poor working relationship between managers and employees takes form is the stability of work provided to employees. Employment relationships are unstable, being visible by the high turnover rate of workforce in the sector. Practices such as 'hiring and firing' also take place in semi-formal production settings, such as in big factories, in order to avoid contributing for workers' social security funds and to keep the welfare costs at a minimum (Lier 2007; Raju & Jatrana, 2016).

The sheer number of reports on abusive working relationships between managers and workers is not contingent and signals to underlying structural problem of unequal power relations, which are unidirectional and mostly involve women as victims of abuse. Episodes of physical and verbal abuse are systematic, aimed at 'naming and shaming' workers to increase their productivity, or at 'punishing' those who intend to unionize or speak up about issues taking place in the factory (Jenkins, 2013; Business & Human Rights Resource Centre, n.d.; Chamberlain, 2012, November 25; ILO, 2015; Garment Worker Diaries, 2016). Of these types of abuses, sexual harassment has been at the centre of discussion of local trade union activist publications and international NGOs, thanks to the rise of the *'MeToo Movement*' and of repeated reports investigating this aspect of garment work (Cross, 2014; CITU, January 2019; CITU, March 2019). An ILO study (2015) has reported that sexual violence or harassment by male managers is reported by one in five women.

On the other hand, workers are often unable to rebel to these unjust employment structures, holding little bargaining power. The value and bargaining power of garment workers is extremely low, given their low bargaining potential, the interchangeability of their work skills and the lack of legal protection of many informal workers (Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011). Out of all workers, women suffer the most severe physical consequences, with higher rates of sexual harassment linked to the lack of formal employment (Hensman, 2011). Complaints against such behavior might lead to individuals losing their job, which is essential for their own livelihood (Kara, 2019). In fact, many scholars discuss the bargaining power of wage workers in developing countries as a lost battle against the irreversible rush to capital accumulation of private companies (Gillan & Lambert, 2013). At a larger production scale, that of GVCs, buyers and firms can choose to relocate the production units to cheaper and less regulated areas, leveraging on cheap and docile workforce for mass production and growth of capital (Merk & Zajak, 2019). The weak bargaining power of workers is opposed by a strong and powerful lobbying ability of stakeholders such as government and apparel firms, which control the value chain (more on that in *Chapter 10*).

7.2.2 Gender discriminations

Patriarchal traditions affect Indian women in all aspects of their lives, inevitably shaping their experience as workers as well. Patriarchal assumptions of **women's role** are reinforced by some managers, when employed in the garment sector with the assumption that they will not "cause troubles", that they will not create complaints, nor try to unionise and oppose to managerial decisions (Jenkins, 2013).

12 studies reviewed discuss the gender discriminatory practices, of which 7 present those taking place within different production units and 5 discussing inequalities within societal norms and traditions. All literature converges to the existence of gendered practices, with differences in tones of discussions; data sources from women activist journals (CITU), and reports from international non-governmental organizations utilize harsh and unforgiving tones when discussing instances of abuse. Academics approach the topic through empirical evidence of

discriminations and discussing the implication at the sectorial level.

The most common and overt form of **gender discriminatory practice** involves verbal, psychological and occasional physical abuse of managers towards workers, as discussed in the previous section. However, violence against women is not always overt and physical, but it may be inscribed in societal and familial norms and responsibilities, as in the case of women's double burden.

Women's tasks are not limited to productive work, but they extend to the household (double burden) and even community (triple burden). Worldwide, the burden of unpaid work weighs disproportionately on women's shoulders and showcases "overt and covert gender power relations" (Raju & Jatrana, 2016: 158). Women's work in the house may be so time consuming that women are forced to sacrifice a higher paying job in a factory, taking up lower paying jobs in their homes, in order to conduct reproductive labor as well (Raju & Jatrana, 2016; Kara, 2019). Another factor comes into play when discussing the burden of women to take care of the family: the lack of state provision for amenities to ameliorate the position of women in the society and in their households. According to trade union publications, women's responsibilities for families and communities are not valued by the Indian society, leading to unpaid, overworked individuals (CITU, March 2019; Vryenhoek, 2013).

Following, fieldwork findings are presented to provide relevant data on Bengaluru's garment sector, related to what is presented by the systematic literature review. Henceforth, the findings from primary data collected during fieldwork will be presented in look-a-like boxes.

Fieldwork findings - Double burden in women in Bengaluru

All garment workers interviewed in Bengaluru describe their working day starting between 5.30 and 6 am, having to take care of the house chores, cooking for the family, preparing breakfast for all and then heading to work. Once back from the factories, the routine of house and family chores repeats itself. The amount of housework varies depending on subjective factors. During the interview with Radhika, a garment worker who suffered from health problems, she reported to be very tired after working the whole day in the factory. Because of the strenuous work, she received support from other family members.

[continued below]

[cont.]

Interviewer: "Can you tell me how your day looks like, in terms of your habits? What do you do before going to work and also how your evening looks like?"

Radhika: "I get up at 5.30, do some washing and cleaning. Because I have my mother with me [in the house], the mother does the cooking and all for me and my daughter. I don't do cooking myself [the participant].[…] Until 6pm she will work, and after coming back home I don't do much of the work [in the house], because I have gone through some operations and I can't do heavy work. After coming back from the factory, I am very tired. So I will take some rest and then my mother and daughter will help me"

[…]

Interviewer: "Who do you feel is your main support group? If you are in difficulties in your life, who do you reach?"

Radhika: "Before coming to Munnade, I never had any support group alike. Whatever issue I had, I talked to my family to find a solution"

This type of support is clearly subjective, being based on individuals' living conditions, family presence and availability. For individuals who are physically and mentally supported by their families, work could become an asset for their financial empowerment. However, for individuals in difficult social and familiar positions – such as single mothers, women caring for elderly and/or disabled family members – work could become an additional burden, paired with household and community duties.

The double burden of women isn't only draining individual's energies and limiting work opportunities. Women's responsibilities and duties often pose a big obstacle to individuals' possibility to join labor movements, due to lack of time available (GATWU, 27 February 2020; AITUC, 21 February 2020). As Manisha, one of the garment workers interviewed in Bengaluru said:

Manisha: "10 people from my factory are also a part of Munnade [ndr. NGO connected to a local trade union]. Others are not. Others have responsibilities they have to care of."

Interviewer: "What do you mean with other responsibilities? What are other jobs that they do instead of joining Munnade or other NGOs?"

Manisha: "I am not aware of that. The others have other responsibilities and that is why they don't come to Munnade. The others have to do housework, they have families to take care of so that is more important than joining here."

7.2.3 Fast fashion production rhythm

The overarching production scheme that lead fashion firms have adopted is widely known as "**fast fashion**", due to the characteristics of the high production rhythms, both in terms of the overall quantity of clothes produced and for the rising number of "seasons" (i.e. clothing collections) designed and manufactured per year (Hoskins, 2014).

The **trans-local** nature of garment production becomes tangible when linking the consequences of decisions of fashion firms to the local reality of workers in India. The high-volume demands coming from leading fashion brands put extreme pressure on Indian manufacturers, who may need to produce garments under non-compliant and informal regimes (e.g. subcontracting, piece-rate payments, overtime work) (De Neve, 2014; ILO, 2015; RoyChowdhury, 2020; Vijayabaskar, 2011). Under stress-inducing deadlines and targets, supervisors, often verbally harass and abuse workers who cannot reach the predetermined targets or who refuse overtime (ILO, 2015; Garment Worker Diaries, 2016; Chamberlain, 2012).

Consequences of high production rhythms

During the interview with Munnade, a Bengaluru-based women's NGO, the co-founder revealed that she used to be a garment manufacturer herself, in the late '90s. When discussing the differences in the garment sector between the time she used to produce clothes and the current state of production, she immediately explained about the different load of work for individuals. Specifically, she discussed how she used to produce between 20 to 25 pieces of clothing per hour, a miniscule number compared to the approximated 120-150 pieces that workers must manufacture now (Rajani, 12 March 2020).

When interviewing garment workers on their experiences in manufacturing hubs in Bangalore, Radhika opened up about her own daughter witnessing a scene of a manager harassing her mother, in order to make her produce more clothes:

> *"I used to take my daughter along with me [to my work], when she was small. She [the daughter] has seen that when the work is more, and when the workers are not able to finish on time, the boss might raise the voice at them. So the kid felt uncomfortable there."*

The same woman revealed that, at times when workload is heavy, workers might not have time for lunch breaks.

7.2.4 Garment wages in India

Garment manufacturers are classified as **wage workers**, earning a minimum wage, set by multi-stakeholder agreements. Wages depend on the location of the production hub, on the type of work done by individuals and on the nature of the production organization (e.g. factory-based, home-based, workshops, etc.). Being regulated by a 'scheduled employment', the minimum pay is listed according to types of jobs, skills and location of the workplace (i.e. major urban/ industrial centres, other urban/industrial areas and non-urban areas) (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018).

In the region of Karnataka, the minimum wage notified by the government is between

11,500 to 15,500 INR, however this doesn't apply for garment manufacturers. Garment workers are eligible for a wage between 8,000 and 8,900 INR a month. In Delhi's legislation, among all types of production organization, domestic work does not appear, leaving a share of garment work from the area unregulated (Raju & Jatrana, 2016). The minimum wages of factory workers at the time of the survey were 3,683 INR a month for unskilled workers, 3,849 INR for semi-skilled and 4,107 INR for skilled workers, despite the government notifying for 14,842 INR per month for unskilled workers (Delhi Gazzette, *annex III*). In Tirupur, wages for garment workers are between 10,000 and 11,700 INR per month working as a tailor in a factory (AFWA, personal communication, *annex IV*), although the fragmented reality of the regional garment sector does not allow for precise numbers.

Although the Minimum Wage Act of 1948 does not set wages across India (WIEGO, n.d. b), it allows for them to be reviewed and changed by special committees or sub-committees, in each state. The actors involved are representatives from trade unions, government and employers (i.e. factory owners or managers). These processes are lengthy and have generally brought small increases in the salary of garment workers overtime (Ganguly, 2013; Nathan, 2019, May 1).

Research shows that women and migrants are workers receiving a smaller salary, compared to their male counterparts (ILO, 2017; Kara, 2019; Zajak, 2017; Carswell & De Neve, 2013). This is partially due the de-skilling and informality of women's work, and due to the double or triple burden that women are subjected to. Firstly, women's work is deemed lower than men's work - even at parity of job requirements (ILO, 2017). Additionally, the informality of job women and migrants are able to obtain places the individuals at the margins of legality. Among these informal jobs, domestic garment workers are the most vulnerable and lowest paid (Gillian & Lambert, 2013; Kara, 2019; WIEGO, n.d. b), being subjected to uncertain piece-rates, not covered by the Minimum Wage Act (Sinha, 2013) and subject to wage theft (ILO, 2015; Vryenhoek, 2013; Raju & Jastrana, 2016). Lastly, due to women responsibilities and expectations of house and family care, women are often employed in subsidiary status work, as opposed to the principal status jobs that male garment workers have (Dasgupta, 2019).

7.2.5 Minimum, fair and living wages

Researchers and activists in the sector have clearly differentiated between minimum wages, fair wages and living wages. Minimum wage should provide "not merely for the bare sustenance of life, but for the preservation of the efficiency of the worker [including] some measure of education, medical requirements and amenities" (Ganguly, 2013: 31). Fair wages aim at increasing employment in the sector, while still providing subsistence and standard for workers (Ganguly, 2013). Only living wage offer the opportunity for a dignified way of living, taking into consideration income tax expenses and social security contributions (CITU, November 2017). The latter, demanded by trade unions, amounts to 21,000 INR a month (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018). So far, no export-oriented garment production unit has been providing that (Edwards, 2019). Indeed, low wages are noted to be the biggest source of dissatisfaction from working in the garment sector (ILO, 2015).

This chapter discussed the different types of production organization types, focusing on the working conditions and individuals employed. Beyond the differences across the types of production units, similarities were found across all types of garment production: poor managerial relationships with workers, gender discriminations, high production rhythms and low pay.

8 WORKERS' PERSPECTIVE: EMPLOYMENT IN THE GARMENT SECTOR

The decision for joining the garment sector stems from individuals' financial necessities to work, and has implications that depend on their socio-economic position, influencing their working and living conditions differently. For households with a partial income coming from one adult only, having a second family member earning a fixed salary can offer financial stability to the familiar nucleus (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016). Moreover, the characteristically low-entry skills to obtain a job as garment manufacturers appeals to many migrants, who may lack education, social networks or other useful resources for finding a job (RoyChowdhury, 2020). Garment work may offer a great emancipation tool, by offering a chance to leave their home villages and to become financially independent – steering away from traditionally subjected to patriarchal and strict gendered norms (Jenkins, 2013). For many workers, especially those with very little education and with very restricted economic backgrounds, working in the garment sector represents a way to redeem their worth (Vryenhoek, 2013). Working in the garment sector allows them to provide their children better education and decent work, translating the workers' wishes to tangible opportunities for future generations (Vryenhoek, 2013; Rao, 2014; Raju & Jatrana, 2016). Specifically, home-based garment work becomes a vital employment option, especially for women workers and for Muslims, whom are in a position of controlled or restricted movement due to socio-cultural norms (Kara, 2019; Raju & Jatrana, 2016).

Garment work may be preferred to other highly accessible manufacturing jobs (e.g. construction work) due to the schedule, the fixed and stable salary (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016). In-factory regulates work amounts to 8 hours a day, for 6 days a week; many women may choose this type of work due to the limited working hours, which allows them to take care of the family, raise children and leave work during occasional emergencies. In fact, the compatibility of work with family responsibilities was ranked higher than the possibility to earn a 'good salary' by Indian garment workers, in an ILO study (2015).

8.1 WORKERS' DESIRES TO IMPROVE THEIR CONDITIONS

The needs of workers stem from their desire to improve their working conditions and understandably vary across individuals, depending on their specific position in society. The needs that are going to be discussed here are: **need for legality of work status and the need to receive different types of financial support.**

8.1.1 Legality of work status

As most workers operate in the informal garment sector, the consequent lack of most benefits associated with formal status of work is problematic. Scholars and non-governmental organizations have discussed how informal workers are not be aware of their own rights, due to lack of education (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016; ILO, 2017; Jenskins, 2013; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018) and knowledge of their rights (Merk & Zajak, 2019. Workers – including home-based ones – need their jobs to be legally recognized as formal labor in order to obtain full benefits: minimum wage, timely payments, social security benefits and no forced labor (Hensman, 2011; Sankaran, 2013). Workers logically understand the need for legal contracts to improve their conditions; however, they often lack literacy for comprehending bureaucratic processes and documentation

themselves (Hensman, 2011; Kara, 2019). A sharp difference between the literacy of home-based workers between the North and the South of India contributes to a nuanced understanding of differences in working conditions across India; Kara (2019) highlights how 96.6 % of workers sample in Tirupur are literate and able to keep records of their work, against only 27.4% in the North.

8.1.2 Financial needs

A need that cuts across all intersectional identities and production organization type regards the financial support deemed necessary for leading a dignified life. The support includes but is not limited to workers' wages. Evidence from fieldwork shows that individuals express need for financial support, in the form of pension funds, and living wages and the overarching need to understand governmental documentation in order to access full welfare benefits.

Workers' financial needs

All in-factory garment workers interviewed during fieldwork expressed a desire for higher wages, with important nuances across individual responses. One individual, of Hindu religion and living with her husband and family, seemed to be concerned with the fact that garment work does not provide a high enough salary; this finding seemed almost in contrast with another garment worker, who expressed the unfairness of her pay based on the time spent in the factory. She expressed a regularity in being underpaid, when she said

"They have to pay me for what I am working for"

Workers express the need to learn about their rights to pension fund. The lack of knowledge of bureaucratic processes impedes them from demanding what is legally owed to them. On this, Radhika expressed her need for support in receiving her pension; she said:

"Some government are not very helpful in giving her information, so now she is seeking Munnade's help for receiving information for documents and identification to be submitted

Another financial issue regards the general inability of garment workers to direct some of their salaries into savings. Rajani, a former garment worker from Bengaluru, employed in the late '90s, compared the situation when she was working to that of modern garment workers, in terms of potential for saving money.

"When I was working as a garment worker, I was earning about 800 rupees a month, and I was managing to save about 300 [rupees per month]. Now the minimum wage is higher than before, it's about 8000 / 9000, but people cannot save anything, and it is even difficult to cover basic expenses."

As a consequence of poor financial security of workers, workers become extremely vulnerable to changes in their contracts; this is especially relevant for migrant workers who are under temporary contracts. Their outspoken need for "fast money", combined with the impossibility of saving from their regular working hours, forces them to work overtime and to opt out from expensive social security funds (ILO, 2015; Vijayabaskar 2011). The strenuous, poorly compensated and intermitted work has led workers to give up on working in the cities and migrate back to their original villages.

Moreover, the impossibility of saving money leads workers to being subsceptible to the help and goodwill of others. In times of great expenses, workers may need to loan money from family or friends (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016). Although support from individuals' social network is crucial for many, it doesn't provide a systematic and stable manner of receiving help.

This subjectivity of coping with stressful situations also extends to the financial stability of workers, highly dependent on the capacity of other family members to earn a stable income (ibid). Depending on the family's possession or rental of their home, possibilities of savings may arise, with clear difficulties for those who do not own their house (ibid).

Social security funds and their unintended use

Factory workers are eligible for two types of social security funds, provided that their employment contract is legal. These are: Employees' State Insurance and the Provident Fund. These funds are provided respectively by the employer and by a governmental organization (Employee Provident Fund Organization) and accumulate during the working periods of individuals. Workers' access to their Provident Fund during their employment is limited to instances of house renovation. Alternatively, the entirety of social security funds is given to workers, when their employment period terminates. quit working in the factory.

However, given the difficulties of garment manufacturers in saving money from their meagre salaries, workers in Bengaluru have made novel use of social security funds. Workers are using these funds for originally unintended purposes - to pay for their entertainment and events (e.g. for weddings and festivals) (AITUC, 21 February 2020). In order to withdraw the money that go into their provident funds, workers find themselves in a vicious circle, quitting their jobs to access the lump of money set aside (AITUC, 21 February 2020). Once the money has run out, workers are forced to look for a job, feeding the informal and temporary loop continuously.

8.2 SILENCING WORKERS' VOICES: FEARING THE CONSEQUENCES OF COMPLAINING AND MAKING DEMANDS

Workers complaints are essential as they may trigger improvement in their working conditions and for the whole factory, as they could entice supervisions and follow ups by auditors (ILO, 2015). However, in the space between the desire and action, where demands should be made, there are two intrinsic obstacles: the lack of knowledge of their own rights and the intrinsic fear of confrontation with authorities.

Institutional barriers between workers and government impedes workers to obtain easy and correct information about the system of social welfare (Devenish & Alfers, 2019). Moreover, even the bureaucratic processes of filing several documents for eligibility to state support is extremely complicated and precise, leaving most low-educated workers with no chance to obtain help (Devenish & Alfers, 2019; Hensman, 2011; ILO, 2017; Jenkins, 2013; Merk & Zajak, 2019). Therefore, many local organizational programs support workers in providing the necessary information on the benefits workers are entitled to, how to obtain and fill in documentation and how to make demands to governmental authorities. (Devenish & Alfers, 2019).

The fear of confrontation of authorities is combatted by guiding workers through the process of confrontation of managers or factory inspectors (Vryenhoek, 2013; ILO, 2015). Typically, workers are scared of public humiliation from their employers, with this fear being validated by anecdotes of past episode of workers' protests in which their demands were met with discontent or even punishments from managers (Jenkins, 2013; ILO, 2015). Beyond humiliation practices, there have been many cases of firing practices of workers who tried to unionize, rebel

or demand for better conditions for themselves (ILO, 2015).

8.3 COPING STRATEGIES

Given the working conditions presented in the previously (see *Chapter 7*), this section discusses the **acts of resilience** adopted by garment workers. These acts represent the coping strategies for everyday realities, aimed at improving the experience in the garment sector, which don't change existing social and employment relations (Carswell, 2013).

8.3.1 Coping strategies: active choice of work

According to an ILO study from 2015, four out of five Indian garment workers "cannot move on to better jobs, either because they do not have the right skills or because there are no other job opportunities available" (ILO, 2015: viii). The limited possibilities for other work leave them with little bargaining power for occupation they can cover (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016). For those whose choice is between working for the garment sector or not working at all, the resolution to keep their job is not simply a decision, but a decisive livelihood source (Vryenhoek, 2013). However, a breakthrough study from 2014 (De Neve), introduced a new conceptualization of workers' bargaining power and showed the value that even a limited choice of work has, for coping with poor working conditions.

The author presented the findings which led to understanding workers' *active* choice of employment, in the context of Tirupur garment (De Neve, 2014). De Neve points to the mechanisms of job selection as a crucial and evolving act of coping – with individuals choosing between big firm-led factories and informal and small production centres based on their livelihood needs, sense of autonomy and dignity at work. An important finding relates to women's preference of smaller production units instead of big factories, to escape the *'male gaze'* of strict supervisors, often found in large factories.

Other literature aligns with De Neve's findings, discussing that not only do individuals regain control over their working lives by choosing the type of production organization that suits them the most, but they may also choose to quit their jobs as strategic mechanisms to improve their socio-economic gains (Mezzadri & Fan, 2018; Vijayabaskar, 2011).

According to Mezzadri & Fan (2018: 1045), in production hubs with great numbers of workers, individuals "rarely engage in direct and organized forms of resistance". In these cases, a preferred action of negotiation for better working conditions or pay is quitting work in one factory/production unit for a better one (Vijayabaskar, 2011). Venkatesan (2019), explains how garment workers oppose the system of oppression they find in factories by changing their work environment, even though it may lead to further precarity. By moving between workspaces, individuals aim to obtain preferred working conditions (e.g. be change in hours of work, less strict management, etc.), at the cost of renewed informality of work (Venkatesan, 2019).

Under this new example of coping mechanism, the ultimate and most desperate example of it involves young women recruited through Sumangali employment program quitting before the end of their contract, due to inability to bear the miserable working conditions (ILO, 2015).

Coping strategies: Informal support systems for workers

With workers employed in social settings, such as factories or production units, most of their days are spent in company with fellow workers. It's clear from the interview with Manisha (16 March 2020), that being an extrovert helps with getting by the hard work of the day, by taking lunch breaks in company or chatting while working.

> *"I spend my workday, during working hours, sitting next to my colleagues. But during the coffee break and lunchtime I spends time with the people I choose to. […]. These are a batch of 38 people, all ladies.. […] During work hours I can talk to my colleagues as long as I keep working. But I cannot leave my working place. That is not allowed."*

As arose from the discussion with a former garment worker (Rajani, 12 March 2020), fellow workers were of great support in times of happiness, just as in times of sorrows. The support network that formed amongst the garment worker and her colleagues was reflected in acts of sharing food and money in times of difficulties of others, asking for a permission to leave work for half a day in cases of urgent support (e.g. funerals or hospitalizations).

Workers often get support from their family of origins. This support system is especially relevant for ensuring the social protection for migrant workers. Migrant workers, who are socially and economically vulnerable due to the informality and temporality of their work, get essential support from their families in their rural places of origin, often in the form of food supplies (Rajani, 12 March 2020). Therefore, even if the presence of their extended family is not ensured, the peri-urban link ensures a partial support of non-perishable goods.

When considering the immediate family, the support system that a worker obtains and can expect is subjective to the composition of a family, as seen also in the fieldwork finding box on page 36, 37.

When discussing with different women workers in Bengaluru, there was one way in which men financially support women in their daily lives. The conversation with the co-founder of Munnade, Rajani, summarizes how working women in India consider men – though personal experiences may play a great role in the answer.

> *Interviewer: "what kind of support did you expect as a garment worker, from the men of the household?"*
>
> *Respondent: "There are four types of situations:*
> *When workers are widows or divorced, they receive no support from the men of the family.*
> *Some women have husbands, but they receive very little support from their husbands, since the men may have irregular, low-grade jobs.*
> *In some cases, both men and women are working in the same sector, so they both have a small salary.*
> *The last situation refers to what I call "lunatic men", used to describe the men who are not supportive women, who use money only for their own things, and don't share them with woman or family"*

On the possibility for physical and emotional support for workers, available literature maintains that gender roles are reinforced. Rao (2014) finds that it's often daughters who help with running the household chores and even earning some money in a context of poverty, supporting their working mothers socially and emotionally.

This chapter focused on Indian garment workers, discussing their choice to join the sector out of financial necessity and the advantages of working as manufacturers compared to other manual labor. Additionally, coping strategies of workers were presented, to illustrate how garment workers show resilience and make sense of their precarious job conditions. Informal support groups from colleagues and family provide physical, monetary and physiological support workers. Moreover, individuals may negotiate their working conditions according to their livelihood needs, actively choosing to work in one production organization type rather than another.

Given the findings on precarious working conditions, presented in Chapter 7, Indian garment workers express the need for improving their financial status, asking for higher wages and full access to welfare benefits. However, the needs of workers often don't automatically translate to demands, due to workers' fear of confronting authorities and making explicit demands.

The following chapter discusses the role of external organizations in helping workers exercise their agency. Due to individuals' low bargaining power, workers may engage with different organizations, to increase their collective bargaining power and to achieve changes in their working conditions.

9 THE ROLE OF ORGANIZATIONS

9.1 TRADE UNIONS AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Most reviewed articles on workers' rights within the Indian garment sector touch upon the system of unions, as they are scarce in members - less than 5% of the sector is organized (Fair Wear Foundation, 2019) – linking the issue to managers opposing to unionization (Egels-Zanden & Merk, 2014; ILO, 2015; ILO, 2017) and global firms not encouraging it (Nathan, 2013). The right to organize is considered by many a founding pillar for all other workers' rights and respect for labor standards (Egels-Zanden & Merk, 2014); as the Garment Worker Diaries report argues: "strengthening unions would provide garment workers a great opportunity to improve their working conditions.", through the act of collective bargaining (2016: 16). Positive testimonies of workers who joined unions add to the experiences of individual empowerment, with union support being helpful for achieving workers' aspirations (Vryenhoek, 2013). Joining unions may indeed lead to higher confidence stemming from collective action and higher earnings for marginalized workers such as home-workers (Vryenhoek, 2013; Sinha, 2013).

Union helps workers overcome their fears

Three board members of KOOGU explained how these processes aim to instil confidence and eradicate the fear of authorities (4 March 2020).

> *"Participating in the demonstrations and protests makes them overcome their fears [of confronting authorities]. When they are questioned about the participation by the employers the fear disappears. When they are almost on the verge of losing their jobs, and the union negotiates with the employer, just by standing in front of the employer during this time gives the women a lot of strength. Getting an awareness that they have rights gives them strength"*

> *"when the unions know there is a violation in the factory, they prepare the workers to sit in front of the management, take the workers with them, go to the management and hope they sit in front of them and that the workers do the complaint. Often it does not happen. But that in general demystifies the fear they feel from the management.*
>
> *Union members [helping workers] never go alone to the management, they encourage workers to present their issues. The workers gradually gain confidence.*

Similar findings were presented in a report by the ILO (2015), on how union organizations help workers overcoming their fears of confronting authorities, nudging them into making demands for their needs. These testimonies from trade union members follow the evidence from secondary data which conveys how fear mechanisms are purposively kept in place by factory managers. These mechanisms are a product of the hierarchical, and often gendered, relationships within the production units. It's important to acknowledge that labor activists aim to achieve improvement in the sector by first-hand involving workers and supporting them in eradicating the fear that keeps inequalities at place within factories and production units.

Positive testimonies from workers who have joined union organizations reinforce the importance of trade unions in a context of injustice stemming from structural obstacles and patriarchal dynamics (Devenish & Alfers, 2019).

However, when discussing unionization in the Indian garment sector, the main issue raised by experts and scholars are the low unionization rates in all garment production hubs in India (ILO, 2017; Raju & Jatrana, 2016; Garment Worker Diaries, 2016). A peculiarly low rate in found in NCR region, where Delhi is located (ILO, 2017). Here, the workforce is mainly made of temporary migrant workers, who have little to no knowledge of collective action and unionization and are therefore not likely to unionize (Jenkins, 2013; ILO, 2017). Just like migrant workers, another vulnerable group of workers is characterized by seeming non-existent unionization: home-based garment workers. Kara (2019) explains how "the lack of unionization and written contracts promotes the informal, shadowy nature of home-based garment work and allows many of the exploitative conditions the researchers documented to persist, particularly the severe underpayment of wages" (Kara, 2019:7). Bengaluru-based scholar RoyChowdhury also discusses how informality and the lack of unions reinforce each other in a vicious cycle, showcasing congruent findings despite different locations of production (RoyChowdhury, 2020).

A comprehensive ILO report discusses the points of view of informal and casual workers, finding that some of these workers may not be inclined to collaborate with each other or unionize at all, given their brief stay in each production unit/factory (ILO, 2015). At times workers may not even consider themselves as permanent workers, restraining any possibility of making demands for improvements of working conditions (Raju & Jatrana, 2016). In highly competitive locations of garment employment, such as Delhi and Tirupur, workers may be competition for the scarce work. In light of managers firing individuals who join unions, these workers may choose to keep quiet and not unionize in order to keep their jobs (Raju & Jatrana, 2016).

Lastly, the lack of awareness of unions in the sector is pervasive throughout Indian garment workers (Ray & Peepercamp, 2018; ILO 2017). From an ILO study in 2015, less than a quarter of the garment workers surveyed (500 individuals from NCR and Bengaluru) were aware of union organizations. Even when workers may be aware of trade unions, the misinformation and misperception about the work of trade unions hinders the willingness of workers to get involved. A study on the Indian garment sector finds that workers were "unconvinced of the effectiveness of unions in resolving their issues", due to difficulties of unions to reach migrants – whom are difficult to organize – as well as due intimidation techniques from management which creates biased assumptions about trade unions (ILO, 2017: 30). Another study discussed how garment workers who were not members of unions "do not have time for meetings, the unions are disorganized, or are ineffective." (Garment Worker Diaries, 2016: 16), showcasing a clash in some workers' expectations of unions in respect to what they actually can do for them.

9.1.1 Trade union involvement in protests

The attempts of unionization of labor forces has been an active and ongoing struggle for a century in India (RoyChowdhury, 2020), and it has been incorporated in the state system for decades. Although the union movement was initially more interested in economic development of the working class, the organized sector has been shifting its priorities towards a politicized agenda, going beyond the mere financial gains for workers (RoyChowdhury, 2020). In these demands, trade unions engage in multi-task agendas, offering garment workers different activities and opportunities for labor movement participation (Gillan & Lambert, 2013).

Among these activities, **strikes and protests** are traditional features of the 'external' programs for organizations, to reshape the garment sector and mobilize different stakeholders (Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011). Indian trade unions denounce the exploitative nature of garment work by means of public campaigns, demonstration and strikes (Gillan & Lambert, 2013; CITU, November 2019; Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011). These highly politicized unions (Jenkins, 2013; Gillan & Lambert, 2013; RoyChowdhury, 2020) often stand against the existing class divide, which is "threatening the very social fabric of our society and endangering the basic ethos and core values of Indian Constitution" (CITU, November 2019: 7). By partaking in these strikes, garment workers exert a form of resistance to the personal and systematic injustice that they might be receiving (ILO, 2017). The demands made during these strikes might differ depending on the individual events, but they can be traced back to the main issues presented in section 8.1, on workers' needs. Strikes initiated by trade unions have made demand for the ability to access to welfare programs for informal workers (Mezzadri, 2018; Gillan & Lambert, 2013; ILO, 2017), establish a living wage minimum (Edwards, 2019) and to be recognized in front of the industrial and national law (Gillan & Lambert, 2013).

Following a newspaper search for protests in the different garment production hubs, I collected data from Bengaluru and Tirupur events. The number of articles on Bengaluru's protest (6) outweighs the ones that revolve around events in Tirupur (4) and Delhi (0). What was found was that most of the protest initially are aimed at contesting the low wages (Srividya & Manuel, 2018, July 1), unpaid work (The Times of India, 2017, February 22) or pension funds (Achanta, 2016, August 7). However, the protests generally are not limited at concerns on fair compensation of workers, but they are tools used to raise awareness and demand change for longer-standing issues such as sexual harassment and gender equality (Srividya & Manuel, 2018, July 1). A visualization of the aims of the protests is shown in figure 11 below.

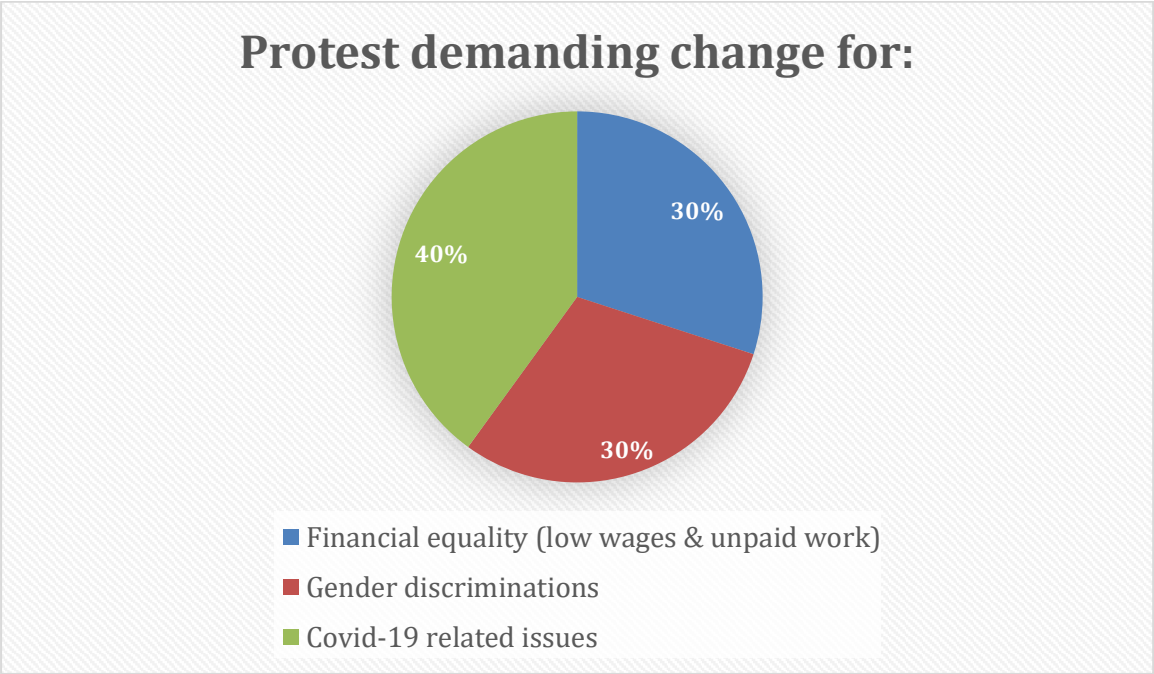

Figure 11. Issues lamented during protests. Articles reviewed, n=10

Participants to protests understand that the consequences of these events are far-reaching, beyond the short-term impact that a strike might have. Activists see in protests a way for

participants to become more comfortable with participating in future struggles (Achanta, 2016, August 7; Nathan, 2019, May 1). A participant to a protest on Pension Funds (PF) believes that the event "will have far reaching consequences. For starters, it has given us an opportunity to show everyone that collective action can bring results – in this case, it has led to the withdrawal of the amendments to the PF Act for the moment. At the same time, it has finally brought into national focus the many labor, gender and human rights violations that are experienced by women workers regularly." (Achanta, 2016, August 7).

At the time of writing, during the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, many online protests and awareness campaigns have been initiated by international organizations, to address unjust practices by management and firms in India. Garment workers protests had been initially limited, due to lockdown measures, although some have taken place in order to ask for safer in-factory regulations (AFWA, phone communication, 23 March 2020).

Three months after the initial outbreak of the virus, new protests have taken place, discussing the impossibility of transport for many migrant workers, stuck in places of work for days without food and putting strain on their financial means for going back to their home villages (Singh, 2020, May 20; The Hindu, 2020, June 7; The Times of India, 2020, June 17; The Times of India, 2020, May 5). Daily protests in Bengaluru lamented mass layoffs of over a thousand workers from an export company, forced to close after lead-firm H&M cancelled orders and refused to pay manufacturers (Raj, 2020, 26 June).

A renowned scholar studying issues in Delhi's garment sector maintains that direct action of protest and strike is less likely to happen in production hubs where the army of labor is large and where the turnover rates in factories is high (Mezzadri & Fan, 2018). These production hubs are usually the ones which temporarily employ high rates of migrant workers, such as Delhi and Tirupur. From the literature reviewed, acts of open resistance from migrant workers are rare, due to the seasonality of their jobs, to the unfamiliarity of the working environment they are surrounded by, to low education and an overall low bargaining power (Vryenhoek, 2013; Hensman, 2011; Ray & Peepercamp, 2018). These results align with the numerical difference in newspaper articles on protests for the three different cities, despite the media search being very limited.

A different act of reworking does not involve overt action of protests. Some workers found ways to use of thrifty behaviour as redistribution of resources; workers may engage in actions beyond the boundaries of their contracts, obtaining work orders from different parties (Mezzadri, 2018) or even thieving small cuts of fabrics (Prentice, 2015). Home-workers may upgrade their embellishment and tailoring jobs by engaging in domestic trade and resource pooling, finding alternative ways to save money through appropriation of infrastructure (e.g. electricity cables) (Mezzadri & Fan, 2018).

9.2 NEW FORMS OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

As the obstacles to unionization are plentiful, workers may overcome systemic impediments for collective bargaining power by creating and joining other types of movements and organizations, with differing goals and requests. Amongst these are social and grassroot movements and NGOs.

9.2.1 Social and grassroot movements

Amongst the traditional labor movements discussed by several literature reviewed, glimpses of innovative social and labor movements are found, focusing on organizing vulnerable garment workers (Jenkins, 2013; ILO, 2017). These new social movements locate themselves in the middle of the traditional relationship between trade unions and workers, offering novel ways of participation to the labor movements (Merk & Zajak, 2019). Although these grassroot movements have not been accepted unanimously by the historical Indian trade unions (RoyChowdhury, 2020; Jenkins, 2013), these movements have been crucial actors in the transition of demands for workers' welfare. In fact, these social movements shift the discussion from a purely antagonistic view of management, towards a more opportunity-based view of welfare to be gained laterally, by actively shaping household/neighbourhood welfare (ILO, 2017; Vijayabaskar, 2011). By making claims for improvements in the community living, not only do individuals gain empowerment and confidence, but they also open alternative pathways for mobilization and for enacting agency within society (Vijayabaskar, 2011; Zajak, 2017).

The new forms of social movements embedded in a 'new labor internationalism', where engagement and participation to movements is not limited by geographic boundaries, resulting in many transnational and international movements contributing to garment labor activism (Gillan & Lambert, 2013). Academic literature refers to the broad category of these movements as NOLAs – Networks of Labor Activism (Merk & Zajak, 2019, Zajak, 2017). These networks aim to be the catalyst for alliances between different actors involved in activism in the garment sector (i.e. community, social movements, workers, etc.). These networks "allow and enable workers to use and explore additional ways to influence the regulation of their workplace through (transnational) mobilization and interventions from outside." (Merk & Zajak, 2019: 223). According to experts in labor agency, networked movements such as NOLA are essential for reducing the exploitative working conditions in the Global South, by shifting to cross-border and cross-organizational networked forms of resistance (Zajak, 2017).

NGOs' involvement in the sector

NGOs may support workers by engaging with welfare activities, which may range from skill trainings, to setting up financial groups, to educational programs to raise awareness of workers' rights (Rajani, 12 March 2020; CIVIDEP, 22 March 2020).

> *"[what Munnade does is] they set up financial supports for garment workers. […] Munnade has different groups of 20 people which contribute money and they put them into one bank account and they have access to that. […] workers contribute money into that group and they can use it for emergencies. The women in these groups talk about their problems and they discuss solutions with others. Then in case of emergencies, they can help themselves with the money put into the group".*

(Sanjana, 16 March 2020)

From the fieldwork interviews with garment workers in Bengaluru, one important element arose when discussing the involvement of the individuals with the NGO Munnade. There seemed to be a different perception of the work of Munnade in comparison to the work of trade unions. When inquiring a garment worker about her joining the financial support group set up by Munnade, Sanjana said responded that she didn't feel worried about it:

> *Interviewer: "how did you feel about joining a group (the financial help groups) like this? Does the management of the factory know?"*
>
> *Sanjana: "The management does not know about this, this doesn't worry her"*

The fact that she specifically talked about how the management doesn't know about this is indicative of a potential strategy for supporting workers that doesn't find too much resistance from factory authorities and especially one strategy that doesn't imply a fear factor in workers.

NGOs and trade union clashing

The work of NGOs and that of trade unions is seen as clashing by board members of the different organizations and was brought up in most conversations with Bengaluru organizations (AFWA, 5 March 2020; CIVIDEP, 22 March 2020). This clash stems from different political agendas, legitimacy of workers' representation, differing fund opportunities and salaries for board members, and even different priorities (GATWU, 27 February 2020; KOOGU, 4 March 2020). Most of the discussions I entertained with NGOs and trade unions working in Bengaluru explained the clash between NGOs and trade unions in terms of NGOs being preferred by factory managements due to their 'softer' approach (AFWA, 5 March 2020; CIVIDEP, 22 March 2020), leading trade unions to refer them as "useless" for systemic change (Industriall, 28 February 2020; GATWU, 27 February 2020; AITUC, 21 February 2020).

The clash between the two types of organizations became evident when a trade union worker – KOOGU - dismissed the work of local NGOs collaborating with global fashion firms on improving the working conditions in their factories. He confessed that brands often pay lip service to social welfare tools, especially on rights to trade union, but do little to change the social outcomes of garment production.

> *"what these brands also have done is they floated a lot of NGOs. We know a lot of these NGOs are directly working with the workers in these manufacturing units. So they are in part funded by the brands themselves. […] Brands make sure that the employees are represented. So NGOs are floated through these brands […] and these NGOs get direct access to the workers because at the end of the day the manufacturing units are going to be accountable and answerable to the brands, because the brands pay them.*
>
> *So the brands tell a particular unit to allow these people from the NGO to speak to the workers. So, the NGOs are in essence doing a social audit for the brands. They get paid by the brands and they also do the social audits for the brands. And then they also give credibility to these brands in the sense that these activities are happening, and workers are being represented, that workers are able to file their grievances. But in effect, what this has done is this has undermined the trade union movement in the garment system."*

The common lack of collaboration between NGOs and trade union may hinder the network of labor activism, which ought to connect and create multi-stakeholder alliances for its optimal achievements and change in the sector (Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011; Jenskins, 2013; Zajak, 2017).

Chapter 9 has discussed the role of organizations involved in improving the working conditions of the garment sector, namely trade unions, NGOs and grassroot social movements. The different activities of unions and NGOs aim to increase workers' knowledge on their own rights as Indian citizens and workers, to overcome workers' fear of confronting authorities and to make demands. Moreover, unions often organize protests, utilizing collective action to demand for structural and factory-specific changes in the sector, such as protesting the common harassment of workers and their low wages.

Given the low unionization of the garment sector and the obstacles trade unions face, new forms of organizations have risen across India. Social grassroot movements often allow garment workers to explore alternative ways to influence their demands for improved workplace. Networked movements, such as NOLAs, intervene in the sector by means of partnerships across transnational organizations. Other types of grassroot organizations may enable workers to gain empowerment and confidence to mobilize in their workplaces, by being politically active in their household/community welfare.

Fieldwork findings highlight the importance of NGOs for reaching garment workers, bypassing the stigmas and fear associated with joining trade unions. Moreover, the relationship between Bengaluru's trade unions and NGOs is characterized by traditional feuds, clashes of interest and lack of sectorial collaboration.

In the following chapter, the power dynamics across the garment sector will be presented, which shape workers' agency, oftentimes hindering both individual and collective bargaining power.

10 POWER RELATIONS: STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS AND ENABLERS FOR IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS

Section 7.2.1 has already presented instances of power inequalities within the factories themselves. Moreover, I discussed the intersectional aspect of inequality throughout the findings of the literature review, with a clear evidence that young, migrant and women workers are the most vulnerable individuals to poor and exploitative working conditions. We can assess that power inequalities are not merely between different stakeholder groups (e.g. workers, managers, trade union activists, etc.), but they also exist within the very category of workers.

In this subchapter, I will be zooming in the power relations across the mechanisms of garment production, focusing on the global apparel value chain and the role of the Indian state in regulating working conditions and shaping workers' bargaining power.

10.1 POWER RELATIONS WITHIN THE VALUE CHAIN

The trans-local nature of garment production involves processes, stakeholders trade of goods that goes well beyond the Indian borders. In fact, global value chains are characterised by horizontal and vertical relationships across stakeholder. Horizontal relationships are established between "lead firms (retailers and global brands), civil society organizations, and institutions in consumer countries where standards are generally constituted and the scope for a specific set of standards is defined" (Abdulsamad, et al, 2015: 3). Vertical relationships are found "between global lead firms and their first-tier suppliers or large intermediaries that function as global supply chain managers" (Abdulsamad, et al, 2015: 4).

Lead fashion firms are found at the core of all business activities in the sector, with their prime involvement with branding, design and marketing of the end-product (Hoskins, 2014). They control production by suppliers, monopolize the capture of rents within a GPN and in turn affect the possible labor market outcomes in supplier firms (Nathan, 2013). Although firms don't specifically dictate the working conditions of workers in producing countries, they have a great impact of the manufacturers in the chain.

Firstly, the garment sector is an example of a buyer-drive chain, characterized by a highly competitive environment that requires labor intensive manufacturing (Abdulsamad, et al, 2015). Due to the increasingly high production rhythms, global buyers and lead firms put pressure on local suppliers to reach globally competitive targets at the lowest costs possible (Venkatesan, 2019; Vryenhoek, 2013). The embeddedness of garment production in a capitalistic society and a neoliberal growth model results in global firms accumulating capital at the very expense of workers' working and living conditions. The value that manufacturing processes in the value chain is believed to be less than 30%, with the remaining 60-75% being retained by global apparel firms (Abdulsamad, et al, 2015). Following the model for competitive and profitable businesses, it is not surprising that wages of garment manufacturers account for only 1-3% of the total cost of clothing items (Hoskins, 2014). By keeping the wages low, the biggest firms in the fashion industry maximise their profits and accumulate a fortune in OECD countries (Hoskins, 2014). Nathan (2013) distinguishes this mode of production as 'contracted mode of production', to describe a non-equitable form of international production chain, made of trans-local exchanges of labor,

goods and value.

In the space where business activities and labor activism collide together, small fragments of hope are created for contributing to improving working conditions, in the form of codes of conducts, grievance mechanisms and welfare interventions by the state. However, these structural spaces for change are embedded in power structures, shaping the ability of workers to exert agency.

10.2 'CODE OF CONDUCTS' IN THE GARMENT SECTOR

Codes of conducts have been introduced in the garment sector due to the rise in interest on '*CSR'* in the 1990s, in order to regulate the outcomes of businesses and shift them towards positive social and environmental impacts (Jenkins & Unies, 2001). Nowadays, it is nearly impossible to find global fashion brands which do not make use of voluntary codes of conduct and/or voluntary multi-stakeholder initiatives (Mezzadri, 2012).

However, experts in the field and critics to this approach point fingers at the mechanism, describing its inefficiency in creating local improvements in places of production. '*Codes of conducts*', which may act as goodwill of companies in expressing their intentionality in improving the conditions of workers, are opposed by *'codes of practices'* (Engels-Zanden & Merk, 2013; Prentice et al, 2017; Mezzadri, 2012). The former shows a trend to standardise working conditions, and to base them on a universal system of knowledge; however, the latter reveals what happens on ground, in context that are local and ever changing. Critics even argue that codes of conduct don't take into consideration the forms of non-standardised and regulated production, which comprises most of the garment sector in India (Mezzadri, 2012).

Lastly, when considering brands' codes of conducts and voluntary initiatives from a workers' rights perspective, one might wonder about how the profit-making core of a company might interfere with the firm-led initiatives and codes aimed at workers' wellbeing and job security (Venkatesan, 2019). Being involved in both capital accumulation and economic growth and with social welfare of workers – a somewhat oxymorons within capitalism - certainly raises doubts on the effectiveness of the 'goodwill' of firms.

10.3 GRIEVANCE AND COMPLAINTS MECHANISMS

Grievance mechanisms are complaint processes of different legal status used by workers, communities or civil society organizations to account for the misconduct activities of a company or production hub (SOMO, nd). In India they were introduced with the 1947 Industrial Dispute Act, establishing a grievance redressal committee in factories with 20 or more workers (ILO, 2017). Non-judicial grievance mechanisms (NJGMs) are the most common type, being less costly and able to overcome weak public governance frameworks. NJGMs may have adjudicative (compliance) or dialogue-based (mediation) purposes, respectively leading to an investigative report or to a multi-stakeholder agreement (HWW, ICN & SOMO, 2018). Many NJGMs are in place in the Indian garment sector, namely Ethical Trading Initiative (ETI), Social Accountability International (SAI or SASS) and Urgent Appeal (UA).

ETI and SAI may be considered as the industry-standard grievance mechanisms in the Global South, being based on private standards – ETI Base Code and SA8000 standards (HWW, ICN & SOMO, 2018). 'Urgent Appeals' exemplify cross-border activism and grievance mechanism.

Set up by the international NGO Clean Clothes Campaign in the mid-90s, it aims to support workers internationally, in cases of breach of freedom of association or episodes of exploitation and abuse in factories (Merk & Zajak, 2019). The Urgent Appeal mechanism offers garment workers a novel manner of voicing their needs and complaints, by introducing an international system of leverage for compliance (ibid).

As an alternative to international grievance mechanisms, local NGOs and trade unions across India collect and document workers' rights violations from individuals' experiences (Theuws & Overeem, 2014). When there are enough testimonies from workers, organizations might be able to request in-factory inspections and put leverage on the management to improve the working conditions (ILO, 2015).

The last tool for improvement in working conditions of garment workers is the democratic elections of factory committees, where few elected workers ought to represent their peers in their demands, needs and complaints (ILO, 2015). These committees ideally promise a high bargaining power, providing factory workers with a legal and legitimate platform where to voice their concerns, validated by the factory management. The board committees themselves would learn and exert bargaining and negotiation skills, by confronting their demands to the factory authorities.

Despite the hopeful promises of the mechanism most of the grievance and complaint mechanisms remain dysfunctional. The premise that workers may file a complaint against the exploitative nature of their workplace and tasks lies on the often-wrongful assumption that they are able to do so. Firstly, as garment workers are often victims of intimidation and harassment from managers, their possibility to speak up about their work experiences is unlikely. Grievance mechanisms have barriers to access that make the process insidious and complex, and their procedures may have issues of implementation and effectiveness of change. Figure 12 below summarizes these aspects.

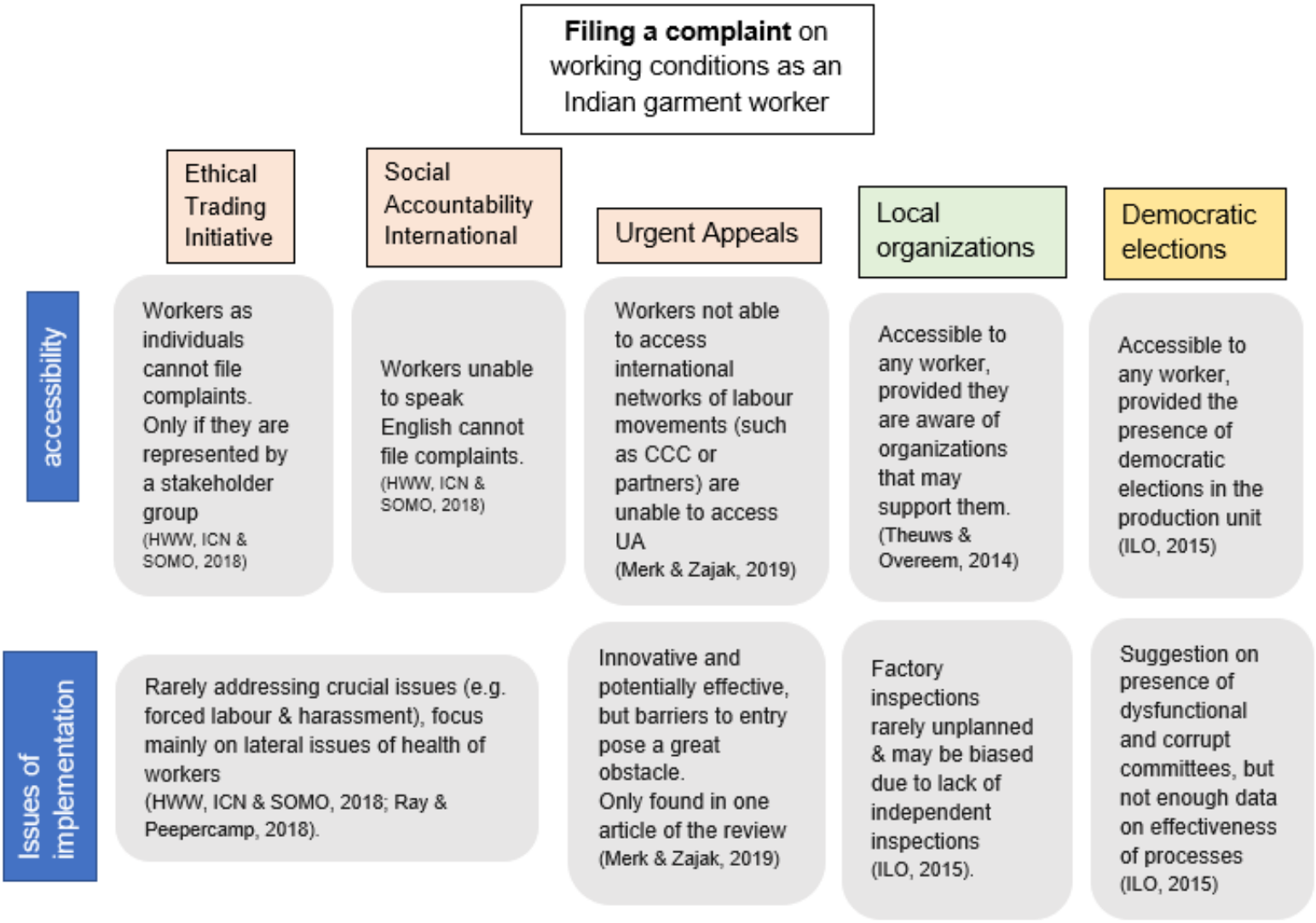

Figure 12. issues of accessibility and implementation of grievance and complaint mechanisms

Corruption in a factory's democratic elections

A Bengaluru trade union activist discussed the ways in which a multinational lead fashion firm is trying to undermine the freedom of workers, despite their promises to provide democratically elected committees in their factories. According to the union member GATWU (27 February 2020), the presence of the factory committee is just for show, and the board members are not elected by their co-workers, but they are endorsed by the management.

> *"H&M is trying to bust GATWU activities for democratically elected unions. GATWU has units in two factories that produce entirely for H&M. H&M agreed with management [according to their living wage commitment in 2016] to democratically elected factory committees. In one of these factories, 15 members from GATWU were selected to form the committee. In another factory, H&M group put the conditions on the election to the committees - they say if one can or cannot participate to the elections basically. Amongst the people who win, the management selects them."*

Although these findings provide interesting information on possible ways in which the lead firm may be manipulating the efforts to democratize its factories, it must be acknowledged that no literature or report validates this. Nevertheless, this finding reinforces the despicable relationship between fashion firms and trade unions, characterized by harsh tones from union members and detail omittance from firm representatives.

10.4 WELFARE STRATEGIES FROM THE INDIAN STATE: A CONTRADICTORY APPROACH

Many ways of support come from regional and national governmental bodies (Malagi & Chachadi, 2013; Vijayabskar, 2011; RoyChowdhury, 2020). In many regions the government sponsors the provision of cheap rice to individuals in need, such as women during maternity leave (Rao, 2014), migrants or workers below poverty line (Vijayabaskar, 2011).

From available literature findings, the active role of the state towards improving garment working conditions is limited to structural issues, such as the provision of the food or of minimum wage and it is contrasted by interest in business-state partnerships. Evidence from literature shows a trend towards the state interest in attracting private investments as means to grow economically (Vijayabaskar, 2011; Gillan & Lambert, 2013; ILO, 2017). The importance of building a "business friendly" environment for investments in India has been trumping over the implementation of labor laws, endorsing informal labor growth (Hensman, 2011; Mezzadri & Fan, 2018), low wages and a cut on social welfare system, in the name of capital accumulation (Gillan & Lambert, 2013; Vijyabaskar, 2011). It is through the Contract Labor Act of 1970 that managers make use of – and prefer - contracted work (ILO, 2017) and through the maintenance of a union-free environment that businesses upkeep such labor practices.

Labor laws at place include the right to collective bargaining, aimed to "address fundamental power imbalances in the workplace between individual workers and increasingly powerful employers" (Anner, 2017: 58; Mezzadri, 2012). However, collective bargaining has often been used as a tool of procedural justice, which brings little change in the practices of the sector (Anner, 2017). What looks like freedom of association on paper might only be a form of consumer protection and of brands' face reputation, contrasted with social welfare schemes that forego

collective rights (Venkatesan, 2019; Gillan & Lambert, 2013). The legal acts regulating the rights to unionize (i.e. the 1926 Trade Union Act & the 1947 Industrial Dispute Act) put significant restrictions to the requirements and processes of organizing the workforce and of protesting (ILO, 2017; Venkatesan, 2019).

Minimum compliance of factory managers

Despite the existence of labor laws, there seem to be a general trend of minimum compliance of factories in the garment sector (AITUC, 21 February 2020), with managers trying to comply to regulation for workers welfare and wellbeing without aiming to improve the bargaining power of workers.

During the fieldwork research, I spoke to just one garment factory owner, after being rejected by many other connections. According to the owner, the factory of 400-employees was "100% complaint to all regulations", with a great emphasis on their zero-tolerance for harassment policy. However, when discussing the lack of existence of trade unions in her factory, the owner brushed the question aside, admitting she was not an expert and that she was switching to an automated production in order to avoid unions (Rumi, 17 February, 2020). Despite the 400 people working in her factory and the lack of unions, the *"100% compliance"* slogan might indicate a general trend of normalization of no unionization in the sector, and a trend towards complying with the most pressing issues to the eyes of consumers (e.g. no harassment).

Overall, welfare schemes in place show a disposition for protecting individual rights not as workers per se, but as citizens, risking moving the focus away from class and workers' issues (RoyChowdhury, 2020). Vijayabaskar (2011: 39) explains both the risks and the opportunities that come with such shift of welfare focus, discussing that "this process has elements of an emergent regime of social regulation that allows capital to pursue accumulation without the burden of providing for labor in postcolonial societies. Such needs of government however do open up new spaces for mobilisation and claim-making even as the State enables anti-laborist strategies within the workplace". As a matter of fact, when looking at how workers organize and make demands, RoyChowdhury (2020) has noted how demands for a better welfare system made by Indian workers have been leveraging on the class identity, not on the workers identity. Therefore, their demands might not stem from a place of contradiction as workers embedded in the industry, but as citizens and people. Novel types of agency are rising, and it is important to understand the power dynamics of them.

Chapter 10 has presented the power relations found across the institutional stakeholders of the garment sector: global fashion firms and the Indian state. Firms' role in shaping agency has been analyzed, showing how the accumulation of capital and decisional power is often hindering the bargaining potential of garment workers.

By providing limited social welfare to workers and obstacles to unionization of the sector, the Indian government shows that its market liberalization approach has clear intentions of privileging firms' economic growth, regardless of workers' consequences.

This chapter has also shown how several grievance mechanisms that ought to improve workers' bargaining power present structural difficulties, consequently not offering a viable platform for change to garment workers.

QUALITY ASSESSMENT OF SECONDARY SOURCES

Assessing the quality of academic sources reviewed is important for producing a systematic and reproducible analysis. In the absence of a gold standard tool for source quality assessment, CASP tool (2014) is hereby used to evaluate mix-method qualitative systematic reviews using a scoring system. This process was important, to explain the difference in strength of sources, depending on the academic nature of them (grey literature and academic articles). The following criteria were used: clear research goal/aims; appropriate methodology; appropriate research design; appropriate recruitment strategy; justification of the way of data collection; researcher and participants relationship considered; consideration of ethical issues; rigorous data analysis; explicit findings and value of research. Each criterion was given a value of either 1 (yes), or 0 (no or not applicable). Each publication has a score; 1–4 was considered as 'weak', 5–8 as 'moderate', and 9–10 as 'strong'.

As seen in the tables in *Annex VI*, all academic papers are considered 'strong'. However, when assessing the quality of non-academic literature, the low score of 8 publications as 'weak' and the is 4 publication considered as 'moderate' ought to be briefly explained. In fact, the 'weak' sources belong to trade union publications (CITU, the voice of working women; WIEGO reports), meant as a narrative report of selected voices in the garment sector. Their role in this research was to provide contextual and culturally relevant insights in the lives of garment workers and were included despite the highly narrative (and activist) nature of the content publications.

11 DISCUSSION

Through the systematic literature research and fieldwork findings, several resistance mechanisms and some reworking mechanisms were found ~~to be taking place~~ in the Indian garment sector. However, no action could relate to direct challenges to the capitalist mode of production. This lack of resistance mechanisms is relevant and found in a broader geographical context, where the nature of garment sector and organizational structure is similar. Based on available research, the agency of garment workers in other Asian countries, namely Fiji, Cambodia and Pakistan, is mostly limited to resistance and reworking processes, with wage disputes being the most common form of protests (Harrington, 2000; George, 2016; Arnold, 2013; Lund-Thomsen, 2013)

Daily practices of resilience showed by Indian garment workers are similar to those of Fiji garment workers, ranging from changing jobs and negotiating their working conditions, to stealing some fabrics for their own use (Harrington, 2000). A notable difference between Indian and Fiji workers regards the pressure to reach set production targets; in India, workers cannot rebel against the high production requirements without repercussions from management. Amongst Fiji garment workers, acts of sabotage lead workers to not even try and reach the targets, to avoid fatigue (Harrington, 2000). Scholars have shown how this act of sabotage is directly opposite to **acts of reworking** (e.g. with wage increase demands), as the former attempts to reduce inequality by levelling down (sabotage), while the latter by levelling up (wage negotiation) (Arnold, 2013; Harrington, 2000).

Agency as understood by liberal or Marxist frameworks is not likely to be found in the Global South, where agency resides in often overlooked acts (Hilsdon, 2007). In fact, the lack of overt **acts of resistance** in this research and previous research on Asian workers' agency, as the labor force cannot challenge the capitalist system without severely hindering workers' livelihood (Lund-Thomsen, 2013). As Harrington (2000) maintains, the very act of women working in the garment sector may be a resistance mechanism to the subjective constraints individuals find in their lives. In fact, the possibility of earning and contributing to household finances and overcoming poverty is both an incentive to join and a tool for empowerment.

The structural constraints seen in the role of the state, of global firms and of managerial decisions are plentiful and complex and embedded in a society increasingly shaped by globalized economy (Zoomers, et al., 2016). The opportunities for development of workers are shaped by the trans-local relations that characterize global value chains (ibid) and are highly dependent on the capability of becoming part of the right network. In the context of this research, it's clear that agency of Indian garment workers is exercised by means of an increased associational power through community politics. The work of organizations – international and local NGOs, trade union and grassroot movements – is pivotal for creating spaces of hope and change for vulnerable garment workers. Despite minimal changes in working conditions, the ability of workers to position themselves within these networks increases their confidence in the possibility of change, which in turn positively shapes workers' individual experiences.

This research findings contribute and link to the ever-so-relevant discussion of employment and decent work within globalized production processes. According to the ILO, decent work requires "decent wages, safe working conditions, and regulated working hours, among other things" (Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011). Despite none of these criteria being fully

ensured in the Indian territory, the ILO also describes decent work as a tool for providing "a source of personal dignity, family stability, peace in the community, democracies that deliver for people, and economic growth that expands opportunities for productive jobs and enterprise development" (ILO, 2010). Employment can be a source of decent work (Rai, 2014), depending on the conditions of work and the type of welfare support offered by organizations and state, but also on workers' livelihood needs and the extent they are met.

The relationship between agency and empowerment is not always linear, and acts of agency do not immediately ensure empowerment. The case of the Indian garment sector is clearly one in which individuals are not able to empower themselves fully, even when exercising acts of resilience and reworking. Although the possibility for women to work in the garment sector at all is a great opportunity for inter-generational empowerment, the empowerment of working individuals is limited and subjective to the socio-economic background of workers. In fact, Kabeer (2012) adds that empowerment does not cease with individuals' employment; on the contrary, working gives individuals new desires and aspirations to be fulfilled. Work is not only a place for income-earning, but it's also a place of social and psychological development of individuals (Santarelli & Tran, 2013).

Within employment-related developmental studies, it's essential to differentiate the experiences individuals, rooted in their identities, socio-economic background and political representation, rather than focusing on the working conditions only. Most available literature on workers' agency in the Asia either regards workers with little differentiation between individuals' demographic or socio-economic factor (Lund-Thomsen & Coe, 2015; Arnold, 2013) or tends to focus only on gender differences across workers (Kelkar, 2007; Lund-Thomsen, 2013). The empirical contribution of this research can be found in a more nuanced analysis of agency, across multiple axes of workers' identities. The intersectional analytical lens used throughout the study provides for an account of multiple divergent development paths, within the globalized economy (Yeoh, et al, 2005).

The importance of systematic literature review as the main methodology for data gathering and analysis for conducting research on employment, agency and power structures stems from its objective to provide a comprehensive view on the matter. Despite case studies being essential to offer in-depth evidence, their limitations for this research is clear, when aiming to provide a broader view on global issue.

(i) How do socio-economic factors enable or restrict the agency of workers in the garment sector of India?

Despite the unfavorable working conditions that many Indian garment workers are subjected to, hundreds of thousands are employed in formal and informal production hubs throughout India. The economic push factor, leading individuals to join the garment sector is a source for financial stability for familial nuclei with multiple adults working. For many low-skilled and low-educated citizens, garment work is an appetible option of employment, compared to labor-intense jobs with similar entry requirements (e.g. construction work). Moreover, garment work may offer a great emancipation tool, for women in rural home villages to become financially independent. Many women choose garment work for providing their children a better education and decent work, translating their wishes to tangible opportunities for future generations.

However, work does not lead to empowerment and positive outcomes for all. From the systematic literature review, the most vulnerable individuals are women and migrants. Their vulnerability stems from their disadvantageous position in the Indian society, rooted in norms and practices of denigration, with instances of marginalization and discrimination. In the home environment, women, especially Muslims, are burdened by a double or triple burden and are restricted in their movement and freedom. Migrants may also experience constraints in improving their positionality and in exerting agency, due to their lack the familial network in the city of migration, therefore lacking mental, physical and financial support. Due to the longer working hours for informal workers, migrants may spend up to 12 hours producing garments. Considering the strenuous working hours and the women's double or triple burden, migrant women workers are generally not involved in organizations' activities (e.g. protests, trainings, meetings), as they physically lack time and may lack a social network that can endorse their involvement.

(ii) What is the space available for garment workers to exert their agency?

Workers' agency in global production networks may be exerted in weak spots within the system (Coe & Lier, 2011). In these instances, workers may be able to wield their structural power, halting the system by utilizing whatever disruptive tools they own (Coe & Lier, 2011). However, the enactment of workers' agency presumes the knowledge of workers' own positionality in relation to the chain processes to the access to a network of organizations. The latter can be union-based organizations, NGOs or grassroot ones, representing workers' rights and increasing their associational power.

Worker's marginalization, especially in the case of home-workers and migrants is often found in illegal production units, invisible to organizations. This invisibility in turn hinders workers' associational power and the opportunity to be represented in collective action (Rainnie et al., 2011). Due to low representation of workers by trade unions, individual workers' bargaining power are not automatically translated into associational power (Selwyn, 2011). However, for workers who do join trade unions or local NGOs, opportunities for exerting agency increase notably. Firstly, union and non- organizations increase the knowledge of workers' rights. Secondly, local organizations may support workers in overcoming their fears of confronting governmental and managerial authorities, by means of different activities (e.g. learning how to make a complaint in the factory setting, creating protests and strikes, etc.). Lastly, the following mechanisms are put in place by third party stakeholders, to allow workers to improve their working conditions.

- In-factory inspections
- Democratically elected committees in production units
- Non-Judicial Grievance Mechanisms:
  - Urgent Appeals
  - Social accountability international
  - Ethical trading initiative

However, the barriers of access and the issues in implementation of these grievance mechanisms raise doubts on their effectiveness. Moreover, these mechanisms assume the possibility of workers to express complaints, not taking into account the nation-wide reality of

workers' fear as a silencing mechanism, keeping their voice unheard and their stories untold due to fear of violence from authorities, humiliation and even loss of jobs.

From the findings presented in earlier chapters, the positionality of workers becomes a *de facto* element in determining the coping and reaction mechanisms to injustices.

(iii) How do existing power relations across the garment value chain and within a factory setting reflect the ability to exercise the agency of workers?

The informal reality of labor, involving contracting and sub-contracting employment relations, often separates the employer from the manufacturer, disguising responsibility and accountability for decent work conditions. Disguised relationships arise especially in presence of a vulnerable workforce and are enforced by gender discriminatory practices of intimidation by factory managers. The very preference of garment sector managers to employ women, resulting in the "femininization" of the workforce, is referred to as the "comparative advantage of women's disadvantage" (Arzipe and Aranda, 1981).

The nature of garment production under the capitalist scheme of fast fashion has implications that cut across geographical borders and that influence the lives of local Indian workers. In order to comply to the strict quality and quantity requirements of lead firms in the Global North, suppliers in the Global South have relied on contractors and subcontractors for the delivery of production targets, contributing to the expansion of precarious and informal work (Mezzadri, 2010). Contracted work lies on structural injustices and discrimination within in society, as it makes use of labor force at an already disadvantaged position, to further contribute to inequalities within the workplace. In fact, due to the power asymmetries inherent of global value chains, the actors who detain most power (i.e. the state and lead firms) may remove workers' structural power alongside a tactic of political suppression, to constrain greatly workers' agency and systematically silencing their voices.

The informal architecture of the labor force within the garment sector is justified in a context of ruling global and domestic capital growth, where business-state partnerships leads to the erosion of strict labor laws. Due to the weak bargaining power that workers have within the garment value chain, the importance of representational power by organizations is crucial. Organizations (e.g. NGOs, trade unions, etc.) play a limited role in representing workers' needs, due to the characteristically low unionization rates and the structural impediments to collective action.

11.1.1 Reflecting on 'class struggle'

Throughout the findings and the discussion, the element of class discrimination was not mentioned as an intersectional element for inequality. The struggle and action for change of garment workers stem from their unfavourable positionality in the socio-economic context. The mere belonging to a working class predetermines a set of inequalities and obstacles they inherently face when improving their working conditions. Therefore, the struggle of garment workers may be read as a class struggle itself, where all garment manufacturers belong to the working class without exceptions.

Within the class struggle of the workforce, there exist horizontal power structures across workers. One element decisive in contributing to garment workers' privileged position is that of

'skills'. The job precariousness affecting the garment sector may endanger the livelihood of low-skilled workers, due to the high interchangeability of the workforce (Selwyn, 2011). Being highly skilled ameliorates one's positionality within the sector, allowing for a broader choice of work and a better paycheck. With this opportunity comes the obstacle of accessing training programs for improving one's manufacturing skills. As these programs are not structurally offered by factories, firm or state, it becomes a matter of time and finance availability, freedom of movement, and social capital; this subjectivity could create further power asymmetries (Selwyn, 2011).

11.1.2 Reflecting on 'forgotten' intersectional identities of garment workers

Two 'categories' of workers who may be under-represented and at the margins of the discussion on agency and working conditions are 'differently abled' individuals and elderly. Firstly, due to the labour-intensive tasks and long hours of work in a hot and noisy environment, garment workers are predominantly young and able-bodied. Despite the small number, older workers and people with different disabilities still contribute to the garment sector. The intensity of the job does not seem to be lenient for differently abled or older people. No literature reviewed discussed the conditions of elderly or differently abled garment manufacturers, and more research is suggested, to assess how garment work could provide employment for these workers.

Lastly, based on the conversations with organizations and trade unions from Bengaluru (AFWA and CIVIDEP), realities of under-representation of complete alienation involve the existence of workers belonging to the LGBTIQ+ community. As presented in scientific publications, members of LGBTQI+ community are often victims of episodes of violence, discrimination and marginalization (Lee & Ostergard, 2017; Chakrapani, et al., 2007). In the field of the garment sector, no academic article even mentioned this group of individuals, signaling an alarming lack of research in such a sensitive topic. The lack of research on the possible discrimination of workers belonging to gender-fluid, non-binary and non-heteronormative workers should be already read as a further marginalization for these individuals.

A considerable amount of literature discusses women's and migrants' role in the garment sector, including that of Muslim individuals. The expectations to find detailed information on Dalit's discrimination, based on regional context data, was not met. The sources found through the systematic literature review did not present clear cases of discriminations against Dalit workers. Similarly, no clear dataset discussed male workers' experiences in the sector, impeding a potentially important analysis of gender discrimination, comparing male and female's experiences in the manufacturing sector. Further research is suggested to assess the role of these identities in the vulnerability and agency of these garment workers.

RQ: How is garment workers' agency in India shaped by individuals' socio-economic factors?

To answer the main research question, I have discussed several aspects of agency in the Indian garment sector. The socio-economic factors that determine an increased opportunity for exercising agency are based oy individuals' familial status, on the physical presence of supporting family members and their ability to provide financial and moral support. Furthermore, highly skilled individuals can negotiate a higher-salary position in the garment manufacturing sector.

For workers who exercise agency, literature presents several acts of resilience, allowing worker to cope with the unfavourable position in which they may be situated in. Through these, workers do not overtly challenge the capitalistic modes of production, but they are meaningful

attempts to improve their status, by improving their experiences of work and life. Overt actions of agency, in the form of protests, strikes and explicit demands to authorities are aimed at a better and fairer redistribution of capital within the chain.

Although agency can be a tremendous source of resilience and optimism, it does not offer a solution to the inequalities that are embedded in the system. In India, labor relationships are an extension of the core patriarchal system that guides economic growth, utilizing an underpaid, undervalued and underrepresented force of labor of mostly women. The vulnerable positionality of women within society and the garment sector stems from a double or triple burden of care, which often does not allow them to join labour activist movements. Through practices of abuse, silencing and low union representation, the position of women manufacturers is maintained weak and docile.

Home-based workers, often Muslim and female, are physically isolated in their home environments and kept from directly engaging with other workers or employers, further deepening societal marginalization. The practices of marginalization of Muslims extend to society, where the vision of the leading party BJP aims to create a 'Hindu Rashtra', a nation of Hindu race, religion, culture and language (CITU, May 2018), further deepening their discrimination.

Lastly, migrant workers represent another critically vulnerable group of workers, often employed in seasonal jobs, with little to no alternative forms of income, little education, lacking knowledge on available forms of collective action and their rights and lacking social networks for support in the cities of migration.

11.1.3 Reflecting on Covid-19 and relevance for research

Just as Vijayabaskar (2011) discussed in his research on the effects of the 2008 economic crisis, workers are always the most vulnerable in situations of distress and crisis. This research becomes ever more relevant in the context of the current pandemic. The trend amongst multinational fashion brands and retailers that manufacture in countries in the Global South – including India – has been to cancel orders and refuse to pay suppliers for pre-placed orders at the time when the first wave of the pandemic hit, in March 2020. Many brands still haven't paid local factory managers, who in turn have not been able to provide any income for Indian factory or non-factory workers (Fair Wear Foundation, 2020; Fashion Revolution, n.d.). The lack or delay in payments from brands to their suppliers has catastrophic consequences for wage workers, whose livelihood likely depends on monthly pay checks. The crisis has already reached a critical point, as some garment factories in India have had to close, due to the lack of financial support from the firms. Once again, there is an evident misuse of power from the biggest players in the chain, which leave the smaller realities of production struggling.

As of April 2020, both ILO (2020) and FAO (2020) published reports on the impacts of Covid-19 on the increased vulnerability of workers in the informal sector and in the invisible parts of manufacturing, especially those belonging to ethnic minorities, women, young and low-paid.

The superficial gains that workers might have achieved for their work and livelihood are volatile obtainments, which risks being set back by major causes such as Covid-19. Further research is suggested, to understand how agency of workers, of unions and labor organizations are currently shaping the garment sector, during one of the worst economic crises of the century.

12 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH & FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Cultural differences were an obstacle to reach full understanding what kind of challenges and obstacles derive from being a garment worker in India. I paid close attention towards my own assumptions of what it means to live in poverty, when conducting interviews and analyzing data from both primary and secondary sources. The book 'Poor Economics' by Abhijit Banerjee and Esther Duflo (2012) was helpful in shedding some of the myths and assumptions I had about living with limited resources. However, a big limitation to this study was the inability to interview enough garment workers in Bengaluru, as this would have provided relevant information on their ways of coping with their reality, and how they perceive agency.

With the limited time available, my research cannot provide an exhaustive image of all aspects of workers' agency in the Indian garment sector. The choice for the scope of my analysis is dependent upon their relevance to international development studies, upon their actual feasibility of being researched and upon the urgency of issues stemmed from the outbreak of Covid-19. It's acknowledged that further research would be useful to complete the discussion on agency, by interviewing more stakeholders and workers in India, to understand the subjective realities, successes and struggles to enact agency.

Research bias might come from having collected primary data only in Bengaluru, consequently contributing to a better understanding of the topic in that context. Moreover, the presence of a network of stakeholders was of great support for finding data about the garment sector. I did not have support from locals or national organizations in Tirupur and Delhi, potentially contributing to a gap in data.

More research is suggested to study the agency of workers including the Indian textile industry, to expand the research scope onto footwear and leather work, where illegal practices often take place, including child and forced labor.

Lastly, it's recommended that future research on developmental issues revolves around deepening the understanding of the local and national implications of global firms' decisions. This research provided an overview of power relations across few stakeholders, but in-depth analysis is suggested, in order to produce detailed evidence on the social and developmental outcomes of trans-local chains of production and value.

13 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this research I aimed to answer the following question*: "How is garment workers' agency in India shaped by individuals' socio-economic factors?"*

The findings were constructed on a mixed method research, using primary field data collected in Bengaluru and secondary data collected through a systematic literature review, utilizing different databases.

This research finds that agency of workers in India is exercised in acts of resilience and acts of reworking, and it was not found in acts of overt resistance. The findings highlighted the presence of several vulnerable 'categories' of workers, subjected to societal discriminations and obstacles to acts of agency: women, especially young and home-based, migrants and Muslim workers. moreover, the underrepresentation of findings for categories such as LGBTQI+ individuals, Dalit workers, differently abled bodied individuals and the lack of differentiation between male and female garment manufacturers is an element of importance for future studies.

With the help of external organizations, garment workers learn about their rights and how to make demands to authority figures. Moreover, some workers may participate in collective action, engaging in protest against the harassment from male supervisors, and of other gender discriminations and for achieving the acquisition of living wages. However, structural changes require prolonged timespans and difficult collaborations and agreements across stakeholders in the value chain.

In conclusion, this thesis finds that power relations within the Indian garment sector are skewed towards positions of authority (e.g. management, lead firms and government), influencing the working conditions of manufacturers and posing structural obstacles to the exercise of agency. Due to the accumulation of capital and power by institutions and businesses, the army of labor ought to find alternative coping mechanisms, if not accompanied by labor laws, adequate social welfare protection and representation by trade unions.

Recommendations

Based on the empirical findings, recommendations for improving workers' agency follow for: the organizations in the Indian garment sector, and for the Indian government. Due to workers' low bargaining power, it's important to provide recommendations to the constellation of actors involved in the garment sector, in order to give workers' an increased bargaining power laterally.

- **Recommendations for organizations in the garment sector**

For organizations, it's suggested to improve their outreach towards garment workers, by employing different strategies and to create spaces for agency tailored to marginalized worker (e.g. migrants, women home-workers, and under-represented workers groups). It's important to build an inclusive political representation of all identities of workers, to create an inclusive labor activist movement and safeguard the interests of all individuals.

Furthermore, based on the importance of wide alliances to build effective labor movements, it's suggestable for organizations with conflicting views (i.e. trade unions and NGOs) to look beyond their comprehensible and traditional feuds. It's suggested to co-operate and co-create actions of change for the sector, to build a more resilient labor movement.

On this note, it's suggested that organizations create sectorial networks for sharing information on the effectiveness of their actions, to improve and optimize their timely efforts for involving garment workers.

- **Recommendations for Indian government**

It would be auspicial that Indian governmental authorities in charge of employment schemes took the lead in providing equal welfare benefits for workers, especially those found in the informal sector. Carefully-crafter welfare schemes need to reach the most vulnerable groups of workers - migrants, Muslims and women - to allow for improved living conditions and for the empowerment of individuals at margins of society. Evidence-informed decisions on welfare practices ought to stem from a close collaboration between national and regional government, scientists in multidisciplinary science, local knowledge of organizations involved in direct action in the sector and international organizations regulating the ethical and social practices of global businesses. It is through a trans- local approach, involving actors and processes at different levels, that the local effects of globalized chains can be understood and changed.

15 BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdulsamad, A., Frederick, S., Guinn, A., & Gereffi, G. (2015). Pro-poor development and power asymmetries in global value chains. *Center on Globalization, Governance and Competitiveness, Duke University.*

Achanta, P. (2016, August 7). When women garment workers in Bengaluru raised their voice against injustice. And were heard. The Better India. Retrieved from: https://www.thebetterindia.com/63394/garment-workers-karnataka-provident-fund/.

AITUC. Personal communication. (21 February 2020). Initial meeting with representatives from All India Trade Union Congress, Navakarnataka Publications, Bengaluru.

Ali, R. (2014, July). Empowerment beyond resistance: Cultural ways of negotiating power relations. In Women's Studies International Forum (Vol. 45, pp. 119-126). Pergamon.

Altheide, D. L. (1987). Reflections: Ethnographic content analysis. Qualitative sociology, 10(1), 65-77.

Anner, M. (2017). Monitoring workers' rights: The limits of voluntary social compliance initiatives in labor repressive regimes. Global Policy, 8, 56-65.

Antwi-Agyei, P., Dougill, A. J., & Stringer, L. C. (2015). Barriers to climate change adaptation: evidence from northeast Ghana in the context of a systematic literature review. Climate and Development, 7(4), 297-309.

Arizpe, L. & Aranda, J. (1981). The "comparative advantages" of women's disadvantages: Women workers in the strawberry export agribusiness in Mexico. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 7(2), 453-473.

Arnold, D. (2013). Workers' Agency and Re-Working Power Relations in Cambodia's Garment Industry.

Banks, L. M., Kuper, H., & Polack, S. (2017). Poverty and disability in low-and middle-income countries: A systematic review. PloS one, 12(12), e0189996.

Barrientos, S. W. (2013). 'Labor chains': analysing the role of labor contractors in global production networks. The journal of development studies, 49(8), 1058-1071.

Beneria, L., Berik, G., Floro, M. S. (2016). Gender, Development and Globalization. Economics as if all people mattered (Second Edition). Routledge.

Bitran, G. R., Gurumurthi, S., Sam, S. L. (2006). Emerging trends in supply chain governance. MIT sloan working paper 4590-06, 1-31.

Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical discourse analysis. Annual review of Anthropology, 29(1), 447-466.

Brooks, A. (2015). Clothing Poverty: the hidden world of fast fashion and second-hand clothes. Zed Books, London.

Bryman, A. (2012). Social research methods. Oxford university press. 455-462, 468-520, 556-559.

Business & Human Rights Resource Centre. (n.d.). India: investigation finds workers at supplier for western brands subject to physical abuse, threats & dismissal following attempts to unionize; includes company comments. Retrieved from:https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/india-investigation-finds-workers-at-supplier-for-western-brands-subject-to-physical-abuse-threats-dismissal-following-attempts-to-unionise-includes-company-comments.

CambridgeCore. (n.d.). How to carry out a literature search for a systematic review: a practical guide, 24(02). Retrieved from: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/bjpsych-advances/article/how-to-carry-out-a-literature-search-for-a-systematic-review-a-practical-guide/629E710311A566E54F951E5E83621122/core-reader.

Carbó, P. A., Andrea Vázquez Ahumada, M., Caballero, A. D., & Lezama Argüelles, G. A. (2016). "How do I do Discourse Analysis?" Teaching Discourse Analysis to novice researchers through a study of intimate partner gender violence among migrant women. Qualitative Social Work, 15(3), 363-379.

Carswell, G. & De Neve, G. (2012). Conceptualising labor agency in global production networks. Geoforum.

Castree, N. (2007). Labor geography: A work in progress. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 31(4): 853–862.

Chamberlain, G. (2012, November 25). India's clothing workers: 'They slap us and call us dogs and donkeys'. The Guardian. Retrieved from: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/25/india-clothing-workers-slave-wages.

CITU. (January 2019). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CITU. (July 2019). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CITU. (March 2018). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CITU. (March 2019). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CITU. (May 2018). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CITU. (November 2017). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CITU. (November 2019). The Voice of the Working Woman. Retrieved from: http://www.citucentre.org/journals/voice-of-working-women.

CIVIDEP. Personal communication. (18 March 2020). Discussion on discriminatory aspects of work in the Indian garment sector, CIVIDEP representative, email.

Coe, N. & Jordhus-Lier, D. (2011). Constrained agency? Re-evaluating the geographies of labor. Progress in Human Geography, 35(2): 211–233.

Coleman, J. S. (1987). Microfoundations and macrosocial behavior. The micro-macro link, 153-173.

Collins, J. L. (2002). Mapping a global labor market: gender and skill in the globalizing garment industry. Gender & Society, 16(6), 921-940.

Crane, A., Soundararajan, V., Bloomfield, M. J., Spence, L., & LeBaron, G. (2019). Decent Work and Economic Growth in the South Indian Garment Industry. University of Bath.

Critical Appraisal Skills Programme (CASP) (2014). Retrieved on 27 August 2020, from: http://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/dded87_25658615020e427da194a325e7773d42.pdf.

Cross, J. (2014). From dream zones: anticipating capitalism and development in india. London: Pluto Press, (160-186).

Cumbers, A. (2015). Understanding labor's agency under globalisation: Embedding GPNs within an open political economy. Putting Labor in its Place: Labor Process Analysis and Global Value Chains. London: Palgrave, 135-151.

Cumbers, A., Nativel, C. & Routledge, P. 2008. Labor Agency and Union Positionalities in Global Production Networks. Journal of Economic Geography, 8(3): 369–387.

Dasgupta, M. (2019). Gender and Globalisation: An Analysis of the Garment Sector in India. Available at SSRN 3431112.

De Neve, G. (2009). Power, inequality and corporate social responsibility: The politics of ethical compliance in the South Indian garment industry. Economic and Political Weekly, 63-71.

De Neve, G. (2014). Fordism, flexible specialization and CSR: How Indian garment workers critique neoliberal labor regimes. Ethnography, 15(2), 184-207.

De Neve, G. (2014). Fordism, flexible specialization and CSR: How Indian garment workers critique neoliberal labor regimes. Ethnography, 15(2), 184-207.

Delahanty, J. (1999). A Common Thread: Issues for Women Workers in the Garment Sector. The North-South Institute for Women in Informal Employment: Globalizing and Organizing (WIEGO), International Development Research Centre (IDRC).

Desai, S., & Jain, D. (1994). Maternal employment and changes in family dynamics: The social context of women's work in rural South India. Population and Development Review, 115-136.

Devenish, A & Alfers, L. (2019). Bridges to Better Lives: SEWA's community health workers. Retrieved from: https://www.wiego.org/workers-lives.

Dixit, P., & Lal, R. C. (2019). Inclusive Growth and Social Responsibility-A Critical Analysis of Indian Textile Industry. MERC Global‟ s International Journal of Management, 7(2), 202-210.

Dopfer, K., Foster, J., & Potts, J. (2004). Micro-meso-macro. Journal of evolutionary economics, 14(3), 263-279.

Eckert, S. (2013). The Business Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act: Fighting Forced Labor in Complex Global Supply Chains. J. Int'l Bus. & L., 12, 383.

Edwards, R., Hunt, T., LeBaron, G. (2019). Corporate Commitments to Living Wages in the Garment Industry. SPERI & University of Sheffield.

Egels-Zandén, N., & Merk, J. (2014). Private regulation and trade union rights: Why codes of conduct have limited impact on trade union rights. Journal of Business Ethics, 123(3), 461-473.

Faille, D. D. (2011). Discourse analysis in international development studies: Mapping some contemporary contributions. Journal of Multicultural Discourses, 6(3), 215-235.

Fair Wear Foundation (2019). India Country Study 2019. Fair Wear Foundation. Retrieved on May 12 2020, from: https://www.fairwear.org/resources-and-tools.

Fair Wear Foundation. (2020). Fair Wear's Covid Dossier. Retrieved from: https://www.fairwear.org/covid-19-dossier/.

FAO (2020). Impact of COVID-19 on informal workers. retrieved from: http://www.fao.org/3/ca8560en/CA8560EN.pdf.

Fashion Revolution. (n.d.). The impact of Covid-19 on the people who make our clothes. Retrieved on 10 August 2020, from: https://www.fashionrevolution.org/covid19/?mc_cid=48deccd0ca&mc_eid=0c63c146ba.

Folkerth, J., & Warnecke, T. (2011). Informal Labor in India and Indonesia: Surmounting organizing barriers. Labor, Capital and Society/Travail, capital et société, 130-153.

Ganguly, A. (2013). Wage structure in the indian garment industry. Asia Floor Wage Alliance, Clean Clothes Campaign, Society for Labor and Development.

Garment workers diaries (2016). India, a thousand cuts: life as a garment worker in Bangalore. Retrieved from: https://www.fashionrevolution.org/whats-life-like-for-indian-garment-workers/.

GATWU. Personal communication. (27 February 2020). initial meeting to discuss co-creation of research. GATWU headquarter, Mysore Road, Bengaluru.

George, N. (2016). 'Lost in Translation': Gender Violence, Human Rights and Women's Capabilities in Fiji. Gender Violence, 81.

Gereffi, G. (1996). Global commodity chains: new forms of coordination and control among nations and firms in international industries. Competition & Change, 1(4), 427-439.

Giddens, A. (1981). A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Volume 1, p. 27: Power, Property and the State. London: Macmillan.

Gillan, M., & Lambert, R. (2013). Labor movements and the age of crisis: Scale, form and repertoires of action in India and beyond. South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies, 36(2), 180-198.

Government of India. (2015). Annual Report-2014-15. Ministry of Textiles, GOI.

Government of India. (2016). Make in India- Textile and garments statistics. Retrieved from: http://www.makeinindia.com/sector/textiles-and-garments.

Griggs, D., Stafford-Smith, M., Gaffney, O., Rockström, J., Öhman, M. C., Shyamsundar, P., et al. (2013). Policy: Sustainable development goals for people and planet. Nature, 495 (7441), 305-307.

Gupta, A., & Sivaramakrishnan, K. (Eds.). (2010). The state in India after liberalization: Interdisciplinary perspectives. Routledge.

Hagen-Zanker, J., McCord, A., and Holmes, R., 2011. The impact of employment guarantee schemes and cash transfers on the poor, ODI systematic review.

Hale, A., & Wills, J. (2011). Threads of labor: garment industry supply chains from the workers' perspective (Vol. 31). John Wiley & Sons.

Harrington, C. (2000). Fiji's women garment workers: negotiating constraints in employment and beyond.

Harrington, C. (2000). Fiji's women garment workers: negotiating constraints in employment and beyond.

Heller, P. (1996). Social capital as a product of class mobilization and state intervention: Industrial workers in Kerala, India. World development, 24(6), 1055-1071.

Hensman, R. (2011). Workers, unions, and global capitalism: Lessons from India. Columbia University Press, 163-208.

Herod, A. (2001). Labor Geographies: Workers and the Landscapes of Capitalism. Guildford Press, New York.

Herrmann, K. K. (2004). Corporate social responsibility and sustainable development: the European Union initiative as a case study. Ind. J. Global Legal Stud., *11*, 205-232.

Hilsdon, A. M. (2007). Introduction: Reconsidering Agency—Feminist Anthropologies in Asia. The Australian Journal of Anthropology, 18*(2)*, 127-137.

Hirway, I. (2018). Translating the SDG commitments into reality: Time use data for gender equality and women's empowerment in the global South. Indian Journal of Human Development, 12*(1)*, 93-108.

Holmes, R., McCord, A., and Hagen-Zanker, J., 2012. What is the evidence of the impact of employment creation on (a) stability and (b) poverty reduction in fragile states? ODI systematic review

Hopkins, M. J. D. (2016). Corporate social responsibility (CSR) and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): the role of the private sector. CSR Financial Institution.

Horner, R. (2016). A New Economic Geography of Trade and Development? Governing South–South Trade, Value Chains and Production Networks, Territory, Politics, Governance, 4*(4)*, 400-420.

Hoskins (2014). Stitched up: the any-capitalist book of fashion. London: Pluto Press, (67-88).

Huynh, P. (2015). Employment, wages and working conditions in Asia's garment sector: Finding new drivers of competitiveness. ILO.

ICN & FNV. (2014). 'small steps big challenges', update on (tackling) exploitation of girls and young women in the garment industry of south India. 1-14.

ICN. (2016) Unfree and Unfair. Poor Living Conditions and Restricted Freedom or Movement of Young Migrant Garment Workers in Bengaluru. Retrieved from: http://www.indianet.nl/UnfreeAndUnfair.html.

ILO. (2010). "Decent Work Agenda". Retrieved from: https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/decent-work/lang--en/index.htm.

ILO. (2015). Insights into working conditions in India's garment industry. International Labor Office, Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work (FUNDAMENTALS).

ILO. (2017). Working conditions of migrant garment workers in India: A literature review. International Labor Office, Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work Branch.

ILO. (2017). Working conditions of migrant garment workers in India, a literature review. Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work Branch. Retrieved from: https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labor/publications/WCMS_554809/lang--en/index.htm.

ILO. (2020). ILO Monitor: COVID-19 and the world of work. Third edition. Retrieved from: https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---dcomm/documents/briefingnote/wcms_743146.pdf.

Janssens, W. (2010). Women's empowerment and the creation of social capital in Indian villages. World Development, 38(7), 974-988.

Jenkins, J. (2013). Organizing 'Spaces of Hope': Union Formation by Indian Garment Workers. British Journal of Industrial Relations, 51(3), 623-643.

Jessop, B. (2001). Institutional re(turns) and the strategic relational approach. Environment and Planning A, *33*, 1213–35.

Jhabvala, R. (2003). Bringing informal workers center stage. Informal economy centre stage, 258-275.

Juteau, D. (2000). Patterns of social differentiation in Canada: Understanding their dynamics and bridging the gaps. Canadian Public Policy/Analyse de politiques, S95-S107.

Kabeer, N. (1999). Resources, agency, achievements: Reflections on the measurement of women's empowerment. Development and change, 30*(3)*, 435-464.

Kabeer, N. (2012). Women's economic empowerment and inclusive growth: labor markets and enterprise development. International Development Research Centre, 44*(10)*, 1-70.

Kantor, P. (2002). Female mobility in India: the influence of seclusion norms on economic outcomes. International Development Planning Review, 24(2), 145-159.

Kara, S. (2019). Tainted garments, the exploitation of women and girls in India's home-based garment sector. University of California, Berkeley.

Kelkar, G. (2007). The feminization of agriculture in Asia: Implications for women's agency and productivity. ASPAC Food & Fertilizer Technology Center.

KLINGER B. (2009) Is South–South trade a testing ground for structural transformation? UNCTAD, Policy Issues in International Trade and Commodities Study Series N. 40, UNCTAD, Geneva.

KOOGU. Personal communication (04 March 2020). Initial meeting to discuss co-creation for the research. Fedina headquarter, Bengaluru.

Kumar, A. (2014). Interwoven threads: Building a labor countermovement in Bengaluru's export-oriented garment industry. City, 18*(6)*, 789-807.

Kundury, E. (2014). Struggle within the struggle, voices of women garment workers. Society for Labor and Development. Retrieved on 26 February 2020, from: https://www.slideshare.net/SLDIndia/struggle-within-the-struggle-voices-of-women-garment-workers

Lahoti, R., & Swaminathan, H. (2013). Economic Development and Female Labor Force Participation in India. IIM Bengaluru Research Paper, 414.

Leckie, J. (2005). The complexities of women's agency in Fiji. In Gender politics in the Asia-Pacific region (pp. 168-192). Routledge.

Lee, C., & Ostergard Jr, R. L. (2017). Measuring discrimination against LGBTQ people: A cross-nation al analysis. Hum. Rts. Q., 39, 37.

Levitas, R., Pantazis, C., Fahmy, E., Gordon, D., Lloyd, E., Patsios, D. (2007). The multi- dimensional analysis of social exclusion Department of Sociology and School for Social Policy, Townsend Centre for the International Study of Poverty and Bristol Institute for Public Affairs. University of Bristol, Bristol.

Lier, D.C. (2007). Places of work, scales of organising: A review of labor geography. Geography Compass, 1*(4)*: 814–833.

Loetscher, S., Starmanns, M., Petrie, L. (2017). Changing Fashion Report. The clothing and textile industry at a brink of radical transformation. WWF. 1-43.

Lovell, T. (2007). (Mis) recognition, social inequality and social justice: Nancy Fraser and Pierre Bourdieu. Routledge, 116-122.

Lund-Thomsen, P. (2013). Labor agency in the football manufacturing industry of Sialkot, Pakistan. Geoforum, *44*, 71-81.

Lund-Thomsen, P., & Coe, N. M. (2015). Corporate social responsibility and labor agency: the case of Nike in Pakistan. Journal of Economic Geography, 15*(2)*, 275-296.

Malagi, A. K., & Chachadi, A. H. (2013). Innovative HR Practices to Improve Socio Economic Conditions of Women Workers in Garment Industry: An Empirical Study. IOSR Journal of Business and Management.

Mallett, R., Hagen-Zanker, J., Slater, R., & Duvendack, M. (2012). The benefits and challenges of using systematic reviews in international development research. Journal of development effectiveness, 4*(3)*, 445-455.

Martínez-Vela, C. A. (2001). World systems theory. Engineering system division, *83*, 1-5.

Mbuyisa, B., & Leonard, A. (2017). The role of ICT use in SMEs towards poverty reduction: A systematic literature review. Journal of International Development, 29*(2)*, 159-197.

Merk, J., & Zajak, S. (2019). Workers' participation and transnational social movement interventions at the shop floor: The urgent appeal system of the clean clothes campaign. In The Palgrave Handbook of Workers' Participation at Plant Level. Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Mezzadri, A. (2008). The rise of neo-liberal globalisation and the 'new old'social regulation of labor: the case of Delhi garment sector. The Indian Journal of Labor Economics, 51*(4)*, 603-618.

Mezzadri, A. (2010). Globalisation, informalisation and the state in the Indian garment industry. International Review of Sociology, 20*(3)*, 491-511.

Mezzadri, A. (2012). Reflections on globalisation and labor standards in the Indian garment industry: Codes of conduct versus 'codes of practice'imposed by the firm. Global Labor Journal, 3*(1)*, 40-62.

Mezzadri, A. (2017). Sweatshop Regimes in the Indian Garment Industry. Cambridge University Press.

Mezzadri, A., & Fan, L. (2018). 'Classe s of labor'at the margins of global commodity chains in India and China. Development and change, 49*(4)*, 1034-1063.

Mezzadri, A., & Srivastava, R. (2015). Labor regimes in the Indian garment sector: capital-labor relations, social reproduction and labor standards in the National Capital Region. 72-82.

Mohamed, E. F., & Fauziyyah, N. E. (2020). Islamic Microfinance for Poverty Alleviation: A Systematic Literature Review. International Journal of Economics, Management and Accounting, 28*(1)*, 141-163.

Mohanty, C. 199 1. Feminism without Borders: Decolonising Theory, Practising Solidarity. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Moher D, Liberati A, Tetzlaff J, Altman DG, The PRISMA Group (2009). Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses: The PRISMA Statement. PLoS Med 6(7): e1000097. doi:10.1371/journal.pmed1000097.

Münster, D., & Strümpell, C. (2014). The anthropology of neoliberal India: An introduction. Contributions to Indian Sociology, 48*(1)*, 1-16.

Nathan, A. (2019, May 1). Protesting exploitation, women workers from garment industry paint Bangalore Red. The Wire India. Retrieved from: https://thewire.in/labor/may-day-rally-bangalore-women-workers-garment-industry.

Nathan, D. (2013). Industrial relations in a global production network: what can be done. Economic and Political Weekly, 29-33.

NSSO. (2013). Key indicators of employment and unemployment in India 2011-2012, NSS 68th round. National Sample Survey Office. Retrieved from: https://cse.azimpremjiuniversity.edu.in/resources/nss-employment-unemployment-survey-reports/.

NSSO. (2019). Periodic Labor Force Survey, July 2017 – June 2018. Government of India, Ministry of statistics and programme implementation. Retrieved from: https://cse.azimpremjiuniversity.edu.in/resources/nss-employment-unemployment-survey-reports/.

Oonk, G., Overeem, P., Peepercamp, M., & Theuws, M. (2012). Maid in India: Young Dalit Women Continue to Suffer Exploitative Conditions in India's Garment Industry. Available at SSRN 2119816.

Parton, E. (2018). Moderne slavernij houdt aan in Indiase kledingfabrieken. De Wereld Morgen.be. Retrieved on 27 November 2019, from: https://www.dewereldmorgen.be/artikel/2018/02/22/moderne-slavernij-houdt-aan-in-indiase-kledingfabrieken/.

Pastor, M. (2001). Common ground or Ground Zero? The new economy and the new organizing in Los Angeles. Antipode, *33*, 260–89.

Peepercamp, M., Overeem, P., & Theuws, M. (2018). Case closed, problems persist: Grievance mechanisms of ETI and SAI fail to benefit young women and girls in the south Indian textile industry.

Petrosino, A., Boruch, R. F., Soydan, H., Duggan, L., & Sanchez-Meca, J. (2001). Meeting the challenges of evidence-based policy: The Campbell Collaboration. The ANNALS of the American academy of political and social science, 578*(1)*, 14-34.

Prentice, R. (2015). Thiefing a chance: factory work, illicit labor, and neoliberal subjectivities in Trinidad. University Press of Colorado, 87-110.

Prentice, R., De Neve, G., Mezzadri, A., & Ruwanpura, K. N. (2018). Health and safety in garment workers' lives: Setting a new research agenda. Geoforum, *88*, 157-160.

Rainnie, A,. Herod, A. & McGrath-Champ, S. (2011). Review and positions: Global production networks and labor. Competition and Change, 15(2): 155–169

Raj, A. (2020, 26 June). Why garment workers making H&M clothes are protesting mass layoffs. The Quint. Retrieved from: https://www.thequint.com/coronavirus/why-scores-of-garment-workers-are-protesting-layoffs-in-karnataka

Raju, S., & Jatrana, S. (Eds.). (2016). Women workers in urban India. Cambridge University Press. 1-66, 139-163.

Ram, K. 1993. Too traditional once again: some post-structuralists on the aspirations of the immigrant/Third World female subject. Australian Feminist Studies, *17*, 5-28.

Rao, N. (2014). Caste, kinship, and life course: Rethinking women's work and agency in rural South India. Feminist Economics, 20*(3)*, 78-102.

Ray, P., Peepercamp, M. (2018). Labor without Liberty - Female Migrant Workers in Bengaluru's Garment Industry, Bengaluru, India Committee of the Netherlands, Clean Clothes Campaign, Garment Labor Union, 2018.

Ray, P., Peepercamp, M. (2018). Labor without Liberty - Female Migrant Workers in Bengaluru's Garment Industry, Bengaluru, India Committee of the Netherlands, Clean Clothes Campaign, Garment Labor Union, 2018.

Ray. P. & Peepercamp, M. (2018). Labor without liberty. Female migrant workers in Bangalore's garment industry. ICN, Clean Clothes Campaign & Garment Labor Union.

Razavi, S., & Pearson, R. (2004). Globalization, export-oriented employment and social policy: Gendered connections. In Globalization, export-oriented employment and social policy, Palgrave Macmillan, London. 19-21.

Ribot, J. C., & Peluso, N. L. (2003). A theory of access. Rural sociology, 68*(2)*, 153-161.

RoyChowdhury, S. (2005). Labor activism and women in the unorganized sector: Garment export industry in Bengaluru. Economic and Political Weekly (EPW), India, 28*(4)*, 31-75.

RoyChowdhury, S. (2018). Women Workers in the Export Ready Made Garments Industry. ILO's Work in Freedom Project. Working paper no. 12. Centre for women's development studies.

RoyChowdhury, S. (2020). Bringing class back in: informality in Bangalore. Transforming classes – socialist register 2020. NYU Press.

RoyChowdhury, S. Personal communication. (24 February 2020), initial meeting to discuss research scope. ISEC, Bengaluru.

Santarelli, E., & Tran, H. T. (2013). The interplay of human and social capital in shaping entrepreneurial performance: the case of Vietnam. Small Business Economics, 40*(2)*, 435-458.

Scoones, I. (2009). Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. The journal of peasant studies, 36*(1)*, 171-196.

Scott, J.C. (1985). Weapons of the weak: Everyday forms of peasant resistance. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Selwyn, B. (2011). Beyond firm-centrism: Re-integrating labor and capitalism into global commodity chain analysis. Journal of Economic Geography, 12*(1)*, 205–226.

Sen, G., & Grown, C. (2013). Development crises and alternative visions: Third world women's perspectives. Routledge, 9-22.

Shlonsky, A., Noonan, E., Littell, J. H., & Montgomery, P. (2011). The role of systematic reviews and the Campbell Collaboration in the realization of evidence-informed practice. Clinical Social Work Journal, 39*(4)*, 362-368.

Siisiainen, M. (2003). Two concepts of social capital: Bourdieu vs. Putnam. International Journal of Contemporary Sociology, 40*(2)*, 183-204.

Singh, S.H. (2020, May 20). Locked-up garment workers 'escape' from Tirupur. The Hindu. Retrieved from: https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/telangana/locked-up-garment-workers-escape-from-tirupur/article31627638.ece.

Sister for Change. (2016). Eliminating Violence Against Women at Work. 16 days Campaign.org.

Sivasankaran A. (2014). Work and Women's Marriage, Fertility and Empowerment: Evidence from Textile Mill Employment in India, Harvard University, 1-11.

SOMO. (n.d.). What are Grievances Mechanisms? Retrieved on June 3 2020, from: https://www.somo.nl/hrgm/what-are-grievance-mechanisms/

South, S., Asia, S. E., & Fair Labor Association. (2012). Understanding the Characteristics of the Sumangali Scheme in Tamil Nadu Textile & Garment Industry and Supply Chain Linkages.

Spires, M., Shackleton, S., & Cundill, G. (2014). Barriers to implementing planned community-based adaptation in developing countries: A systematic literature review. Climate and Development, 6*(3)*, 277-287.

Srivastava, N., & Srivastava, R. (2010). Women, work, and employment outcomes in rural India. Economic and political weekly, 49-63.

Srivastava, R. (2012). Changing employment conditions of the Indian workforce and implications for decent work. Global labor journal, 3*(1)*, 63-90.

Srividya, V.T. & Manuel, T. (2018, July 1). The life of labor: garment workers protest against sexual harassment at workplace. The Wire India. Retrieved from: https://thewire.in/labor/the-life-of-labor-garment-workers-protest-against-sexual-harassment-at-workplace

Stauffer, B. (2017). Follow the thread. The need for supply chain transparency in the garment and footwear industry. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved from: https://www.hrw.org/report/2017/04/20/follow-thread/need-supply-chain-transparencygarment-and-footwear-industry.

Stringer, C., & Michailova, S. (2018). Why modern slavery thrives in multinational corporations' global value chains. Multinational Business Review.

Sumner, A. & Tribe, M. (2008). International Development Studies. Theories and methods in research and practice. What is 'rigour' in development studies? Chapter 5, 99-128. London: Sage.

Swaminathan, P. (2005). The trauma of 'wage employment' and the 'burden of work' for women in India, in Kalpana Kannabiran: The violence of normal times, Kali for Women, Delhi, 3-36.

The Hindu. (2020, June 7). Garment workers stage protests. The Hindu. Retrieved from: https://www.thehindu.com/news/cities/bangalore/garment-workers-stage-protest/article31769896.ece.

The Times of India. (2017, February 22). Not paid for 2 months, garment workers protest. The Times of India Retrieved from: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/noida/not-paid-for-2-months-garment-workers-protest/articleshow/57281194.cms.

The Times of India. (2020, June 17). Guest workers protest at Tirupur collectorate. The Times of India. Retrieved from: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/guest-workers-protest-at-tirupur-collectorate/articleshow/76414388.cms.

The Times of India. (2020, May 5). Guest workers protest in Tirupur, seek slp trains. The Times of India. Retrieved from: https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/coimbatore/guest-workers-protest-in-tirupur-seek-spl-trains/articleshow/75542508.cms.

Theuws, M. & Overeem, P. (2014). flawed fabrics - the abuse of girls and women workers in the south indian textile industry. SOMO & ICN.

Thompson, H. E., Berrang-Ford, L., & Ford, J. D. (2010). Climate change and food security in sub-Saharan Africa: a systematic literature review. Sustainability, 2*(8)*, 2719-2733.

Travasso, S. M., Rajaraman, D., & Heymann, S. J. (2014). A qualitative study of factors affecting mental health amongst low-income working mothers in Bengaluru, India. BMC women's health, 14*(1)*, 8,9.

Vaessen, J., Rivas, A., Duvendack, M., Jones, R. P., Leeuw, F., Van Gils, G., ... & Waddington, H. (2014). The effects of microcredit on women's control over household spending in developing countries: A systematic review and meta-analysis. Campbell Systematic Reviews, 10*(1)*, 1-205.

Van Rooyen, C., Stewart, R., & De Wet, T. (2012). The impact of microfinance in sub-Saharan Africa: a systematic review of the evidence. World development, 40*(11)*, 2249-2262.

Venkatesan, R. (2019). The UN Framework on Business and Human Rights: A workers' rights critique. Journal of Business Ethics, 157*(3)*, 635-652.

Verick, S. (2018). Female labor force participation and development. IZA World of Labor.

Verite. (2010). Indian Workers in Domestic Textile Production and Middle East - Based Manufacturing, Infrastructure and Construction. Retrieved from http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2176&context=globaldocs.

Vijayabaskar, M. (2011). Global crises, welfare provision and coping strategies of labor in Tiruppur. Economic and Political Weekly, 38-45.

Vijayabaskar, M., & Kalaiyarasan, A. (2014). Caste as Social Capital: The Tiruppur Story. Economic and Political Weekly, 34-38.

Vryenhoek, L. (2013). Small world, big goals. Profile of a home-based garment worker in Delhi. WIEGO workers lives reports. Retrieved from: https://www.wiego.org/workers-lives.

Walby, S. (2007). Complexity theory, systems theory, and multiple intersecting social inequalities. Philosophy of the social sciences, 37*(4)*, 449-470.

Walby, S., Armstrong, J., & Strid, S. (2012). Intersectionality: Multiple inequalities in social theory. Sociology, 46*(2)*, 224-240.

Wall, J. D., Stahl, B. C., & Salam, A. F. (2015). Critical discourse analysis as a review methodology: An empirical example. Communications of the Association for Information Systems, 37*(11)*, 256-285.

Wallerstein, I. (1974). The modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century. New York: Academic Press

WIEGO. (n.d.) a. Decent Work for Homeworkers in Global Supply Chains Platform Demand.

WIEGO. (n.d.) b. The minimum wages act, 1948. Retrieved from: https://www.wiego.org/resources/minimum-wages-act-1948

Worker Diaries. (n.d.). Worker Diaries, the project. Garment Worker Diaries. Retrieved from: https://workerdiaries.org/gwdiaries/india/story_html5.html.

Yeoh, B. S., Teo, P., & Huang, S. (Eds.). (2005). Gender politics in the Asia-Pacific region. Routledge.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and feminist politics. European journal of women's studies, 13*(3)*, 193-209.

Zajak, S., Egels-Zandén, N., & Piper, N. (2017). Networks of labor activism: Collective action across Asia and beyond. An introduction to the debate. Development and Change, 48*(5)*, 899-921.

Zanello, G., Fu, X., Mohnen, P., & Ventresca, M. (2016). The creation and diffusion of innovation in developing countries: A systematic literature review. Journal of Economic Surveys, 30*(5)*, 884-912.

Zoomers A. & A.C.M. Westen (2011). 'Translocal development, development corridors and development chains'. International Development Planning Review IDPR. Vol. 33*(4)*, 377-388.

Zoomers, A., Leung, M., & van Westen, G. V. (2016). Local development in the context of global migration and the global land rush: The need for a conceptual update. Geography Compass, 10*(2)*, 56-66.

ANNEX I - INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR GARMENT WORKERS

Introduction

Welcome to the interview. This research is being conducted to understand what students think about sustainability and their roles in achieving it. I am conducting this research for the course on methods and techniques of research, as a part of the master in international development studies at Utrecht University. Your input as a student provides useful information on your perception and opinions on the said topic. Everything that is said during this interview will only be used for this research assignment and won't be shared with anyone outside me and the teachers of the course. The interview is anonymous, to ensure that no one can identify you with any of the answers you will give. All data is confidential and will be stored on my personal google drive student account. The login information is not automatically saved on any device, therefore only the researcher is able to access the files. The recordings of the interviews will be stored in a password-safe folder on the researcher's phone and will be deleted once the research process will be completed.

Consent

Do you agree with being interviewed and having your interview transcribed and analysed?

In order to conduct the research, I will have to transcribe the interview. To do this, I will have to record the interview. Do you consent to this recording?

If you have any question regarding the content of the research, the process of conducting this interview or other things related to the research you can ask me now or at the end of the interview. As the interviewee, you are the freedom to stop or finish the interview at any moment

General questions:

Where are you from?
If not from Bangalore – what state are you from?

When did you move to Bangalore?
Year? What age where you?

Who did you move to Bangalore with?
Probe: Alone? Family? Other workers? other?

Why did you move to Bangalore?

Who do you currently live with?
Probe: Alone? Family? Other workers? other?

Life-mapping:

I'd like to go back to the past few years, when you were about to start working in the garment sector. How old were you? Where were you living? Where were you working? Who did you live with?

[ask about all the movements she was subject to, moving of house and job]
Who got her into the job? Why did she quit? Why didn't she quit?
IF she changed factories/jobs: What can you recall from the different jobs in the factories you worked in? what made you change?

Familiarizing myself with the participants and vice versa

What does your day look like during working days?

Probes: What time do you wake up?
What do you do before going to work?
How do you reach work?
How long do you work for?
When do you get back home, what do you do?
What do you do before going to bed?

What do you like to do in the weekends?

What does your Sunday (day off work) look like?
Probes: What time do you wake up?
What do you do in the morning?
Who do you spend the morning with?
Do you go somewhere during the day?
Do you meet people outside of your home?

Before working in the garment sector, what did you do during your day?
Probe: what work did you do? Where did you live? Who did you work with?

Social capital questions:

Connection with other workers

Who do you spend most of your time during the day?
Probe: age, where they are from, how do you know them…

How do you spend this time?
Probe: Working, commuting, eating together…

Can you recall any moment where you were very close (emotionally) to other workers (in the factory you work now or in previous ones)?
Probe: where were you? What had happened?

How do you spend your working day?
Probe: how often do you have breaks? How long are these breaks? What do you do during the small breaks? Do you spend it with other workers? what do you do for lunch? Are you in company? How long is the lunch break?

Do you ever meet with your fellow workers outside of the factories? Like on Sundays? Or during festivities?
Probe: where do you meet? What do you do together? Are there specific times you meet? How many of you meet?

Participation to social groups

What kind of gatherings do your friends who work with you participate in?
Probe: do they gather outside of working hours for specific reasons? If so, why do they gather? Where do they gather? What is your opinion on these gatherings?

Do you participate in any savings/loan or youth, religious or political group?
Probe: what kind of group do you participate in? what activities do you participate in, with this group? why did you choose to join this group?

IF THE PARTIPANT DOES PARTICIPATE TO THESE GROUPS - Do you your closest colleagues working with you participate in any of these groups?

Probe: how do they feel about joining these groups? Why do they join these groups?

Apart from these groups, do you know if there is any labor union in the factory you work in?
Probe: do you know anyone that participates in them?

Sense of agency / labor union participation

How do you feel about women joining these unions? How do you feel about yourself joining these unions?

Probe: what would you expect from these labor unions to give you in return of you joining them? do you have any obstacles related to joining them?

IF THEY ARE A PART OF UNIONS OR OTHER GROUPS –

Are your expectations met? Do the groups/labor unions give you what you expect? What would you like to obtain from them?

IF THEY ARE NOT PARTS OF UNIONS OR OTHER GROUPS -

What would you like to change about your job?

Who do you think could help you improve it?
Probe: other workers/organizations/government/management…
In what way could they help you?

If you had a daughter working in the garment manufacturing, what would you hope for them?
Probe: what are your desires for her job? Safety issues? Wages? Others?

Mobility questions

When you started working as a garment worker in Bangalore, how did you reach the factory? (was it a different factory? In a different area?)

How did you learn how to reach the factory?

Probe: who told you directions? (e.g. phone with maps, asking other workers, management of factory told, labor unions told…)

Where is the factory you work for now located?
Probe: which industrial district?

How do you reach the factory?
Probe: which means of transport do you use?
How do you access the means of transport?
Does the transport mean bring you directly in front of your factory?
How much does it take you to reach the factory in the morning?
How much does it take you to come back home after work?

Who do you travel with?
Probe: other workers? which part of the commute do you share with them?
Are these workers working in the same factory you work in? or other factories? Are they located in the same industrial area?

How often does the transport you take pass to take you to work?

Probe: what times in the morning does the bus/train… pass? If you lose the transport, how do you reach the factory?

How much do you pay for the commute to work?
Probe: how do you feel about the price? Is it fair/reasonable? Do you feel like it is a significant financial burden?

What time do you exit your house to go to work? What time do you finish work?
Probe: is it dark outside?

How do you feel during your commute?
Probe: safety issues - how do you feel when you have to walk to work or walk back home?
In the bus/transport?
Are there specific safety issues that you and your fellow colleagues talk about, about your commutes?
Accessibility – how easy do you consider it to be, to reach the factory you work in?

[Photo elicitation – follow up interview – only with 15 of them]

I'd like to ask you if you could take some pictures of your journey on your way to work and on your way back home after work one day, next week.
Could you do that?
I'd like to ask you to take a picture of a few thing:

- The sky in the moment that you exit the house, and in the moment when you finish working
- Other people that travel with you
- The different types of commuting (if you walk somewhere, the picture of the road that you walk on
  if you commute by bus, the picture of the bus stop and inside the bus
  if you travel with any other means, take a picture of that)
- Is there any obstacle in your journey to your workplace?

Can I meet them again for them to share the pictures with me? It's going to be way shorter than the meeting of today.

Closing questions:
At the beginning of the conversation we talked about what your week looks like, in terms of the activities you do. If you had more time available would you like to do something else? Would you do more of some activities and less of others?

Do you have further comments or points of interest that you would like to address?
Thank the interviewee.

ANNEX II - INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Note: a version of the form will be provided to the garment workers, in Hindi and Kannada languages.

Consent to take part of the research

This form is to make sure that you know what the research is about and that you are happy to participate. Please check the boxes you agree with below and delete as appropriate where * is indicated:

☐ I know what this research is about, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

☐ I *wish / do not wish** to have my anonymity protected.

I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.

☐ I *consent / do not consent** to the interview being recorded, and an *anonymous / non-anonymous** record to be stored for research purposes.

☐ I *consent / do not consent** that extracts from my interview may be quoted in a dissertation, published paper or presentation.

☐ I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.

☐ I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within three weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.

Name of research participant	*Signature*	*Date*
☐		
---	---	---
Name of researcher	*Signature*	*Date*
---	---	---

ANNEX III - NOTIFIED WAGES FOR DELHI

रजिस्ट्री सं. डी.एल.–33002/99 भारत सरकार REGISTERED No. D.L.-33002/99

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

दिल्ली राजपत्र

सत्यमेव जयते

Delhi Gazette

असाधारण

EXTRAORDINARY

प्राधिकार से प्रकाशित

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY

सं. 285] दिल्ली, मंगलवार, अक्तूबर 22, 2019/आश्विन 30, 1941 [रा.रा.रा.क्षे.दि. सं. 257

No. 285] DELHI, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 22, 2019/ASVINA 30, 1941 [N.C.T.D. No. 257

भाग—IV

PART—IV

राष्ट्रीय राजधानी राज्य क्षेत्र, दिल्ली सरकार

GOVERNMENT OF THE NATIONAL CAPITAL TERRITORY OF DELHI

श्रम विभाग

अधिसूचना

दिल्ली, 22 अक्तूबर, 2019

सं. फा. 13(1)/2018/एमडब्ल्यू/श्रम/3602.—जबकि भारत का माननीय सर्वोच्च न्यायालय में एसएलपी संख्या 26185–26228/2018 राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र दिल्ली सरकार बनाम लेफ्टिनेंट राजन ढल्ल, चैरिटेबल ट्रस्ट, शीर्षक मामले में अपने दिनांक 31.10.2018 के आदेश के अनुसार श्रम विभाग को निर्देशित किया है कि न्यूनतम मजदूरी अधिनियम, 1948 की धारा 5 (1)(क) या 5 (1)(ख) के तहत निर्धारित रूट के बाद अनुसूची रोजगार के लिए न्यूनतम मजदूरी तय करने की कवायद को फिर से करें;

और जबकि श्रम विभाग, राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र दिल्ली सरकार ने न्यूनतम वेतन अधिनियम, 1948 की धारा 5 (1) (ख) के अन्तर्गत यथाउपबंधित वेतन निर्धारण/संशोधन के लिये प्रक्रिया को चुना है और 04 अधिकारियों की मूल्य संग्रह समिति अर्थात् श्री लल्लन सिंह, संयुक्त श्रम आयुक्त, श्री अमरदीप, सहायक श्रम आयुक्त, श्री शशि भूषण, श्रम अधिकारी और श्री मनीष कुमार ठाकुर, निरीक्षण अधिकारी का गठन दिनांक 06.11.2018 के आदेश फा. 140/एडीडीआई,एलसी/श्रम/एक्शन/सीडब्ल्यूपी–8125/ 2018/273 के अनुसार किया गया;

और जबकि, उक्त समिति ने 10.11.2018 को बाजार सर्वेक्षण किया और राष्ट्रीय खाद्य संस्थान (एनआईएन) – हैदराबाद, केन्द्रीय भंडार, दिल्ली, सफल और मदर डेयरी द्वारा निर्धारित मूल्य के खाद्य पदार्थों को प्राप्त किया और खादीग्राम उद्योग के लिए कपड़ों के घटक की लागत भी प्राप्त की;

और जबकि, खाद्य वस्तुओं और कपड़ों के घटक की औसत कीमत और आवास, प्रकाश और ईंधन, बच्चों की शिक्षा, चिकित्सा उपचार, न्यूनतम मनोरंजन और सामाजिक दायित्व जैसे घटकों के औसत प्रतिशत के आधार पर, जैसाकि सचिव द्वारा प्रतिनिधित्व वर्कमैन बनाम रेप्टाकोस ब्रेट एंड कंपनी लिमिटेड तथा अन्य नामक 1991 की सिविल अपील संख्या 4336 में माननीय सर्वोच्च न्यायालय के दिनांक 31.10.1991 के निर्णय में उल्लिखित है। न्यूनतम वेतन की प्रस्तावित दरें दिनांक 12.11.2018 को

श्रम विभाग की वेबसाइट पर अपलोड की गईं और दिनांक 13.11.2018 तथा 14.11.2018 को अंग्रेजी, हिंदी, पंजाबी और उर्दू के विभिन्न समाचार पत्रों में प्रकाशित की गईं। ट्रेड यूनियनों, नियोक्ता संघों, बाजार संघों, वाणिज्य के विभिन्न चैम्बरर्स, गैर–सरकारी संगठनों और सिविक समाज के सदस्यों की 12.11.2018 से शुरू होने वाली 2 महीने की अवधि के भीतर 11.01.2019 तक श्रमिकों सहित जनता से सुझाव/विचार/इनपुट मांगे गए;

और जबकि, दिनांक 09.01.2019 अधिसूचना संख्या फा. 13(1)/2018/एमडब्ल्यू/श्रम/50 के अनुसार श्रमिकों, ट्रेड यूनियनों, नियोक्ता संघों से प्राप्त सुझाव/विचार/इनपुट न्यूनतम मजदूरी अधिनियम, 1948 की धारा 7 के तहत गठित न्यूनतम मजदूरी सलाहकार बोर्ड के समक्ष रखे गए थे;

और जबकि, न्यूनतम मजदूरी सलाहकार बोर्ड ने सिफारिश की है कि मजदूरी की प्रस्तावित दरें 12.11.2018 को श्रम विभाग की वेबसाइट पर अपलोड की गई हैं और 13.11.2018 और 14.11.2018 को विभिन्न समाचार पत्रों में प्रकाशित की गई, उसे स्वीकार किया जाए;

अब, न्यूनतम मजदूरी अधिनियम, 1948 (1948 का XI) की धारा 5 की उपधारा (2) द्वारा प्रदत्त भाक्तियों का प्रयोग करते हुए, भारत सरकार के राज्य मंत्रालय के दिनांक 24 अगस्त, 1950 की अधिसूचना सं. 104–जे तथा गृह मंत्रालय के दिनांक 6 फरवरी, 1967 की अधिसूचना सं. का. आ. 530 तथा इसके लिए अन्य सभी भाक्तियों जो उसे समर्थ बनाती हैं और दिनांक 26 जुलाई, 2011 की अधिसूचना सं. एफ 12(1)142/11/एम डब्ल्यू/श्रम/2023–2047 के साथ पढ़े जाने वाली, अधिसूचना का अनुपालन करते हुए राश्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र दिल्ली के उपराज्यपाल न्यूनतम मजदूरी सलाहकार बोर्ड की सिफारिशों पर विचार करने के पश्चात् तथा दिनांक 26 जुलाई की पूर्ववर्ती अधिसूचना सं. एफ 12(1)142/11/एम डब्ल्यू/श्रम/2023–2047 में उल्लिखित सभी अनुसूची रोजगार में उल्लिखित श्रमिक/कर्मचारियों के वर्ग के लिए न्यूनतम वेतन दर संशोधन करते हैं, अर्थात्:–

रोजगार की अनुसूची	**श्रमिक/कर्मचारियों का संवर्ग**	**न्यूनतम मजदूरी दर रूपये में**	
		प्रतिमाह	**प्रतिदिन**
सभी अनुसूची रोजगार	अकुशल	14,842/-	571/-
	अर्धकुशल	16,341/-	629/-
	कुशल	17,991/-	692/-
	लिपिकीय एवं पर्यवेक्षी कर्मचारी वर्ग		
	नॉन मैट्रीकूलेट	16,341/-	629/-
	मैट्रीकूलेट परंतु ग्रैजुएट नहीं	17,991/-	692/-
	ग्रैजुएट और उससे ऊपर	19,572/-	753/-

सरकारी राजपत्र में अधिसूचना की तिथि से ये दरें लागू होंगी।

नोटः–1 वेतन की न्यूनतम दर नियत अखिल भारतीय उपभोक्ता मूल्य सूचकांक श्रृंखला, 2001 (आधार 2001=100) से लिंक है। महंगाई भत्ता न्यूट्रलाईजेशन के लिए, समायोजन की दर अकुशल के लिए रुपये 1.35 प्रति प्वाइंट, अर्धकुशल के लिये रुपये 1.50 प्रति प्वाइंट कुशल के लिए रुपये 1.65 प्रति प्वाइंट, नॉन मैट्रीकूलेट के लिये रुपये 1.50 प्रति प्वाइंट, मैट्रीकूलेट परंतु ग्रैजुएट नहीं के लिए रुपये 1.65 प्रति प्वाइंट और ग्रैजुएट एवं उससे उपर के लिए रूपये 1.80 प्रति प्वाइंट है। समायोजन छः माह में होगा, अर्थात गत वर्श के जुलाई से दिसंबर तथा चालू वर्श के जनवरी से जून के लिए औसत सूचकांक नम्बर को लेकर प्रत्येक वर्श 01 अप्रैल तथा 01 अक्टूबर को।

2. यदि अखिल भारतीय उपभोक्ता मूल्य सूचकांक में कमी होती है तो इसके परिणाम स्वरूप महंगाई भत्ते में कमी होगी, इस स्थिति में विभिन्न संवर्गों के श्रमिक/कर्मचारी के लिए वेतन के लिए अधिसूचित लागू न्यूनतम मजदूरी पर कोई प्रभाव नहीं पड़ेगा।

3. महंगाई भत्ते की राशि यदि भिन्नता (फ्रैक्शन) में है तो इसे अगले उच्चतर रूपये में राउंड ऑफ किया जाएगा।

राश्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र दिल्ली के उपराज्यपाल
के आदेश से तथा उनके नाम पर,

डॉ. राजेन्द्र धर, अपर सचिव (श्रम)

LABOUR DEPARTMENT

NOTIFICATION

Delhi, the 22nd October, 2019

No. F. 13(1)/2018/MW/Lab/3602.—Whereas the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India in SLP No. 26185-26228/2018, in case titled as GNCT of Delhi Vs. Flt. Lt. Rajan Dhall Charitable Trust, vide its order dated 31.10.2018 has directed Labour Department to redo the exercise of fixing the minimum wages for the scheduled employment afresh following the route prescribed either under section 5(1)(a) or 5(1)(b) of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948;

AND whereas the Labour Department, GNCTD has opted for procedure for wages fixation/revision as provided under section 5(1)(b) of Minimum Wages Act, 1948 and a Price Collection Committee of 04 Officers namely Sh. Lallan Singh, Joint Labour Commissioner, Sh. Amardeep, Assistant Labour Commissioner, Sh. Shashi Bhusan, Labour Officer and Sh. Manish Kumar Thakur, Inspecting Officer was constituted vide order dated F.140/Addl.LC/Lab/Action/CWP-8125/2018/273 dated 06.11.2018;

AND whereas, the said committee carried out market survey on 10.11.2018 and obtained prices of food items as laid down by National Institute of Nutrition (NIN)-Hydrabad from Kendriya Bhandar, Safal and Mother Dairy and also obtained cost of clothing component from Khadi Gram Udyog;

AND whereas, based on the averages price of food items and clothing component and other prescribed percentage of components like housing, light and fuel, children education, medical treatment, minimum recreation and social obligation as mentioned in judgment dated 31.10.1991 of Hon'ble Supreme Court in civil appeal No. 4336 of 1991 titled as The Workmen represented by Secretary Vs. The Management of Reptakos Brett & Co. Ltd. and anr., the proposed rates of minimum wages were uploaded on the website of Labour Department on 12.11.2018 and published in various newspapers in English, Hindi, Punjabi and Urdu on 13.11.2018 and 14.11.2018, seeking suggestions/views/inputs from public including workers, trade Unions, Employers associations, market associations, various chambers of Commerce, NGOs and members of Civic society within a period of 2 months starting from 12.11.2018 up to 11.01.2019;

AND whereas, suggestions/views/inputs so received from the workers, trade unions, employers associations were placed before the Minimum Wages Advisory Board constituted under section 7 of Minimum Wages Act, 1948 vide notification No. F.13(1)/2018/MW/Lab/50 dated. 09.01.2019 for deliberations;

AND whereas, the Minimum Wages Advisory Board has recommended that the proposed minimum rates of wages as uploaded on the website of Labour Department on 12.11.2018 and published in various newspapers on 13.11.2018 and 14.11.2018 may be adopted;

Now, therefore, in exercise of powers conferred by sub-section (2) of section 5 of the Minimum Wages Act, 1948 (XI of 1948) read with the Government of India, erstwhile Ministry of States notification No. 104-J dated the 24th August, 1950 and Ministry of Home Affairs (Notification No. S.O. 530, dated the 6th February, 1967 and all others powers enabling him in this behalf and in continuation of notification No. F.12(1)142/11/MW/Lab 2023-2047 dated the 26th July, 2011, the Lt. Governor of the National Capital Territory of Delhi, after considering the recommendations of the Minimum Wages Advisory Board to revise, the minimum rates of wages for the class of workmen/employees mentioned in all the Schedule employments as mentioned in earlier notification No. F.12(1)142/11/MW/Lab/2023-2047 dated 26th July, in the National Capital Territory of Delhi, namely:-

Schedule of Employment	**Category of workmen/ Employees**	**Minimum rates of Wages in Rupees**	
		Per month	**Per day**
All Schedule employment	Unskilled	14,842/-	571/-
	Semi-skilled	16,341/-	629/-
	Skilled	17,991/-	692/-
	Clerical and supervisory staff		
	Non Matriculates	16,341/-	629/-
	Matriculate but not Graduate	17,991/-	692/-
	Graduate and above.	19,572/-	753/-

These rates shall come into force with effect from the date of notification in the Official Gazette.

Note : 1. The minimum rates of wages being fixed are linked with all India Consumer Price Index Series, 2001 (Base 2001=100). For Dearness Allowances neutralization, the rate of adjustment shall be Rs. 1.35 per point for Unskilled, Rs. 1.50 per point for Semi Skilled, Rs. 1.65 per point for Skilled, Rs. 1.50 per point for Non matriculates, Rs. 1.65 per point for Matriculates but not Graduate and Rs. 1.80 per point for Graduate and above. Adjustment will be made six monthly, i.e, on 1st April and 1st October each year after taking into account the average index numbers for July to December of the prevision years and January to June of the current year respectively.

2. In case, there is decline in All India Consumer Price Index, as a result of which dearness allowance apparently decreases, in that case there shall be no impact on notified, applicable minimum rates of wages for different category of workmen/employees.

3. Amount of Dearness Allowances in fraction, if any, would be rounded off to the next higher rupee.

By Order and in the Name of the Lieutenant Governor
of the National Capital Territory of Delhi,

Dr. RAJENDER DHAR, Addl. Secy. (Labour)

Uploaded by Dte. of Printing at Government of India Press, Ring Road, Mayapuri, New Delhi-110064
and Published by the Controller of Publications, Delhi-110054.

ANNEX IV – NOTIFIED WAGES FOR HARYANA

Haryana Minimum Wages July 2019.

(As per notification I.R.- 2/2019/ 28489- 590
Dated 12th September 2019)

Unskilled	9024.24(Monthly)	347.08(daily)
Semi- Skilled A	9475.43(Monthly)	364.43(daily)
Semi Skilled B	9949.19(Monthly)	382.66(daily)
Skilled A	10446.65(Monthly)	401.79(daily)
Skilled B	10969.00(Monthly)	421.88(daily)
Highly Skilled	11517.45(Monthly)	442.97(daily)

- All figures in rupees
- The daily wages should be multiplied by 26 to get the monthly wages.

ANNEX V - CODEBOOK

The following list is only a partial representation of the codebook created on NVivo. The full list with all codes and sub-codes 35 pages long and can be provided upon request.

Name	Main codes	Example of coded data
Agency of workers	Acts of change; Acts of coping; Acts of resistance	[acts of coping & acts of resistance] "studies suggest that, where a large reserve army of labor is available, workers rarely engage in direct and organized forms of resistance. This is definitely the case in the ncr, where our large and socially segmented reserve army of labor — mainly migratory — does not engage in acts of open resistance. However, our 'classes of labor' do develop their own different coping mechanisms, and engage in acts of 'labor resilience' (katz, 2004), which span realms of production and reproduction (carswell, 2016; ruwanpura, 2013). Our fieldwork showed that, for instance, contract workers cheat 'exclusive agreements' with contractors by working for multiple parties. Own-account workers may keep samples and engage in domestic trade once export orders dry up. Women homeworkers located in slums in delhi's crowded residential areas may engage in resource pooling, while also finding ways to get free access to basic public amenities. A common practice we observed was the diversion of roadside electricity wires for personal consumption, particularly during cooking time."
Associational power of workers	Garment workers involvement with ngo; Garment workers involvement with social movement; Garment workers involvement with trade union; Impediments of associational power; Potential of change due to raising collective voice	[potential of change due to raising collective voice] "in theory, though, strengthening unions would provide garment workers a great opportunity to improve their working conditions. Without a collective voice, they will continue to be at the whim of government policies, factory owners, and macroeconomic trends and the thousands of tiny cuts that they inflict."
Bargaining power of workers	Change of job to fix problems; Choice of home-based work;	[explanation of little bargaining power] "individual informal sector workers have very little bargaining power over their wages or work conditions, due to that fact that informal labor lies outside the scope of formal regulation. Some informal

Name	Main codes	Example of coded data
	Choice of working for small production units instead of factory; Choice of factory instead of small unit; Collective bargaining agreements; Explanation of little bargaining power; Negotiation for wages	labor is unskilled, and unskilled workers are often considered interchangeable - so employers are more likely to fire a worker for protesting than to take the worker's concern seriously. However, some informal workers are skilled, and were pushed out of their formal sector jobs in order to "reorganize production into small, decentralized and more flexible units"
Global value chain	Characteristic of fashion production; fragmentation of production in subcontracting; Neoliberal growth promoted by the government; Reproduction of inequalities	[reproduction of inequalities] "as kabeer observes, it was acknowledged that individuals and groups may opt for choices and exercise agency, but they operate within the confines imposed by the resilient, often institutionalized, structural norms. Affective over the life course, distinctly defined masculine/feminine constructs assigning specific roles to men and women operate in a given society. She terms these 'intrinsically gendered', whereas market (and state) institutions that reconfigure and rearticulate such norms to their benefit are 'bearers of gender' (kabeer 2012, 12–13) – a framework that we have broadly adopted in the present work to decode the gendered dynamics of the labor market in india. Many of the norms are faced by men as well, but women's gendered locations seem to cut across other axes of differentiations."
Informal sector workers	Causes of informal work; History of informal labor in india; Homework intersecting with contract work; Irregularity of work; Migration intersecting with informal sector; Organizing the unorganized; Support for informal workers	[causes of informal work] "uncertain demand and fluctuating access to markets produce a set of incentives for firms to rely on pools of casual work"
Migrant discrimination	Difficult unionization; Lack of freedom of movement;	[migrant identities intersecting with contract work] "implications for contract workers

Name	Main codes	Example of coded data
	Migrant identities intersecting with contract work; Young age intersectionality	Contract workers in india are typically migrants from impoverished backgrounds and marginalised communities in rural areas. In the ncr, contract workers are mostly adult male migrant workers who migrate to the city on a seasonal basis, returning to their home states after each production cycle (verite, 2010; mezzadri & srivastava, 2015). In tirupur, migrant workers are predominantly male as well. However in recent years, there has been an increase in the recruitment of female migrants as the readymade garment industry has expanded in tirupur. Contract workers are employed as piece rate workers, daily wage workers and helpers, all along the garment supply chain-from large factories to small home based units (verite, 2010)"
Obstacles for improvement of work conditions	Due to socio-cultural norms; Lack of education; Lack of legal recognition of work; Lack of knowledge of rights; Structural impediments from state	[lack of education & lack of knowledge of rights] "More than the prevalence of poor wages, the fact that many workers were not aware of their right to minimum wages and eligibility for a higher wage was particularly striking in the context of new service sector workers given their educational and other social profiles. Their ignorance of a statutory wage is reflective of a critical issue that marks the divide in the labor market. The differentiation was clearly visible between the less educated, manual, blue collared workers and that of the educated white collared service workers. Factory workers owing to their location in the traditional industry, marked by collective interventions and negotiations, was assumed to have the coverage of labor regulations at large"
Power relations across chain	Brands exerting power over workers; disguised employment relationships; government lack of transparency on welfare; Government partnership with businesses; Lack of minorities representation in activists' organizations; Legal impediments to social welfare;	[disguised employment relationships] "disguised" (or triangular) employment relationships - which can occur with some labor contracting arrangements - can also be associated with exploitation when, for example, they are used to deny a worker his or her rights to social security or are accompanied by wage deductions to cover initial placement fees. This is especially the case regarding migrant workers who may be highly dependent on the contractor or agent for assistance in arranging the job, transportation, accommodation etc., when the place of work is far from his or her place of origin/residence."

Name	Main codes	Example of coded data
	Legal impediments to unionizing; lobby power; Management compliance with regulation; Workers lack of control in factory	
Spaces for exerting agency of workers	Auditing and inspections; Democratically elected factory committees; Direct action of protests; In-factory complaint mechanisms; overcoming fear of authorities; psychological spaces for exerting agency	[psychological spaces for exerting agency] "our members are losing their fear of government officials; they are more aware of their rights. They understand the entitlements that are due to them," yasmeenben tells us. This has helped to make members more assertive with government."
Working conditions	Conditions of contract work; Contract work intersecting with migrant identities; Gender discriminations; Harassment from supervisors; Heavy load of work; Hiring & firing practices; Informal labor intersecting with gender; Middlemen taking money and obscuring illegality of work Productivity rates	*[harassment from supervisors]* "maybe most concerning is respondents' interactions with supervisors. On average, workers reported being directly harassed or observing harassment of a co-worker by their supervisors about once every two weeks. Most often, this harassment came in the form of yelling and insults or forcing workers to do something outside their job description, like increasing their production quota. There were also numerous cases where respondents saw an interaction between a colleague and supervisor that made them uncomfortable, and there were 13 instances where a male supervisor touched a worker in a way she thought was inappropriate"

ANNEX VI – QUALITY ASSESSMENT FOR SECONDARY DATA

Academic literature quality assessment.

1= yes, 0=no (or not applicable)

Publication	Clear research goal/aims	Appropriate methodology	Appropriate research design	Appropriate recruitment strategy	Justification of the way of data collection	Researcher & participants relationship considered	Consideration of ethical issues	Rigorous data analysis	explicit findings	value of research	Score
Mezzadri & Fan, 2018	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Jenkins, 2013	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Vijayabaskar, 2011	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Rao, 2014	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
Folkerth & Warnecke, 2011	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Hensman, 2011	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	9
Gillan & Lambert, 2013	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Zajak, Egels-Zandén & Piper, 2017	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	9
Venkatesan, 2019	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Anner, 2017.	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9

Merk & Zajak, 2019	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
De Neve, 2014	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Nathan, 2013	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	9
Prentice, 2015	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
Egels-Zandén & Merk, 2014	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Abdulsamad, Frederick, Guinn & Gereffi, 2015	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
Malagi & Chachadi, 2013	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
Prentice, De Neve, Mezzadri & Ruwanpura, 2018	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Roychowdhury, 2020	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Kara, 2019	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Verite, 2010	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	9

Non- academic literature quality assessment.

1= yes, 0=no (or not applicable)

Publication	Clear research goal/aims	Appropriate methodology	Appropriate research design	Appropriate recruitment strateg	Justification of the way of data collection	Researcher & participants relationship considered	Consideration of ethical issues	Rigorous data analysis	explicit findings	value of research	Score
Vryenhoek, 2013	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
CITU, The Voice of the Working Woman (7 entries)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Ganguly, 2013	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	8
Garment workers diaries, 2016	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	7
Theuws & Overeem, 2014	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	9
ICN & FNV, 2014	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10

Ray & Peepercamp, 2018	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Peepercamp, Overeem, & Theuws, 2018	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Devenish & Alfers, 2019	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	4
ILO, 2015	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
WIEGO, n.d. (1)	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	8
ILO, 2017	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
WIEGO, n.d. (2)	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	8